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Sacred Harmonies: Music and Religion in Berlin, 1760-1840

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Sacred Harmonies: Music and Religion in Berlin, 1760–1840

By

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Abstract

Berlin, around 1800, has been considered the cradle of modern theology, as well as the epicenter of modern musical aesthetics and musical institutions. Without taking these coeval changes for granted, this dissertation addresses how music became a category of modern knowledge, arguing for its simultaneous and interdependent emergence with the field of religion. It does so by tracing what "church music" meant and how it was practiced in Prussia's capital, exploring its print media, pedagogical methods, moral philosophies, and cultural institutions in Berlin. *Kirchenmusik* had long been a corporate expression of worship practiced in discrete civic locales. During the eighteenth century, its repertoire integrated with the informal, scattered sites of Protestant "domestic devotion" through print, which disrupted church music's accompanying educational models, musical genres, and liturgical functions. The Romantic witnesses to these transformations, such as Wilhelm Wackenroder and E. T. A. Hoffmann, mounted new critiques of church music, taking for granted its ecumenical, trans-historical form, and advocated for its resuscitation by the political institutions of the city. The political and pedagogical interventions prescribed by those critiques disclosed music to Berlin's new and revamped institutions of knowledge, such as the Royal Prussian Academy of Arts (est. 1809) and the University of Berlin (est. 1810). Through these institutions, music became subject to new scientific modes of inquiry.

As it unpacks the relation of music and religion during this crucial period, this dissertation resists secularization narratives that have long bolstered histories of sacred music, demonstrating that music did not replace religious transcendence in German Romanticism, as is commonly claimed; nor was religion in any sort of decline. Instead, music and religion, I argue, recuperated and reconstituted one another in ways found audible in Romantic *Kirchenmusik*, culminating in their co-establishment as fields of study in the liberal modern university.

To the two young ladies who had to live with me
during the period of this research

Jane Jinkyung
and
Liora Emery

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Acknowledgements

It still eludes me why anyone would read an "Acknowledgements" section. Yet, sitting where I am, I know well why they are written. This dissertation represents as much the labor and sacrifice of an individual as it does a community.

My community begins with Jane. She is owed a measure of gratitude far above anyone else (which is a high measure). She was the one who first encouraged me to pursue graduate studies and to apply to Berkeley specifically. Since then, her unflinching support was how I endured and completed this adventure. No one has made such extraordinary sacrifices for this dissertation, including its author, as she has. Listing them and what they meant to me would produce a document dwarfing this dissertation. Yet it should be mentioned that Jane was the breadwinner for the majority of my studies at Cal. The fact is that she was the primary benefactor for this project – funds without which I would not have been able to continue attending Cal, let alone complete a degree (or two). This document is dedicated to my wife.

If Jane was my greatest supporter, no one distracted me more from doctoral work, in the best ways, than my daughter and second dedicatee, Liora. Her delightful interludes reminded me of the bigger picture. I count myself lucky that, in 2020, I was able to write most of these pages within a few feet from her. (The only challenge she presented was the constant temptation to discard this project altogether just so we could piggy-back a bit more.) She brought joy and significance to the solitary, pseudo-monastic activities of research and writing.

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with snobby coffee. The El Sob-Village crew made memories to last several lifetimes: Jackie Knapp kept us on our toes with legendary celebrations and games, replete with (sometimes) edible flowers on obnoxiously beautiful tablescapes. Yet we were equally satisfied sharing our tears and sorrows. Leah Fawcett (of Fawcettfest fame) was just the right amount of crazy as we bonded over shared SoCal backgrounds. We had our very own Alice Waters in Laura Humphrey, who was everything Jane and I could ask for in a friend – reliable, funny, honest, wise, and deeply caring. From the moment I first met Peter Humphrey, he appeared to be from another world. Peter was both colleague and spiritual partner, a rare synthesis I desperately needed. He may go down as the most brilliant, bizarre, and wisest soul I'll ever have the privilege of calling friend. He is surely to blame for the overly-ambitious scope of my dissertation.

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With such an abundance of personal and professional support around me, it follows that any shortcomings to be found in this dissertation are mine alone to bear.

Introduction

> It is one of the basic facts of this age that the aesthetic and liturgical aspects of church music were two separate issues, and any historian who aspires to be more than a mere archivist must try to explain this fact.[1]

With this declaration from *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Anthenaion, 1980), Carl Dahlhaus (1928–1989) challenged nineteenth-century music studies, which was coming into its heyday, to confront its careless treatment of church music. If nothing else, this dissertation is an attempt to pick up the gauntlet, aspiring in part to the kind of history Dahlhaus envisioned.

I begin with a supposedly discredited and archaic model of musicology because, at a time when a dizzying array of revisionist scholarship spins music out to "the edges of history," it may be prudent to look back to our disciplinary forefathers and take stock of what was once prescient, and perhaps now vindicated.[2] In many respects, Dahlhaus was right. He criticized the way scholars sundered the history of church music from public concert music, shrewdly distinguishing (as no one else had) between the formation of that discourse and its facticity: "Liturgical rigidity and extraecclesiastic subjectivity seemingly contradict each other. Both, however, can be viewed as characteristic traits of a bourgeois age…"[3] According to Dahlhaus, the bourgeois spirit formed nineteenth-century music's history *and* historiography – the narratives and methods sequestering church music from more general music histories – and linked the two so as to make them indistinguishable matters of fact. Such "myths," as he claimed, "not only distort the intrinsic history of a subject, they also express and at times even make that history."[4] The result was that music scholars (and later musicians as well) "consigned ecclesiastical matters to a circumscribed area resembling a nature reserve," and, in the same stroke, extended the category of the religious to the domains of art, culture, sentiment, and nature.[5] At a time when these consignments were *de rigueur*, Dahlhaus warned, "we [musicologists] might be tempted to speak of a confusion of concepts and emotions, of a secularization of

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[1] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 178.
[2] For musicology's most recent State of the Union, see Martha Feldman and Nicholas Mathew, et. al., "Music and Sound at the Edges of History."
[3] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 185.
[4] Ibid., 171.
[5] Ibid., 183.

the religious and a sanctification of the profane."[6] Yet, as this dissertation argues, we would do well to resist such temptations.

Dahlhaus went unheard – or perhaps misheard, with his call subsumed by a predominantly secularist historiography of music. And so, rather than excoriate this deceased thinker for outmoded conceptions of *Zeitgeist*, pseudo-dialectical teleologies, or even his narrow idea of "music," I want to follow Dahlhaus's path toward a new history of (church) music by returning to that so-called "bourgeois spirit."

That path accordingly leads away from what would otherwise typify a study on German Protestant church music, or my titular "music and religion in Berlin" around 1800. Anyone searching for a rundown of north German liturgical agendas, Kantors, chapel masters, choirs, rectors, and organists, or a survey of the city's musicking world religions is encouraged to read on, even though they will not find what they seek. We already have these kinds of studies.[7] And as I explain below, these approaches to music and religion betray the influence of a political project that Dahlhaus dimly perceived, which this dissertation helps to illuminate, circumvent, and historicize.

At first blush, the chapters that follow may appear to have little in common with one another, but they actually revisit the major sites of Dahlhaus's historical narrative: consistent with his claim that "the central concept of the bourgeois attitude" informing church music became "edification" (*Erbauung*) during the mid-eighteenth century, Chapter 1 considers music as an instrument of edification and devotion at the hub of bourgeois life – the Protestant burgher's home.[8] I take seriously Dahlhaus's insight that to kindle devout sentiments in the eighteenth century "church music had to take into account those members of the congregation with a limited understanding of music," and so trace an incipient amateurism through religious keyboard scores and other musical texts.[9] And if, in German Protestant states, "the bourgeois neo-humanist movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries caused profound changes in the system of education," then Chapter 2 recounts how those changes disrupted the "institutional foundations that had sustained church music from the middle of the

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[6] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 184.

[7] For an overview of the strict institutional history of German Protestant church music, see Werner, *Vier Jahrhunderte im Dienste der Kirchenmusik*; on church music in Berlin, see Hammit III, "Sacred Music in Berlin, 1740-1786;" for a survey of music and religion broadly construed, see ed. Lawrence Sullivan, *Enchanting Powers: Music in the World's Religions*; for a focus on music, religion, and their relation in Germany and Berlin, see Bohlman, "Music of the Other Germany," in *Revival and Reconciliation: Sacred Music and the Making of European Modernity*, 189-206.

[8] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 179.

[9] Ibid.

sixteenth century."[10] Chapter 3 turns to the recurrent musicological trope of "historical awareness" – the same that fueled revivals of old church music and was "one of the century's most fundamental modes of bourgeois thought" – in order to explore revivals of ancient church music in light of the pedagogical and devotional changes that preceded it.[11] Finally, Chapter 4 examines the role of church music in Prussia's overhauled national institutions in Berlin, picking up on the claim that church music and its institutions were "integrated into a system of state and societal administration based on the civil service," which was altogether "characteristic of the bourgeois age."[12]

Facilitating the chapters' unintended overlap with the themes of Dahlhaus's *Nineteenth-Century Music* is this dissertation's attention to the social category Dahlhaus inevitably called "bourgeois," and what I usually identify with domestic musical amateurism (see Chapter 1). I avoid the term "bourgeoisie" and its cognates, with its Marxist baggage and implicit emphasis on class struggle – not to mention its attendant narrative of endless "rise" during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An "amateur," however, aspires to skills and interests, which in turn implicate objects and tools comporting to those skills and interests – and so leave historical traces more clearly legible than the presence of an ever-emerging social class or *Zeitgeist*. I therefore confess that *Sacred Harmonies* is on the one hand a thoroughly Dahlhausian project. On the other hand, as we will see, the conclusions I draw radically depart from those of Dahlhaus, as well as from more recent scholarship on the history of Romanticism and sacred music.

Sacred Romanticism

When listening to sacred Romantic music, musicologists have tended to hear a new form of historical consciousness.[13] We are asked to hear the doleful sounds of disenchantment vainly resisted: sacred Romantic music is either a repertoire hopelessly aspiring to a former naive glory, or a staunchly secular attempt to unify art and religion on new grounds, spiritually indispensable for an emerging post-Christian Europe. For Dahlhaus, it was both. In Schillerian vein, he thought that historicism made possible the restoration of church music, but was also to blame for its irretrievability.[14] The materialist turn of more recent scholarship aims to extend the mechanisms of disenchantment further still, uncovering the modern technologies that were ostensibly the condition for the Romantic reinvention of

[10] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 180.
[11] Ibid., 181.
[12] Ibid., 185.
[13] The much-cited, thoroughgoing account is Garratt, *Palestrina*.
[14] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 181.

the otherworldly.[15] In these studies, the sacred becomes the bed sheet the Romantics threw over their disenchanted technological reality so we might once again believe in ghosts.

No wonder, then, that religion and religious identity in the Romantic moment have tended to raise anxious questions among musicologists about authenticity and categorization. How much anti-Semitic material did Felix Mendelssohn cut from Bach's passions, and how Jewish does that make him?[16] How "assimilated" did composers need to be, and how much did they "actually" believe?[17] Which tradition of Christian spirituality does Beethoven's *Heiliger Dankegesang* best express?[18] How Catholic does the *Missa Solemnis* make him?[19] These are not the kinds of questions that have ever been directed at Josquin – or even Bach, for that matter. Romanticism turns religion into a problem.[20] And listening to sacred Romantic music has meant negotiating the dynamics of musical disenchantment and re-enchantment.

Compounding the problem is the lion's share of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music – and the substantial part of the musical canon that it bequeathed to the twentieth century – which is made up of something called "sacred music": masses, oratorios, hymns, and various liturgical genres (chorales, passions, the Stabat Mater, the Ave Maria, and so on). By the mid-nineteenth century this scattered array of styles and liturgical rites hung together only because it occupied the space left by the supposed expulsion of religious practices and

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[15] See, for example, Dolan, "E. T. A. Hoffmann and the Ethereal Technologies of 'Nature Music'"; Loughridge, *Haydn's Sunrise, Beethoven's Shadow: Audiovisual Culture and the Emergence of Musical Romanticism*; Lockhart, *Animation, Plasticity, and Music in Italy, 1770-1830*; Watkins, "Romantic Musical Aesthetics and the Transmigration of Soul"; Kreuzer, *Curtain, Gong, Steam: Wagnerian Technologies of Nineteenth-Century Opera*; Fillerup, *Magician of Sound: Ravel and the Aesthetics of Illusion*. Several significant texts that have influenced this strand of music studies include Andriopoulos, *Ghostly Apparitions: German Idealism, the Gothic Novel, and Optical Media*; Tresch, *The Romantic Machine*: *Utopian Science and Technology after Napoleon*; Holmes, *The Age of Wonder: How the Romantic Generation Discovered the Beauty and Terror Science*; Coeckelbergh, *New Romantic Cyborgs: Romanticism, Information Technology, and the End of the Machine*.

[16] Marissen, "Religious Aims in Mendelssohn's 1829 Berlin-Singakademie Performances of Bach's St Matthew Passion."

[17] Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation*.

[18] Ito, "Spiritual Narratives in Beethoven's Quartet, Op.132."

[19] Chua, "Beethoven's Other Humanism"; cf. Nicholas Chong, "Beethoven's Catholicism: A Reconsideration."

[20] As Colin Jager has shown, religion has been a similarly perennial problem for Romantic literary studies. See Jager, *The Book of God: Secularization and Design in the Romantic Era*; and Jager, "Romanticism/Secularization/Secularism."

beliefs in the wake of secular modernity. Thus, as Dahlhaus pointed out, this music either remained cloistered in religious enclaves or made its way, renewed or recast, into the secular spaces of musical modernity – pedagogical institutions such as conservatories, choral festivals, ticketed public concerts, and the marketplace traversed by musical publications.[21] Here at last music is "sacred." Felix Mendelssohn's *Lobesgesang*, for example, was composed and performed for the "Gutenberg Säkularfest" in 1840, and, in Ryan Minor's account, amounted to a secularized Te Deum: its assemblage of biblical passages and heterogeneous ecclesiastical styles was a kind of conceptual displacement of church music into "the liberal, bourgeois milieu."[22] Minor takes seriously Mendelssohn's description of the work as a "general song of praise," in which the modifier "general" announces that the sacred has become an ambiguously broad secular register – a mode James Garratt has called, emphasizing its constitutive ambiguity, "quasi-liturgical."[23] The reception of older music in the nineteenth century frequently described this journey from the liturgical to the quasi-liturgical: the *St. Matthew Passion*, once a grand piece of *Kirchenmusik* by a venerated Kantor, eventually found its way into the Berlin Singakademie and Schleslinger's printing house. By 1829, Johann Sebastian Bach had become the composer of "sacred music."[24]

Several musicologists – most of them Mendelssohn specialists, significantly – have traced these sacred exceptions to the secular rule to north Germany in the years around 1800.[25] These studies make palpable sacred music's tenuous status via qualifiers such as "quasi-liturgical," "quasi-religious aura," "religious kitsch," "semi-sacred," or "art-religion" (the last being an important theological term coined by the Berliner Friedrich Schleiermacher, whose history we will examine in Chapter 3). Scholarship on this public-yet-religious music repeats a Weberian pattern of secularization – albeit one less attributable to Max Weber than his disciples.[26] Orphaned by the chapels that could no longer accommodate

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[21] Respectively, see David Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 50-5; Ryan Minor, *Choral Fantasies*, 33-68; and Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 80-172.
[22] Minor, *Choral Fantasies*, 195.
[23] Garratt, *Palestrina*, 62.
[24] Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 196.
[25] See Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*; Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*; Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*; Minor, *Choral* Fantasies; Kramer, "The Idea of Kunstreligion in German Musical Aesthetics of the Early Nineteenth Century"; and Garratt, *Palestrina*.
[26] Weber himself hardly ever used the term "secularization," and when he did, it was almost exclusively relating to the seizure of ecclesiastic property. However, he famously (re)coined "disenchantment," a term not-coincidentally taken from a north German Romantic, Friedrich Schiller. "Disenchantment," when Weber first used the term, originally marked the hyper-reductive and quantitative mode of thought that science had taken, for better and worse, to every area of human life. According to

grandiose orchestration or ambivalent theological commitments, these works found homes in secular institutions that supposedly filled the vacuum of civic musical life progressively vacated by the Christian church. There, in the words of Charles Rosen, one could find "religion in the concert hall."[27] For Joseph Swaine, this historical dynamic means that the idea of sacred music need not be confined to music within in religious services, "…even in a Western context [sic.], what counts as 'sacred music' is not simply a matter of music heard in a church or synagogue. The category appears to admit of degree; works can be more or less sacred."[28] In step with Garratt, Swaine's *Historical Dictionary of Sacred Music* considers sacred music a "continuum" from music strictly in the service of religions to music that has been imbued with a sanctified or divinized quality – poles that simply reinscribe what Dahlhaus considered an old Romantic binary: private "liturgical art" versus public "art-religion."[29]

Music History and the Secular

The political project that sustains the Romantic idea of sacred music is secularism. Now thoroughly reevaluated by scholars of religion, secularism makes equivalent

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Daniel Weinder, today disenchantment has devolved into "a kind of jargon of secularization, taken up by everyone." (See Weidner, "The Rhetoric of Secularization," 10-1) Yet as Weidner, Jose Casanova, and others have recently argued, Weber's writings on religion and science have been foundational to later secularization theories throughout the twentieth century. (See Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*) Hans Blumenberg, for example, referenced Weber's earlier work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, to describe it as "a model…for the secularization theorem." (See Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, 10) Several of Weber's devout followers have produced prominent secularization theories, including Thomas Luckmann (*The Invisible Religion*), Marcel Gauchet (*The Disenchantment of the World*) and Charles Taylor (*A Secular Age*). These and many other studies on religion and modernity depart from Weber's general premise that religion both produced and was in some sense superseded by modern secular forms of life, such as capitalist economy or scientific reason. It is this legacy of Weber's thought that warrants the adjective, "Weberian." For Weberian narratives of disenchantment in music history, see Chua, "Vincent Galileo, Modernity, and the Division of Nature"; Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning*; and its review, Buhler, "Disenchanting Music." One insightful review of Lydia Goehr's *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* renders Goehr's intellectual history of musical objectivity as a story of secularization – see Erauw, "Canon Formation: Some More Reflections on Lydia Goehr's Imaginary Museum of Musical Works."

[27] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 590.

[28] Swaine. *Historical Dictionary of Sacred Music*, 1.

[29] Ibid., 11-2.

a hodge-podge of ethical, theological, and historical positions, which helps direct and delineate certain forms of life into the categories of the sacred and the secular.[30] "It is easy to think of [secularism] simply as requiring the separation of religious from secular institutions in government," the anthropologist Talal Asad argues, "but that is not all it is. Abstractly stated, examples of this separation can be found in medieval Christendom and in the Islamic empires – and no doubt elsewhere too. What is distinctive about 'secularism' is that it presupposes new concepts of 'religion,' 'ethics,' and 'politics,' and new imperatives associated with them."[31]

Historians and anthropologists have frequently universalized the association between music, ritual, and religion; the secularist perspective, moreover, insists on placing the music of religions (and music that supposedly produces "religious experience") into a single, homogeneous category. Jeffers Engelhardt has recently argued that, because scholars often treat both music and religion as cultural universals, music usually provides the most substantial basis for conceptualizing religion.[32] By contrast, for scholars of secular critique, "there is nothing *essentially* religious, nor any universal essence that defines 'sacred language' or 'sacred experience'" – or, one might add, sacred music.[33] To borrow Asad's phrase, sacred music becomes part of "the grammar of the secular."[34] And, like the associated terms that Asad analyzes – including "myth" and the "human" – that grammar has a distinctive European history.

To trace the emergence of public "sacred music" through church music rather than apart from it, as Dahlhaus suggested we should, is to confront perhaps the oldest, most entrenched historiographic tenet in musicology. *Secularization*, the process by which secularism achieves its historical and cultural footing, is also the process that explains the modern category of "art music." As Lydia Goehr once claimed without controversy, "the development of the notion of fine art was depending upon the cessation of a religiously based society."[35] Critiques of Weberian notions of secularization are now well established in the humanities and

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[30] For other anthropological, historical, and sociological studies that address the mode of secularism I describe, see Mahmood, *Religious Difference in a Secular Age*; Wilson, *After Secularism: Rethinking Religion in Global Politics*; Casanova, "Secular and Secularisms"; and Agrama, *Questioning Secularism: Islam, Sovereignty, and the Rule of Law in Modern Egypt*.

[31] Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, 2.

[32] Engelhardt presents an important (yet largely unappreciated) critique of how secularism coordinates music and religion in experiential terms; see Engelhardt, "Music, Sound, and Religion."

[33] Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, 25; see also Engelhardt, "Music, Sound, and Religion," 299-301.

[34] Asad *Formations of the Secular*, 27.

[35] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 157.

social sciences; but in music history the concept has stubbornly persisted, partly because of its convenience as an explanatory model and partly because the story of secularization was arguably foundational to the discipline itself, along with its most cherished repertoires. Secularization – the idea that the regimes of knowledge established by modern science progressively disenchanted a world formerly replete with religious cosmologies – allows music and religion to converse and converge easily, provided that each are passively shaped by the same background historical process. Thus can Karol Berger, in his *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow: An Essay in Musical Modernity*, analyze (mostly Austro-German) music as a transition from a bounded, Christian, eschatological temporality to a liberal, linear, progressive one that Charles Taylor has described as "secular time":

> Modern music's newfound ability to embody the experience of linear time made it a suitable vehicle for bringing to contemporary minds some of their deepest interests. Definitive of modernity are narratives of secular universal history, whether conceived in liberal terms of progressive continuity or in egalitarian terms of revolutionary breakthrough. Once the transcendent divine has been brought down to earth and made immanent in the historical march of mankind toward a utopian future, composers who were at all interested had the means to capture such themes in musical narrative.[36]

Music, in this account, somehow acquires a "newfound ability" to embody secular time – and can also be a conduit to the divine in the new, "down to earth" guises supposedly emblematic of modernity.[37]

Against the background of such schematic arguments, historians such as Daniel Weidner and Jonathan Sheehan have understandably asked where, historically, "secularizing" impulses actually inhere.[38] Traditional arguments that take the process of secularization for granted assume that a kind of Christian "substance" can be translated and retained in new, secular ideas and practices –

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[36] Berger, *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow: Essays in Musical Modernity*, 9. Charles Taylor juxtaposes "secular time" with "higher time," which is equivalently defined in/as "Bach's Cycle." See Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 96.

[37] Religion, in these accounts, becomes implicitly defined as that which regards the divine. Rather than endorsing this definition, I suggest that this formulation is necessary for the conceptual stability of secularization narratives, and that departing from secularization in music historiography allows for new conceptions of how religion was reconstructed, redefined, and reinvented. This perspective was first taken up by Jonathan Sheehan in *The Enlightenment Bible*.

[38] Sheehan, "When Was Disenchantment? History and the Secular Age," in *Varieties of Secularism*; Weidner, "The Rhetoric of Secularization."

concert halls become hushed worship spaces, art becomes a source of divine revelation, musical works become sacred texts, and so on. But as Weidner (following Hans Blumenberg) points out, "in concrete historical studies, it is scarcely possible to delineate how such 'transformative' processes . . . took place."[39]

In recent years, studies of the media of religions in particular have unsettled the secularization narratives foundational to historical musicology. Working with a "media-driven concept of the Enlightenment," Sheehan challenged the idea that religion and the Enlightenment were always antagonists, instead focusing on "precisely those places where the social, cultural, and intellectual horizons of religion and the Enlightenment fused."[40] The religious scholar Leigh Schmidt has similarly argued that Enlightenment sound media, whether used for deception, skeptical verification, or private devotion, worked to strengthen and even legitimate theological tenets, and has disputed the story of an inevitable decline of religious knowledge from the eighteenth century to the present day.[41] Corroborating Schmidt's thesis in more recent contexts, the anthropologist Charles Hirschkind has critiqued the listening practices of secularism, which, he argues, have strategically occluded and even demonized modern Islamic soundscapes and their constitutive sound media technologies.[42] As Hirschkind demonstrates, the political power – and even mere existence – of the present-day Islamic sermon cassette tape subverts governing secularization narratives that insist on the increasing privatization of religion since the eighteenth century. This assumption has long been refuted by histories of the European Enlightenment, and discredited by empirical sociologies of religion.[43] My main contention here is that, equipped with a media-sensitive theory of eighteenth-century social and musical change, we can return to the north German contexts around 1800 that have been so important to musicological secularization stories and discover a radical alternative to Romantic conceits about "the decline of church music."[44]

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[39] Weidner, "The Rhetoric of Secularization," 6.

[40] Sheehan, "The Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay," 1076; and see Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*.

[41] See Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment*.

[42] Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape*. Hirschkind cites Schmidt in the Introduction, see Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape*, 26.

[43] Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape*, 106-8. In the sociology of religion, the landmark text to revise the role of religion in public modern life was Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*.

[44] The *locus classicus* for the decline of church music is Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History,* originally published in 1931. Dahlhaus noted that this historiographic framework dated back to Philip Spitta's *Die Wiederbelebung Kirchenmusik* (1882), but it

To be sure, recent studies of German sacred music have carefully nuanced this story of decline, separating it from a floundering pan-European religiosity. Celia Applegate, for instance, notes that religious controversy among Berlin's Protestant thinkers "did not amount to secularization," but rather points to "a deeper transformation in the nature of religious piety."[45] Yet such nuances invariably comport with other, even more fundamental waves of secularization – a "deeper transformation" by which, Applegate writes, "the nineteenth century saw belief made individual and the religious experience made private."[46] This dissertation, by contrast, does not aim to question any particular strain or manifestation of secularization.[47] "Secularization," as it is understood today, variously articulates religion's relation to modern life as something substitutionary, subtractive, privatizing, or dialectical, and there is no doubt that it has been strewn across sociological, anthropological, etymological, historical, philosophical, political, cultural, and theological domains. I therefore adopt an approach that has much in common with the work of Chad Wellmon and Paul Reitter when they analyze the countless crises of the humanities (a discursive tradition they trace through Weberian notions of disenchantment, and, tellingly, trace back its historical origins to early nineteenth-century Berlin).[48] Like them, I consider "secularization" to be a discursive formation – in Weidner's phrase, a "rhetoric of secularization" – at work in historical musicology. This dissertation is an attempt to write music history without the secularization narrative. But it is also an effort to account for secularization as a form of rhetoric in music historiography. As Applegate's analysis implies, this enterprise means reassessing long-held assumptions about eighteenth- and nineteenth-century musical culture, including ideas of musical publics and musical cities.

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arguably antedates to Johann Nikolaus Forkel's Bach biography in the early nineteenth century. Blume's edited volume is still widely and authoritatively cited. For example, see Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 15. On Enlightenment media, see Siskin and Warner, *This is Enlightenment*. For other recent studies in the literary media of the German Enlightenment, see also Tautz, *Translating the World: Toward a New History of German Literature Around 1800*, and Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment.*

[45] Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 177.

[46] Ibid.

[47] In the last three decades (but particularly after 9/11), "Secularization" has splintered into literally hundreds of variant revisions across the social sciences and humanities. Its myriad formulations have warranted three entries from separate disciplines in Oxford Bibliographies alone. There are also now many literature reviews on the subject. See, for example, Schultz, "Secularization: A Bibliographic Essay"; Bhatia, "Secularism and Secularisation: A Bibliographic Essay"; and Stolz, "Secularization theories in the twenty-first century: Ideas evidence and problems."

[48] Wellmon and Reitter, *Permanent Crisis: The Humanities in a Disenchanted Age*.

Scholarship on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music has tended to follow Jürgen Habermas headlong when conceptualizing musical publics. Though Habermas seldom mentioned religion in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, a footnote shows that his project all but presumed secularization as its essential precondition – "the Church too lost the character of representative publicity, and religion after the Reformation became a private affair (and the private practice of religion therewith at once function and symbol of the new intimate sphere)…"[49] Habermas's public sphere integrates seamlessly with stories of the rise of public concert music if only because both ideas presume the decline of the European church and its musical institutions. Perhaps this is why histories of musical publics have thus far been dominated by concert programming, theater-going, attentive crowds, operatic spectacle, and stage design.[50] Yet, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this was simply not how musicians, listeners, and critics encountered (or engaged with) the music they admired during most of their lives – and this was not the only means by which people came to understand themselves as a musical "public."

Extrapolating from Thomas Christensen's recent claim about patterns of operatic consumption, I contend that, for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, music heard outside the theater in domestic and salon arrangements for keyboard instruments was as important a part of music history as what was

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[49] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 266n62. Recent work on "post-secular society," including from Habermas himself, has since redressed the simplistic teeter-totter model of religion and public sphere. According to the political scientist Spyridon Kaltsas, "the concept of a post-secular society may be regarded as an attempt to rethink the boundaries of the public sphere through its relation to the ongoing presence of religion and the recognition of its social and cultural value by putting into question the mainstream secularization thesis which takes the decline of religion and its retreat to the private sphere as the necessary and inevitable outcome of modernization." See Habermas, "Notes on a Post-Secular Society"; see Calhoun, "Secularism, Citizenship, and the Public Sphere"; and see Butler, Habermas, Taylor, and West, *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*. And see Kaltsas, "Habermas, Taylor, and Connolly on Secularism, Pluralism, and the Post-Secular Public Sphere." For a refutation of the liberal Enlightened concept of publics, see Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*.

[50] For the most explicit deference to Habermas, see Joubert, "Songs to Shape a German Nation: Hiller's Comic Operas and the Public Sphere"; Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*; Tolley, *Painting the Canon's Roar*.

experienced during a stage performance.[51] It is with that in mind that I place such an emphasis on the print media of church music in this dissertation: by privileging domestic amateur music-making and the materials that enabled it, we can avoid positing the kind of tired equivalences between sacralized concert halls and secularized churches, church performances and theatrical rituals. As recent media histories of literature have shown, print not only helped to form publics but was also the vehicle by which literate populations interpellated and cultivated the very idea of a public.[52] The Lutheran Kantor Johann Adam Hiller (1714-1804), a protagonist in this story, had precisely this outlook when he claimed that "print" was "perhaps the most effective medium of all" for "making new melodies publicly known to a [church] congregation."[53] As Chapters 1 and 2 detail, with religious materials such as *Fünf und zwanzig neue Choralmelodien* arranged and printed for amateur keyboardists at home, Hiller and his generation helped make "private devotion" (*privat Andacht*) a fundamentally public affair.

European cities, especially Berlin, have also proven pivotal in conventional histories of public music-making. Berlin's musical publics have been heard across Jewish salon culture around 1800, court performances and opera throughout the eighteenth century, Napoleonic theater in the nineteenth, and postwar performance practices in the twentieth.[54] In these histories, Berlin becomes a stage

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[51] Christensen's claim is, precisely, "Operatic music heard outside the theatre in the guise of…domestic and salon arrangements for piano was as important a part of operatic history as that experienced during a live stage performance." See Christensen, "Soundings Offstage," 900. Roger Parker, in a charmingly curmudgeon review of the *Oxford Handbook of Opera*, thinks extrapolating Christensen's thesis is quite reasonable. He asks whether Christensen "could have gone further" to displace opera scholarship's focus on staged performance to include street performers and other musical instruments that popularly disseminated opera music. See Parker, "Review Article: Hugging the Bank: Opera Studies in Brobdingnag," 113-4.

[52] See Franzel, *Connected By the Ear*, 29-112; and see Warner, *The Letters of the Republic*.

[53] "Zu den Mitteln, wodurch man neue Melodien einer Gemeinde bekannt macht, gehört auch, daß man sie im Drucke öffentlich erscheinen läßt; und vielleicht ist es unter allen das wirksamste Mittel." Hiller, *Fünf und zwanzig neue Choralmelodien zu Liedern von Gellert*, x.

[54] Respectively, see Cypess and Sinkoff, *Sara Levy's World: Gender, Judaism, and the Bach Tradition in Enlightenment Berlin*; Exner, "The Forging of a Golden Age: King Frederick the Great and Music for Berlin, 1732-1756"; Röder, "Music, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Late Eighteenth-Century Berlin"; Magnum and Hambridge, "Introduction to chapters 3 and 4: from royal authority to public taste in Berlin, 1740-1815," and John Magnum, "The Repertory of the Italian Court Opera in Berlin, 1740-1786," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Operatic Canon*, 73-92; Hambridge, "The Performance of

of its own, playing out the dynamics of secularization as its theaters and concert halls transformed into sacralized "temples of art."[55] Conceived as a stage or background, Berlin is inevitably less an active agent in public musical culture than a passive site or receptacle, containing local events. As both Friedrich Kittler and Will Straw remind us, cities may be "a medium" for cultural labor, but that does not mean they are transparent or neutral.[56] A media-sensitive account of printed church music, therefore, can also supply an alternative to musical accounts of the modern city that have hitherto reinforced the story of secularized modern musical publics. In this dissertation, Berlin as a musical city is not bounded by geographic or even political borders, but is treated as coextensive with the media environment of north German Protestant music – an environment that it fostered and reshaped. Chapter 4 shows the city of Berlin – with its institutions of knowledge, political status, and physical fabric – to be a major force that helped turn church music into a national institution befitting the capital of a Protestant empire.

Media histories such as this one must nonetheless remain cautious about reproducing Kittler's (or any media archaeologist's) technocratic gaze on social life (for example, when Kittler reduced all of "bourgeois culture" into a "semio-technique").[57] What is needed, in my view, is a way of attending to musical media in and around the city without reducing social relations to data points zipping through transducers and transmitters – in the process dividing the materials of a culture from its ethical and aesthetic values. Recently, Alexander Rehding and others have noted similar caution in music studies "after Kittler" when acknowledging the emerging divide between media studies and cultural studies.[58] In short, if media history can indeed help us to bypass the deep-seated secularization narratives of music historiography, it also risks amounting to mere synchronic redescription – in which the scholar becomes Dahlhaus's mere "archivist" – without accounting for cultural change or the values with which media forms were always imbued. My response is to trace the human responses to

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History: Music, Identity, and Politics in Berlin, 1800-1815"; Hambridge, "Staging Singing in the Theater of War (Berlin, 1805)"; Anderton, *Rubble Music*.

[55] Hambridge, "Catching Up and Getting Ahead: The Opera House as Temple of Art in Berlin c. 1800." See also Mahling, "Berlin: Music in the Air."

[56] Kittler, "The City is a Medium"; and see Tosoni, Ridell, and Straw, "Practicing Urban Media Studies: An Interview with Will Straw."

[57] Kittler's glum anti-humanism arguably presages Silicon Valley's bloodless technodeterminism, with which he was personally familiar, especially during his early teaching stints at UC Berkeley and Stanford University in the 1980s. See Kittler, *Dichter-Mutter-Kind*, 92. On the intellectual heritage of Silicon Valley, specifically its outlook on technology, see Daub, *What Tech Calls Thinking*.

[58] Rehding, et. al., "Colloquy: Discrete/Continuous: Music and Media Theory After Kittler."

what people registered as profound changes taking place around them – not least, the radical reconfiguration of a literary public, or what they called the *Publikum der Liebhaber* ("amateur public," or, "audience of amateurs").[59]

I have tried, therefore, to remain sensitive to the texture of social relations and the motivations of human agents without treating them as epiphenomenal to the material preoccupations of media archaeology. These relations and motivations appear in the intimacies of domestic scenes of devotional activity (Chapters 1 and 3), troubled master-apprentice dynamics (Chapters 2 and 4), the overwhelming aesthetic experiences of church music (Chapter 3), the jarring effect of conforming to new institutional protocols demanded of Prussian citizens (Chapter 4), and the (un)scripted defiance of amateur musicians in the face of professional values (Chapters 1 and 2). Throughout, I draw on the work of literary scholars who have a usefully capacious understanding of "media," especially the recent work of Clifford Siskin, William Warner, and Chad Wellmon. For these scholars, "media" – although most often denoting printed books – describes not only a discrete subset of communication technologies, but "everything that intervenes, enables, supplements, or is simply in between," that humans use for knowing the world.[60] As such, media are not in the business of representation and ontology, as Kittler and German media theory would have it, but literature and epistemology.[61] This dissertation is thus as much a history of knowing music as it is a history of music – the ways in which over time people came to access, acquire, and master musical knowledge, and to what ends that knowledge was put: congregational worship, private devotion, domestic entertainment, and academic careers.[62]

Summary

The chapters follow a loose chronological order. Each one queries a discrete secularization story in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music histories, culminating in a new perspective on musical Romanticism and the role of church

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[59] Wieland, *Der Teutsche Merkur*, 203.

[60] Siskin and Warner, "Introduction: An Invitation in the Form of an Argument," 5.

[61] See Siskin and Warner, *This is Enlightenment*, 7.

[62] Siskin, Warner, and Wellmon occupy the literary corner of a broader, nascent field of "knowledge" studies, a field that has offered this dissertation no little influence. Music studies has already incorporated the history of science into its methods, and this valuable work productively troubles the way a "history of knowledge" is discrete from a "history of science." For example, see Lockhart and Davies eds., *Sound Knowledge: Music and Science in London, 1789-1851*. On the differences between the history of science and the history of knowledge, see Daston, "The History of Science and the History of Knowledge."

music in "musical modernity." The argument structure of the dissertation is therefore both cumulative and progressive: It provides four individual arguments against the alleged secularization of church music, while also presenting a singular narrative about how the materials and practices of German Protestantism helped construct historical musicology and its now-ingrained secularization narrative(s).

The opening pair of chapters are situated in the Protestant burgher's home, where an assemblage of keyboard scores and composition manuals took up residence. Employing media-archaeological methods, Chapter 1 analyzes the German keyboard reduction and its uses in Protestant domestic devotion. I trace a crucial dynamic of change within north German musical culture: new literary techniques of information management domesticated music literature in such a way as to alter the harmonic theories, keyboarding practices, and generic categories of music. An epiphenomenon of this broad socio-ontological transformation was the new (nowadays self-evident) category of sacred music, in reality an ecumenical conglomerate of musical traditions, which were reformatted and aggregated during this period by virtue of the ubiquitous – and under-researched – *Klavierauszug* ("keyboard reduction"). This chapter's research, in the way it shows how German domestic spiritual music thrived during this period, disputes extant histories of *Geistliche Musik* that claim, as does Ulrich Leisinger, that "sacred vocal music in general, large-scale and small-scale, underwent a severe though still not properly understood crisis in Protestant Germany after 1760."[63] (Recently, scholars have made similarly erroneous claims about late eighteenth-century Berlin's devotional spaces.)[64]

Another consequence of this transformation, as I argue in Chapter 2, was a fundamental shift in eighteenth-century German music pedagogy, whereby the haptic, rote, and apprenticeship-based model of musical knowledge-acquisition and -circulation yielded to a more rigorously systematized, entextualized, and abstracted way of knowing. With a musical printscape that interpellated amateur readerships and promoted quick learning, the supposed decline in church-based music instruction during the late eighteenth century – a narrative rehearsed by John Butt, Celia Applegate, and many others – becomes less the inevitable mark of secularization than a strategy to combat and harness new media forms and their attendant protocols of musical instruction.[65] Church music successfully adapted to this deep-seated pedagogical upheaval, as shown in the changing formats of the printed amateur *Choralbuch*.

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[63] Leisinger, "C. P. E. Bach and C. C. Sturm: Sacred Song, Public Church Service, and Private Devotion," 119.

[64] See Wagner, "Geistliche Musik und ihre Räume in der Residenzstadt Berlin," 187-98.

[65] Cf. Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*; Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*.

The final two chapters trace the after-effects of church music's printed mediations, arguing along with Clifford Siskin and William Warner that Romanticism is what (has since) transpired "on the platform" that eighteenth-century print media provided.[66] In other words, rather than viewing Romanticism as a sudden break or contrast to a previous era of Enlightenment, I suggest that the musical and religious transformations in early nineteenth-century north Germany were as indebted to earlier print mediations as they were critical of them. These Romantic critiques, which surface most clearly in church music criticism around 1800, betray a crisis in knowledge production and legitimacy. Chapters 3 and 4 thus register the supposed "crisis" of church music around 1800 as symptomatic of a broader crisis of institutional knowledge catalyzed by print.

One consequence, as Chapter 3 shows, was that newly systematic forms of music pedagogy, running rampant in late eighteenth-century north Germany, received mixed reviews by a younger generation, who at once sought to master harmonic systems, but considered this mode of education to be tarnishing the very aesthetic experiences that harmony once provided them. In search of a new authority that could bring order to musical knowledge "gone rogue" in amateur treatises and simplified church hymns, music critics looked to the history and aesthetics of the Lutheran chorale. The chorale – by its edifying powers, historical roots, and aesthetics of simplicity – proved the first recourse to legitimate musical knowledge apart from its earlier printed forms (yet it was nevertheless to be accomplished in print). As a consequence of this, *alte Kirchenmusik*, which came to epitomize the aesthetic of the Lutheran chorale in its very compositional technique as well as supposed antiquity, became the yardstick against which new church music was measured. In presenting a new history of ancient church music and German Romanticism, I contradict the prevailing view, laid out in the work of James Garratt and others, that church music became a "problem" for Romantic writers.[67] Instead, I show that attempts to update church music and its liturgical rites had been common since the mid-eighteenth century, and that Romantic critiques of church music merely continued these attempted renewals in newly historicizing terms. (In attending to church music criticism, this chapter, in a roundabout way, fleshes out Dahlhaus's intuition that the nineteenth century was "less an age of church music than one of literature about church music.")[68]

Chapter 4 turns to Berlin's unique institutional history. It argues against the simplistic Weberian idea that secular institutions somehow supplanted the work of sacred ones, emphasizing instead the ideological complexity of emerging institutions in early nineteenth-century Berlin. Given the technical, aesthetic, and pedagogical upheavals that attended church music around 1800, the end of

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[66] Siskin and Warner, "If This is Enlightenment, then What is Romanticism?" 285.
[67] See Garratt, *Palestrina*, 36-61.
[68] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 178.

Napoleon's occupation of Berlin in 1813 afforded bureaucrats a fresh start – and far more political power – to cultivate music and religion in the interests of the state. Initiating decades of Prussian Reforms in 1808, politicians such as Wilhelm von Humboldt and Karl Freiherr zum Altenstein financed a series of new institutions in Berlin devoted to reviving music education and religious practices supposedly in decline. Significantly, this historical moment saw musical and religious affairs subsumed under Altenstein's new title, "Minister of Culture."

In 1823, Prussia's King Wilhelm III established the Royal Institute for Church Music in Berlin as an instructional facility for all manner of singers, organists, Kantors, and pastors. Its establishment was a direct response to Romantic lamentations about the state of church music, as well as a measure to stabilize liturgical fractures caused by the king's controversial Prussian Church Unification of 1817. The new Institute was shaped by the same values that produced the University of Berlin, in many respects the first modern research university. In 1829, the university created its first professorship in music, which, through Friedrich Zelter, sought to merge the Institute of Church Music with the university's ethos of *Bildung*. I show how these institutions negotiated tensions between the state and its Protestant constituency at a time when an absolutist empire was giving ground to newly liberal (and newly violent) forms of governance. This chapter is the first extensive study of the institutionalization of music in post-Napoleonic Berlin – and to that extent its argument is the culmination of the dissertation. Berlin's new institutions of music, I argue, embedded the rhetoric of secularization in Germany's national heritage. To this day, this rhetoric is audible in the Romantic genres of sacred music.

Chapter 1

Keyboard Reductions and the Idea of Sacred Music

> The more [people] a song is composed for, as with the church hymns, for example, the easier the melody must be.[1]

In 1716, a Leipzig doctor and former Bostonian Quaker named Christian Ludwig published an English dictionary, and by its third revision in 1765, his *Teutsche-English Lexicon* was the most authoritative German translation resource of the century. Throughout its revisions survived the following entry:

> Auszug*: Einen auzug aus einer schrifft machen,* to draw a breviate or brief of a writing; to make an extract or abstract of it; to take it out; to abbridge, epitomize, extract or abstract it.[2]

Ludwig's dictionary both described and performed the etymology of *Auszug*, insofar as *Auszug* embodied the very act of lexicography: in German, *Auszug* literally means "plucked out" – its Latinate equivalent being *excerpt* – but with an emphasis on the strenuous act of pulling. It therefore did not (yet) confer upon its source a pale imitation or insubstantial copy as much as it implied transport and selection. What the eighteenth century *Auszug* pulled out and gathered together were not merely auxiliary parts, but the core principles –the "epitome"– of an otherwise complex object of knowledge. In his *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopedia of Diderot* (1751), the encyclopedist Jean la Rond D'Alembert – as much a Berliner as Parisian – forcefully articulated the primary role this mode of reduction had in the formation and dissemination of Enlightenment knowledge:

> It is not at all by vague and arbitrary hypotheses that we can hope to know nature; it is by thoughtful study of phenomena, by the comparisons we make among them, by the art of reducing, as much as that may be

[1] Für je mehrere nun ein Lied componiret wird, wie qum Exempel, die Kirchengesänge, je Leichter muss die Melodie seyn. Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie,* 116; also quoted in Mikusi, "From Convivial Pastime to Nationalist Propaganda," 12-3, 13n24.

[2] Ludwig, *Teutsche-English Lexicon*, 206.

> possible, a large number of phenomena to a single one that can be regarded as their principle. Indeed, the more one reduces the number of principles of a science, the more one gives them scope, and since the object of a science is necessarily fixed, the principles applied to that object will be so much the more fertile as they are fewer in number. This reduction which, moreover, makes them easier to understand, constitutes the true "systematic spirit."[3]

Evidently this excerpt was itself pulled out of Étienne Bonnot de Condillac's *Treatise on Systems* of 1749, where Condillac defines "system" precisely in terms of reduction:

> A system is nothing more than the arrangement of different parts of an art or a science in an order in which they all support one another, and in which the last are explained by the first. Those which explain the others are called principles; and the system is so much the more perfect as the principles are fewer in number: it is even to be hoped that one could reduce them to a single one.[4]

And according to the historian Richard Schwab, it seems that this passage was in turn plucked from D'Alembert's earlier *Treatise on Dynamics* (1743) – a seminal text in mechanical science that reduced the laws governing the motion of bodies to a single principle of equilibrium.[5] Reduction, in D'Alembert's *Preliminary Discourse,* was therefore both a formal principle of literary arrangement and a paradigm for clear thought.

Insofar as it was a form of literature and an art that promoted literature about it, music was integral to this Enlightenment mode of literary reduction: Those print media built from this principle of reduction – such as the magazine, the school textbook, the system, and the encyclopedia – pervaded the middle-class homes of the *Musikliebhaber*. But in north Germany, this meant that newly reductive print media entered domestic spaces that were always already pious and playful: the bookshelves of German Protestant households that solicited tender "Berlin Song Schools" with serially-printed expressions of the *edle Einfalt* and *volkstümlich*, as well as thousands of opera and oratorio score reductions, and proliferating private hymnbooks. As these discrete printed objects mingled within the same social site and religious practice, amateur music collections on German bookshelves acquired new legibilities and intertextual possibilities that a generation of musical Romantics would later take for granted (see Chapter 3).

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[3] D'Alembert, *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopedia of Diderot*, 22.
[4] Ibid., 22n30.
[5] Ibid.

This chapter tries to show these reductive principles at work in musical arrangements through a media archaeology of the *Klavierauszug*, or north German "keyboard reduction." By cross-examining affiliated print media – namely, the keyboard reduction, the German *Lied*, and the music magazine, which together comprised eighteenth-century Protestant *Hausmusik* – this chapter demonstrates how the keyboard reduction assembled and domesticated church music for amateur readerships by the principles of Enlightenment reduction. I show that musicians implemented those same principles of reduction when bringing large musical scores into more contracted parameters. In turn, these score reductions transformed discourses about church music in two ways: When music editors prepared score reductions of church music, they helped forge a trans-historical, ecumenical category of "sacred music" – an epiphenomenon of printed keyboard reductions conglomerating discrete religious practices and musical materials across Lutheran domestic devotion and church liturgy. Second, these keyboard reductions also promoted new protocols for reading, evaluating, and composing such "sacred music," as observed in the writings of Johann Gottfried Herder, and the musical publications of the Moravian missionary Christian Ignatius Latrobe.

The Eighteenth-Century *Klavierauszug*

In the eighteenth century, *Zusammengezogen*, "pulling or gathering together," became a buzzword among music editors describing their score reductions – a word retained vestigially in the nineteenth-century proliferation of *Klavierauszüge*. In a *Klavierauszug*, music is pulled out, pulled together, moved and gathered into different proportions, as described in its earliest-known encyclopedic entry from 1787:

> Clavierauszug: The voice or notated page where multiple voices are pulled together [*zusammengezogen*] in a few lines in such a way that they can be played on a keyboard or similar instrument.[6]

Indeed, this early characterization of the German keyboard reduction was provided in a lexicographical work, Georg Friedrich Wolf's *Kurzgefasstes Musicalisches Lexicon* ("Succinct Musical Lexicon"), itself pulled together and "compiled" from a dispersed musical printscape. Wolf's *Lexicon*, like the keyboard reduction, was aimed at those who "have spent a while on music, but nevertheless

[6] Clavierauszug, nennt man die Stimme oder das Notenblat, wo mehrere Stimmen in wenigen Linien dergestalt zusammengezogen werden, daß man sie auf einem Claviere oder diesem ähnlichem Instrumente vortragen kann. Wolf, *Kurzgefasstes Musicalisches Lexicon*, 35.

have not made it far," as he explained in the preface.[7] Both the eighteenth century *Klavierauszug* and lexicons like those of Wolf and Ludwig thus participated in the same regime of knowledge reduction, each providing a new form of extraction, arrangement, and compression of information for the amateur.

A little-known debate on keyboard reductions by two of north Germany's most prolific music editors demonstrates the compositional techniques and aesthetic values that stemmed from the eighteenth-century ethos of reduction. In a rare moment of editorial transparency, Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab (1759-1813), Berlin's premier score editor and music librarian, laid bare his method of musical reduction in the preface to his most popular work:

> The measure that I have made of good keyboard reductions is:
>
> –Bring everything that is comfortably possible on two systems,
>
> –Add at most a third line for the accompaniment.
>
> By these three lines, however, the keyboard accompaniment and the bass must form a kind of whole, and the singing voices and bass together no less a whole; so that the keyboardist does not sing at all, playing the 1st and 3rd lines alone as the 2nd and 3rd, without creating empty harmonies and gaps.[8]

The reduction in question was Carl Heinrich Graun's *Te Deum Laudamus*, a political choral work by a court composer praising the victories of Friedrich the Great during the Seven Years War (see Figure 1). The *Te Deum* was first performed in 1757 and beloved thereafter by the Prussian king and his Berliner constituency. As the preface reflects, Rellstab engaged the question that troubled his generation of music editors during the late-eighteenth century: how can one press the textural density and unique compositional contours of a large score –

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[7] sondern vielmehr diejenigen, welche zwar lange Zeit darauf verwendet, demungeachtet aber es noch nicht weit darinn gebracht haben. Wolf, *Kurzgefasstes Musicalisches Lexicon*, vii.

[8] Den Maaßstab welchen ich mir von guten Clavierauszügen gemacht habe, ist: Alles, was bequem möglich, auf zwey Systeme zu bringen, Höchstens eine dritte Zeile für die Begleitung hinzuzufügen. Bei diesen drei Zeilen muß aber die Clavierbegleitung und der Bass eine Art von Ganzem, und die Singstimmen und Bass zusammen nicht minder ein Ganzes ausmachen; so daß der Clavierspieler der gar nicht singt, die 1ste und 3te Zeile sowohl allein, als die 2te und 3te spielen kann, ohne daß leere Harmonien und Lücken entstehen. "Vorrede," in Rellstab, *Te Deum Laudamus,* unpaginated.

which served the lavish purposes of the period's emerging civic institutions – into the most legible form for musical amateurs, who occupied a newly delineated range of small, domestic spaces? Both the question and Rellstab's solution stipulated formal values common to all who approached musical reductions in the German printscape – to bring a large musical composition to amateur reading levels, one must recompose it into smaller and simpler proportions. Rellstab practiced this method in his own periodicals like *Clavier-Magazin* (Berlin, 1787-1788) and *Melodie und Harmonie* (Berlin, 1788-1791), although not all music editors employed Enlightenment reduction in the same manner.

Rellstab's preface was also a slight jab at the most productive north German music editor and self-proclaimed "father of keyboard reductions," Johann Adam Hiller (1728-1804) in Leipzig. The very format taken up in the *Te Deum*, Rellstab knew, was the one Hiller had once supported in early reductions of the 1760s. Hiller was the first to establish the keyboard reduction format Rellstab outlined, modeling it after the German vocal score: "You already know how to read an aria score," Hiller reassured keyboardists in his early prefaces.[9] Two characteristic examples show Rellstab's *Te Deum* layout (see Figure 1) following Hiller's reductions of his own compositions, his opera *Lisuart und Dariolette* (Leipzig, 1765) and political celebration *Cantate auf die Ankunft der hohen Landesherrschaft* (Leipzig 1763). But during the 1780s, Hiller departed from his earlier two- to three-staved format, and began challenging his amateur readership with several new vocal clefs on five or six staves, along with extensive figured bass. One such early experiment was with Graun's other Berlin favorite, the Easter oratorio *Der Tod Jesu*, published in full score in 1760 by Leipzig's Breitkopf and Sons, and "reduced" by Hiller in 1786 in Breslau. A hallmark of his later keyboard scores, Hiller laboriously cajoled his amateur readership to accept the new format:

> In the arias, for the convenience of the keyboardist, I have used the discant [soprano] clef; but in the recitatives, which are only for the singer, I have retained the tenor and bass clef, and, for the sake of the keyboardist, put the figures above the bass to give him the opportunity to practice in the accompaniment of thoroughbass.
>
> I have done just that with the chorales and choruses. I could have easily pulled together [*zusammen zu ziehen*] the former in four lines on two lines, if I had not been interested in taking the opportunity to do a thoroughbass exercise.

[9] "Vorrede," in Hiller, *Cantate auf die Ankunft der hohen Landesherrschaft*, ii.

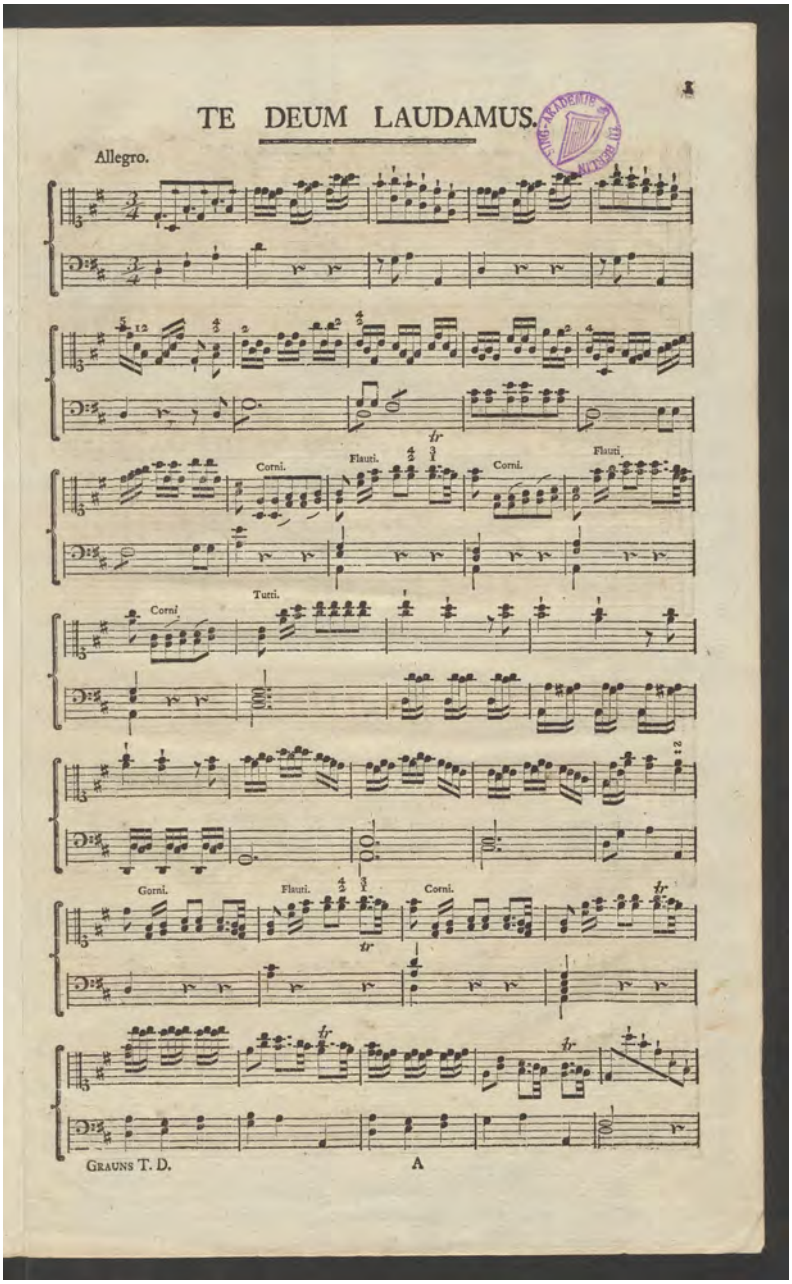

Figure 1. Rellstab's keyboard reduction of C. H. Graun's *Te Deum Laudamus*, 1. Courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

> With regard to the choruses, I would like to do even less to draw together the four voices on two lines, since they are mostly fugues whose themes are so broad that the voices very often cross each other, which did not cause confusion for the prospective keyboardist, since such things cannot

> be presented with printing notes comfortable enough. So the keyboardist is content with the figures above the bass, and in the various clefs of the four voices above. In the last chorus the accompaniment of the violins has been added.[10]

Besides the opening chorale – a kind of visual homage to the 1760 edition set in the same format (though not with the same engraving plates, since Breitkopf had used his new moveable typeface for the earlier edition) – Hiller stripped Graun's chorales from their lush four-part harmony, making them appear as the thoroughbass exercises familiar through Johann Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des Reinen Satze* (Berlin, 1771) and other popular pedagogical manuals that trained students to harmonize and extemporize musical lines (see Figures 2 and 3). In the 1780s, thoroughbass and vocal clefs were still an important part of any musical education, but amateurs nonetheless sought out shortcuts when presented with editions such as Hiller's. In fact, one copy housed in the Elbląg Library in Poland bears the pencil markings of a clever amateur, who added the voices for the right hand in the chorales, thus saving her the cognitive burden of realizing figured bass during play. Instead, she could simply read the notes on the page without paying much attention to the bass figures, thus reducing for herself several musical legibilities – note-heads and figures – into one (see Figure 3).

More confounding than the chorales, however, would have been Hiller's five-staved choruses, which would have strained any amateur's skills in *übersehen* – the keyboarding practice of "looking over" several staves to gather the necessary information for one's right and left hands in real time. Domestic keyboard literature throughout the eighteenth century rarely boasted more than three staves

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[10] In den Arien habe ich mich durchaus, zur Bequemlichkeit des Clavierspielers, des Discantschlüßels bedient; in den Recitativen aber, die blos für den Sänger sind, habe ich den Tenor und Baßschlüßel beybehalten, und des Clavierspielers wegen, die Ziffern über den Baß gesetzt, um ihm Gelegenheit zu geben, sich im Accompagniren des Generalbasses zu üben. Eben das habe ich bey den Chorälen und Chören gethan. Ich hätte die erstern leicht vierstimmig auf zwo Linien aussetzen können, wenn mir nicht daran gelegen gewesen wäre, die Gelegenheit zu einer Generalbaßübung zu benutzen. In Ansehung der Chöre mochte ich es noch weniger unternehmen die vier Singstimmen auf zwo Linien zusammen zu ziehen, da es meistentheils Fugen sind, deren Themata einen so weiten Umfang haben, daß die Stimmen sehr oft einander überschreiten, woraus für den Clavierspieler nicht als Verwirrung enstanden wäre, da zumal dergleichen Dinge mit Drucknoten nicht bequem genug dargestellt werden können. Der Clavierspieler begnüge sich also auch heir mit den Ziffern über dem Basse, ober übe sich in den verschiedenen Schlüßeln der darüber gesetzten vier Singstimmen. Blos im letzten Chore ist die Begleitung der Violinen hinzugethan worden. "Vorrede," in Hiller, *Der Tod Jesu*, v.

in total, through vocal scores, instrumental trios, or lied collections.[11] Five staves, especially if it was couched by contrasting systems of chorales and arias, would have been a challenging adjustment for any amateur's eyes and hands. Only the most diligent, with the most zealous tutors, ever learned to read all four vocal clefs simultaneously with ease. Hiller's choruses, then, placed the amateur squarely into Kapellmeister territory – the province of one who could play basslines with his feet, realize thoroughbass without much forethought, and creatively use both hands to support any vocal line he wished. Matthew Dirst has shown that only choral books tended to be laid out in this church choir format (see Figure 4).[12] Hiller was not the only one in the 1780s mediating between rigorously-trained church organists and amateur readerships, demonstrated in Emanuel Bach's choral book, *Two Litanies from Schleswig-Holstein's Hymnbook*. However, Bach was more realistic than Hiller about who would appreciate the choral format in north German domestic spaces, claiming it was merely intended for "the use and pleasure of the especially-studious" accompanist (Chapter 2 considers choral books and musical amateurism in more detail).[13]

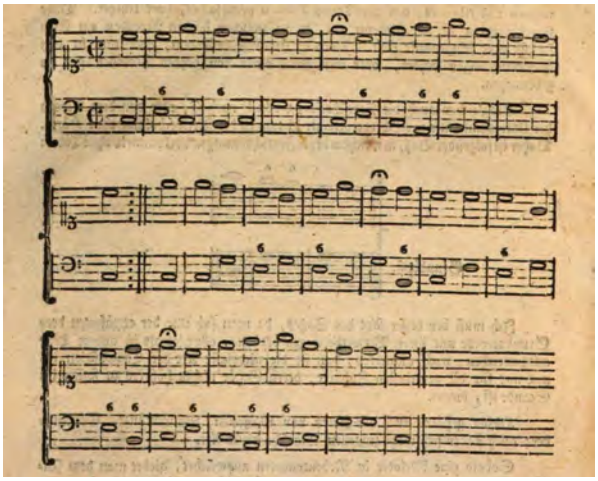

Figure 2. Kirnberger's thoroughbass exercise from *Die Kunst des Reinen Satzes*, 8

[11] On the ubiquity and instrumental flexibility of the two- and three-staved format, see Cypess, "Four-Handed Keyboard Arrangements."
[12] Dirst, *Engaging Bach*, 34-54.
[13] The full title reads, *Zwey Litaneyen aus dem Schleswig-Holsteinischen Gesangbuche mit ihrer bekannten Melodie für Acht Singstimmen in zwey Chören und dem dazu gehörigen Fundament in Partitur gesetzt, und zum Nutzen und Vergnügen Lehrbegieriger in der Harmonie bearbeitet von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*. While published in a Danish print hub, it was meant, as its preface details, for the greater area around Hamburg, a German Protestant stronghold that, just like the Schleswig-Holstein Hymnbook and Bach himself, was closely tethered to the Prussian print market. See Bach, *Zwey Litaneyen*.

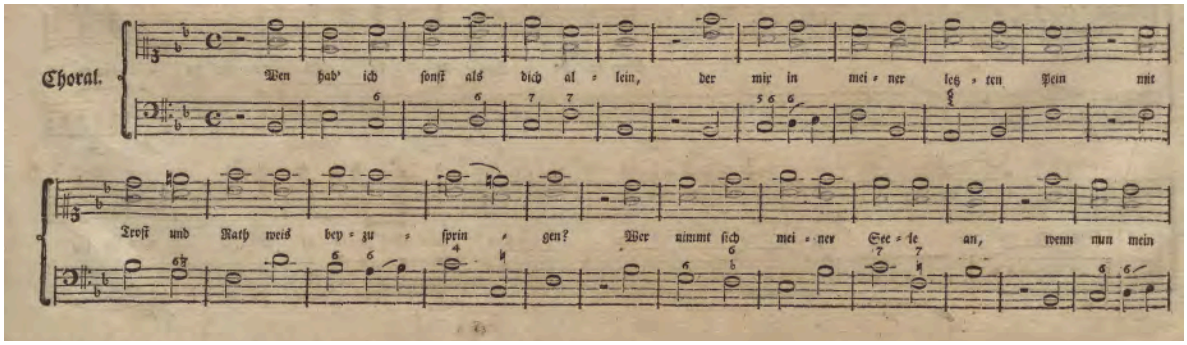

Figure 3: "Wen hab ich sonst als Dich allein," in Hiller *Tod Jesu* (Breslau, 1785), with amateur pencil markings. Courtesy of the Elbląg Library.

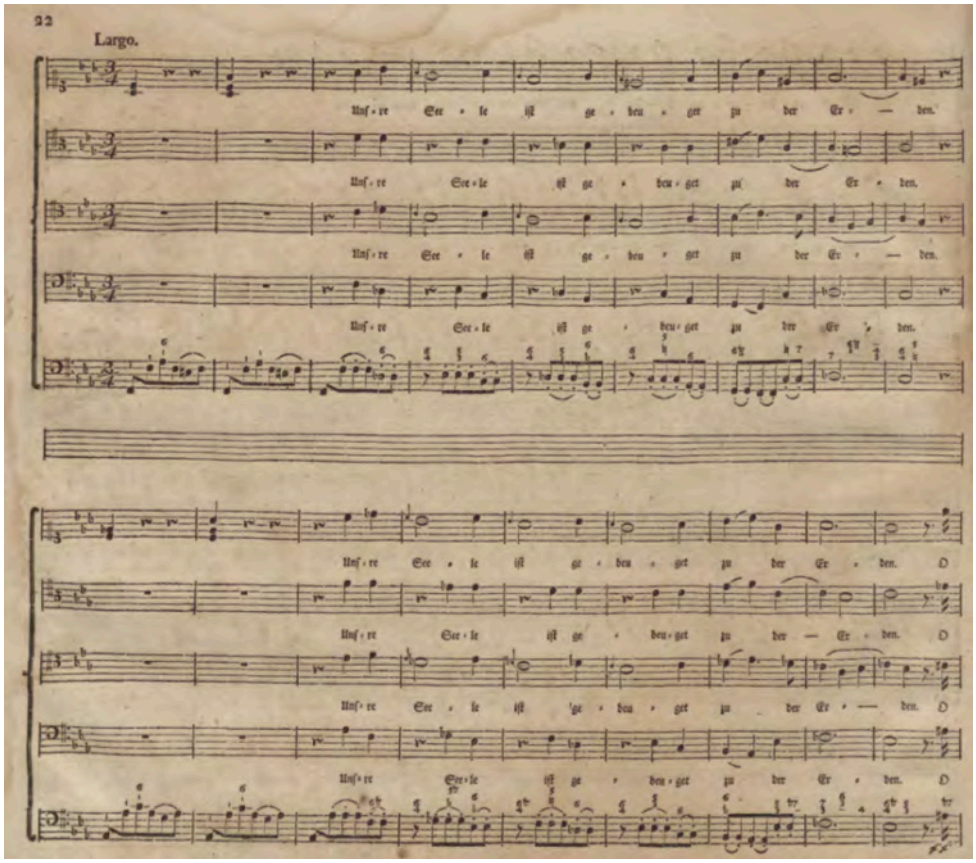

Figure 4: chorus, "Unsre Seele," from Hiller, *Tod Jesu*, 22. Courtesy of the Elbląg Library.

Rellstab was a subscriber to Hiller's widely distributed *Tod Jesu* edition, having pre-purchased two copies for his *Buchhandlung* and music lending library in

Berlin.[14] It was precisely the complexity of Hiller's later editions – their apparent tangle of competing musical systems and ludic protocols – that prompted Rellstab, in 1793, to publish a less forbidding, more thoroughly dilettantish edition of *Der Tod Jesu*. "Our worthy Mr. Capellmeister Hiller," he wrote,

> has published his own in the manner that he can substitute the score at the performance; For this reason choirs and chorales are reprinted on 4 or 5 systems, and that is why the tenor and bass clef were preserved in the recitatives, and that is precisely why the bass is figured, and the chorales are not composed out. Mr. Capellmeister Hiller's keyboard reduction thus requires a keyboardist who can overlook [*übersehen*], combine, and play 4 or 5 systems, and requires a good thoroughbass player to perform the chorales as well as the main recitative and arias. All of which mine do not need. The whole reduction [*Auszug*] is brought on two playable systems, one does not need a thoroughbass, nor understand the recitatives, the accompaniment is composed out, and in the Arioso the accompaniment is so arranged, as I believe, that one keyboard will accompany players of taste. Regarding the fugues, they are very playable; try [and see] how far you can get it; but how many pages they take up will drop in everyone's eyes.[15]

Rellstab's preface challenged Hiller's claim that Graun's music could not be rendered playable on just two lines. Rellstab represented and interpellated the category of musical amateur, who did not care about preparing for church

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[14] Rellstab and his firm are named by Hiller's subscription list in Hiller, *Der Tod Jesu*, 83.

[15] Unſer ver dienſtvoller Herr Capellmeiſter Hiller hat in der Art den seinigen herausgegeben, daß er Partiturſtelle bei der Aufführung vertreten kann; dieserhalb sind Chöre und Choräle auf 4, 5 Systeme abgedruckt, auch dieserhalb iſt der Tenor- und Baßſchlüſſel bei den Rezitativen beibehalten worden, eben deswegen iſt auch der Baß beziffert, und sind die Choräle nicht ausgesetzt. Der Clavierauszug des Herrn Capellmeiſter Hiller erfordert alſo einen Clavierſpieler, der 4, 5 Syſteme *überſehen*, *vereinigen* und *ſpielen* kann; er erfordert einenguten Generalbaßſpieler, zur Ausführung der Choräle sowohl als der Rezitative und Arien. Deſſen alles bedarfs nunbeydem meinigen nicht. Der ganze Clavierauszug iſt auf 2 ſpielbaren Syſtemen *gebracht*, man braucht keinen Generalbaß, auch nicht bey den Rezitativen zu verſtehen, das Accompagnement iſt aller Orten ausgeſetzt, und bey dem Arioſo iſt die Begleitung ſo eingerichtet, wie ich glaube, daß ein Klavier ſpieler von Geſchmack begleiten wird. Was die Fugen anbetrift, ſo ſind ſie ſehr ſpielbar; man verſuche wieweit man es damit bringt; aber wie we nig Seiten ſie ſo einnehmen, wird jedem in die Augen fallen. "Vorrede," in Rellstab, *Der Tod Jesu*, x.

performances and had no interest in cultivating a specialized skill such as thoroughbass. His *Tod Jesu* thus stayed true to the two-staved *Handstuck* format – native to lieder and mid-century sonatas– even through its busy final chorus, "Hier liegen wir gerührte Sünder," where, in the full score, Graun's strings depart from their usual voice doubling and support the chorus through its dotted fanfares (see Figure 5). Texturally, this was the densest bit of the oratorio, with eight independent parts playing in concert. Hiller's five-staff choir reduction suggested that the keyboardist should somehow represent all the string parts in addition to the organ line, cutting only the continuo, while doubling octaves to thicken the sonic texture. Rellstab, meanwhile, reduced eight parts into what could be achieved easily on two hands alone without straining. His solution was to avoid note doubling at all costs, which involved cutting the bass voice almost completely (it would be sounding in the left hand anyway) and combining soprano, alto, and tenor voices in the right hand, while the left articulated the bass line in the rhythm of the dotted strings. Lied accompaniments during this period, especially those by north German composers indulging in amateur limitations like Johann Abraham Schulz, Kirnberger, Carl Spazier, and Johann Friedrich Reichardt, demonstrate that a keyboard texture consisting of right hand triads and a simple bass line in the left hand was evidently conventional among amateur players.[16] As early as 1762, C.P.E. Bach's *Versuch über die Wahre Art das Clavier zu Spielen, II* criticized this accompaniment convention, known as "undivided accompaniment," and advocated for the more subtle practice of distributing voices between the hands rather than loading everything onto the right.[17] Rellstab's reduction of the closing chorus, therefore, explicitly meets the amateur at her haptic level, catering to her physical habits rather than curbing or ignoring them, as Hiller had.

Hiller knew Rellstab's *Te Deum* score, replete with its bold preface that drew special remark by reviewers.[18] In 1791, perhaps as a rebuttal to Rellstab, Hiller released *Hasse's Italian Masterpieces*, which doubled down on the arduous formatting of his *Tod Jesu*, even extending some pieces to seven staves, and a closing number left in the orchestral full-score at fifteen staves. The collected volume was a miscellany of Johann Adolph Hasse's (1699—1783) opera passages parodied to Lutheran devotional literature in German, a liturgically inappropriate (though not uncommon) generic synthesis effectively barring its use from most Protestant church services around north Germany (with the notable exception of Hiller's own *Thomaskirche*). As Jeffrey Sposato has recently shown, Hiller continually advocated for updating musical repertoire in in church services to be more accessible and amenable to other publicly performed music.[19]

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[16] See Kane, "The Influence of Basso Continuo Practice," esp. 100-4, 150-6.
[17] Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 278.
[18] See Reichardt, *Kunstmagazin* V, 35-6.
[19] On Hiller's liturgy at St. Thomas Church, see Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 80-150.

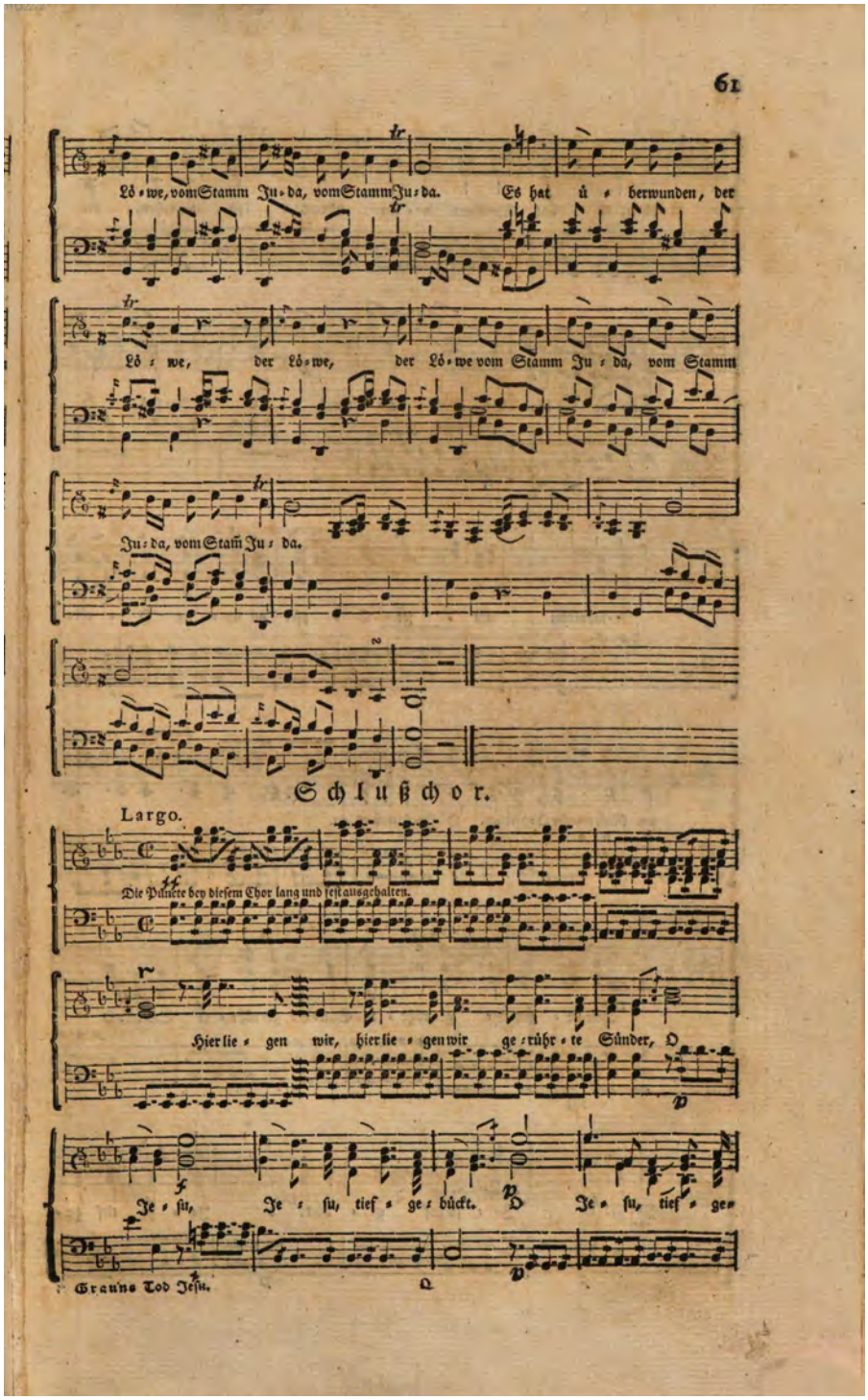

Figure 5. Closing chorus, "Hier liegen wir gerührte Sünder," (fifth system) from Rellstab's arrangement of H. C Graun's *Der Tod Jesu*, 61 mm1-16.

Responding to his own moot question, "should I recommend these [pieces] for use in churches," Hiller quipped, "I consider this recommendation to be unnecessary…a single aria of Hasse's has more devotion than many of the stiff cantatas heard in services today."[20] Sposato also shows how Hiller gradually implemented musical programming from the Gewandhaus, Leipzig's civic performance hall and Hiller's former employer, into his church services. Missing from this account however, is the fact that this alleged "mixing of sacred and secular styles" was already commonplace in Lutheran domestic life. As a print object, the media form of Hiller's Hasse arrangements was specifically designed for "domestic devotion," a pervasive social practice that entailed both leisurely pleasure and pious worship across Protestant Germany, seldom noted by musicologists. Yet Hiller's orchestral scoring severely contradicted its own social function. Hiller's bulky, but altogether necessary, seven-paged preface effectively presented a crash course in score reading for eighteenth-century amateurs:

> "But why not [put this score] in keyboard reduction?" No! That would ruin the masterpiece. "So our singing and keyboard-playing men and women are left trembling at the score which is in front of our amateurs?" Very wrong, my friend! Have these gentlemen and ladies ever been able to state what a full score [*Partitur*] really is, and what they have to see if they want to find what they need? You must not be alarmed if, in new scores, you find twelve and fifteen voices, on just as many lines, towering over each other; you need not believe that since you only have ten fingers, you should play all fifteen voices at the same time. Most of them serve nothing but to fill the ear with unisons or octaves, at best with harmonic positions which do not concern the keyboards. However, it is worth the effort, as soon as one learns to see further and has practiced the internal sense of hearing more, the effects being traced, which these octave reinforcements and positions on the whole produce.[21]

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[20] Soll ich nun etwan diese Arien, Duette und Chöre auch noch zum Gebrauch in den Kirchen empfehlen? Ich bin stolz genug auf Hassen und auf mich, daß ich diese Empfehlung für überflüßig halte. Vielleicht würde durch eine einzige dieser Arien mehr Erbauung bey einer Gemeinde gestiftet, als durch steife Cantaten mit frostigen Recitativen. "Vorrede," in Hiller, *Meisterstücke*, viii.

[21] "Aber warum nicht im Clavierauszuge? -" Nein! Das hieße Miesterstücke verhunzen. "Also in Partitur, vor welcher unsere Musikliebhaber, unsere singende und Clavierspielende Herren und Damen noch immer zurückbeben? -" Sehr mit Unrecht, mein Freund! Haben diese Herren und Damen sich denn je erklären lassen, was Partitur eigentlich ist, und worauf sie zu sehen haben, wenn sie das Nöthige darinnen finden wollen? Sie müssen nicht erschrecken, wenn sie in neuen Partituren zwölf und fünfzehn Stimmen, auf eben so viel Linien, über einander getürmt finden;

> *[…]*
> We have already printed *Tod Jesu*, a *Te Deum Laudamus*, and a small Italian cantata in full score by Graun, though nothing by Hasse since *Alcide al bivio*, and the oratorio *I Pellegrini* with German text, though only in keyboard reductions. So now I give the friends of music a volume of Hassian full scores into their hands. The light, lovely song of this excellent composer, its proper, full-feeling declamation, its wise, judicious use of harmony, the clarity with which each voice distinguishes itself, together with the removal of everything that seemed to him to have nothing to do with it, give his full scores the benefit that they are easier to look over [*übersehen*] than others, and consequently lend themselves best to the first exercises in score reading.[22]

According to Hiller, Hasse's style – much like Graun's – was so clear and straightforward that an amateur could read it with barely any score editing. Hiller did not reject reductive editing, but devolved this labor to amateurs themselves, who were instructed simply to ignore unnecessary voices or doublings while playing. This meant that Hiller did not publish Hasse's and Graun's compositions in full score because their music was somehow resistant to reduction, or because he objected to reduction on principle, but because the musical information they imparted was eminently reducible.

Yet it was Hiller's final sentence quoted above that justified him in burdening domestic amateurs with a learned, incomprehensible format. Hiller

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müssen nicht wähnen, daß, da sie nur zehn Finger haben, sie alle fünfzehn Stimmen zugleich abspielen sollen. Die meisten dienen zu nichts, als das Ohr mit Einklängen oder Oktaven, allenfalls mit harmonischen Haltungen zu füllen, die sie beim Klaviere gar nichts angehen. Indeß ist es schon der Mühe werth, sobald man etwas weiter sehen lernt, und den innern Sinn des Hörens mehr geübt hat, den Wirkungen nachzuspüren, die diese Oktavenverstärkungen und Haltungen, im Ganzen, hervorbringen." Hiller, *Meisterstücke*, iii.

[22] Von Graun haben wir doch schon den Tod Jesu, ein Te Deum laudamus, und eine kleine italiänische Cantate in Partitur gedruckt; von Hasse aber noch nichts, als Alcide al bivio, und das Oratorium: I Pellegrini mit deutschem Texte, leider, nur im Clavierausuge. Ich gebe also vorjetzt den Musikfreunden ein Bändchen Hassischer Partituren in die Hände. Der leichte, liebliche Gesang dieses vortreflichen Componisten, seine richtige, gefühlvolle Declamation, sein weiser, wohlüberlegter Gebrauch der Harmonie, die Deutlichkeit, mit welcher sich jede Stimme bey ihm auszeichnet, so wie die Entfernung alles dessen, was ihm zu diesem allen nichts beyzutragen schien, geben seinen Partituren den Vorzug, daß sie leichter als andere zu übersehen sind, folglich sich zu den ersten Uebungen im Partiturenlesen am besten schicken. Hiller, *Meisterstücke*, vi.

arranged the collection in *Hasse's Italian Masterpieces* to function precisely as a keyboardist's chrestomathy – a mnemonic literary technology used in theological training in which a series of unrelated excerpts by classical authors in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin served to epitomize the highest and purest forms of each language. In Hiller's collection, disparate pieces ("arias, duets, and choruses" from several different operas; see Figure 6) from a masterful composer were gathered and assorted as a sequence of exemplars designed to teach domestic keyboardists a new musical language (orchestral score-reading).


Meisterstücke
des italiänischen Gesanges,
in
Arien, Duetten und Chören,
mit deutschen geistlichen Texten;
nebst
einer nöthigen Vorrede,
und
einem nützlichen Anhange für den Sänger,
in Partitur,
herausgegeben
von
Johann Adam Hiller,
Leipzig,
bey Johann Friedrich Junius. 1791.

Figure 6. Hiller's *Meisterstücke des italiänischen Gesanges*, title page.

The earliest modern chrestomathy, *Chrestomathia Graeca* (Leipzig, 1731), was authored by Johann Matthias Gesner, friend of Johann Sebastian Bach, and, like Hiller, also a clergyman at the *Thomaskirche* (Gesner was a *Rektor* teaching children Greek and Latin, whom would have been the same students in Bach's children's choir). *Gesner's Chrestomathia*, it was affectionately called, quickly became the standard textbook for teaching Greek across Prussia – by 1735 at Königsberg,

a young Emmanuel Kant cut his teeth on it at the *Collegium Fridericianum*.[23] Chrestomathies of other ancient languages, such as Syrian, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic began flourishing in north Germany during the mid-eighteenth century alongside broader educational reforms (see Chapter 2). The chrestomathy's literary format and pedagogical function were engineered according to the same reductive principles as the *Auszug* in the way that they excerpted small passages deemed exemplary of the language as a whole, selections that were more amenable to the reading and comprehension levels of a novice in order to obtain proficiency in a scholarly subject. Chrestomathies consequently became a core text in theological curricula across Protestant German lands. "While [students] would thus get some idea about classical antiquity [through *Genser's Chrestomathia*], the main emphasis was still theological."[24] Just as chrestomathies brought ancient Semitic languages to bear on theological training, Hiller's *Hasse's Masterpieces* were meant for more than score reading: Hiller's score was accompanied by an essay and German poetic text in *Contributions to True Church Music* (Leipzig, 1791). The booklet (or more accurately, the libretto to *Hasse's Masterpieces*) addressed an ecclesiastical question growing urgent by the end of the eighteenth century, "What is true church music?" *Hasse's Italian Masterpieces*, Hiller argued, was the answer.

Despite originating in the opera house, Hiller argued that Hasse's music was moderate, elegant, and affecting, and thus a perfect match for his own devotional verses:

> With my moderate talents in poetry, and the greater enthusiasm for Hasse and Hasse's hymn style [*Gesang*], I have come up with an idea that will not only give me a treasure of true and choice church music, but also other churches, both Catholic and Protestant to enrich it. Hasse wrote so much for the hymn [*Gesang*] as any composer.[25]

And although Hiller considered his arrangements to be *Kirchenmusik*, he consciously marketed it as domestic music. It seems Hiller was leveraging two socio-spatial interventions upon each other with the same object: amateur musical intelligibility in the home and liturgical progressivism in the chapel. Hiller had been continually performing Hasse parodies in the public services of the

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[23] See Keuhn, *Kant: A Biography*, 40-8.

[24] Ibid., 48.

[25] Bey meinem mäßigen Talente zur Dichtkunſt, und deſto größern Enthuſiasmus für Haſſen und Haſſiſchen Geſang, bin ich auf einen Einfall gerathen, wodurch ich mir nicht allein einen an ſehnlichen Schatz wahrer und auserleſener Kirchen muſik zu verſchaffen, ſondern auch andere Kirchen, katholiſche ſowohl als evangeliſche, damit zu berei chern gedenke. , Haſſe hat ſo viel für den Geſang geſchrieben, als irgend ein Componiſt. Hiller, *Beyträge zu wahrer Kirchenmusik*, 9.

Thomaskirche. But considering *Hasse's Italian Masterpieces* as local to domestic print media, Hiller's church services were less an example of "secular blending" than a corporate application of domestic devotion.[26] By invoking the keyboard reduction, Hiller signaled that he was not only trying to bring liturgical music into the home, but also domestic music into the chapel.

How could two of the most prolific German music editors so drastically diverge in their arrangements, especially as it came to Graun's *Der Tod Jesu*, one of the most beloved, reprinted, and performed Protestant oratorios east of the English Channel? Their reductions, as I have shown, enlisted notational formats from different domestic keyboard media. Hiller and Rellstab's editions demonstrate the standalone keyboard reduction appropriating media objects adjacent to its social functions as entertainment and domestic devotion. For Rellstab, the priority was playability for the amateur through simple and small formats, made for easy reading, a respite from the arduous music tutelage and reading exercises students had throughout the day. He thus modeled his reductive methods, found in the *Te Deum* and *Tod Jesu*, upon German lieder, vocal scores, and keyboard sonatas. For Hiller, reductions could supplement musical instruction during domestic play or worship, exercising thoroughbass and score reading during the most pious, affecting moments in Graun's chorales and choruses. Hiller accordingly arranged Graun's *Tod Jesu* after choral books and thoroughbass exercises. In this way, the eighteenth-century *Klavierauszug* was less a genre unto itself, like a collection of symphonic movements or lieder, than a technique of media reformatting. Keyboard reductions during the eighteenth century, therefore, did not entail a singular method of arrangement, as Hiller's own oeuvre bears out, but comprised a gamut of possibilities of how to apply an Enlightenment ethic of knowledge reduction to musical compositions.

Wielding this reformatting technique for various levels of keyboard expertise, music editors frequently published standalone reductions of popular orchestral and vocal works like those from Graun and other court masters, simplifying learned counterpoint and dense galant figures into approachable, playable designs for amateurs at home. The task of accommodating amateurs through keyboard reductions meant standardizing disparate compositional idioms found throughout large scale works into a single format: the amateur keyboardist's literate capabilities and conventions. Keyboard reductions thereby transformed and coordinated various musical languages found in operas, oratorios, and symphonies into the same haptic shapes, harmonic contours, and notational distributions to one another. Through the reductive powers of the *Klavierauszug*, then, music editors were also among the first musicians to constellate and traverse a "topical cosmos": keyboard reductions collocated and domesticated diverse

[26] See Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 217.

musical topoi from numerous social domains, materializing what Wendy Allanbrook called the "pell-mell of 'mimetic units'" in published keyboard music near the end of the eighteenth century (especially that of Mozart).[27] In Rellstab's arrangements of Graun's austere court music, organ fugues, love arias, church choruses, and royal fanfare – all styles and topics that implicated discrete social sites and gesture – played under the amateur's hands as a humble lied.

The imbricated styles, topics, and compositional rules in the reductions Rellstab helped produce were the very impetus for Hiller to withdraw from that method of reduction in his later years. Through his many edited choral books, lieder, and score reductions, Hiller sought to implement advanced score reading into domestic musical media, not to preserve musical works for their originality (a Romantic conceit not yet operative in his time), but to highlight appropriate styles of performance, just as Bach strove to make amateur keyboardists "more artful" in their accompanying by reclaiming divided accompaniment. As with the chrestomathy and the lexicon, the case of Hiller and Rellstab's editorial deviations show how the eighteenth-century music editor's "art of reducing" processed large swaths of musical information, compressing and reintegrating them into new literary forms. The *Klavierauszug* thus enabled editors to embed otherwise incomprehensible musical knowledge within many other literary media, including pedagogical textbooks, catalogues, dictionaries, travelogues, choral books, and periodicals.[28] The reductive efforts by music editors, therefore, were precisely what transformed a learned art into an accessible "object" of knowledge: the *Klavierauszug* shaped, circumscribed, distilled, and rendered intelligible unwieldy masses of musical information for the literate amateur. Music, in this way, entered the dominion of Enlightenment knowledge not simply through the agentless proliferating print media, nor through the liberal information management practices of academic institutions, but through a process – at once literary, material, and epistemological – of reduction.

To the extent that keyboard reductions distilled music into accessible, material objects for popular contemplation and enjoyment, Enlightenment reduction forged a nascent "ontology" of music that it soon bequeathed to the nineteenth century. What may be termed a "Romantic ethic of reduction" has since considered arrangements parasitic on an ideal object, mere knock-offs rather

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[27] See Allanbrook, *The Secular Commedia*, 111. Such traversals of this "topical cosmos" were accomplished precisely the same reductive techniques that allowed d'Alembert to consider Diderot's Encyclopedia as "a kind of world map" of human knowledge. See d'Alembert, *Preliminary Discourse*, 47-8.

[28] On the keyboard reductions and embedded musical media, see Goodman, "Music Transcription as Imperial Technology;" and see Grant, "Eighteenth-Century Mediations of Music Theory: Meter, Tempo, and Affect in Print," in *Consuming Music: Individuals, Institutions, Communities, 1730-1830*, 102-24.

than an "epitome." Romantic reduction has operated on an ethic of originality vis-à-vis copy, in which a *Klavierauszug* becomes but a black-and-white "poor facsimile of some colored original."[29] Another music editor, the Beethoven disciple Friedrich August Kanne, illustrated this shift between an Enlightenment and Romantic ethic of reduction in the form of a joke. The July 16 1823, Vienna's *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* printed a couplet (probably written by Kanne, the magazine's editor) entitled, "Der Clavierauszug:"

> The Miller:
> Reduction [*Auszug*] is sold here? Where is the authority to work with the miller's product? That is against the law.
>
> Music seller:
> Sir, we work not with flour that is finely ground! It's threshed straw, what's left to us from the opera.[30]

The joke puns on the word for reduction, *Auszug*. Hearing that the music store sells *Auszug*, a worker from the flour mill assumes it is flour extract (*Auszugmehl*) sold without permission. Seizing the opportunity for irony, the salesman rebukes the miller, claiming that in this case, *Auszug* is not the wheat, but rather the chaff, with the opera house likened to a millhouse grinding out music, and keyboard reductions left on the threshing floor. In Kanne's pun, *Auszug* facilitates word play in the reciprocating practices around commodification and property. As both flour extract and keyboard reduction, *Auszug* marks the process of purification that goods undergo for the marketplace, signifying both material facets of the commodity – the waste and the product. The paradoxical semantics of the nineteenth century *Auszug* highlight a conceptual and discursive shift keyboard reductions underwent as a Romantic reduction, with its ethics of originality and presence, encroached upon its reputation. Indeed, Kanne's derogatory sentiments about the keyboard reduction surely would have forbade Hiller from printing

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[29] Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, 83. Elena Pons Capdevila, following Christensen, similarly analyzes late eighteenth-century keyboard reductions in terms of Romantic originality. See Capdevlia, "Arranging the Canon."

[30] Der Müller. Auszug wird da verkauft? Wo ist die Befugniss zu handeln, Mit des Müllers Product, das ist ja wider's Gesetz. Der Musikhändler. Herr! Wir handeln nicht mit Mehl, das feiner gemahlen! S'ist gedroschenes Stroh, was von der Oper uns bleibt. German quoted in Hansemann, *Der Klavierauszug von Anfangen bis Weber* 106; *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 16 July 1823, 456. See also Thomas Christensen's translation in Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, 82.

Hasse's operatic "masterpieces" for religious devotion in the Lutheran home. By 1823, keyboard reductions were considered shards of a more substantial object, be it a performance at the opera house or an "original" fully-orchestrated musical score. With Romantic reduction we have forgotten that there was once a time when the humble *Klavierauszug* was the wheat rather than the chaff, the filtered product rather than its waste.

Like Hiller and Rellstab's scores, music editors during the eighteenth century frequently published standalone *Klavierauszüge* of popular orchestral works, but keyboard reductions were more often found within many other forms of domestic literature hitherto unacknowledged by scholars like Marlise Hansemann or Elena Pons Capdevila.[31] As with the chrestomathy, Enlightenment reduction allowed large swaths of musical information to be compressed and inserted into new literary forms that privileged excerpts and extracts, which were embedded in pedagogical textbooks, catalogues, choral books, and periodicals.

Church Music and the *Geistliche Lied*

When Christian Fürchtegott Gellert entitled his poetry collection *Geistliches Oden und Lieder* (Leipzig, 1757), he signaled that it combined several literary genres, encompassing songs for the heart of feelings (*Lieder für das Herz*) and didactic odes (*Lehroden*). The generic diversity of Gellert's collection was not lost on contemporaries. For Gellert's colleague Johann Andreas Cramer, a Lutheran theologian, *Lehroden* were important for Lutherans to read at home, but inappropriate for liturgy and church hymnbooks. *Lehroden* comprised fragments of versified biblical passages, arranged in order to teach the reader scriptures by aiding memorization and meditating on their truths.[32] But because of their form, *Lehroden* were poorly made for musical settings. Cramer, who had first proposed to Gellert in 1755 that he "try writing new *Kirchenlieder*," disapproved of didactic odes as church songs precisely because didactic odes were designed to be privately read, not publicly sung like *Kirchenlieder*.[33]

With his spiritual poetry, Gellert had intervened in the central problem of German Protestant worship in the mid-eighteenth century: how to update existing liturgy to render it intelligible to congregations that increasingly participated in its music and recitations.[34] His response was to adapt literary forms from long-

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[31] Hansemann, *Der Klavierauszug von Anfangen bis Weber*; Capdevila, "Arranging the Canon."

[32] Youngen, *C.P.E. Bach and the Birth of Strophic Song*, 209.

[33] Reynolds, "The Genesis of Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*," in *Literary and Musical Notes: A Festschift for Wm. A. Little,* 133.

[34] On congregational participation in Lutheran churches during the eighteenth century, see Herl, *Worship Wars*, 175-8.

standing musical practices native to Protestant domestic life. While Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock set his *Geistliche Lieder* to the meter and feet of old chorale tunes for a swift and effective transition for congregations who knew well their church melodies, Gellert invited composers to make new church music, and to blur the literary genres that inhered in domestic devotion and the church service.[35] To ease the passage of his *Lehroden* into church services, a few of Gellert's poems were modeled on extant chorale tunes. In the collection's appendix, Gellert included a list of church melodies he had in mind while writing some of the poems in an attempt to update and simplify existing church texts.[36] To align his *Lehroden* with the lyrical cadence of popular chorales, Gellert quilted together biblical passages, reworking their texts to fit his simple meter by alternating lines of iambic pentameter and iambic tetrameter in ABAB schema.[37] It was Gellert's express wish, voiced in his preface, that the entire collection be set to music, though he knew only a portion of the poems would be appropriate for Lutheran liturgies.

Most musical settings of Gellert's collection, such as those by Hiller, Johann Friedrich Doles, and Johann Joachim Quantz, took up Gellert's charge and translated selections of *Lehroden* into *Kirchenlieder*, that is, domestic verse into liturgical material. But because Gellert's collection indexed divergent social sites and religious purposes, early Gellertian musical editions differed widely in their intended functions, prompting a good deal of experimentation in the formatting of scores. Doles's setting of Gellert's *Geistliches Oden und Lieder* (Leipzig, 1758) illustrates the adaptations in score editing that Gellert's generic hybrid provoked. Gellert was fond of Doles's simple and accessible church-music style, which suited the humble literary style that Gellert preferred. Doles set twenty-one songs to music, noting their ambiguous generic status: "What gave Gellert first thought to make these songs [*Lieder*], and what his pious muse was when he carried out his purpose, was also my main objective; namely, for them to work for private, and perhaps also public devotion."[38]

Accommodating both domestic and corporate uses of these "Lieder" prompted Doles to produce an unusual notational format: the top of the pages featured four-voiced choral staves, with the text taking up most of the page below (convenient for singers, but wasteful for keyboardists), while at the bottom

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[35] See "Einleitung," in Klopstock, *Geistliche Lieder*, 2-26.

[36] "Verzeichniß derjenigen Lieder, welche Kirchenmelodien haben," in Gellert, *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*, 161-4.

[37] See Youngren, *C.P.E. Bach*, 204-20.

[38] Das, was dem herrn Professor Gellert den ersten Gedanken eingab, diese Lieder zu verfertigen, und was seine fromme Muse bey Ausführung seines Vorsatzes war: ist auch meine Hauptabsicht gewesen; nämlich, für die privat, und vielleicht auch öffentliche Andacht, zu arbeiten. "Vorrede," in Doles, *Melodien des Gellerts Geistliches Oden und Lieder*, unpaginated.

appeared a two-staved keyboard reduction of the same arrangement. Matthew Dirst notes that by including two discrete formats for the same chorales, Doles was "maximizing the potential market for this volume."[39] But Doles's scoring also marks a moment in the history of devotional media: by duplicating the musical score for small choirs of a church and for amateur keyboardists in the home, Doles visually and musically parsed the social functions of Gellert's *geistliches Lieder* on the printed page (see Figure 7).

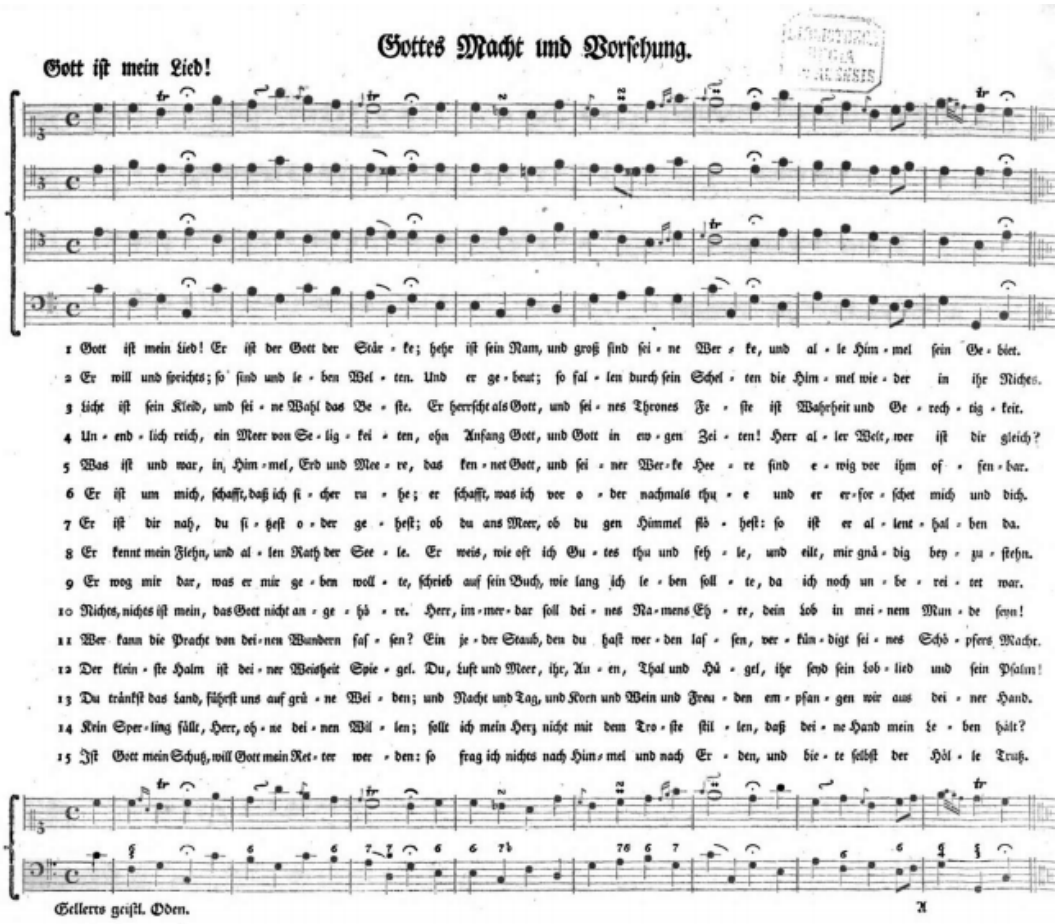
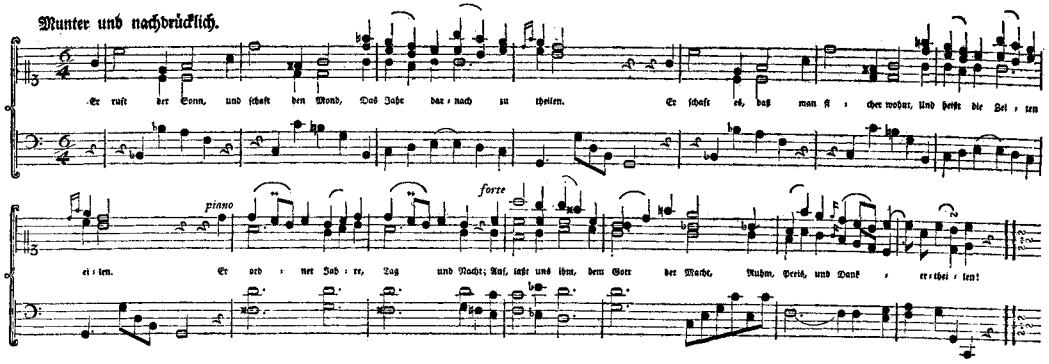


Figure 7. Doles, "Gott ist Mein Lied," *Melodien zu Gellerts Geistlichen Oden und Liedern*.

[39] Dirst, *Engaging Bach*, 44.



Am neuen Jahre.

Er ruft der Sonn und schaft den Mond,
Das Jahr darnach zu theilen.
Er schaft es, daß man sicher wohnt,
Und heißt die Zeiten eilen.
Er ordnet Jahre, Tag und Nacht;
Auf, laßt uns ihm, dem Gott der Macht,
Ruhm, Preis und Dank ertheilen.

Herr, der da ist, und der da war,
Von dankerfüllten Jungen
Sey dir für das verstoßne Jahr
Ein heilig Lied gesungen;
Für Leben, Wohlfahrt, Trost und Rath,
Für Fried und Ruh, für jede That,
Die uns durch dich gelungen.

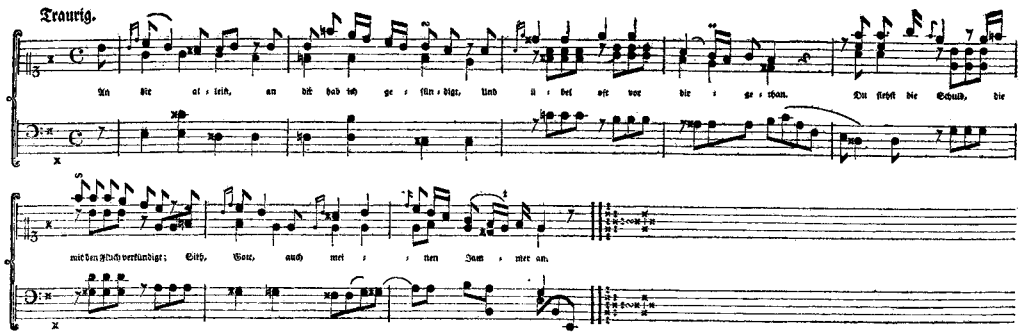
Hilf deinem Volke väterlich
In diesem Jahre wieder.
Erbarme der Verlaßnen dich,
Und der bedrängten Glieder.
Gieb Glück zu jeder guten That,
Und laß dich, Gott, mit Heil und Rath
Auf unsern Fürsten nieder;

Laß auch dieß Jahr gesegnet seyn,
Das du uns neu gegeben.
Verleih uns Kraft, die Kraft ist dein,
In deiner Furcht zu leben.
Du schützest uns, und du vermehrst,
Der Menschen Glück, wenn sie zuerst
Nach deinem Reiche streben.

Daß Weisheit und Gerechtigkeit
Auf seinem Stuhle throne;
Daß Tugend und Zufriedenheit
In unserm Lande wohne;
Daß Treu und Liebe bey uns sey;
Dieß, lieber Vater, dieß verleih
In Christo, deinem Sohne!

Gieb mir, wofern es dir gefällt,
Des Lebens Ruh und Freuden.
Doch schadet mir das Glück der Welt:
So gieb mir Kreuz und Leiden.
Nur stärke mit Geduld mein Herz,
Und laß mich nicht in Noth und Schmerz
Die Glücklichern beneiden.

Figure 8. "Am Neuen Jahre," in Bach, *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*, 49.



Bußlied.

An dir allein, an dir hab ich gesündigt,
Und übel oft vor dir gethan.
Du siehst die Schuld, die mir den Fluch verkündigt;
Sieh, Gott, auch meinen Jammer an.

Dir ist mein Flehn, mein Seufzen nicht verborgen,
Und meine Thränen sind vor dir.
Ach Gott, mein Gott, wie lange soll ich sorgen?
Wie lang entfernst du dich von mir?

Herr, handle nicht mit mir nach meinen Sünden,
Vergilt mir nicht nach meiner Schuld.
Ich suche dich, laß mich dein Antlitz finden,
Du Gott der Langmuth und Geduld.

Früh wollst du mich mit deiner Gnade füllen,
Gott, Vater der Barmherzigkeit.
Erfreue mich um deines Namens willen;
Du bist ein Gott, der gern erfreut.

Laß deinen Weg mich wieder freudig wallen,
Und lehre mich dein heilig Recht,
Mich täglich thun nach deinem Wohlgefallen;
Du bist mein Gott, ich bin dein Knecht.

Herr, eile du, mein Schutz, mir beyzustehen,
Und leite mich auf ebner Bahn.
Er hört mein Schreyn, der Herr erhört mein Flehen,
Und nimmt sich meiner Seelen an.

Figure 9. "Bußlied," in Bach, *Geistiche Oden und Lieder*, 50.

C. P. E. Bach also sought to traverse multiple sites of Protestant worship in his Gellert songs, but notably diverged from other church-minded approaches. Bach acknowledged – even lauded – Gellert's poetic diversity in the preface to his musical setting of the collection: "One knows setting the didactic odes [*Lehroden*] to music not to be as easy as setting lieder for the heart; yet if the former are as beautiful as Mr. Gellert makes them, one feels pleasurably called to put forth every possible effort in order to foster the purpose for which they were created and, consequently, to make their usefulness more general."[40] Scholarship on Bach's *geistliche Lieder* tends to downplay "the purpose for which they were created," instead focusing on its style within a "north German school" of song, or its notable lack of figured bass that presages the nineteenth century Lied, or the alleged "decline" of sacred song we have now come to expect.[41] These divergent foci of Bach studies might be resolved by using a media-sensitive analytic that attends to the user functions of its musical object: Bach's phrase, "usefulness more general," acknowledged Gellert's attempt to reach numerous sites of Lutheran worshipful assembly with musical accompaniment – in solitude or at the family dinner table, in the drawing room with guests around a keyboard, in service with the local congregation, or on the high holidays in the court of the king.

If the odes and lieder were equally tasteful and theologically consistent, Bach asked, why inhibit their use by keeping their ritual functions apart? Bach, like Gellert and Klopstock before him, regarded eighteenth-century *geistliche Lieder* as bridging several sites of worship in the Lutheran tradition. In setting all Gellert's texts for "amateurs" without figured bass, Bach respected the Lutheran domestic heritage that Gellert acknowledged – Bach's *Handstücke* ("hand pieces") were modeled on light sonatas and opera arias in the north German home. In

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[40] Man weiß, daß Lehroden zur Musik nicht so bequem sind, als Lieder für das Herz; jedoch, wenn die erstern so schön sind, wie sie Herr Gellert machete, so empfindet man einen angenehmen Beruf bey sich, alles mögliche beyzutragen, damit die Absicht, in der sie gemacht sind, erleichtert, und folglich der Nutzen davon allgemeiner werde. "Vorrede," in Bach, *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Translation by Darrell M. Berg, in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Complete works*, xviii.

[41] See Parsons, "Lied: c. 1740-1800"; Parsons, "The Eighteenth Century Lied," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, 35-62, 48; Smeed, *German Song and its Poetry 1740-1900*; Youngren, *C.P.E. Bach*, 200-220, 379-88; and see Leisinger, "C.P.E. Bach and C.C. Sturm: sacred song, public church service, and private devotion," in *C.P.E. Bach Studies*, 116-49. For Leisinger, "sacred vocal music in general, large-scale and small-scale, underwent a severe though still not properly understood crisis in Protestant Germany after 1760." What Leisinger calls a "crisis," I would call, following Jonathan Sheehan and others, a redistribution and reorganization of sacred vocal song through the media of the Enlightenment. See Sheehan, "The Enigma of Secularization," 1075-80.

opting for a thoroughly domestic arrangement, Bach declined to turn them into liturgical material as Gellert had suggested. Still, in a musical recognition of the poet's intentions, Bach gave those texts that Gellert explicitly intended for church performance choral textures, which a cursory glance at Bach's austere arrangement of "Am Neuen Jahre" reveals: Gellert had recommended that it be sung to the chorale "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her" during the Lutheran calendar (see Figure 8). Overleaf, Bach set the more contrite and intimate *Bußlied* ("song of repentance") as a lament aria, whose poetic content was far too sentimental for a mid-century Lutheran service (see Figure 9).[42]

As musicians like Doles and Bach made church music and domestic devotion more materially exchangeable, other liturgical media supplemented, and at times even generically merged with *geistliche Lieder*. This is evident in many late-century choral books, a form of music literature that will receive sustained attention in Chapter 2. The choral book, to be described later on, had its own trajectory of reduction and amateur domestication in the late-eighteenth century.

Magazines and Sacred Music

"Sacred music" emerged around 1800 as various confessional musics collocated in print media – a collocation enabled by musical arrangements that toggled between Protestant sites of worship (home, school, and church). The keyboard reduction was the primary means for editors to reorganize various orchestrations, and distill large swaths of musical information –like the full score of an opera, symphony, or oratorio– into more simplified, truncated forms for domestic amateur play.[43] The keyboard reduction thus allowed editors to assemble diverse musical genres into the same legible format. Recent studies consider the keyboard reduction an important (if not neglected) publication in its own right.[44] However, many reductions of larger scores were also found embedded within other literary media, such as thoroughbass manuals, encyclopedia, travelogues, choral books, and any literature warranting short musical extracts – chief among these being the music magazine.[45]

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[42] On the *Bußlied* as a lament aria, see Youngren, *C.P.E. Bach*, 219-26.

[43] See Hansemann, *Der Klavierauszug von Anfangen bis Weber*.

[44] See, for example, Capdevila. "Arranging the Canon"; see Christensen, "Soundings Offstage," 899-920; and see Cypess, "Keyboard-duo Arrangements in Eighteenth-century Musical Life."

[45] Roger Matthew Grant notes the value of embedded musical examples in other print media, writing, "Hidden from direct view within the pages of words that enclose them, [musical examples] are nodes of connection between media that allow us to ask questions about the uses and conceptualization of print material. They are integrated into the text that surrounds them–and most often dependent upon it for complete

With its French source denoting a storehouse or armory, the first literary use of the word "magazine" was Edward Cave's *The Gentleman's Magazine* in London, 1731. The word was soon transported and remodeled in north Germany in the form of the *Hamburgisches Magazin* in 1747. Sean Franzel argues that this magazine was representative of early north German periodicals, which "register[ed] tendencies both towards systematic order and to unruly mixture."[46] The magazine offered north German editors a form of literary storage that could gather disparate, fragmentary items and place them into new relations. The preface to the first volume of the *Hamburgisches Magazin* explained its organizing principles. Applying the faculties of reason and wit ("Verstand und Witz") as complementary tools for arrangement, this magazine sought to balance order with an emphasis on differentiation: "Wit holds things up against each other, observes their similarity and dissimilarity, combines new works through its own invention, and thereby becomes like a second creator."[47] The reader was supposed to see the magazine as an invitation to exercise her own powers of wit, to discriminate each item according to its own abbreviated form, and by its placement in a sequence of other dissimilar objects. The literary function of the magazine, then, encouraged the shift in analytical gaze that Dahlhaus noticed decades ago, wherein music criticism in the late-eighteenth century shifted from discussing music in generalized technical terms to a focus on individual musical pieces.[48] While Dahlhaus saw this as a Kuhnian "paradigm shift" emerging from musical aesthetics and an ethics of originality that preempted Romantic values, this modern analytical gaze – the kind music historians and theorists have indulged through their disproportionate attention to the pages of journals like Breitkopf and Härtel's *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (est. Leipzig, 1798) – might best be explained by the new forms of literary information storage and the cultural techniques required to use media forms such as the magazine.[49] It appears that, thirty-five

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comprehensibility–but they cannot be read in the same way as that text, and they do not have the same function." See Grant, "Eighteenth-Century Mediations of Music Theory" 103.

[46] Franzel, "Metaphors of Spatial Storage in Enlightenment Historiography and the Eighteenth-Century 'Magazine,'" 328-52.

[47] Der Witz [...] halt die Sachen gegen einander, bemerket Ihre Aehnlichkeit und Unahnlichkeit, setzt neue Werke aus eigener Erfindung zusammen, und wird dadurch gleichsam ein anderer Schopfer," Vorrede, in *Hamburgisches Magazin*, I 1747; quoted with English translation in Franzel, "Metaphors of Spatial Storage," 342.

[48] Dahlhaus, *Die Musiktheorie im 18. Und 19. Jahrhunder: Grundzüge einer Systematik*, 7-8.

[49] In similar vein, Craig Comen has recently attributed the origins of musical analysis to the advent of the music periodical in the eighteenth century. But like many other accounts in histories of music theory and music criticism, Comen departs from the premise that eighteenth-century critics "sought to understand musical structure in the

years prior to starting his trademark journal, Johann Gottlob Immanuel Brietkopf (1719–1794) was the first to designate a music periodical as a "magazine." He described his reasoning behind the name, *Musicalisches Magazin*, by relying upon the reductive affordances of the keyboard and its notation's printed layout:

> The designation of a *Magazin* perhaps justified us, or even required us, to extend our map as far as the domain of music goes. Nevertheless, in various considerations we have thought it better to confine ourselves mostly to the keyboard. This is the most perfect, and therefore the most common instrument, and we may not be mistaken in thinking that most of our amateurs [*Liebhaber*] are keyboardists. […] Violin and flute players will, therefore, only occasionally be called to help with their skill in a piece in which, in addition to the keyboard, a violin or flute is required for accompaniment, like the keyboard trios are.[50]

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Breitkopf's phrase, "extending our map as far as the domain of music goes," riffed on D'Alembert's *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopedia by Diderot* (Paris, 1751), which famously described the encyclopedia's extracted format as "the encyclopedic arrangement of our knowledge":

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wake of a panoply of new styles and genres in a newly secularized world." This secularization narrative stipulates that periodicals presented music as Goehrian musical works to critics, who were compelled to "reconcile" with music's new ontological status using the rational tools of analysis. By contrast, I am arguing that literary media themselves brought analytical thinking to bear upon their musical content, suggesting that their attendant techniques of arrangement, comparison, and excerpting made musical pieces, in some respects, seem even less ontologically stable than before. See Comen, "At the Origins of Musical Analysis," 11.

[50] Die Benennung eines Magazins berechtigte uns vielleicht, oder erfoderte so gar, daß wir unsern Plan so weit erstreckten, als das Gebiete der Musik gehet; dem ungeachtet haben wir es doch in verschiedenen Betrachtungen für besser gehalten, uns meistentheils auf das Clavier einzuschränken. Es ist dieses das vollkommenste, und daher auch das üblichste Instrument, und wir irren uns vielleicht nicht, wenn wir den moisten Theil unserer Liebhaber für Clavierspieler halten. Nun hat es seine gegründeten Ursachen, daß wir un simmer gern zur stärksten Parthey schlagen. Violin- und Flötenspieler werden daher nur bisweilen mit ihrer Geschicklichkeit bey einem Stücke zu Hülfe gerufen werden, wo außer dem Claviere noch eine Violin oder Flöte zur Begleitung erfodert wird; dergleichen die Clavier-Trios sind. "Vorbericht," in Breitkopf, *Musicalisches Magazin*, 1.

> This consists of collecting knowledge into the smallest area possible and of placing the philosopher at a vantage point, so to speak, high above this vast labyrinth, whence he can perceive the principal sciences and the arts simultaneously. From there he can see at a glance the objects of their speculations and the operations which can be made on these objects; he can discern the general branches of human knowledge, the points that separate or unite them; and sometimes he can even glimpse the secrets that relate them to one another. It is a kind of world map which is to show the principal countries, their position and their mutual dependence, the road that leads directly from one to the other. This road is often cut by a thousand obstacles, which are known in each country only to the inhabitants or to travelers, and which cannot be represented except in individual, highly detailed maps. These individual maps will be the different articles of the Encyclopedia and the Tree or Systematic Chart will be its world map.[51]

That world map, translated into German as *Baum des Wissens*, or "Tree of Knowledge," operated on brackets that bounded masses of gnarled information into organized silos of knowledge, and related them one to another (see Figure 10). These brackets, or *Klammer*, were a also common feature of musical scores used to delineate the keyboard's notation system from other instruments on the printed page.

Wolf defined the music bracket in *Unterricht im Klavierspielen* ("Instruction in Keyboard-Playing," Göttingen, 1784), an instruction manual for amateur keyboardists whose encyclopedic descriptions anticipated his *Lexicon*: "The discant and bassline become drawn together [*zusammen gezogen*] through brackets, which shows that the notes of both lines (or the entirety of more) must be played together."[52] The bracketed grand staff stood for a bounded and cohesive unit of musical knowledge, precisely the way Diderot and D'Alembert's "Tree of Knowledge" used the print technique of bracketing (see Figure 11). Crucial to Wolf's definition is the verb phrase, *zusammen gezogen*, which, as mentioned above, was the leading phrase used to describe the work of editors who made keyboard reductions. Hiller employed the phrase in his *Tod Jesu* arrangement and throughout his keyboard oeuvre (see above), as had the organist Johann Joseph Klein when defining "Clavierauszug" in 1783.[53] The phrase came to define the

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[51] D'Alembert, *Preliminary Discourse*, 47-8.

[52] Die Diskant und Basleiter werden durch eine Klammer zusammen gezogen, welche anzeiget, daß die Noten beider (oder auch wohl mehrerer) Stimmen zugleich müssen gespielt werden. Wolf, *Unterricht im Klavierspielen*, 36.

[53] For example, Hiller used the phrase in the subtitle of an edited choral book, *Allgemeines Choral-Melodienbuch für Kirchen und Schulen, auch zum Privatgebrauche, in vier*

process of editing keyboard reductions well into the nineteenth century.[54]

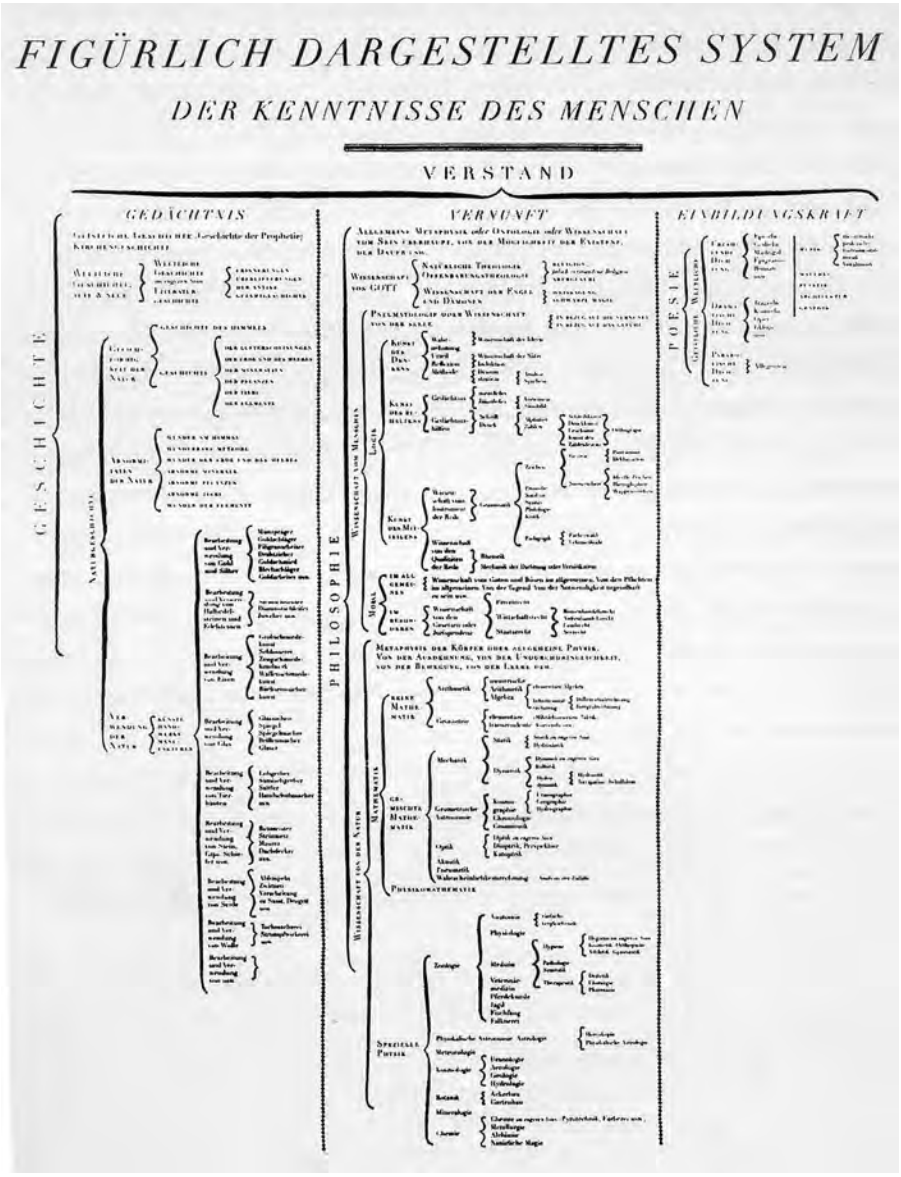

Figure 10. *Baum des Wissens*, from D'Alembert and Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, with brackets.

Stimmen gesetzt; zur Bequemlichkeit der Orgel- und Clavierspieler auf zwo Linien zusammengezogen; mit Bezifferung des Generalbasses, von Johann Adam Hiller (see Chapter 2). See Klein, *Versuch eines Lehrbuchs der praktischen Musik in systematischer Ordnung*, 40.

[54] Cf. Koch, *Kurzgefasstes Handwörterbuch in der Musik* (1807); Andersch, *Musikalisches Wörterbuch* (1829); Häuser, *Musicalisches Lexikon, oder, Erklärung und Verdeutschund der in der Musik vorkommenden Ausdrücke* (1833); Gathy, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon* (1840).

When Wolf included the entry, "Clavierauszug" in his *Lexicon* (see above), he employed *zusammen gezogen* as he had with his earlier "Klammer" entry.[55] The score bracket and keyboard reduction thus participated in the same process of Enlightenment reduction articulated by D'Alembert's *Preliminary Discourse*. In turn, Breitkopf's citation of D'Alembert's description of the encyclopedia tied his magazine's format to the same literary techniques and technologies of Enlightenment reduction as the keyboard reduction and encyclopedia.

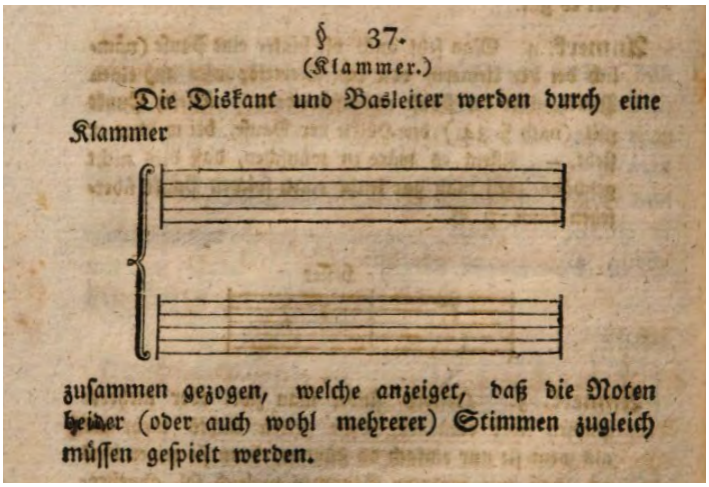
§ 37.
(Klammer.)
Die Diskant und Basleiter werden durch eine Klammer
zusammen gezogen, welche anzeiget, daß die Noten beider (oder auch wohl mehrerer) Stimmen zugleich müssen gespielt werden.

Figure 11. Illustrated definition of *Klammer* in Wolf, *Unterricht im Klavierspielen*, 36.

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Because the form of *Musicalischces Magazin* privileged miscellany, Breitkopf needed to justify why keyboard notation formats were ubiquitous therein. As his preface explains, Breitkopf saw the apparatus of the keyboard making possible diverse genres and instrumentation, a flexible "ludic interface" that would best facilitate musical diversity.[56] Keyboards were among the most commonly owned instruments of *Musikliebhaber*, and could accompany – and legibly substitute for – a great many other common solo instruments, such as guitars, violins, violincellos, harps, flutes, or voice. In this way, early music periodicals like the *Musicalisches Magazin* used keyboard-centric notational systems, such as the grand staff or three-staved keyboard trio, as a common denominator, where several instrumentalists could read from the same page. Countless printed sketches and cherubic insignia

[55] See footnote 6 above.
[56] Moseley, *Keys to Play*, 69. Moseley traces the keyboard's "ludomusical" genealogy – through medieval checker boards, abacuses, and contemporary digital interfaces – in Moseley, *Keys to Play*, 100-17.

adorn the title pages of eighteenth century music books depicting musicians looking over the keyboardist's shoulder. *Unterricht im Klavierspielen*, for example, depicts a typical pastoral scene of leisurely music-making, with a children's music trio sharing the keyboardist's score, as shown in Figure 12.[57] Such images trace the keyboard reading practice of *übersehen* out to the score's spatial distribution of playing bodies: Just as the keyboardist needed to "look over" the lines taken up by other players, those players literally looked over the keyboardist's shoulder to read their notes. These visual marginalia testify to the keyboard reduction's unique ludic and economic fungibilities (a horn and flute lay at the children's feet in Figure 12), and portray the very bodily disciplines that keyboard print media such as the *Musicalisches Magazin* trained.

While perhaps being the first *Musicalisches Magazin,* it was not Breitkopf's first attempt at a music periodical. Its format of chamber music set on two or three staves, a reportorial emphasis on instrumental music, and privileging of lesser-known living composers was largely borrowed from an earlier periodical that Hiller and Breitkopf began. In 1759, at the height of the Seven Years War and prospects looking grim for Prussian and Saxon burghers, Hiller and Breitkopf encouraged *Liebhaber* to entertain themselves with a domestic, light-hearted activity to pass the time in the *Wöchentlicher musicalischer Zeitvertrieb* ("Weekly Musical Pastime," 1759-1760). Typography (Breitkopf's print still bore the early-century skeuomorphs of handwritten Sütterlin font) and seriality aside (the *Magazin* was only issued monthly), the *Musicalisches Magazin* differed little in function and format from the earlier *Zeitvertrieb* (see Figure 13). In the preface of the latter, Breitkopf and Hiller wrote,

> If we were to concede to some dark moralists and to some melancholy ancients that the world was a misery, if the present unfortunate events themselves were a proof of this, then there is Providence, thank God! For a heart sighing under the weight of misfortune finds access to the innocent pleasures in moments of rest, and refreshes it in a pleasant way. It is cheap to notice these moments and to enjoy, with choice and measure, the joys that can keep us safe for many sad hours. And what pleasure can these free hours fill out better and more pleasantly than music? We say this from experience, as we are accustomed to dedicating a small remnant of our time to music, and to engage in a work of which we are determined to submit to those lovers a small sample every week. We must confess that music is neither our main work nor our sole occupation: the more we hope to encourage its friends, who are in the

[57] This frontispiece was originally the insignia for the preface of Wolf's earlier, more condensed keyboard manual, *Kurzer aber Deutlicher Unterricht im Klavierspielen* (Göttingen, 1783), from which the expanded edition of *Unterricht im Klavierspielen* emerged.

same circumstances with us, to keep it from indecent or prejudicial, if they get acquainted with her a little more. We also do not want to show the way of those great masters who have often shown themselves to the world with fame; Rather, we look at them as our model to follow, keeping it our duty.[58]

Figure 12. insignia to the "Vorrede" in Wolf, *Kurzer aber Deutlicher Unterricht im Klavierspielen*.

[58] Wenn wir es einigen finstern Moralisten, und einigen schwermüthigen Alten auch einräumen müßten, daß die Welt ein Jammerthal sey; wenn die gegenwärtigen unglücklichen Begebenheiten selbst ein Beweis davon wären: so giebt es doch, der Vorsehung sey es Dank! Für ein unter der Last des Unglücks seuszendes Herz, noch Augenblicke der Erholung, wo die unschuldigen Vergnügungen einen Zugang zu demselben finden, und es auf eine angenehme Weise erquicken. Es ist billig diese Augenblicke zu bemerken, und mit Wahl und Maaße die Freuden zu genießen, die uns vor viel traurige Stunden schadlos halten können. Und welches Vergnügen kann wohl diese freyen Studen besser und angenehmer ausfüllen, als die Musik? Wir sagen dieses aus Erfahrung, da wir gewohnt sind, einen kleinen Ueberrest unserer Zeit der Musik zu widmen, und uns mit einer Arbeit beschäfftigen, wovon wir denen Liebhabern alle Wochen eine kleine Probe vorzulegen entschlossen sind. Wir müssen gestehen, daß die Musik weder unser hauptwerk noch unsere einzige Beschäfftigung ist: um so vielmehr hoffen wir, die Freunde derselben, die sich mit uns in gleichen Umständen befinden, zu ermuntern, es weder vor unanständig noch vor nachtheilig zu halten, wenn sie sich ein wenig mehr mit ihr bekannt machen. Wir wollen auch keinen von denen großen Meistern, die sich der Welt schon oft mit Ruhm gezeigt, den Weg vertreten; wir sehen sie vielmehr vor unsere Muster an, denen nachzufolgen, wir es vor unsere Pflicht halten. "Vorerinnerung," in Hiller, *Musicalisches Zeitvertreib*, unpaginated.

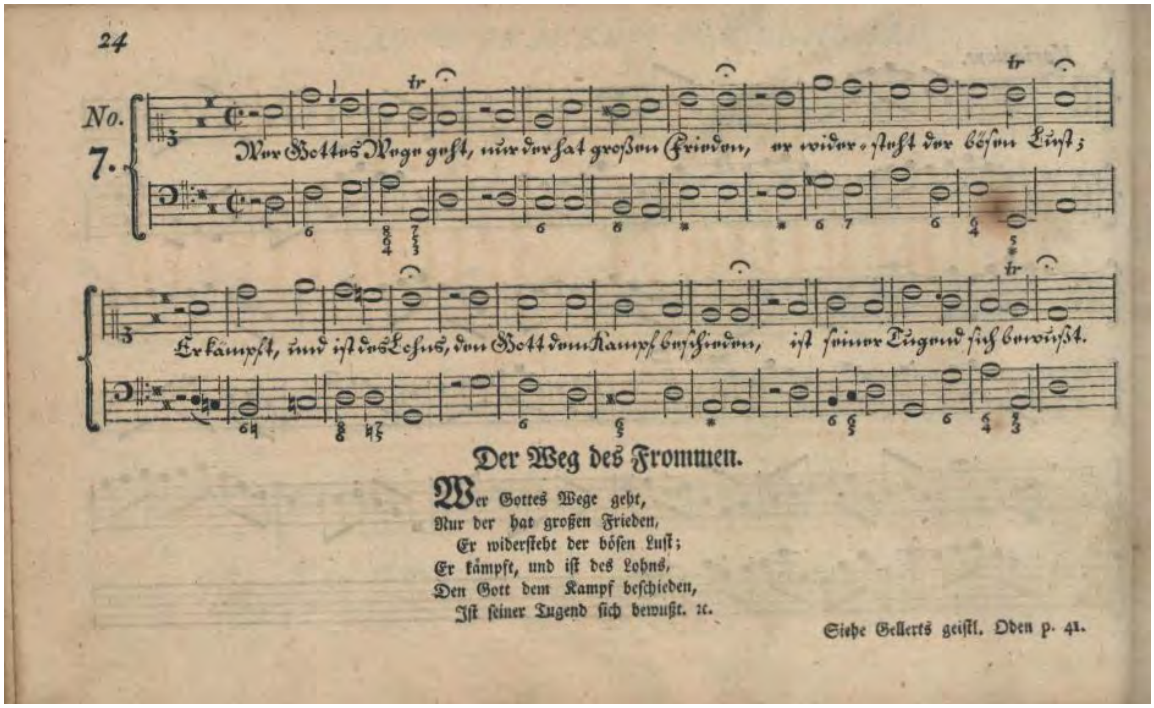

Figure 13. "Der Weg des Frommen" ("The Path to Piety"), in *Musicalisches Zeitvertreib*, vol.3, 24. The piece, likely composed by Hiller, was set to a poem from Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Courtesy of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek.

Through both periodicals, Hiller and Breitkopf articulated a social space created for *Liebhaber* and by *Liebhaber* ("music is neither our main work nor our sole occupation"), advocating for musical play in a domestic setting amid emotionally heavy times. Many of the pieces therein varied geographically, but these journals usually tried to stay current with musical compositions. In the *Magazin*, Hiller and Breitkopf called for unknown artists to submit their work so that they might publish it. Both journals provided figured bass for amateurs, but because these pieces were designed to incorporate other instruments such as violin, flute, and violincello, arrangements were extensive enough so as not to require any over-hauled filling out: The keyboardist's right hand was always accounted for by containing several voices, while the left hand usually kept one voice for the keyboardist to add another interval where he or she pleased. Hiller, ever the public educator, offered (but in these early publications, did not *require*) the figured bass for players in hopes that they might strengthen their skills. The *Magazin* repertoire usually consisted of divertissements, cello and flute sonatas, and contained none of the music criticism that would later typify Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik* (Leipzig, 1766-1770). The *Magazin* would also occasionally include keyboard reductions, mostly out of Hasse's operas, which are among the earliest examples of printed German keyboard arrangement (and

which are almost entirely unnoticed by music historians).[59] These reductions were likely edited by Hiller himself, who had cut his teeth on Hasse's scores as a student, copying and arranging them for his own *Zeitvertrieb* ("leisure" or "pastime") while studying at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden.[60]

Immanuel Breitkopf, it should be noted, was born into the print trade, and even became something of a print historian.[61] He occasionally drew inspiration from older techniques from the German Protestant heritage of print: Besides his many pathbreaking inventions – the movable typeface, the first *Magazin* of music literature, the first musical thematic catalogue, and the first typeface for Chinese characters (rather than engraving) – he famously modernized the German Reformation's signature font with the Breitkopf-Fraktur around 1750. In the pursuit of a reductive legibility for unscholarly readers, Breitkopf pruned the Fraktur of its gnarled serifs, which embellished scholarly tomes, and returned to the simpler figures of Albrecht Dürer's typography.[62]

Breitkopf similarly modified his *Musikalisches Magazin* with another piece of Protestant typographic design. In the magazine, each musical system is aligned to those of its page overleaf, a practice called "line matching." Line matching was a printing technique Breitkopf adopted from the cheaply mass-printed bibles and hymnbooks throughout the previous century, designed to minimize the visual impedance of ink bleeding in cheaper and thinner paper (see Figure 14). Line matching was Breitkopf's creative solution to a material problem his new music magazines incited, namely, to complete the trifecta of printing new musical scores, selling them cheaply, and publishing serially for a broad audience. Breitkopf's solution was consistent with the aim of his many innovations in *Buchdruckerey* – to make music and literature most legible, especially that which was previously inconvertible to the broadest possible readership.

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[59] Histories of keyboard transcriptions follow Marlise Hansemann's landmark study in privileging standalone reduction scores rather than reductions found within periodicals. Of these histories, Elena Pons Capdevila is the rare and recent exception. See Capdevila, "Arranging the Canon," 94-8; and cf. Hansemann, *Der Klavierauszug von Anfangen bis Weber*.

[60] See Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation*, 3.

[61] See his ambitious history of print in Breitkopf, *Über die Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst*.

[62] On Breitkopf and his role in the history of the Fraktur, see Killius, *Die Antiqua-Fraktur Debatte um 1800*, 326-38.

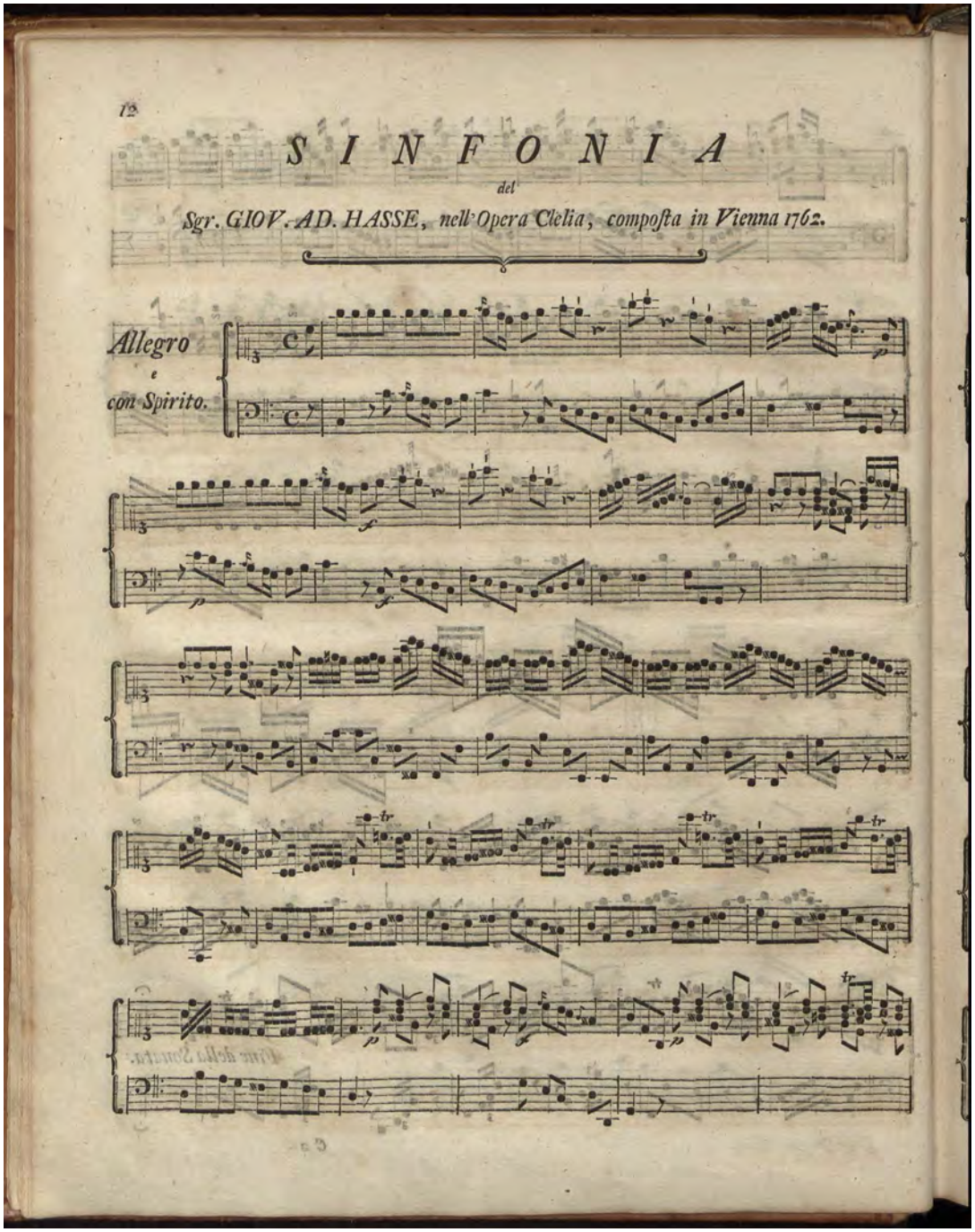

Figure 14. Keyboard reduction of Hasse's overture to "Il trifono di Clelia" (Vienna, 1762) with unfigured bass (probably arranged by Hiller), and line matching. *Musicalisches Magazin* no.1, 12.

Through the *Zeitvertrieb*, *Musicalisches Magazin*, and *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* (Hiller felt so strongly about the latter project that he published it under his own expense, signaling to readers a kind of labor of love), it is apparent Hiller and Breitkopf saw the primary functions of the periodical as creating current content and keeping the amateur abreast of the latest available musical materials. These early music periodicals were designed for amateurs, comprising a newsfeed whose frequency, variety, and mobility were contingent upon the availability of new items manifesting in a print medium. To regard Hiller as a kind of "content creator" and periodicals as vehicles to promote musical fashion is to complicate traditional accounts of early bourgeois music criticism: Rather than a steady campaign by reviewers who promoted instrumental music (until it arrived at its familiar lofty Romantic status), the media context of every excerpted encyclopedia entry and serial essay – every diatribe on proper singing and musical taste that Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* displayed – promoted an ambience of breaking news and shifts in current fashion, which made music seem, in some respects, more ephemeral than ever.[63]

The next German music periodical to designate itself a "magazine" seemed truer to the intentions of the *Hamburgisches Magazin*. Reichardt's *Musicalisches Kunstmagazin*, published in Berlin with interrupted printings in 1782 and 1791-2, is usually considered by scholars as a literary failure, as Reichardt repeatedly needed to close publishing due to the exorbitant prices of publication.[64] However, the arrangement and selection of its contents made the *Kunstmagazin* among the most formative music periodicals of the century, especially as it concerned religious music.[65]

Like the *Hamburgisches Magazin*, the *Kunstmagazin* explicitly instructed its readers on how to read, evaluate, and contextualize the musical printscape through its very selectivity and arrangement. Like the German music periodicals that ran before it, Reichardt's journal strategically selected and collated extracts of larger printed works to entice prenumerants. Privileging fragmentary bites of information turned scholars and amateurs alike into purveyors, and encouraged the literary practices of skimming and perusal more than slow reading. This occurred through both literary and musical works alike. For example, under the section "Pointers," which intended to direct readers' critical view along Reichardt's own, he excerpts a school dictionary, a treatise on symbolic logic, and

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[63] This claim aligns with recent studies on late eighteenth-century print media and its impact on north German fashion and material consumption. See Erlin, *Necessary Luxuries*; see also North, *'Material Delight and the Joy of Living'*.

[64] On the failure of Reichart's magazine, see Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 23-6.

[65] For a comparison of Reichardt's magazine with those of his north German contemporaries, see Fishman, "Critical Text as Cultural Nexus."

a fine arts encyclopedia (see Figure 15). The middle excerpt was taken from Johann Heinrich Lambert's *Neues Organon* (Leipzig, 1764). Lambert, a Swiss savant obsessed with visualizing quantified data, considered figured bass in his chapter, "Semiotics," which Reichardt selected out of an otherwise scholarly tome. Lambert writes,

> Music notation has a remarkable [*merklichen*] degree of perfection as symbols [*Zeichen*] because they at once represent the height of the note and its duration, and by means of some numerals placed above it, a harmony or consonance of several tones. The one shortcoming is that they do not specify the criteria of harmony because dissonances, false passages and leaps, as well as true ones can be signaled [*gezeichnet*]. It is therefore necessary to choose the good and harmonic according to the rules of composition. The notes themselves do not indicate it.[66]

Through his magazine, Reichardt advocated that the same should be claimed for musical works, which taught amateurs to "choose the good and harmonic." Here, Enlightenment reduction imbricates upon the printed arrangement of musical notation, literary excerpts, and musical compositions in the periodical: The *Kunstmagazin* was bent on teaching Reichardt's version of the "criteria of harmony" to such an extent that contemporary reviews all agreed that the journal, while important for producing hitherto inaccessible "masterpieces," ultimately proved too opinionated.

Like the *Hamburgisches Magazin*, Reichardt's *Kunstmagazin* instructed readers on how to read, evaluate, and contextualize the musical printscape through its very selectivity and arrangement. Reichardt arrayed a series of disparate musical excerpts and short pieces under generic headings, bookending them with critical commentaries. Most pieces were reformatted in grand-staff keyboard reduction. Some contrapuntal vocal pieces retained an open score, but were still playable for amateur keyboardists by the conventions of amateur legibility. The trademark of Reichardt's journal lay in the recurring series, *Merkwürdige Stücke großer Meister verschiedener Zeiten und Völker* ("Remarkable Pieces of Great Masters From Various Eras and Peoples"). This series, which unlike others appeared in each issue,

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[66] Die Noten in der Musik haben al Zeichen einem merklichen Grad der Vollkommenheit, weil sie mit einemmale die höhe des Tons und seine Dauer, und vermittelst einiger darüber gesetzte Zahlen, eine Harmonie oder Consonaz mehrerer Töne vorstellen. Der einige Mangel dabey ist, daß sie die Criteria der Harmonie nicht angeben, weil Dissonanzen, falsche Gänge und Sprünge, eben so wie die wahren, gezeichnet werden können. Man ist daher dabey genöthigt, nach den Regeln der Composizion das Gute und Harmonische zu wählen. Die Noten selbst geben ist nicht an. Lambert's *Neues Organon*, in Reichardt, *Kunstmagazin*, 46.

highlighted different genres such as "Singing Pieces" or "Instrumental Music." In the fourth and fifth issues from 1791, the series focused on *Kirchenmusik*. In these entries, Reichardt invited readers to "enjoy and compare" disparate musical styles of unprecedented historical and confessional diversity: A motet by Leonard Leo, a chorus by J. A. P. Schulz, Handelian aria, a Kirnberger duet, a Palestrina Gloria Patri, and a C. P. E. Bach chorus were collected and displayed as the finest examples of "church music" in keyboard notation (see Figure 16). Taken together, these excerpts demonstrated for Reichardt the German Protestant aesthetic of "noble simplicity." Reichardt then defined "noble simplicity" in four points, citing criteria that notably characterized the Lutheran chorale (see Chapter 3):

> Truth in the accentuation of words;
> Natural and pleasing sequence of tones;
> Uniformity of rhythm and order in the breaks;
> Unity of natural harmony.[67]

By condensing this repertoire into four points, Reichardt had extracted common aesthetic principles from an assemblage of discrete theological, historical, and musical practices, employing the textual practices of comparison and abstraction occasioned by the form and function of the magazine. In this way, Reichardt's analysis of "noble simplicity" modeled the faculty of "wit" to readers by drawing general conclusions from disparate comparisons.

By reducing large liturgical works for amateur readers, and by their printed arrangement specially designed for analytical comparison, Reichardt's *Kunstmagazin* made explicit what Hiller and the north German "True Church Music" movement had only implied: *Kirchenmusik* no longer marked public events such as the *Gottesdienst* (church service) and no longer entailed discrete compositional forms like the cantata, but was now defined via an aesthetic category, "noble simplicity," that could produce solemnity (*Feierlichkeit*) and devotion (*Andacht*) for listeners in a variety of settings. "Church music" now appeared in the homes where the *Kunstmagazin* could be "enjoyed," as well as the chapels where Hiller was conducting Hasse's operatic arias.[68] At once a domestication and conglomeration of historico-geographically disparate occasional styles, Reichardt considered *Kirchenmusik* part of the media of domestic

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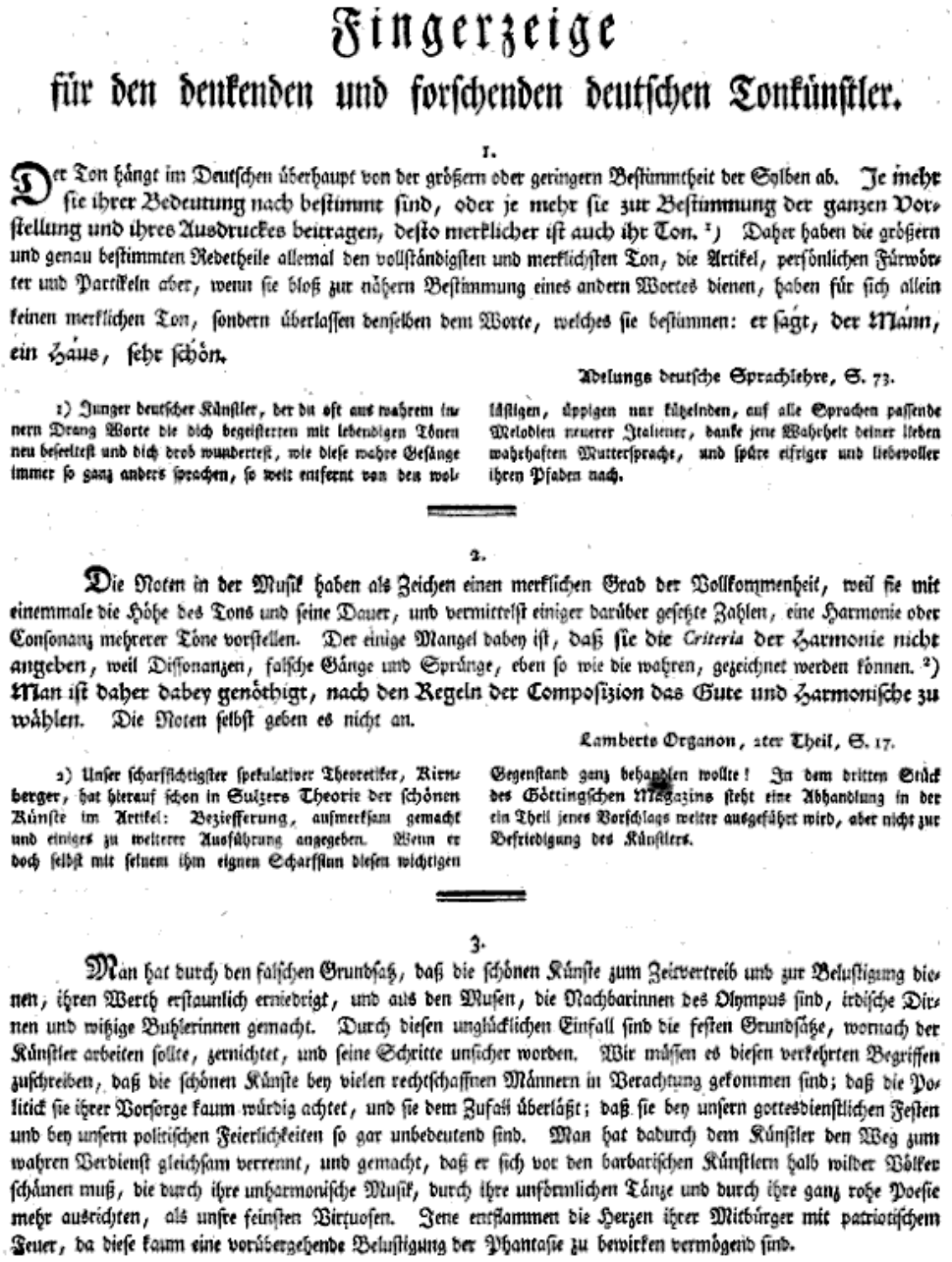
[67] "Was giebt nun aber diesem Gesange die liebe edle Einfalt? Wahrheit in der Akzentuazion der Worte; Natürliche und angenehme folge der Töne; Gleichheit der Rythmen und Ordnung in den Einschnitten; Einheit der natürlichen Harmonie." Reichardt, *Kunstmagazin* I, 37.

[68] On Hiller's conception of "True Church Music," particularly its "immediate" relation to the arrangement practice of parody per Hiller's *Meisterstücke*, see Heidrich, *Protestantische Kirchenmusikanschauung in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 72-85.

devotion found in the Protestant home to help forge the category of "sacred music."



Fingerzeige
für den denkenden und forschenden deutschen Tonkünstler.

1.

Der Ton hängt im Deutschen überhaupt von der größern oder geringern Bestimmtheit der Sylben ab. Je mehr sie ihrer Bedeutung nach bestimmt sind, oder je mehr sie zur Bestimmung der ganzen Vorstellung und ihres Ausdruckes beitragen, desto merklicher ist auch ihr Ton. [1] Daher haben die größern und genau bestimmten Redetheile allemal den vollständigsten und merklichsten Ton, die Artikel, persönlichen Fürwörter und Partikeln aber, wenn sie bloß zur nähern Bestimmung eines andern Wortes dienen, haben für sich allein keinen merklichen Ton, sondern überlassen denselben dem Worte, welches sie bestimmen: er sagt, der Mann, ein Haus, sehr schön.

Adelungs deutsche Sprachlehre, S. 73.

1) Junger deutscher Künstler, der du oft aus wahrem innern Drang Worte die dich begeisterten mit lebendigen Tönen neu beseeltest und dich drob wundertest, wie diese wahre Gesänge immer so ganz anders sprachen, so weit entfernt von den wollüstigen, üppigen nur kützelnden, auf alle Sprachen passende Melodien neuerer Italiener, danke jene Wahrheit deiner lieben wahrhaften Muttersprache, und spüre eifriger und liebevoller ihren Pfaden nach.

2.

Die Noten in der Musik haben als Zeichen einen merklichen Grad der Vollkommenheit, weil sie mit einemmale die Höhe des Tons und seine Dauer, und vermittelst einiger darüber gesetzte Zahlen, eine Harmonie oder Consonanz mehrerer Töne vorstellen. Der einige Mangel dabey ist, daß sie die *Criteria* der Harmonie nicht angeben, weil Dissonanzen, falsche Gänge und Sprünge, eben so wie die wahren, gezeichnet werden können. [2] Man ist daher dabey genöthigt, nach den Regeln der Composizion das Gute und Harmonische zu wählen. Die Noten selbst geben es nicht an.

Lamberts Organon, 2ter Theil, S. 17.

2) Unser scharfsichtigster spekulativer Theoretiker, Kirnberger, hat hierauf schon in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste im Artikel: Bezeifferung, aufmerksam gemacht und einiges zu weiterer Ausführung angegeben. Wenn er doch selbst mit seinem ihm eignen Scharfsinn diesen wichtigen Gegenstand ganz behandlen wollte! In dem dritten Stück des Göttingschen Magazins steht eine Abhandlung in der ein Theil jenes Vorschlags weiter ausgeführt wird, aber nicht zur Befriedigung des Künstlers.

3.

Man hat durch den falschen Grundsatz, daß die schönen Künste zum Zeitvertreib und zur Belustigung dienen, ihren Werth erstaunlich erniedrigt, und aus den Musen, die Nachbarinnen des Olympus sind, irdische Dirnen und witzige Buhlerinnen gemacht. Durch diesen unglücklichen Einfall sind die festen Grundsätze, wornach der Künstler arbeiten sollte, zernichtet, und seine Schritte unsicher worden. Wir müssen es diesen verkehrten Begriffen zuschreiben, daß die schönen Künste bey vielen rechtschaffnen Männern in Verachtung gekommen sind; daß die Politick sie ihrer Vorsorge kaum würdig achtet, und sie dem Zufall überläßt; daß sie bey unsern gottesdienstlichen Festen und bey unsern politischen Feierlichkeiten so gar unbedeutend sind. Man hat dadurch dem Künstler den Weg zum wahren Verdienst gleichsam verrennt, und gemacht, daß er sich vor den barbarischen Künstlern halb wilder Völker schämen muß, die durch ihre unharmonische Musik, durch ihre unförmlichen Tänze und durch ihre ganz rohe Poesie mehr ausrichten, als unsre feinsten Virtuosen. Jene entflammen die Herzen ihrer Mitbürger mit patriotischem Feuer, da diese kaum eine vorübergehende Belustigung der Phantasie zu bewirken vermögend sind.

Figure 15. Reichardt's *Musicalisches Kunstmagazin* II (Berlin, 1782), 46. Excerpts from Johann Christoph Adelung's *Deutsche Sprachlehre für Schulen*, Berlin, 1781; Johann Heinrich Lambert's *Neues Organon*, Leipzig, 1764; and Johann Georg Sulzer's foreword to *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Kunst*, Berlin, 1771.

The idea of sacred music was already assumed by the time Reichardt's student, E. T. A. Hoffmann, wrote his article, "Old and New Church Music," for Leipzig's *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1814. Hoffmann lauded his teacher's magazine as a model for presenting old masterworks to the public, even while he lamented the current state of affairs:

> For musicians and composers, indeed for every genuine admirer of true church music, nothing would be more pleasing than if the works of the early masters, which we only come across now and then like hidden treasure, could be offered to the public in printed or engraved form, even if initially it only happened piecemeal, perhaps in the style of Reichardt's *Kunstmagazin*. For even that stimulus would not fail to have the most salutary consequences. Many a young composer knows Palestrina, Leonardo Leo, Scarlatti, etc. only by name, and is prevented from obtaining manuscript copies of their works, which have now become rarities, by his isolated situation; yet only those works will teach him what true church music is.[69]

For Hoffmann, the *Kunstmagazin* stood as a canonical venture – "new church music" was ephemeral, with an "unparalleled frivolity" that neglected authentically devout pursuits, whereas "old church music," though seldom materially accessible, proved durable and worthy of continued preservation. But for Reichardt, a previously isolated assortment of musical genres, liturgical traditions, and religious confessions were collected and conflated under the eyes and hands of *Kunstmagazin* patrons, a conflation that required common points of comparison made possible by the format of the keyboard reduction, and reordered by form of the magazine.

The final issue of the *Kunstmagazin* began with a hymn of praise to the "eternal harmony" that supposedly constituted church music.[70] The hymn's author was Johann Gottfried Herder, as revealed in a passage from his essay "Cäcilia" published two years later (1793). "Cäcilia" described the hymn as a "description" and "praise of music," extolling the virtues of ancient masters in their uses of harmony.[71] "Cäcilia" is often invoked within present-day scholarship as a familiar Romantic elegy: musical masters of the distant past wrote "true church music," unlike the lax church musicians contemporary with Herder.[72] "Because, saint Cecilia, what wonderful sounds of heart and heart have you loved

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[69] translated in Hoffmann, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, 376.
[70] Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* V, 1.
[71] Herder, "Cäcilia," 287-319; the hymn is reprinted in full on pp.320-6.
[72] On Hoffmann and Romantic music's "elegiac discourse," see Comen, "Hoffmann's Musical Modernity and the Pursuit of Sentimental Unity," 9–28.

your favorites, a Leo, Durante, Palestina, Marcello, Pergolese, Handel, Bach! Sacred music sounded in and out of them in full, pure current; until afterwards it healed itself into a thousand graceful brooks."[73] But here, Herder repeats the very litany of composers appearing in the issue of *Kunstmagazin* that Herder's hymn to harmony was published, with the order of composers at times appearing on the recto and verso of the same sheet. The "sacred music" that St. Cecilia presides over, then, was first staged as a homogeneous repertoire by the music magazine. In other words, Reichardt's *Kunstmagazin*, with its attendant techniques of selection and arrangement, produced St. Cecilia's musical canon as Herder had it. Like Herder's poem, Reichardt's curation and analysis of church music eternalized it as a trans-historical, trans-generic category of music literature.

One might productively compare "Cäcilia" with Herder's earlier writing on "sacred music," Letter 46 from *Theological Writings*, written around 1780.[74] Maintaining Herder's image as a proto-ethnomusicologist, music scholars have downplayed the degree to which Letter 46 was an ecclesiastic epistle.[75] Yet Herder's two essays, written thirteen years apart, disclose different moments of sacred music's formation in the late-eighteenth century. Letter 46 concerned itself exclusively with Protestant liturgical music. Herder did not look uncritically at the ancient musical mastery of Reformation-era composers, but sought, like Hiller and many others at the time, to update and re-collect into one volume "the best hymns[…]from each hymnbook."[76] While much of the same aesthetic review is present in both essays, Letter 46 attributes music's power to promote religious feeling exclusively in the Lutheran chorale's compositional style, "The church hymn [*Kirchengesang*] moves slowly and ceremoniously; why should it skip about? The church hymn is for the masses—for their needs, for the ways they think and see, for their lives and language. They should pray to God with the hymn as they would pray from their heart, only the noble language of their heart."[77] By

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[73] Denn, heilige Cäcilia, mit welchen Wunder- und Herzenstönen hast du deine Lieblinge, einen Leo, Durante, Palestina [sic], Marcello, Pergolese, Händel, Bach, u.s. begeistert! In und aus ihnen tönte die heilige Musik in vollem, reinen Strome; bis sie sich nachher in tausend anmuthige Bäche zertheilt hat. Herder, "Cäcilia," 305.
[74] For a recent translation of Letter 46, see Bohlman, *Song Loves the Masses*, 190-7.
[75] Although Letter 46 clearly focuses on liturgical reform and devotional literature, Bohlman translates *Gesangbuch* in the quote above as "songbook," rather than "hymnbook," likely to bring closer Herder's theological writings to those on the *Volkslieder*. Cp. Bohlman, *Song Loves the Masses*, 50, 195.
[76] Eine Biene des christlichen Gesanges müßte also zuerst die besten aus allen Provinzen […] sammlen und dies wäre die Grundlage eines guten Gesangbuchs für Deutschland. Herderm, "Sechs und vierzigster Brief," 293-307, 304.
[77] Der Kirchengesang geht langsam und feierlich daher; was sollen ihm Sprünge? Der Kirchengesang ist für die Menge; also auch für die Bedürfnisse derselben; für ihre

contrast, "Cäcilia" has little concern for liturgical matters, seeking instead the kernel of religious experience that lies within all Christian confessions.

Jonathan Fine argues that, during the 1790s, Protestant theologians like Herder and Johann Lavater looked to Catholic ritual (with its musical repertoire) to reinvigorate their own denominations.[78] Fine calls the movement by which German Protestants vaunted Roman Catholic art and liturgy "the Protestant encounter" with Catholicism (See Chapter 3). The "Protestant encounter" is most familiar to musicologists who continue to uphold the discourse of *Kunstreligion* ("art-religion") around 1800: "art-religion" constitutes the scholarly reception of religio-aesthetic literature from Romantics such as Friedrich Schlegel, Hoffmann, Novalis, Wilhelm Wackenroder, Ludwig Tieck, and Heinrich Kleist (all of whom were raised Protestant but promoted Catholicism in adulthood).[79] Within the context Fine suggests, the interconfessional musical selection that Herder mythologized (and that Reichardt first collated and analyzed) was at once a byproduct of new literary media forms such as the magazine and keyboard reduction, and a consequence of north German theological debates on Protestant and Catholic aesthetics.

Exporting Sacred Music

In the eighteenth century, church music published beyond Protestant Germany was usually arranged for other organists or church leaders, and therefore set in choral notation rather than amateur keyboard notation such as a grand staff. An English example (but one consistent with predecessors going back to William Byrd) is the volume, *Sacred Hymns, Anthems, and Versicles* (London, 1766) by the German emigré and Catholic organist Charles Barbandt. The score is set in five staves (SATB and thoroughbass) – typical choral staving that Barbandt designed for wider implementation across international Roman Catholic parishes (his publication featured Latin and French translations for ease of international circulation).[80] By the end of the century, London's publishing houses dominated

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Denk- und Sehart, für ihre Situation und Sprache. Sie sollen hier zu Gott beten, wie sie aus ihrem Herzen beten würden; nur veredelte Sprache ihres Herzens. Herder, "Sechs und vierzigster Brief," 304. Herein lies the (mis)quote from the title, *Song Loves the Masses*. Cp. Bohlman, *Song Loves the Masses,* 192-3.

[78] Fine, "The Birth of Aestheticized Religion," 43-57.

[79] Scholarship on German Romantic aesthetics is too numerous to recount. In music studies the *locus classicus* remains Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, esp. 59-103, which employs all the cited figures in Dahlhaus's discussion of "art-religion."

[80] Philip Olleson, "The London Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels and their Music in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 234-58.

the international music market as Austro-German musicians flocked to the city, and publishers began printing local church music for sale in their music shops.

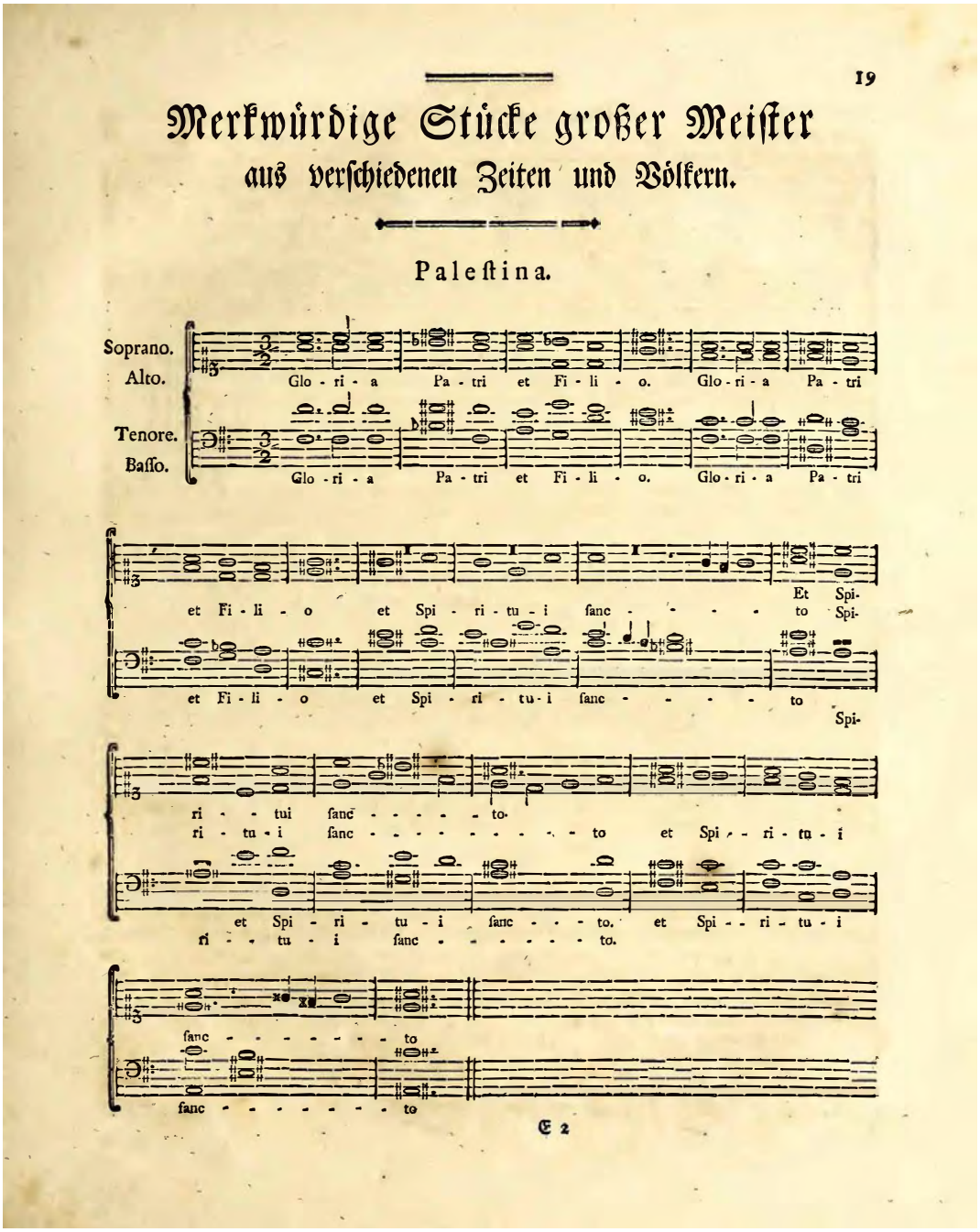

Figure 16. Excerpt of Palestrina's "Gloria Patri," edited in keyboard reduction format in Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* V, 19.

In 1792, the British publisher John Bland took a chance on a set of masses curated by Samuel Webbe. The score did not feature any accompaniment, but only two hollow staves with cantus firmus and unfigured bass (see Figure 17). The *Collection of Masses* was therefore not designated for individual domestic use the way it would have in northern Germany. Moreover, printed church music like Bland's *Collection of Masses,* or Webbe's earlier publication, *A Collection of Sacred Music as Used in the Chapel of the King of Sardinia* (London, 1785), only featured contemporary Catholic composers like Webbe, Stephen Paxton, and Francesco Pasquale Ricci, and was published for use in other parishes. In a city renowned for its glee clubs and highly-organized music societies, Webbe's score arrangements were "well adapted to the Powers of a small Choir…for both public and private use…although the Basses are not always figured, the hand of the skillfull organist will seldom be at a loss for proper harmonies necessary for the accompanyments, as they will naturally arise from the progression of the melody, which (as all church music should be) is as simple as possible."[81]

Such scores were materially available to amateurs, but largely unaccommodating in their musical legibility; they still catered primarily to organists with their stripped-down cantus firmus and thoroughbass lines (see Figure 17). Not until the nineteenth century was the first collection of sacred music intended for amateurs published outside of north Germany – one that featured the same historical, theological, and generic diversity of compositions that north German editors first synchronized. The collection was Christian Ignatius Latrobe's *Selection of Sacred Music from the Works of some of the Most Eminent Composers of Germany and Italy* (London, 1806-1826).

As Latrobe claimed, the four volumes of *Sacred Music* "adopted" the repertoires and arrangement techniques of north German music publications for an English amateur audience:

> Though the attention of many lovers of Music has been thus directed to an examination of the composition of foreign masters, yet the Editors and Printers of Music in this country cannot venture to present them with full scores of works, which have not, by some means, acquired celebrity in the public esteem, for which an opportunity is but seldom afforded. Under such circumstances, I trust this SELECTION OF SACRED MUSIC will be acceptable to them. I have adopted that mode which appeared to me most likely to answer the end proposed, by compressing the instrumental parts, as much as possible, into a full adaptation for the piano-forte, and confining my choice to such pieces as

[81] "Advertisement." *A Collection of Masses for the Accompaniment for the Organ* (London: Bland, 1792), II.

may be easily understood, and decently performed, even by any amateurs, who have acquired a moderate degree of skill and taste.[82]

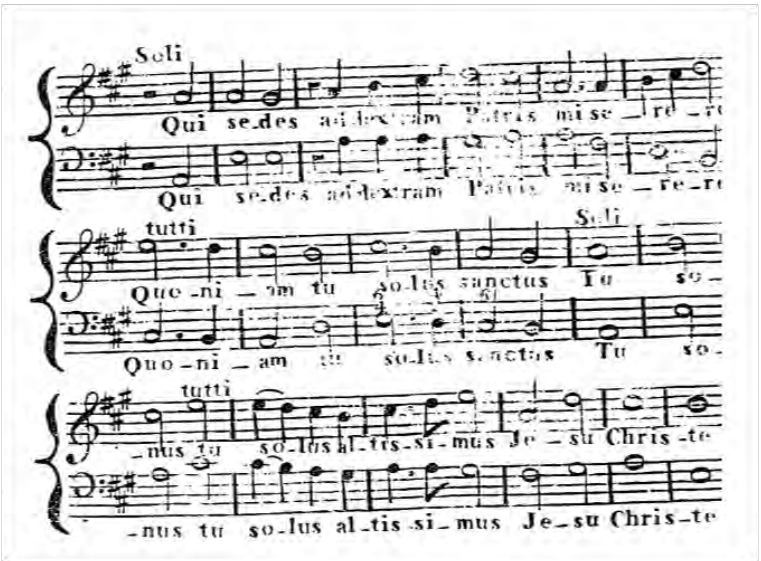

Figure 17. Bland and Webbe's *Collection of Masses* (London, 1792), 1.

Published primarily for Anglican and Catholic audiences, the collection relied heavily on Catholic genres, with selections from masses, Stabat Mater, Salve Reginas, and Te Deums comprising most of the collection. German Protestant compositions also appear, however seldom. By and large the mixed repertoire Latrobe assembled sat squarely in the taste of German Protestant *Liebhaber*. By the nineteenth century, the names Pergolesi, Hasse, Caldara, Mozart, and Haydn commonly appeared in concerts and publications in German lands.[83] Like any good Moravian, Latrobe had a penchant for published *Kirchenmusik* popular across north Germany. He was trained as a keyboardist and cleric in Germanic Moravian settlements, and secured a relationship with Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, occasionally buying up their extra inventory at a discount.[84] Latrobe also helped lead hymning singing and musical worship at the Moravian school in Niesky during the time a young Friedrich Schleiermacher attended, which, according to Schleiermacher, significantly influenced his musical

[82] "Foreword," in Latrobe, *Selection of Sacred Music from the Works of some of the Most Eminent Composers of Germany and Italy*, 4.
[83] See Mangum, "Apollo and the German Muses," esp. 228-59.
[84] See Stevens, "The Musical Works of Christian Ignatius Latrobe."

thought.[85] With ties to the north German music trade, Latrobe's *Selection of Sacred Music* imported only the portions of German Protestant musical taste that he thought would be most intelligible (and thereby marketable) to Anglican Londoners who were familiar with the printed church music of Catholicism.

However, publishing Catholic church music for amateurs entailed arranging thick choruses with orchestras for a small ensemble. Most Catholic music of the time featured denser musical textures than Protestant compositions, since instrumental parts in masses often contrasted the concurrent vocal lines, rather than mimic them, as in Lutheran oratorios.[86] It was therefore virtually impossible to reduce Catholic compositions to an amateur keyboardist's level, which was no more than two or three staves, without compressing the choir into a single line, and thus defeating the purpose of bringing harmonious church music into the home. Negotiating the limitations of amateur players and the complexity of his selected compositions, Latrobe delegated all instrumental music to the keyboard on a grand staff, with its arrangement thinned out for easy note distribution between the hands, and placed it below four choir lines. The arrangements, then, were not designed for a solo keyboardist, as Latrobe's keyboard parts hardly ever had the melody; it obliged several musicians (at least two or three) to play. Still, Latrobe's format differed in ease of playability and readability from Bland and Webbe's publications, which required keyboardists to read past several clefs between their parts and also called for advanced skills in thoroughbass. By contrast, Latrobe's figured bass, which rarely featured in his arrangements, were supplemental – if not incidental – to his written-out accompaniments. If ever there were an opportunity to summon an amateur's meager figured-bass knowledge, it was Antonio Caldara's "Et Incarnatus," the easiest piece in Latrobe's collection. The movement features a single, slow cantus firmus with plodding quarter-note chords underneath. Significantly, Latrobe elected to write out each harmony for the pianist anyway, despite featuring figured bass in his other arrangements (see Figure 18). The omission of figures in the Et Incarnatus suggests that Latrobe's figured basses elsewhere in the collection functioned as mere skeuomorphs in the tradition of printed church music, an

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[85] See Meyer, *Schleiermachers und C. G. von Brinkmann's Gang durch die Brüdergemeine*, esp. 42, 96-7. Schleiermacher relayed his first experiences of Berlin to his sister Charlotte, and famously recalled his early Moravian education when describing his musical experience of Zelter's Singakademie. See Blackwell, "The Role of Music in Schleiermacher's Writings," 440; and see Schleiermacher, *The Life of Schleiermacher* vol.1, 246.

[86] For comparisons of Catholic and Protestant church styles around 1800, see Grave and Grave, *In Praise of Harmony*. On the compositional style of German oratorios, see Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 329-535.

intentional adjustment to accommodate the amateur pianist over the church musician.

When Latrobe published the first volume of *Sacred Music*, he was a German Protestant musician at the helm of the most coordinated effort for global missions of any previous era, and located in the print capital of Europe. In 1784 Latrobe traveled from Prussia to England for ordination. There he worked as secretary in the central hub of the Moravian church's global missionary operations, The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.[87] Using the routes of British slave ships, missionary correspondences from Greenland, the American colonies, South Africa, Australia, and other Moravian outposts were collected and rerouted through Latrobe's office in London. This meant that, once his subscribers were secured, Latrobe exported the local musical taste of German Protestant "sacred music" into new cultural and geographic contexts. Outside of London, his subscribers hailed from Ireland, northern England, Jamaica, South Africa, and the American colonies. Latrobe published his four volumes of *Sacred Music* knowing that they would travel as far as British merchants could take it. Latrobe's influence on later collections of sacred music is already well documented: prolific young editors such as Vincent Novello looked to Latrobe's *Sacred Music* as a new generic model on which to edit and compile religious musical publications, resulting in various Anglo-Catholic iterations that soon became the standard for publishing sacred music.[88]

This chapter has described three forms of musical print and how they effectively domesticated church music to enable a trans-historical, multi-confessional idea of sacred music. However, keyboard reductions, music magazines, and spiritual songs were not the only scores used by pious keyboarders. The next chapter details several other musical media that sat on the same bookshelves, as it were, as the music literature discussed above. Specifically, Chapter 2 analyzes instruction manuals, practice pieces, and choral books. Yet the next chapter does more than round out a thick description of the Protestant burgher's musical library; it demonstrates that the same principles of reduction, shown in this chapter to have reshaped music's literary modes and devotional practices, also transformed the practices and materials of music pedagogy. The pedagogical materials discussed next, in turn, smoothed the path between church music and domestic devotion that the keyboard reduction and *geistliche Lied* had pioneered. As the media history of choral books in the next chapter shows,

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[87] On the history of British Moravian missions and the Brethren's Society in England, see Jensz, *German Moravian Missionaries*, 15-40.

[88] On Latrobe and the influence of his *Sacred Music* on Novello, see Palmer, *Vincent Novello (1781-1861): Music for the Masses*; and see Cowgill, "The Papers of C. I. Latrobe: New Light on Musicians, Music and the Christian Family in Late-Eighteenth Century England," 234-58.

amateur devotional scores and newly reductive pedagogical texts both sought to meet amateurs at their various levels of musical proficiency. Indeed, the activities of domestic devotion and keyboard training elided within the amateur choral book.

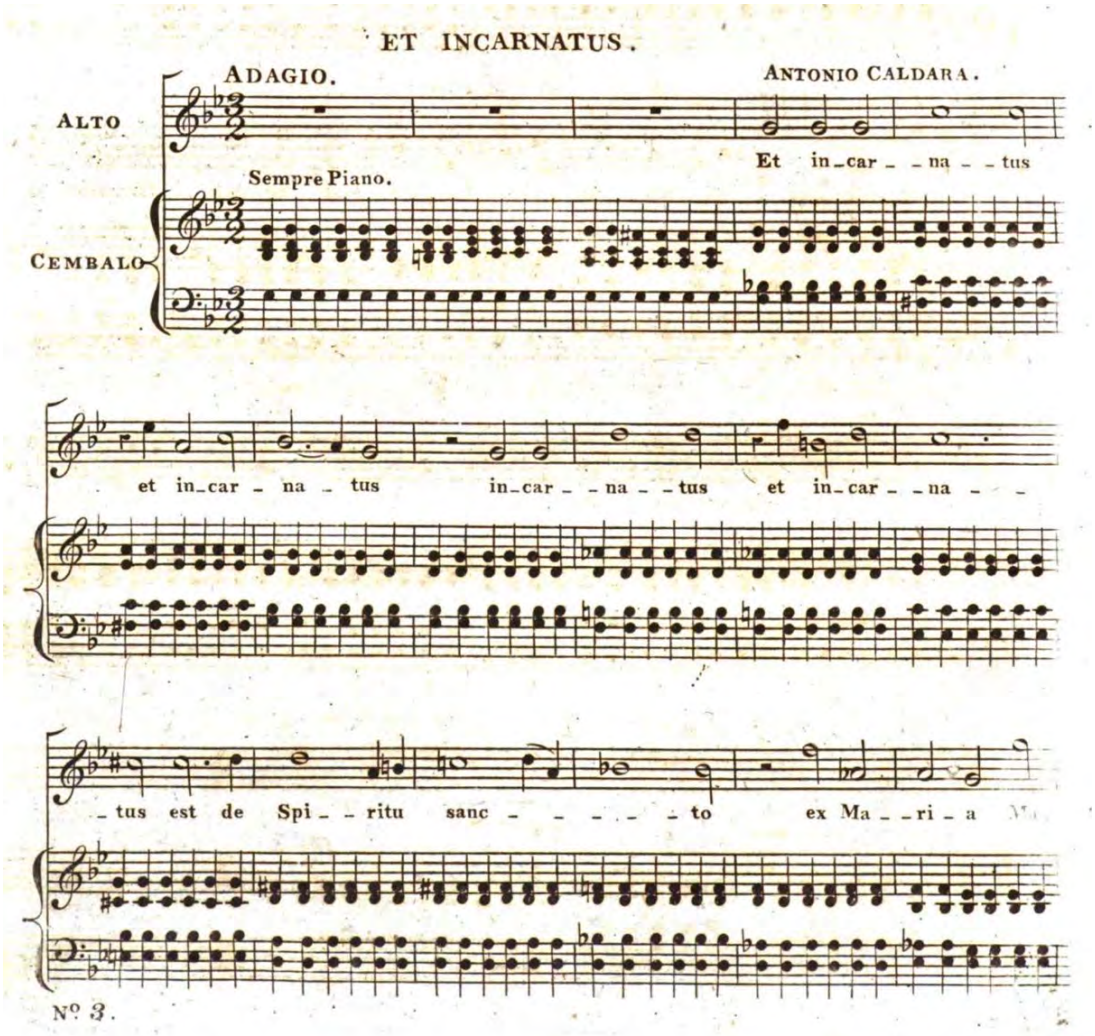

Figure18. Keyboard Reduction of Antonio Caldara's "Et Incarnatus," Latrobe's *Selection of Sacred Music* (1806), mm.1-17.

Chapter 2

Pedagogy and Church Music in the Late Eighteenth Century

> It is not the hand of the teacher that trains that of the pupil, but rather his good teaching method.[1]

Church music's reputed decline in the late-eighteenth century largely hinges on an argument about educational institutions: the number of Lutheran cantors, whose responsibilities were the cultivation and training of church music to children, choirs and musicians, declined throughout the late-eighteenth century, as did the number of lay choirs. The decrease in the numbers of these church music teachers has allowed scholars such as Celia Applegate to safely assert that "music languished in the Protestant churches of north Germany" during the late-eighteenth century, as Protestant churches witnessed "a decline in their institutional context."[2] To the extent that Protestant churches functioned as gatekeepers to musical training as a whole, general histories of music education take secularization at face value to frame their own narratives. Consider the following assessment:

> Although these new approaches to teaching [from Rousseau] inspired music education in Germany, the separation of music from religious functions led to the problem of justifying the value of music education. If the goal of music education was no longer to train young people in singing a religious repertoire for church services, it was difficult to give reasons for music education…The result was a decline of music education in Germany after 1750.[3]

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[1] "C'nest pas la main du Maître qui forme celle del' écolier, c'est fa bonne méthode." Marpurg, *Principes du Clavecin*, 2. Translation from Hays, "F. W. Marpurg's *Anleitung Zum Clavierspielen* (Haude et Spener: Berlin, 1755) and *Principes du Clavecin* (Berlin, 1756): Translation and Commentary," Intro-1-2.

[2] Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 179.

[3] Kertz-Welzel, "The Singing Muse? Three Centuries of Music Education in Germany," 11.

The peculiar dating of this claim, "after 1750," seems to confirm the constitutive role of European secularization in church music instruction, and brings this account into alignment with the long-running histories of German sacred music "after Bach" (d.1750).[4] To reconsider the history of church music distinct from any narratives based in secularization, then, is to recast the history of German music education dramatically. With that in mind, this chapter tries to tell an alternative story about church music education by placing it into a wider context of pedagogical change.

Church music, I will show, was caught up in a greater upheaval in the circulation of musical knowledge, one largely borne through print media and other educational reforms. The chapter begins from the musical writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a figure whose educational reforms allegedly proved futile and contrary to north German music education, but were in fact consistent with its history.[5] I pick up on a prevailing pedagogical model that Rousseau had denounced to show that printed music treatises of the late-eighteenth century incidentally carried forward his pedagogical vision. Keyboard manuals expressed this vision more clearly than those of other instruments, because keyboard pedagogy was arguably most contingent on the very model Rousseau criticized. Beginning in the late-eighteenth century, keyboard pedagogy, as seen in Bach's *Essay on the True Art of Keyboard-Playing* (Berlin, I 1753, II 1762) and its textual successors, reconstructed the figure of the domestic music tutor in print with increasingly specialized treatises and excercises.

From within this media-sensitve account of music pedagogy, church music education appears in no sort of decline. Instead, I show that Protestant cantors successfully reinvented their pedagogical approaches through print media. Church music educators were remarkably adept at responding to new pedagogical models that challenged their apprenticeship-style training in music. This response is most evident, as this chapter concludes, in the history of the *Choralbuch*. Long considered an essential text privy only to professional church organists and their pupils, choral books became popular domestic items on the heels of amateur keyboard and accompaniment treatises, thereby outsourcing the duties of the cantorate to the amateur printed choral book.

Rousseau and the Circulation of (Musical) Knowledge

Rousseau's *Dictionaire de musique* (Paris, 1768) began with an unusually lengthy article on "Accompanying." In it, Rousseau focused on what he regarded as a nationally inflected problem with keyboard instruction. The Italians, he said, did not require bass figures, since they possessed a "natural disposition" for

[4] See my Introduction.

[5] See Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, 173.

accompanying, whereas "another people, not born to music like [the Italians], find in the execution of accompanying several difficulties almost insurmountable."[6] It seems clear that Rousseau had in mind the materials and practices that scholars nowadays parse as the Neapolitan *partimento* tradition, with its complex structures of insider knowledge that allowed for playing from unfigured basses. Acquiring the proper technique of accompaniment was so hard – both to access and master – that, Rousseau surmised, "eight or ten years" were required to learn it. He proposed two reasons: "the one lies in the method of marking the figures on the bass; the other, in the manner of the accompaniment."[7]

Figured bass had always troubled the Swiss-born Frenchman. Earlier in his career, in a bid for academic respectability, Rousseau presented his *Project Concerning New Symbols For Music* to the Paris Academy of Sciences in 1742. He was destined to fail, for his project ran contrary to the Academy's institutional ideals: Rousseau's ciphers were designed for quicker learning at the beginner's level, for ease of mass printing, and to be more concise in communicating rhythmic value and pitch.[8] It was his solution to a problem that at the time he alone faced – how to become a learned musician without the infrastructure of aristocratic tutelage.

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As a forsaken child in a craftsman's home, the story goes, Rousseau found solace in music.[9] Desperate for formal music training, Rousseau discovered Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Treatise on Harmony Reduced to its Natural Principles* (1722). It sorely disappointed him.[10] For outsiders to early-eighteenth century scholarly life, Rameau's *Treatise* was an esoteric work, with lengthy digressions on acoustic equations and other arcane matters; it possessed almost no practical value for learning accompaniment. As a lower-class novice, Rousseau may even have misunderstood the title of the *Traité*. "Treatise…Reduced to its Natural Principles" indicated a systematic perspective that abstracted a few universal

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[6] Rousseau, *A Complete Dictionary of Music,* 8.

[7] Ibid.

[8] See Rousseau, *Project Concerning New Symbols for Music*.

[9] See Rousseau, *Confessions*; and "Translator's Introduction," in Rousseau, *Project Concerning a New Symbols*.

[10] The discrepancy between Rameau and Rousseau's models for disseminating musical information that I am tracing spilled over into discussions on national musical styles in the well-known "Querelle des Bouffons," exemplified by the "excess in learning" in Rameau's baroque style and Rousseau's more amateur-friendly *galant* style. The many stylistic disputes between Rameau and Rousseau frame music's role in the French Enlightenment in Verba, *Music and the French Enlightenment,* 8-34, 10.

governing laws from practical rubrics: Rameau and his intended audience considered these principles as discoveries from nature, to be "reduced" and integrated into a coherent system.[11] Clifford Siskin has argued that this method of knowledge production is distinct to the idea of "system" – at once a claim about the disposition of knowledge at work "in the world" and a quasi-literary presentational genre.[12] According to Siskin, it was during the eighteenth century that "system," as both conceptual structure and literary genre, became the predominant form of human knowledge and learning.[13] In the early part of the century, system became the main vehicle by which scholars arranged and transmitted information, and the primary technique for understanding nature. Like his fellow members at the Paris Academy of Sciences, Rameau sought universal laws to explain existing European cultural practices. In this context, Rameau's contemporary reputation as "the Isaac Newton of music" has as much to do with the form of knowledge his *Treatise* took than its epochal intellectual importance.[14] Rameau's "principles" were, by his own admission, impractical: "As the practice of accompaniment demands a great knowledge of both the keyboard and music, we assume that those who desire to apply these principles already possess this knowledge."[15] Reading the *Treatise* as a guide to practical accompaniment was as reasonable as taking up Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* to play billiards.

Rousseau was hardly the last aspiring musician to be perplexed by Rameau's elegant abstractions. Bridging the intellectual gap between Rameau's scholarship and amateur musicianship, Jean de la Rond D'Alembert – unofficial advisor to Frederick the Great and overseer of Berlin's Academy of Sciences – published a practical summary of Rameau's writings for amateurs "who know nothing of music" in *Élémens de musique théorique et pratique: suivant les principes de M. Rameau, éclaircis, développés et simplifies* (Paris, 1752) ("Elements of theoretical and practical music: following the principles of Mr. Rameau, clarified, developed and simplified"). Berlin's eminent music scholar Wilhelm Marpurg soon translated D'Alembert's work into German, altering the title to amplify its systematic objectives for a German public, *Systematische Einleitung in die musicalische Setzkunst* (Leipzig, 1757) ("Systematic Introduction to Musical Composition"). As Marpurg explained,

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[11] "Harmonic division, which according to our system is the same as arithmetic division…" Cf. Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, 35.
[12] Siskin, *System,* 1.
[13] Ibid., 82.
[14] For more on Rameau's system as indebted to a "Newtonian method," see Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment*, 35-42.
[15] Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, 377-8.

> the expansiveness of Rameau's writings prevented various amateurs from acquainting themselves with the system of this famous artist. So he [D'Alembert] took the trouble to make a reduction [*Auszug*] of his [Rameau's] works, and this reduction did not fail to attract applause from both scholars and composers. Thus far, they understood the practical rules clearly enough, but they had some trouble seeing the theoretical principles of Mr. Rameau.[16]

An encyclopedist *par excellence*, D'Alembert made intelligible Rameau's academic tome for an inexperienced audience. In Marpurg's words (and employing the same method of knowledge reduction I discussed in the previous chapter), D'Alembert "reduced" scholarly knowledge and, in so doing, assigned it to other social domains – namely, from a complex science of music in the academy to amateur playability in the burgher's home. D'Alembert had written the text that the young Rousseau required.

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When Rousseau presented his new musical notation, Rameau was a sitting member of the Academy. After the proposal was rejected, Rameau offered some light criticism. First, the proposal had already been voiced by a Franciscan monk a century earlier, but to no avail – a fact Rousseau could not have previously known given his scant access to musical scholarship and libraries. Second, and more importantly, Rameau claimed that the new symbols would not catch on because they erased the pitch contour of phrases that instrumentalists depended on and could easily read with traditional notation. In Robert O. Gjerdingen's terms, Rousseau's notation abolished the graphical conveniences provided by the "lexicon" and "phrasicon" of stock musical gestures and idioms that accompanists were trained to read at a glance. D'Alembert, who also witnessed Rousseau's presentation, was more optimistic about the numerical system, and thought the notation might have taken hold "were it not for the existence of prejudice in favor of the older one."[17] Rousseau's notational system, therefore, actually threatened

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[16] "…die Weitläuftigkeit der Rameauischen Schriften verschiedene Liebhaber verhinderte, sich mit dem System dieses berühmten Künstlers bekannt zu machen. Er nahm sich also die Mühe, aus den Werken desselben einen Auszug zu machen, und dieser Auszug ermangelte nicht, sowohl bei Gelehrten als Tonkünstlern, Beifall zu finden. Dieſe hatten bisher die theoretiſchen Grundſätze des Herrn Rameau, jene aber die practiſchen Regeln deſſelben deutlich genug einzuſehen, etwas Mühe gehabt." "Vorbericht des Uebersetzers," in Marpurg, *Systematische Einleitung in die Musikalische Setzkunst,* unpaginated.

[17] D'Alembert, *Preliminary Discourse*, 33.

the stability of *partimento* reading and thoroughbass – musical practices premised on a principle of knowledge circulation that sustained and made possible Rameau's *Treatise*, as well as the authority of the academy as a whole.[18]

Both Rousseau's *Project Concerning New Symbols* and its failure in the Academy brought into view a pedagogical model that was more usually submerged. That model, according to Friedrich Kittler, preserved the same principle of knowledge circulation championed at baroque academies of learning such as those in Paris and Berlin.[19] For Kittler, baroque academia was "a discourse network without producers or consumers, which simply heaves words around." And the pedagogical model constitutive of baroque academia, or, as he called it, "The Republic of Scholars,"

> unilaterally instructs all its members–these 'doctors, and teachers, and scribes, and Christers' (or, more exactly, physicians, philosophers, jurists, and theologians) to go 'rummaging in phrases,' for as long as life or reading lasts, in a heap of books 'gnawed by worms, covered with dust'…[the scholar] sits in a library without new acquisitions, reads, makes extracts, and writes commentaries, in order then to dictate to his students in lecture what old books have dictated to him. The Republic of Scholars is endless circulation...[20]

Recently, the literary historian Chad Wellmon has shown how Kittler's "Republic" depended upon print media for this "endless circulation." For Wellmon, Europe's early-modern print market turned the discourse network of Kittler's "Republic" into a kind of universal library, "homogeneous, complete, and easily accessible to all scholars, that is, to those who knew how to interact with print. In this virtual world, knowledge was imagined as an interconnected body of learning embodied in printed texts."[21] Although print media once facilitated the project of amassing scholarly knowledge, Wellmon argues that beginning in the late-eighteenth century – concurrent with Kittler's Faustian critique of knowledge circulation and Rousseau's *Dictionaire* – print media also served to "fracture" that totality by publicizing knowledge for a less-educated, uninitiated *Publikum*. In this context, Rousseau's proposals to change accompaniment and notational practices

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[18] Gjerdingen, "Partimento, que me veux tu?" 123.
[19] For Julia Simon, Rousseau's *Project* also evoked a democratic politics of knowledge dissemination, a politics that I am more hesitant to attribute to the mode of dissemination I describe musical print media portraying in the late-eighteenth century. See Simon, "Singing Democracy: Music and Politics in the Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Thought."
[20] Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*, 4.
[21] Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment*, 14.

followed a larger transformation in circulating scholarly knowledge through print.

Rousseau's critique of music education and academic scholarship implicit in his *Project Concerning New Symbols* became explicit in the *Dictionaire's* discussion on "the manner of accompanying." The entry highlighted contradictory instructions from various teachers, a confusion that Rousseau attributed to pedagogical convention:

> Zealous masters have very clearly seen the insufficiency of their rules. To supply the defect, they have had recourse to the enumeration and description of consonances, every dissonance of which is extended, accompanied, and prevented, in all its different cases. A prodigious detail! Which the quantity of dissonances and of their combination sufficiently evince, and with which the memory remains loaded.
>
> Many advise the composition to be studied before we pass to the accompaniment, as if the accompaniment was not composition itself. […] It is as if it was proposed to begin to learn to read by making one's self an orator. On the contrary, how many insist on beginning by the accompaniment to learn composition! And this plan is certainly more reasonable and more natural.
>
> The course of the bass, the rule of the octave, the method of extending and preventing the dissonances, composition itself in general, all this concurs to no other purpose, than to show the succession of one chord to another; so that in every chord there are fresh objects, new subjects for reflection! What a continual labor! When will the mind be sufficiently instructed, and when the ear sufficiently exercised, so that the fingers be no longer stopped?[22]

What is exceptional about this passage is less the ensuing diatribe against Rameau for confusing the practice of accompaniment with an abstracted system, than Rousseau's claim that accompaniment training itself was the problem. Teachers ought to not "load the memory" of students, which meant learning by rote exercises over many years at the seat of a master. As Gjerdingen points out, borrowing terms from the communications theorist James W. Carey, Rousseau and his generation departed from this "ritual mode" of knowledge acquisition in favor of a "transmission" mode that redistributed musical knowledge between texts and bodies: no longer should the pupil's hands and eyes be inculcated with *passagi* and stock musical phrases.[23] Instead, amateurs should rely on new forms of musical notation, hand positions, and simpler compositional arrangements that allowed for quicker score reading without all the interpretive baggage involved in

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[22] Rousseau, *A Complete Dictionary of Muisc,* 9-10.

[23] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 173; cp. Carey, *Communication as Culture,* 13-5.

elaborating thoroughbass.[24] In short, the laborious and esoteric acquisition of accompaniment skills could be short-circuited – and publicly disseminated – using alternative pedagogical methods. Rousseau had envisioned a profoundly new method of musical instruction; something like this method eventually appeared shortly after his death in 1778, but, as we will see, by the opposite means than he proposed.[25]

While Rousseau notoriously "hated books" because they deterred youth from a holistic education from "Nature," the print market in the late-eighteenth century nevertheless provided the optimal means for those seeking alternatives to conventional methods of music instruction.[26] music education after Rousseau primarily relied on printed books promising ever-shortening learning outcomes for accompaniment proficiency in "six months," "three months," or even "three weeks." To say nothing of the brevity of such timetables, the mere gesture of advertising a timetable for learning a subtle art like thoroughbass was unthinkable before the simultaneous events of Rousseau's educational reforms and what Wellmon and others have called "the era of print saturation."[27]

Rousseau's pedagogical thought disparaged the longstanding craft-oriented teaching methods that worked to pass on complex insider knowledge by honing rudimentary maneuvers upon a "model" or exemplar.[28] This "model," as

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[24] In a limited sense, Rousseau's phrase, "loading the memory," suggests the analogy of accompaniment training as running a software program for reading scores, rather than laboriously embedding the "firmware" of accompaniment skills into the mind and body of the student. In this analogy, it follows that for Rousseau, accompaniment requires the student to initiate a kind of "volatile random access memory," which runs quickly during the programmatic activity of accompanying, rather than "non-volatile read-only memory," which denotes permanent storage and is used for the core processing of musical information. The epistemological and historical connections between digital computation and eighteenth-century keyboard play are meticulously ordered by Roger Moseley. See Moseley, *Keys To Play*, 67-177.

[25] Few music scholars have registered this tectonic shift in music pedagogy of the eighteenth century, and those who have scarcely consider it more than a blip in the ancient dialectics of theory and praxis. Using a media-sensitive approach to pedagogical texts, however, reveals that Rousseau prompted a much larger and permanent change than is usually supposed in the formation and transmission of musical knowledge. See Diergarten, "Romantic Thoroughbass," 8; see also Dahlhaus, "Harmony."

[26] The famous quote goes, "I hate books. They only teach one to talk about what one does not know." See Rousseau, *Emile, or, On Education*, 183.

[27] On the idea of print saturation in late-eighteenth century Germany, see The Multigraph Collective, *Interacting with Print*.

[28] In similar fashion, Jamie Kassler labeled this instructional method, "the craft system of education." See Kassler, "Burney's Sketch of a Plan for a Public Music

Jamie Kassler once noted, "was not within the mind itself but was an eternal 'form' which was to be imitated. In so doing, the pupil learned a just representation of a thing, or person, imitated, which afterwards could be deviated from by his making further searches from his own 'stock' or from the stock of others. Hence, the quality of education under the craft system rested primarily upon the music master."[29] The "craft system" – or what I call "the apprenticeship model" of pedagogy, based on the intimate relationship of master and apprentice – was up until Rousseau's last years the only path to achieve what C. P. E. Bach called the "artful manner of accompaniment."[30] Bach himself endorsed the apprenticeship model for keyboard instruction in his two-volume *Essay on the True Art of Keyboard Playing*, yet the *Essay's* very publication, as we will see, helped dismantle the very model Bach upheld. To that end, textbooks and musical scores succeeding Bach's *Essay* effectively worked in tandem with Rousseau's pedagogical thought in north German music instruction. An elderly Bach had witnessed the new fad of text-driven speed learning in 1773. In responding, he hastened to remind his readers, "nothing fundamental comes without time and patience."[31]

Bach Among the Pedagogues

Rousseau's *Project Concerning New Music Symbols* advocated for the abolition of texts that functioned as exemplars to be repeated, internalized, and inculcated by the pupil through time-consuming and thoughtless practice, and so criticized the model of apprenticeship and its associated pedagogical literature that, on the whole, C. P. E. Bach would have defended. In seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century German music education, thoroughbass and counterpoint textbooks, or *Lehrbücher*, were founded on the apprenticeship model, reinforced by the venerable publications of a Heinichen, Mattheson, Fux, Niedt and others. These books assumed a fixed relationship between bodies and texts, and stipulated how texts aided oral and physical instruction, in turn cueing and framing the apprentice's method of rehearsal. In other words, instructional texts articulated a specific sequence and hierarchy in the transmission of musical knowledge, from teacher to pupil. The music *Lehrbuch* also assumed a teacher who would explicate all necessary facets of musical performance – which, in the case of keyboard instruments, were legion. Emmanuel Bach cited a litany of skills a keyboardist was expected to master:

School."

[29] Ibid., 218-9; quoted in Gjerdingen, "Partimento, que me veux-tu?," 89.

[30] Bach, *Essay*, i.

[31] "Ohne Geduld und Zeit lässt sich nicht Gründliches lernen." Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,* 109.

> ...play in accordance with the rules of good performance…[be] able to improvise fantasias in all styles, to work out extemporaneously any requested setting after the strictest rules of harmony and melody; how he must be at home in all keys and transpose instantly…[to] play everything at sight whether designed for his instrument or not; how he must have at his command a comprehensive knowledge of thoroughbass which he must play with discrimination...strictly as well as in the galant manner, how he must extract [*Auszug*] this thoroughbass from large scores with unfigured or even pausing basses and with it reinforce the ensemble; and who knows how many other things?[32]

Such requisite skills were mastered without complaint by Emmanuel and his contemporaries, and their fathers before them. The keyboardist's array of professional skills, however, turned into a problem once keyboard instruction encountered a wider and more diffuse domestic economy of musical amateurism through print media in the mid-eighteenth century. As a keyboarding *Künstler* flourishing in the 1750s-1770s, Emmanuel Bach was in a unique position to identify and rectify this problem. His earliest solution in 1752 was to write a book that "attempted" (*Versuch*) to intervene in the very structure of the social model of apprenticeship. The first *Versuch* rerouted the stream of pedagogical information by interposing a point of transmission between teachers and their textbooks, creating a bibliographic chain of instruction between teacher and pupil. Precisely where and when Chad Wellmon locates the first cracks in "the empire of erudition," Bach perceived crucial information lost in the communication channels of musical apprenticeship – a fissured connection he saw creating "contradictions and confusion," visibly manifested in the convoluted symbols of figured bass in musical prints. Bach acknowledged the same frustrating lack of notational uniformity that had troubled Rousseau in his *Dictionaire*. However, nowhere in either volume of the *Essay* did Bach criticize – or attribute such confused bass figuration to – the methods of teaching music. On the contrary, Bach reiterated his faith in the apprenticeship model of tutelage and rote exercising that had nurtured him at this father's keyboard: "An examination of various introductions to thoroughbass will reveal the inadvisability of withholding new progressions until they have been exhaustively discussed. *I have avoided this and placed a greater trust in the instructor*" (emphasis mine).[33] To keep printing costs down, and thus allow for a wider distribution, Bach left most drilling exercises and copious exemplars to the instructor, all of which he considered indispensable for keyboard instruction.

Bach did not originally intend to write a sequel to his first *Versuch*, if only

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[32] Bach, *Essay*, 27-8.
[33] Ibid., 170-1.

because the topics of improvisation and accompaniment had already been satisfactorily covered in print (or so he thought at the time, alluding to his Berlin colleagues Marpurg and Sorge, and their writings). As he put it in the first volume of 1753,

> In presenting an introduction to keyboard playing it has not in the least been my intention to treat systematically all of the previously mentioned tasks and to show how they may be satisfactorily discharged. Neither the art of improvising nor thoroughbass is discussed here. There have long since been dealt with in part in many excellent books. It is my aim to show the performer how he may play solos correctly and thereby gain the approbation of *Kenner*…in all matters, I have had in mind chiefly those teachers who have failed to instruct their students in the true foundations of the art.[34]

Yet by 1760, he started drafting a teaching manual for thoroughbass that merged his supplemental teachings of the *wahre Art* with an accompaniment textbook: "The most notable feature of this book is the attention given to *artistic* accompaniment, and in this respect it differs from all previous manuals on thoroughbass. The observations are not speculative but rest on experience and wisdom" (emphasis mine).[35] The function of the *Essay*'s second volume (1762) departed from other thoroughbass treatises in the way it meticulously described points of "artfulness," but left copious *Übungen* ("excercises") and pace of didactic advancement up to the instructor. Bach offered the second *Essay* as no mere supplement, but as a newly indispensable text positioned amid the pedagogical triad of teacher, pupil, and *Lehrbuch*.

Bach's *Essay* volume II quickly became a staple of musical instruction in north Germany (and elsewhere). Its success spawned a new wave of instructional texts that emphasized quicker learning outcomes and shortcuts to accompaniment competency – the very objectives that Bach's emphasis on "artfulness" opposed.[36] "I have observed with greatest satisfaction the change that has come over the world of keyboard playing since the publication of my *Essay*…yet I must regret that my high motives have innocently given rise to old and even worse barbarisms," he wrote in the *Hamburgisches unparteischer Correspondent*, commenting on the state of music instruction after a decade of the *Essay*'s reception.[37] Bach

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[34] Bach, *Essay*, 28-9.
[35] Ibid., 28.
[36] On the influence of Bach's *Essay*, see Christensen, "C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch* and its Context in Eighteenth-Century Thorough Bass-Pedagogy," 311-26.
[37] "Die Veränderung, welche seit der Herausgabe meiner beiden Versuche im Reiche der Clavierspieler vorgegangen ist, habe ich mit dem gröossten Vergnügen wahrgenommen. …Alleine eben so sehr bedauere ich, dass meine so gute

wrote to remind his readers that despite the popularity of streamlined music learning, "Study of keyboard performance is not a compendious affair, and dare not be if it is to be learned thoroughly."[38] Bach's use of "compendious" (*compendiöse*), with its strong bibliographic connotations, was intentional: one cannot "cram" to learn the art of accompaniment in a short period, yet this was promoted by a new generation of didactic texts. Witnessing this pedagogical trend after the second volume's publication, Bach continued to voice a distaste for hasty music learning and an over-reliance on compendious music manuals:

> I divide all keyboard performers into two groups. In the first are those for whom music is a goal, and in the second, all amateurs who seek thorough instruction. My *Essay* is intended for the first group; no paragraph is superfluous…For the second group, the amateurs, there is indeed no instruction book [*Lehrbuch*], if this could once be impressed upon their teachers. Instead, one should proceed as I used to, unwillingly but out of necessity. Before each period, I wrote out the lesson that I intended to give and concerned myself only with the most essential principles…If the student was prepared, it turned out that the entire transcribed lesson (without examples and the rudiments, which were presupposed since they can be taught as well by a village schoolmaster as by the greatest artist) filled about a half sheet of paper.[39]

Veranlassung unschuldiger Weise Gelegenheit geben muss, in die alte und eine noch ärgere Barbarei zu fallen." Translation from Bach, *Essay on the Art of Keyboard Playing*, 462. The original German, along with the rest of Bach's original article in the *Correspondent*, is reprinted in Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 108-9.

[38] "Das Clavierspiel ist keine sehr compendiöse Sache, und darf es auch nicht sein, wenn man gründlich verfahren will." Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 108. Translation from Bach, *Essay*, 8.

[39] "Ich theile alle Clavierspieler in zwo Klassen: in die erste gehören diejenigen, deren Hauptwerk die Musik ist, und alle Liebhaber, welche gründlich unterrichtet sein wollen. Für die erste Klasse gehören meine Versuche, und kein Paragraph ist für sie überflüssig…Für die Liebhaber der zweiten Klasse gehört eigentlich, und wenn es der Lehrmeister über sein Gewissen bringen kann, gar kein Lehrbuch, sondern man verfährt so, wie ich vor diesem zuweilen, zwar sehr ungerne, doch aus Noth; nämlich, ich schrieb vo jeder Stunde die Lection auf, die ich geben wollte, und beschäftigte mich bloss mit den nöthigsten Grundregeln…Wenn der Scholar in seiner Art fertig war, so fand sich's, dass der ganze aufgeschiebene Unterricht, ohne Exempel und dem musikalischen A. B. C., welches jeder Dorfschulmeister eben so gut lehren kann, wie der grösste Künster, und welches also zum Voraus gesetzt wird, ungefähr einen halben Bogen Papier vollfüllete." Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 108. Translation from Bach, *Essay*, 8-9.

Bach's advice on lesson planning went unheeded. After the second *Essay* appeared, a glut of "clear and concise" musical textbooks, teaching aids, and beginner's manuals vied for shelf space in the amateur's *Musikbibliothek*, proliferating unabated past Bach's death in 1787 (see Appendix). As a textual intervention within the apprenticeship model of education, other music instructional books followed the path Bach's *Essay* incidentally blazed; didactic musical tracts frequently appeared in explicit deference to Bach's *Essay* as their pedagogical and medial precedent. Music instructional texts of the late eighteenth century attempted to plug ever more informational leaks between teacher and pupil, first sprung by Bach's *Essay*. Bach had intended the *Essay I & II* to shore up the very social model of apprenticeship that Rousseau had criticized. But, in the event, the *Essay II* opened the way to a deluge of musical textbooks that loosened the pedagogical bond between teacher and pupil with each publication.

In 1765, Georg Simon Löhlein, while still apprenticing with Johan Adam Hiller in Leipzig, wrote a book on keyboard playing with a title that should have seemed irrelevant next to its Bachian forerunner. With great deference to Bach, Löhlein treaded lightly on hallowed ground in the preface to *Klavierschule, oder kürzliche und gründliche Anweisung zur Melodie und Harmonie, durchgegends mit praktischen Beyspielen erkläret* ("Keyboard School, or short and elementary instruction in melody and harmony, clarified with practical examples throughout"):

> Who does not know the excellent *Essay on the true art of playing the keyboard*, as well as "The Accompaniment" [Volume II] of a great Bach? What has a Marpurg and Sorge, in this field, not already delivered for excellent things? Let alone others whose merits I do not dare to deny. Thus it seems to be a superfluous to increase the number of these teachings. But experience teaches us that many, when learning this instrument through ill-chosen instruction receive bad direction – either immediately by the arrangement of the fingering, the manners, and the meter – or in consequence, by the appearance of unconquerable difficulties to be completely scrapped. And since most [instructional texts], so written for beginners of this instrument, presuppose a certain degree of perfection, therefore I believe a little book of this kind will not be completely without use. Therein the teacher as well as the student will find something useful. But with this it is not meant that one could learn the keyboard from this tract without the help of a teacher? Far from it. The same textbooks are among wishful thinking: *Viva vox docet* [a living voice teaches (better than books)]. This is the main purpose: to be a guide for the tutor and pupil.[40]

[40] "Wer kennet nicht den fürtrefflichen "Verſuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu ſpielen", ſowohl, als über "das Accompagnement", eines großen Bachs? Was hat nicht ein Marpurg und Sorge, in dieſem Fache, ſchon für treffliche Sachen geliefert?

Löhlein did not intend to displace the music teacher: private tutors were a feature of German middle-class social life, not least in musical activity. Above all, Löhlein's *Klavierschule* sought to aid tutors in their *method* of teaching, offering materials for lesson plans and physical posturing in a far more invasive way than earlier keyboard textbooks. As such, it was designed to operate in coordination with other pedagogical texts, guiding the teacher on how to manufacture lesson plans from the pages of Bach's *Versuch über die Clavier zu Spielen I&II* (Berlin, 1753-1762), Marpurg's *Handbuch bey Generalbasse und Composition* (Berlin, 1757-1762), and Sorge's *Compendium Harmonicum* (1760). Indeed, Löhlein's *Klavierschule* reads in part as a reception history of these texts insofar as it provides a contemporary account of how they how they were used in the 1760s.

If pedagogical texts mediated between teacher and student, then the most successful text presumably dispensed with the teacher altogether. To be sure, autodidactic books were hardly a new development: lute, violin, and vocal self-teaching manuals dated back at least to the sixteenth century.[41] Such texts appear *ad hoc* throughout music history, usually produced in circumstances when house tutors became scarcely available to noble families that could otherwise afford it, or to less noble families who could not. Sometimes, the figure of the house tutor even became ethically fraught. As Katie Nelson points out, "in the intimate setting of

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Andere zu geſchweigen, deren Verdienſte ich mir nicht getraue abzuſprechen. Es ſcheint alſo ein ſehr großer Ueberfluß zu ſein, die Anzahl dieſer Unterweiſungen zu vermehren. Da aber die Erfahrung lehret, daß viele bei Erlernung dieſes Inſtruments, durch einen übelgewählten Unterricht, entweder gleich in der Anlage der Fingerſetzung, der Manieren, und des Tacktes, eine üble Richtung bekommen, oder auch in der Folge, durch den Anſchein, unzuüberwindender Schwierigkeiten, ganz davon abgeſchröcket werden; und da auch die meisſten, ſo für die Anfänger dieſes Inſtruments geſchrieben haben, einen gewiſſen Grad der Vollkommenheit vorausſetzen; ſo glaube ich, ein Werkchen dieſer Art, wird nicht gänzlich ohne auch vom Spielen aus dem Stegreife, beigefüget werden. Damit aber iſt es nicht gemeinet, daß man ohne Beihülfe eines Lehrmeiſters, aus dieſem Tractätchen das Clavier erlernen könne? Keinesweges. Dergleichen Lehrbücher gehören unter die frommen Wünſche: "Viva vox docet". Die Hauptabſicht davon iſt: ein Wegweiſer für den Meiſter und Schüler zu ſein." Löhlein, *Klavierschule*, i. My translation. A complete English translation exists thanks to Dora Jean Wilson. Wilson's translation is best suited for summaries and paraphrases of Löhlein's lessons, and does not recognize semantically-charged terms in pedagogical discourse that the *Klavierschule* engaged, as she wavers on Löhlein's frequent invocations of *Auszug*, *Liebhaber*, *Kenner*, *Erziehung*, *Übung*, et al. See Wilson, "Georg Simon Löhlein's Klavierschule: Translation and Commentary."

[41] See Jones, "'Buy, Reade, Regard': Learning to Sing and Play through the Printed Page in Early Modern England."

the music room much more than a music lesson might pass between the tutor and his lady."[42] For Germans living in "the pedagogical century," there was hardly a shortage of tutors in the larger towns and urban centers of Prussia. Autodidactic music books remained exceedingly rare during this time, but one notable exception was Michael Johann Friedrich Wiedeberg's *Self-Informed Keyboard Player*, published in the same year and city as Löhlein's *Klavierschule*. Spanning over 1,600 pages across three volumes, it remains one of the lengthiest German treatises on keyboard playing ever produced. Wiedeburg wrote for those specific students,

> who either have not the money, time, desire or opportunity to be informed by a master, and yet likes to learn to play a song or easy aria by playing notes so clearly and diligently, written that amateurs of both sexes, especially aspiring rural organists without the aid of a teacher, can bring themselves to play a song on the keyboard after notes, together with thirty known song-melodies and an aria, as well as one short instruction to learn to play all songs even after the basso continuo.[43]

Like Löhlein's *Klavierschule*, *The Self-Informed Keyboard Payer* purported to link up with a network of music manuals of the 1760s – one that Wiedeberg invoked to furnish any missing parts of the student's music education: "This booklet [*Buchlein*] has almost become too large for me to write against, and it would have become even larger, especially the last chapter [on thoroughbass], if I had I not wanted diligently to leave things out, all of which, however, one will find extensively and thoroughly in other musical books. This book can thus be a clear introduction to other musical books.[44]

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[42] Nelson, "Love in the music room: Thomas Whythorne and the private affairs of Tudor music tutors," 15-26.

[43] "…welchen es entweder an Geld, Zeit, Lust oder Gelegenheit fehlet, sich von einem Meister informiren zu lassen, und doch gerne ein Lied oder leichte Aria nach Noten begehren spielen zu lernen, so deutlich und mit Fleiß weitläuftig abgefasset, daß die Liebhaber beyderley Geschlechts, sonderlich auch angehende Landorganisten, ohne Beyhülfe eines Lehrmeisters, sich selbst so weit bringen können, nach Noten ein Lied auf dem Claiver zu spielen, nebst dreyßig bekannten Liedermelodien und einer Aria, wie auch einer kurzen Anweisung alle Lieder auch nach dem Generalbaß spielen zu lernen…" Title page from Wiedeberg, *Die Selbst informierende Clavierspieler*.

[44] "Es iſt das Büchlein mir unter dem Schreiben wider Vermuthen faſt zu groß geworden, und es würde noch viel größer geworden seyn, ſonderlich das letzte Capitel, wenn ich nicht mit Fleiß manches hätte aus laſſen wollen, welches alles aber man in andern muſicaliſchen Büchern weitläuftig und gründlich finden wird. Es kann alſo dieſes Buch eine deutliche Einleitung in andere muſicaliſche Bücher seyn."

Despite these modest aspirations, the first volume only managed to teach the student how to read common forms of music notation. Unlike Löhlein's *Klavierschule*, not a single practical exercise is counted among its 220-odd pages. The student, having been shown the symbols of music notation and a few attendant rules of harmony, never once has occasion to apply this knowledge. Wiedeberg even demonstrates correct fingering for playing musical passages, but does not mention what to rehearse or how to rehearse it, or how one should sit at the keyboard, or how to position one's arms and wrists to best manage these fingerings. Wiedeberg had presented an extended lesson in *Notenlesen* ("note-reading") rather than *Clavierspielen*.

If Wiedeburg's self-teaching manual did not produce practical exercises for its pupils, how did he expect them to play what they understood only in the abstract? Composing exercises for a pupil was one of the main responsibilities of teachers in music apprenticeship. These apprenticeship-style exercises were based on copious repetition and drilling of musical exemplars that enforced contrapuntal logic and strict composition, which largely dictated the student's rate of progression (in Rousseau's estimation, "eight to ten years"). Out of the series of intermediary musical textbooks in the 1760s-1770s, a crucial new genre of pedagogical media appeared: the published keyboard exercise. Beginning in the 1760s, printed practice pieces supplemented instruction books to help fulfill the music teacher's lesson plan while downplaying time-consuming inculcation in musical exemplars. The growth of *Probestücke* and their attendant instruction books through the 1780s privileged quicker learning and diversified teaching outcomes, in turn articulating numerous stages of amateur proficiency. Early practice pieces therefore subverted the apprenticeship model on three fronts: outsourcing a teacher's responsibilities to the print market, advocating shorter paths to amateur proficiency, and cultivating variants of dilettantism. The practice piece quickly became a cornerstone of printed keyboard literature by the end of the century, whose generic descendants would include the etudes, scalar calisthenics, and hand braces of nineteenth-century piano virtuosi.

Practice Pieces

The musical term, *Probestück* ("practice piece"), was adopted from the ancient craft of metallurgy, or *Probierkunst*, where minerals were "tried" and smelted into their pure forms.[45] The very fact that such practice pieces began to be published only

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Wiedeberg, *Die Selbst-informirende Clavierspieler*, 226.

[45] Metallurgy, another apprentice-based craft, may also have been subject to the same pedagogical transformation in print media I am tracing in music. See, for example, an early introduction to metallurgy (translated out of Latin) printed for an amateur public, Cramer, *Anfangsgründe der Probierkünst*. Christlieb Ehregott Gellert, a renowned

during the latter part of the eighteenth century is significant, for it helps the music scholar to chart when print media began working against the apprenticeship model of music education. Before this time – if one briefly glances at J. S. Bach's and Johann Kühnau's *Clavierübung* publications in early-century Leipzig – printed exercises rested on a set of assumptions about musical instruction: they tended to be published for students who had already mastered the skills Emmanuel Bach outlined, including elements of sight-reading and notation, improvisation, ambidexterity, and the art of accompaniment on a thoroughbass. The partitas in Sebastian Bach's *Clavier-Übung I* (Leipzig, 1731; the first collection Bach himself ever published) warranted no preface, despite including esoteric markings like the closing E Minor Gigue's medieval time signature, *diminutio simplex,* replete with dense fugal textures. The *Musiklehrer*, not the editor or publisher, was expected to illuminate such matters to the pupil. "Exercises" like the Gigue and its preceding movements were designed to display the finished product from one's practice, exhibiting the student's already-hardwon keyboard skills, rather than as a honing device used in the heat of practice. In today's parlance, Bach's partitas functioned more like examinations than exercises, providing a venue in which one could prove one's keyboard skills rather than systematic tools to help develop these skills. By contrast, latter-century printed exercises stemming mostly from Berlin, like Johann Kirnberger's *Klavierübungen mit Bachischen Applicatur, in einer Folge von den leichtesten bis zu den schwersten Stücken* ("Keyboard Exercises with Bachian Fingering, in a sequence from easy to difficult pieces," Berlin, 1766), or Marpurg's *Clavierstücke mit einem practische Unterricht für Anfänger und Geübtere* ("Keyboard Pieces with a practical instruction for beginners and practicers," Berlin 1762), and Emmanuel Bach's own *sechs sonaten mit veränderten reprisen* (Berlin, 1760) with its sequels *Kurze und Leichte Klavierstücke mit veränderten reprisen* (Berlin, 1766-1768), variously allowed the teacher and pupil to meet partway in the music lesson, traversing and rehearsing compositional principles and haptic commands.

Like Emmanuel, Kirnberger was a student of Sebastian Bach and acknowledged that his teacher did not use any instructional books, and had not written any. After all, why would he? The handwritten scraps comprising *Anna Magdalena's Notebook*, or the scant keyboard drills collected and published in Pamela Poulin's *Bach's Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-Bass Or Accompanying in Four Parts: Leipzig, 1738,* worked perfectly well in his apprentice-based keyboard lessons.[46] Yet by 1770, replicating Bach's pedagogy involved more than merely continuing an unbroken oral or haptic manuscript-based transmission, but making use of a reductive printed mode as well. Kirnberger

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metallurgist in Freiburg, was elder brother to the poet Christian Fürchtegott Gellert.

[46] See Poulin, *Bach's Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-Bass*; Korsyn, "Composition Lessons with Bach"; Yearsley, *Sex, Death, and Minuets: Anna Magdelena Bach and her Musical Notebooks*.

himself claimed that *Die Kunst des Reinen Satzes in der Musik* (Berlin, 1771) stood to meet this need: "I have sought to reduce the method of the late J.S. Bach to basic principles and to present his instruction to the very best of my ability in my *Kunst des Reinen Satzes*."[47] Although he claimed to replicate Bach's teaching method, *Die Kunst* would have been surplus – if not superfluous – to requirements in Sebastian Bach's own pedagogical and media moment: long before young Kirnberger and Emmanuel fumbled across his harpsichord manual, Sebastian Bach had already internalized Niedt's *Musicalisches Handleitung*, diligently rehearsed his own father's musical drilling for years, and copied hundreds of musical exemplars by French and Italian masters. That education was sufficient not to require a textual "reduction" for his music lessons.[48] Bach himself was the *Auszug* – the distilled product of decades of compositional processing, reordering, and re-transmitting. In this light, recent theoretical attempts by Derek Remeš, Robin Leaver, and others to "recover" Bach's music lessons are a belated example of Bach's posthumous printed mediation, continuing a lineage of Enlightenment pedagogy originating among the Berliners Kirnberger, Rellstab, and Zelter (whose publications we already have). Such efforts ask what kind of thoroughbass treatise Bach would have written if he had, and avoid asking why, in fact, he never did.

For Kirnberger, "[J.S. Bach's] method is the best because he progresses thoroughly from the easiest step to the most difficult, through which even the step to fugue itself is no more difficult than any other."[49] Emmanuel Bach likewise adapted this Fuxian stepwise progression from his father. It had structured the literary progression of his *Essay*, as well as the widely circulated practice pieces he published throughout the 1760s. In a passage addressed to teachers on how specifically to use his *Versuch* during music lessons, he advised that

> It is dangerous to delay the student with too many easy things, for no progress can be achieved in this manner. A few simple pieces at the beginning suffice, after which the wise teacher will do better to introduce his pupils gradually to more challenging works. It is in accord with the art of teaching and the reason asserted above that by this means the student will be unaware of the increasing difficulty of his tasks. My deceased father made many successful experiments of a similar nature. He introduced his pupil directly to his moderately difficult pieces.

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[47] Kirnberger, "On the Different Methods of Teaching Composition," 75-6.
[48] On the pedagogical methods of Sebastian Bach, see Remeš, "New Sources and Old Methods: Reconstructing and Applying the Theoretical Paratext of Johann Sebastian Bach's Compositional Pedagogy"; and Leaver and Remeš, "J. S. Bach's Chorale-Based Pedagogy: Origins and Continuity."
[49] Kirnberger, "On the Different Methods of Teaching Composition," 75.

Therefore, no one need fear my Lessons.[50]

Kirnberger's *Klavierübungen* exhibit precisely this progression. As a musical collection meant to compliment the *Versuch* by occasioning artistic expression and proper fingering, all 29 pieces (save one lengthy Presto) are just two systems long. They are designed to be briefly rehearsed and quickly mastered, rather than being inculcated through laborious memorization. The order of pieces are as follows: 12 Minuets, followed by 12 Polonaises, one Rigaudon, a Passepied, Presto, a thirteenth Polonaise, and finally, with something that approached domestic utility, a figural chorale. Like the sweetmeat served after eating one's supper, "Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten," was a Lutheran treat that could be enjoyed by the whole family. Assuming the student was diligent enough to conquer the previous 28 exercises, the chorale's figural arrangement and triple meter, which otherwise would have been challenging for an *Anfanger* with weak left hand dexterity, was easily manageable by that stage. Kirnberger ordered the pieces according to their level of difficulty, allowing present-day historians to compare compositional alterations from piece to piece, and so to reconstruct what "difficulty," "ease," and even amateurism itself meant for Kirnberger and his patrons.

The 12 minuets do not adhere to any overarching tonal plan *á la* Sebastian Bach's preludes, but generally progress by the number of accidentals that the hands must navigate on the keyboard: Minuets 1 and 2 are without sharps or flats; 3 has one flat; 4, 5 and 6 have two sharps; 7 has one sharp, but 8 has three. Minuets 9 and 10 have two flats, and 11 and 12 have four sharps – the maximum number of accidentals expected in amateur keyboard literature of the time. Moreover, the minuets incrementally introduce eighth-note passages in both hands: Not until Minuet 4 does the left hand have a few eighth-note runs of its own, but even then the right hand is sparse with quarter notes that are easy to skim, thus appropriately compensating for the score-reading novice. Minuets 5 and 6 introduce a new rhythmic pattern – the dotted-eighth and sixteenth notes, primarily in the right hand – but these occur either in unison with the left hand, or during quarter notes in the left hand so as devote one's attention to its visual challenge during play (see Figure 1). By the end of the minuets, the keyboardist has had a few runs in both hands together, but only ever in parallel motion – ascending or descending stepwise. During such phrases, the keyboardist would gradually internalize the fingering in these moments across key signatures, haptically acknowledging where the accidentals lie in the runs from key to key. Crucially, the skill of reading two lines of eighth-notes was taught in the context of sight-reading. This was how amateurs learned to finger scales with accidentals, a method entirely foreign to the sweeping multi-octave scales that would characterize later nineteenth-century drills.

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[50] Bach, *Essay on the Art of Keyboard Playing*, 39-40.

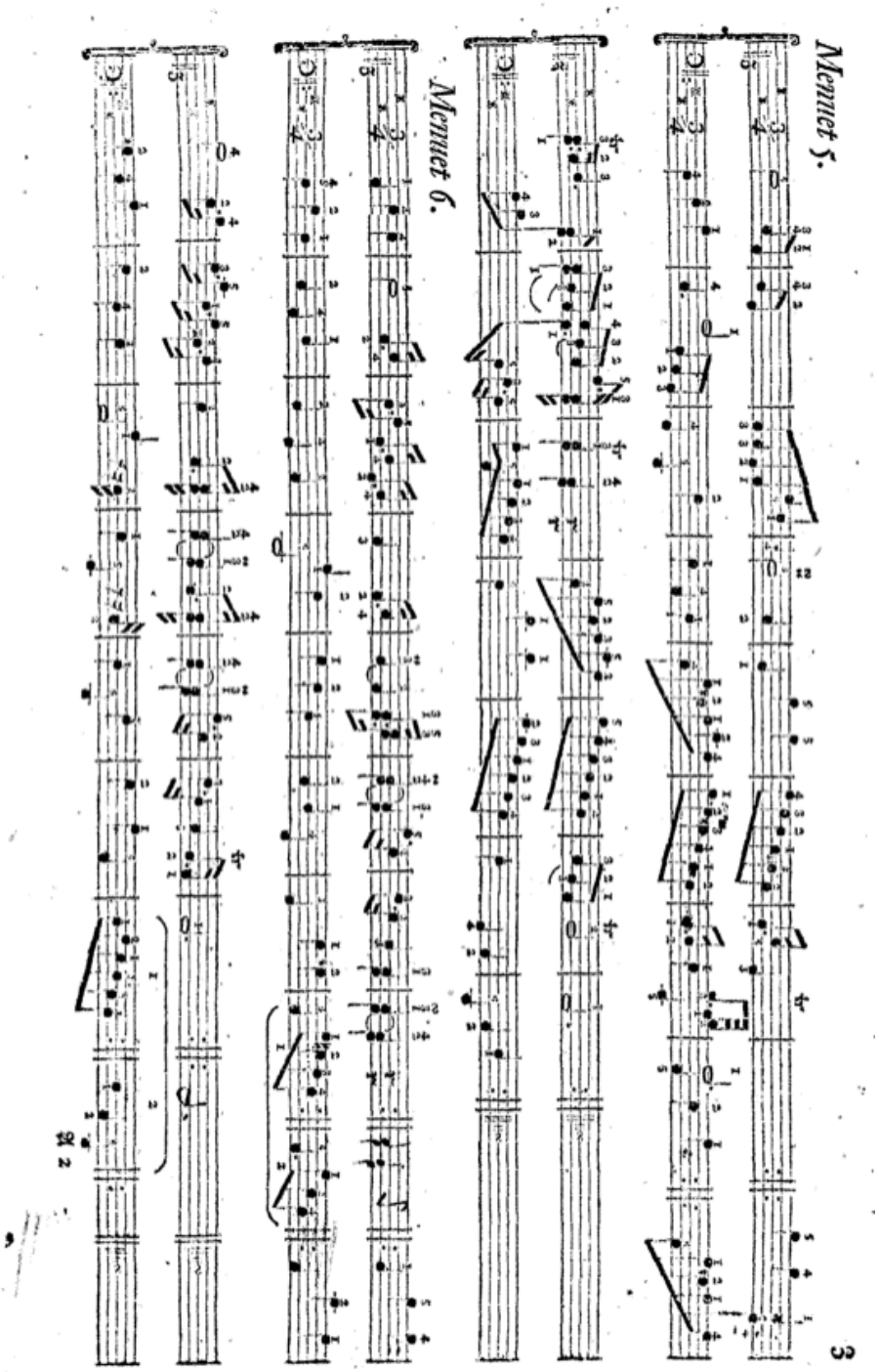

Figure 1. Minuets 5 and 6, in Kirnberger, *Klavierübungen, mit Bachischen Applicatur*, 3.

The 12 polonaises challenge the keyboardist with different notational parameters. Progressing through them are progressively complex note values: by Polonaise 2 there are extensive sixteenth-note passages in the right hand; in 5 the left hand dabbles in arpeggiated sixteenths, by 7 the left-hand rhythm is more syncopated and as rhythmically demanding as the right hand, prompting 8 to introduce syncopated groups of thirty-second notes in the right hand (see Figure 2). Besides tallying note values and stacking ligatures, the polonaises also gradually nudge the right hand up the keyboard register, forcing the player to read entire systems in the top octave, during which the left hand is rhythmically independent of the right. In the polonaises, the left hand no longer takes breaks to serve the eyes during right-handed runs, but experiments in non-repetitive rhythmic figures of its own. The leaps in the left hand also become quicker and wider – octaves are traversed within sixteenths and dotted rhythms instead of in the quarter and eighth notes found in the minuets. The polonaises eschew the patterned and parallel rhythms that composed the minuets and privilege stronger sight-reading – gone are the crutches of common stepwise or predictable arpeggiated groups, since contrary motion and independent rhythmic groupings already run rampant. The last noteworthy parameter is the texture of the polonaises: The minuets are primarily in two voices, with occasional harmonic thickening in long note values or cadential moments. By contrast, the polonaises introduce a tenor part that, with each passing piece, becomes increasingly busier. Polonaises 10, 11, and 12 in particular have most of the right-hand part playing two notes simultaneously with identical rhythms (see Figure 3). To compensate for the new challenges expected in the soprano clef, Kirnberger thins and simplifies the left hand's texture, giving it more quarter and eighth notes. What was a challenge for left hand playing in the middle minuets become, by the final polonaises, a timely comfort in bass clef.

The pieces after the polonaises – including the final chorale – shift the modes of musical legibility from sight reading to performance practice, honing the artful idiosyncrasies of musical rhetoric provided by baroque court dances and domestic devotion. These concluding pieces, therefore, cease to push the boundaries of amateur reading and invite attention to the phrasing of cadences, melodies, and furnished accompaniment. New ornamentation and expressive signs, such as trills, suspensions, and lyricism define the Rigaudon, Passepied, Presto, Polonaise 13, and chorale, which require more careful planning and deft *Applicatur,* or "touch." Indeed, "Bachischen Applikatur" in Kirnberger's subtitle refers at once to the "fingering" and the performance practices that Bach's *Versuch* taught. Developing musical legibility, it turns out, was a mere byproduct of the collection.

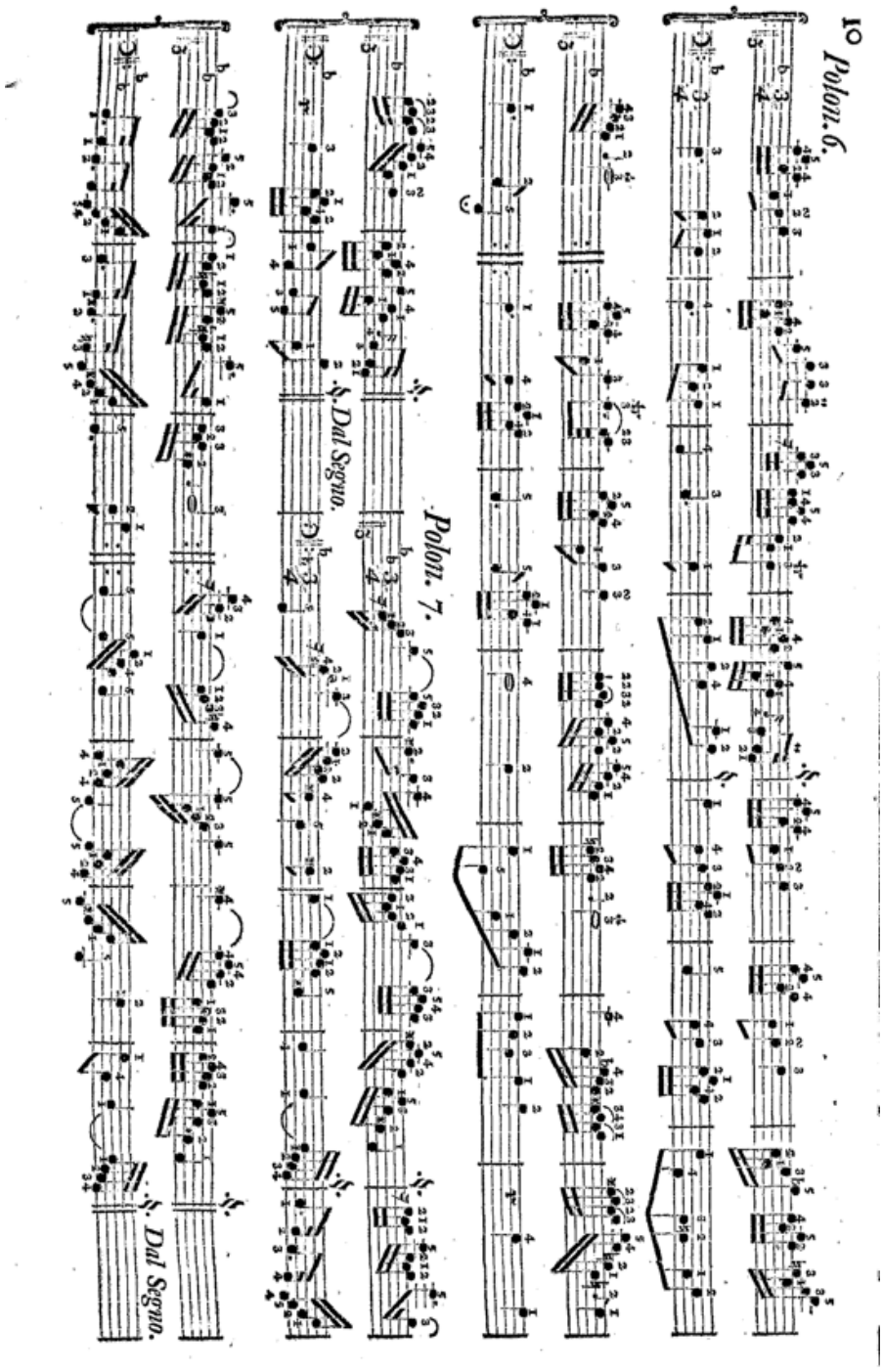

Figure 2. Polonaises 6 and 7, in Kirnberger, *Klavierübungen mit Bachischen Applicatur*, 10.

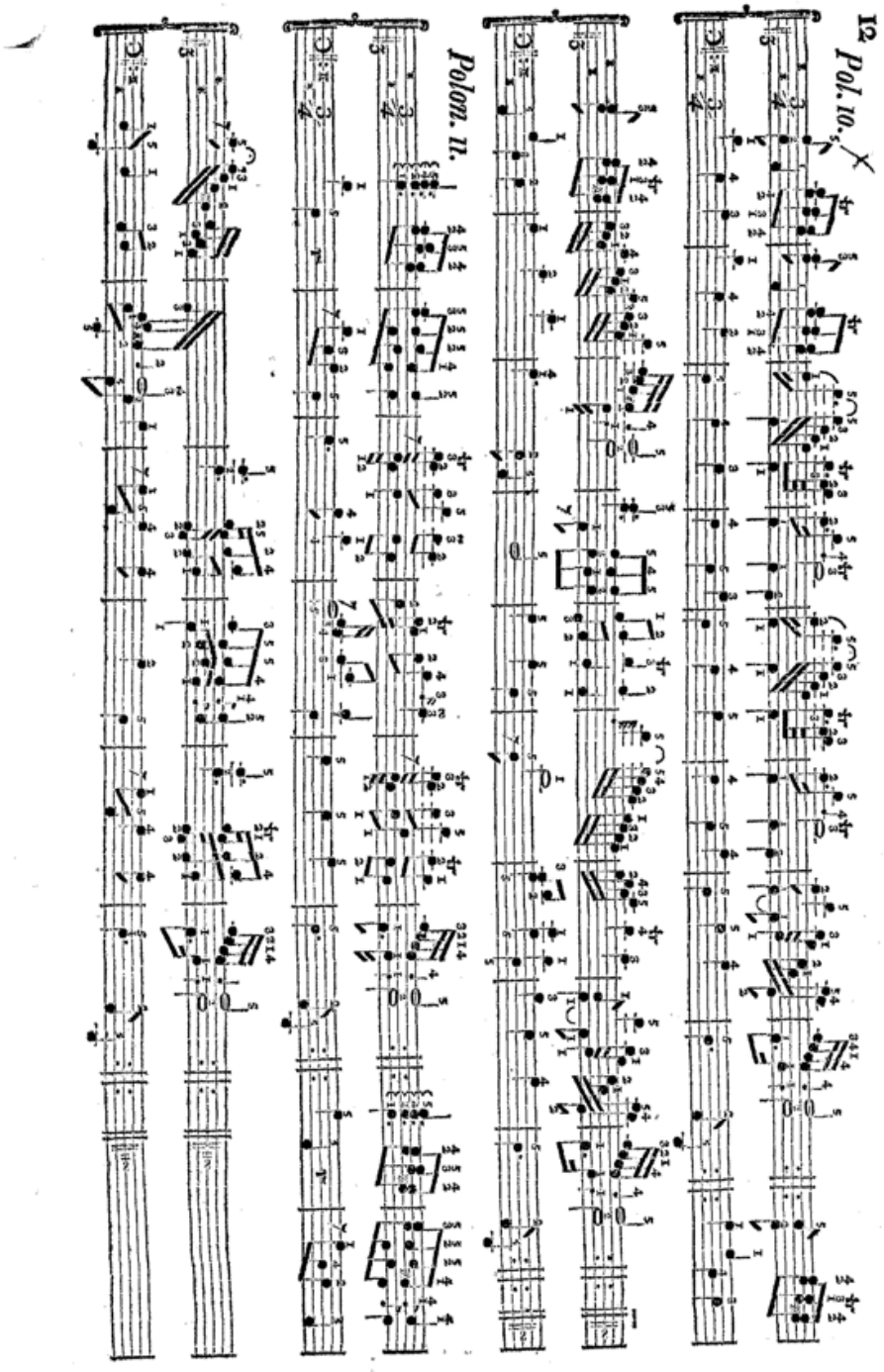

Figure 3. Polonaises 10 and 11, in Kirnberger, *Klavierübungen mit Bachischen Applicatur*, 12.

In pursuing his own aesthetic goal for this collection, Kirnberger's exercise pieces neatly follow the three criteria for musical performance found in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (Berlin, 1771-9). In an article Kirnberger himself wrote, *Vortrag*, or "musical performance," Kirnberger lists three criteria for good performance – *Deutlichkeit, Ausdruck*, and *Schönheit. Deutlichkeit*, usually translated as "Clarity" or "Articulation," is the primary criterion upon which "Expression" and "Beauty" can thrive.[51] *Deutlichkeit*, Kirnberger claimed, was the ability to accurately perform notated music, the capacity to read and play – that is, to process and transmit – all of the musical information printed on the page. The Minuets and Polonaises inculcate precisely this skill, while the dances and chorale, possessing less formidable notation, shift the amateur's focus toward "expression" and "beauty."

To understand the historical ramifications of Kirnberger's approach, we can briefly compare it with the nineteenth-century piano exercises it presaged. Those of Czerny, Chopin, Pischna, and Hanon, which are still popularly used today, primarily focus upon finger dexterity and hand speed; they variously pursue mastery of the keyboard's asymmetrical topography by combing through tonal scales in rote fingered patterns. To that end, their practice pieces were continuous with contemporaneous orthopedic devices that comported hand and body position to maximize hand "performance," like Logier's and Kalkbrenner's *chiroplast*.[52] This pedagogical focus on hand coordination in musical scores originated with mid-eighteenth-century *Probestücke*. One distinction in Kirnberger's collection, however, is that keyboard study, as a concerted effort between one's eyes and hands, is contingent above all on note reading. For Kirnberger, keyboardists "read" music with both hands and eyes; music pedagogues had not yet divorced reading from playing in their methods. Kirnberger's collection concerned itself with reading music based on the graphical parameters he distinguished from piece to piece, and genre to genre. Rather than compartmentalizing the act of keyboard playing into physical (key pressing) and mental (note reading) activities, as Romantic pedagogues would later do, Kirnberger kept the two integrated in musical practice, with his compositions inviting traversals of the unstable and shape-shifting topographies of printed sheet music.

As a precursor to Kirnberger's volume, Marpurg framed his collection of exercises, *Clavierstücke mit einem practischen Unterricht für Anfänger und Geübtere* (Berlin 1762), as a series of exemplars gathered from many genres and keyboard masters, most of whom were native Berliners – Bach, Nichelmann, Kirnberger, Johann Christoph Pepusch, Marpurg – in order to epitomize good musical taste for the

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[51] See Hogwood, "The Clavier Speaks," in *The Century of Bach and Mozart*, 348.
[52] On nineteenth-century pianism and chirognomy, see Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance*, 93-122.

German public. As Marpurg writes in the preface:

> My intention is to approximate good keyboard examples for the public; examples written in true keyboard taste, and neither sung nor played on the violin or flute; examples that are intentional in harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic composition, free of large errors; examples, finally, which from the point of view of taste in general can be played so well by the Dutch, English, Italians, and French as by the Germans. Is it not perhaps necessary at the present abuse of the musical press, when the world is spilling over with the strangest miscarriages for the keyboard, since the artist and bungler, teacher and pupil, are mixed in various collections, and there under the attracting title of novelties, supply the most immature school exercises of young unknown people: is it not perhaps necessary there, I ask, that some good compositions by deceased masters, essays that have either become unknown, or quietly kept secret by a small group of connoisseurs to be resurrected, collected, and made public again?[53]

Marpurg's collection also included several dances from French composers Couperin and Louis-Nicholas Clairembault, as well as an Allemande from Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer, the latter appearing as a rare inclusion from the German South, but nevertheless touted by contemporary northern critics for first importing French keyboard court music to German lands. At first glance, Marpurg seems to mix genres in his collection in the vein of Reichardt's and

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[53] "Meine Absicht ist, gute Clavierexempel dem Publico zu überrech[n]en; Exempel, die im wahren Claviergeschmack geschrieben sind, und weder gesungen, noch auf der Geige oder Flöte gespielet werden sollen; Exempel, die in Absicht auf die harmonische, melodische und rhytmische Zusammensetzung von groben Fehlern frey sind; Exempel endlich, die, in Ansehung des Geschmacks überhaupt, so gut von Holländer, Engelländer, Italiäner und Franzosen, als vom Deutschen gespielet werden können. Ist es nicht vielleicht nöthig, bey dem heutigen Misbruach der musikalischen Presse, da die Welt mit den seltsamsten Misgeburten fürs Clavier überschwemmet wird, da der Künstler und Stümper, der Lehrmeister und Schüler, in verschienen Sammlungen untereinander gemischt wird, und da uns unter dem anlockenden Titel von Neuigkeiten, die unreifsten Schulübungen junger unbekannter Leute, geliefert werden: ist es da nicht vielleicht nöthig, frage ich, daß gewisse gute Aufsätze von verstorbenen Meistern, Aufsätze, die entweder unbekannt geworden sind, oder von einer kleinen Menge ächter Kenner insgeheim aufbehalten werden, wieder hervorgesuchet, gesammelt und wieder bekannt gemacht werden?" "Vorbericht," in Marpurg, *Clavierstücke mit einem practischen Unterricht für Anfänger und Geübtere,* unpaginated.

Breitkopf's later magazines, juxtaposing serious chaconnes and fugues with jovial polonaises and French court dances (see chapter one). However, all such pieces therein were unavailable elsewhere (since they mostly circulated in manuscript with among a few *Kenner*, as Marpurg himself mentioned) for keyboarders without an insider's connection via a tutor or local *Kapellmeister*. Marpurg's collection contrasts with Kirnberger's lighter minuet forms, which needed no introduction for amateurs of the kind that Marpurg provided, with brief "Remarks on Bach's fugue" and "on the different kinds of keyboard compositions" that preceded the scores. Marpurg worked to transfer his specialist musical knowledge into the realm of public amateurism via the print market just as his German translations of academic French music treatises – not least D'Alembert's *Elemens musique* – has done. As "examples of good taste" and exercises "for musical instruction," Marpurg's edition also worked rather like Hiller's musical chrestomathies and other collected exemplars for literary training. Marpurg's *Clavierstücke* followed up on an antecedent instructional book, *Die Kunst des Klavier zu Spielen*, which Marpurg had written in 1750 but did not publish until the same year as the exercises (1762). In 1754, Marpug composed his more famous *Introduction to Keyboard Playing* (*Anleitung zum Clavierspielen*) as a sequel to his *Die Kunst* with the following intentions:

> There are amateurs who wish to have everything pertaining to a certain subject collected in one book. There are still more persons who lack the advantage of good oral instruction (which is not to be found everywhere), or who are not able to enjoy such for a sufficient length of time. Through the mediation [*vermittelst*] of this *Introduction*, both groups should find satisfaction.[54]

Elsewhere in the *Anleitung*, Marpurg unwittingly spoke on behalf of all German musical instruction books of the latter eighteenth century: "This method [book] presents those elements of music needed for skillful keyboard practice in their natural order. It will prove that one can make the task of instruction easier as well as to shorten the pupil's time and effort — advantages which are important enough to merit attention."[55] Perhaps music's greatest Enlightenment epitomist

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[54] "Es giebt Liebhaber, dies alles, was zu einer gewissen Sache gehöret, in einem Buche beysammen haben wollen. Noch mehrere giebt es, die des Vortheils einer guten mündlichen Unterweisung nicht allenthalben, oder nicht lange genug genießen können. Beyden wird vermittelst dieser Anleitung genug geschehen." "Vorbericht," in Marpurg, *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen*, unpaginated.

[55] "Gegenwärtige Methode, worinnen diejenigen Gründe der Musik, die man zur geschickten Ausübung des Claviers gebraucht, in ihrer natürlichen Ordnung vorgetragen werden, wird zum Beweise dienen, daß man sich nicht allein die Mühe der Unterweisung erleichtern, sondern auch dem Scholaren Zeit und Mühe

and Berlin's greatest music educator, Marpurg wrote on the widest-ranging subjects of musical knowledge of his contemporaries, and always was able to extract a pithy line for a lesson, "If a harmony is to please the spirit, it must begin by pleasing the ear."[56]

Marpurg espoused the same method of linear progression that one finds in Kirnberger's exercises, achieved with "much time and practice." The *Anleitung's* first section, "Concerning the Teacher, the Instrument, Temperament on a Harpsichord, and the Position of the Body and the Hand," was a preparatory guide for teachers taking on a new pupil. He outlined the basic considerations a teacher must make when taking on a student, such as the condition of the instrument, the student's physical comfort at the keyboard, the age and maturity of the child, and how to structure their lessons. Closing this section are last bits of advice on how to lead a beginner's education:

> One should not allow young persons to sight-read before they have many small preliminary practice pieces well in the their fingers[…]In the beginning, one should have the pupils memorize everything. […] Some teachers customarily plague their pupils with difficult lessons and exercises right from the beginning. They assert that if the pupils master the difficult, then they will do the easy without effort. This opinion is erroneous. Everything depends on time and practice. If the student does not know what he is doing from the beginning, it is impossible that he will learn it subsequently. […] Little by little, and almost jocularly, one leads him to more difficult things and finally to the most difficult. But difficult lessons given prematurely can intimidate the most eager spirit.[57]

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verkürzen könne, Vortheile, die wichtig genug sind, Aufmerksamkeit zu verdienen." Marpurg, *Anleitung*, 3.

[56] "Pour faire qu'une harmonie agré l'esprit, il faut qu'elle commence par plaire á l'oreille." Marpurg, *Principes du Clavecin*, 3; translation from Hays, "F. W. Marpurg's *Anleitung*," Intro-6.

[57] "Man sollte aber nicht eher anfangen, junge Personen aufs Blatt sehen zu lassen, also bis sie allerhand kleine Vorübungsstücke in den Händen hätten…Man lasse sie im Anfange alles auswendig lernen…Einige Meister pflegen ihre Schüler sogleich vom Anfange mit schweren Lectionen und Aufgaben zu plagen. Sie geben vor, daß, wenn sie das Schwere in der Gewalt haben, sie das Leichte ohne Mühe machen werden. Diese Meinung ist irrig. Alles hänget von der Zeit und der Uebung ab. Es ist unmöglich, daß, wenn man sogleich vom Anfange nicht weiß, was man machet, man es in der Folge lernet…Nach und nach, und zwar so zu sagen, scherzend, führet man ihn zu schwerern, und endlich zu den schwersten Sachen. Aber die vor der Zeit uagegebenen schweren Lectionen können auch das aufgemunterste Gemüth abschrecken." Marpurg, *Anleitung*, 6-7; translation from Hays, "F. W. Marpurg's

For all their practical and personal differences, Marpurg and Kirnberger represent a moment in the history of music pedagogy where published keyboard collections functioned primarily as exercises with the aim of cultivating good taste amid a convoluted printscape. Each of their exercise publications instructed the student in fingering, hand coordination, artful performance, and aesthetic discrimination – criteria formerly reserved for the *Musiklehrer*. These collections were published with the intention of supplementing extant keyboard treatises, a pedagogical innovation that eroded the master-apprentice relationship of accompaniment training. By the 1780s, a generation raised on the pedagogical materials of Bach, Marpurg, and Kirnberger published keyboard exercises of their own. Unlike their predecessors, these later "exercise pieces" worked to stratify and stabilize the various skills levels of amateurs, rather than transform students into experts. They interpellated the musical amateur, departing from the apprenticeship model's core purpose of cultivating musical skill unto mastery.

In 1787, Gottlob Türk, another former pupil of Hiller's who taught from Bach's *Versuch I & II*, published a set of "Easy Keyboard Pieces" that anticipated his later keyboard textbook, *Klavierschule* (1789). His *Leichte Klavier-Sonaten* was intended to occupy a lacuna he saw in the spectrum of musical amateurism: a moment addressed not to "very beginners" (by which he meant those in their first year of instruction), but nonetheless not as hard as the sonatas "by Wolf, Sander, and Schmiedt."

> I would not use my easy sonatas during the first year, for although there are no difficult passages in them, they presuppose an already somewhat refined taste and individual feeling, if they are not to become loathsome to the pupil. Whether they can be of value subsequently for learning and good execution, along with the two earlier sets (of which the second revised edition has now been published), I will leave up to the experts to decide. When students have progressed further, the sonatas of Gressler, Gruner, Blum, G. Benda, Sander (the longer ones), Zink, Vierling, Haydn, E. W. Wolf, Hässler, C. P. E. Bach, etc., may be studied with them.[58]

Türk estimated that his collection was delimited by yet a higher level of expertise, which he defined as the level of the *Kenner*. The materials for building the keyboardist's skillset were thus segmented across the musical printscape –the print market provided a repertoire and reading level for every player who wished

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Anleitung," Intro-17-8.

[58] Türk, *School of Clavier-Playing*, 23-4; translation from Michael Tsalka, "Daniel Gottlob Türk's Leichte Klaviersonaten: Their Pedagogical Value in the Formation of the Late Eighteenth-Century Keyboardist," 202.

to learn and play music. Türk accordingly situated himself as an expert wading through the pool of keyboard literature, guiding amateurs to their appropriate depth. According to music pedagogues like Türk, the musical print market of the 1780s required curation for both teachers and amateurs for this purpose. A consequence of the efforts by music pedagogues such Türk was that amateurism became an end in itself, and no longer implied an urgent need to bring all amateurs to mastery. Yet even the criteria of musical mastership had changed.

Just as Türk in Halle placed his keyboard editions on a spectrum of musical expertise, Carl Friedrich Rellstab in Berlin likewise published music for varied amateur levels. Bach's death in 1788 allowed Rellstab to begin republishing musical scores of Bach's *Anfangstücke* in new arrangements for clientele, an act that Bach repeatedly prohibited during his lifetime.[59] One such collection was Rellstab's *46 Anfangstücke für Klavier*, a compilation of several independent collections composed by Emmanuel Bach to inculcate his fingering and performance practice from his first *Versuch*, precisely as Kirnberger and Marpurg's collections had done. Rellstab, well-versed in Rousseauian pedagogy, sought to update these pieces according to a more contemporary pedagogical perspective. Among other details, Rellstab's preface included a 2,000-word essay on the current state of musical instruction, followed by a 10-paged summary of Bach's *Versuch* volume one. The preface spelled out multiple levels of musical skill produced by editors in the print market, which he distinguished by amateurs' varying capacities to sight-read complex notational patterns and their dexterity with difficult passages. Unlike the pedagogical goals in Bach's *Versuch* and the first edition of his keyboard exercises from 1766-1768, Rellstab's edition of Bach's exercises, he claimed, served several different trajectories of the keyboard player in training:

> I only believe that one must make a distinction, whether one is a future musician by profession, or an amateur, or a domestic tutor. The future musician must make every scale, without distinction, up and down with the various fingerings, for he must gain aptitude [*Vermögen*]. The amateur and the lady can skillfully avoid those [scales] less common; their own instinct does not allow them to maintain their practice, and time and utility are lost as pieces from the denser keys are very rare…The goal of the musician is excellence and brilliance. Therefore, the lesson must be divided into three parts for him: technical exercises, accuracy in one

[59] Bach and Rellstab were frequently at odds regarding the republication of these practice pieces, which entailed several unauthorized printings that Bach denounced shortly before his death. See Sewer, "C. P. E. Bach, J. C. F. Rellstab, and the Sonatas with Varied Reprises," in *C.P.E. Bach Studies*, 233-43; and see Miller, "C. P. E. Bach's Instrumental "Recompositions": Revisions or Alternatives?"

> piece, and overview of several lighter ones. The endeavor of the amateur is to relax and cheer up. He obtains that at the first when he is brought to the shortest possible path by which he can teach himself light pieces, and therefore the lesson must be attenuated with him only in the last two parts. With this end in mind, I have published the two volumes, *Keyboard Magazine*, and *Melody and Harmony*…containing light, mediocre and denser things…It is such things that I consider to be most suitable for the lighter half of the hour. With these above suggestions I believe, the amateur can be fully cultivated.[60]

According to Rellstab, it was up to the teacher to discriminate in the student the potential to become a professional musician, a teacher, or a leisurely keyboarding "amateur," and adjust one's lesson plan accordingly. Rellstab edited his musical publications to provide teachers with the means toward those ends. Rellstab, Türk, and their generation, who were raised on Bach's, Kirnberger's, and Marpurg's keyboard literature from the 1750s-1770s, understood the musical print market as a a fine-grained spectrum of reading levels from amateurs and experts.[61] Keyboard literature had long spanned a wide range of expertise, but

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[60] "Nur glaube ich, daß man doch einen Unterſchied machen muß, ob man einen künftigen Muſiker von Profeßion, einen Liebhaber, oder ein Frauenzimmer unterrichtet. Der künftige Mu fiker muß jede Tonleiter ohne Unterſchied auf und ab mit den verſchiedenen Applicaturen machen, denn dieſer muß Vermögen bekommen. Den Liebhaber und die Dame kann man mit denen weniger vorkommenden ſehr füglich verſchonen; ihr eigner Trieb läßt ihnen nicht die Uebung derſelben beybehalten, und die Zeit und der Nutzen geht verloren, da Stücke aus den ſchwerern Tönen ſehr ſelten ſind…Das Ziel des Muſikers iſt Hervorragen und Glänzen; daher muß bey ihm die Stunde dreyfach eingetheilet werden; Uebung in Schwierigkeiten, Genauigkeit bey einem Stück, und Ueberſicht mehrerer leichteren. Das Ziel des Liebhabers iſt, ſich zu zerſtreuen und zu erheitern, das erlangt er am erſten, wenn man ihn auf dem kürzeſten Wege dahin bringt, daß er ſich leichte Stücke ſelbſt lehren kann, und darum muß bey ihm die Lection nur in die zwey letzten Theile zerfallen; Zu dieſem Endzweck mit, gab ich die beyden Jahrgänge, Claviermagazin, und Melodie nnd Harmonie, (nicht die jezige Fortſetzung unter dem Ti tel Olla potrida, dieſe hat einen andern Plan) heraus, die leichte, mittelmäßige und ſchwere Sachen enthalten, und wobey genugſame Singcompoſitionen eingemiſcht ſind, die ich für nichts weniger als überflüßig, oder gar ſchädlich, wie ſo mancher pedantiſche Lehrmeiſter halte, ſondern für höchſtnöthig, um den Geſchmack zu bilden; ſolche Sachen ſind es, die ich vorzüglich für die leichtere Hälfte der Stunde für zweckmäßig halte. Mit dieſen obengenannten Jahrgängen und dieſen Anfangsſtücken glaube ich, kann der Liebhaber vollkommen gebildet werden." "Einleitung," in Rellstab, *C. P. E. Bachs Anfangsstücke mit einer Anleitung den Gebrauch dieser Stücke*, III.

[61] This undermines musicology's fatigued "Kenner/Liebhaber" dichotomy of

now pedagogical literature such as "beginner pieces" and "practice pieces" articulated the granular stages of progression within that range. Rellstab's *Anfangstücke* demonstrates that the apprenticeship model was but one option among several for becoming a proficient musician, even as it also made possible that any prospective pupil could become a master.

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If this chapter lingers on music and pedagogy supposedly outside of churchly contexts, it is to show that the pedagogical transformations within church music were not unique to it. Church music, in its corresponding liturgical rites, musical forms, and institutional continuity, wholly depended upon an apprenticeship model of pedagogy. The eighteenth-century "pedagogical revolution" accordingly extended to church music education, the institutional effects of which have been well-documented by historians and musicologists.[62] Yet by invoking a secularization narrative, these accounts have also made the case of church music pedagogy exceptional. The upshot is that scholars have neglected how church musicians responded to a deep, deteriorating pedagogical model (apprenticeship-based learning) across other couriers of musical instruction, such as the domestic music tutor. And perhaps more crucially, scholarship on German church music instruction has effaced the ways musicians recuperated church music pedagogy by alternative means. Corroborating the argument Jonathan Sheehan has put forth regarding the pedagogy of German biblical literacy in the eighteenth century, the remainder of this chapter shows church music education adjusting to broader medial transformations in music pedagogy.[63] Church music instruction, I contend, was not in any qualitative nor quantitative "decline," but was transposed into school curricula and textual materials printed for musical amateurs.

Practice pieces and pedagogical tracts condensed the keyboard accompanist's duties and interpellated amateur musical proficiency precisely the same way as printed collections of church music of the same period and place. One example hails from a pedagogue already discussed, Gottlob Türk's *On the Important Duties of Church Organists*, which was published in the same year as his keyboard practice pieces. Türk's simplified manual whittled Bach's litany of

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eighteenth century bourgeois musical culture. The amateur/expert analytic ever remains indebted to the mid-twentieth century historiography of *Begriffgeschichte.* For a recent example, see Bar-Yoshafat, "*Kenner und Liebhaber – Yet Another Look.*"

[62] See Spitta, *Die Wiederbelebung protestantischer Kirchenmusik auf geschichtlicher Grundlage*; Schünemann, *Gechichte der Deutschen Schulmusik*; Gruhn, *Gechichte der Musikerziehung*; Bloom, *Protestant Church Music: A History*; and more recently, Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*; Kertz-Welzel, "The Singing Muse"; Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*.

[63] See Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*, 118-47.

keyboard responsibilities down to four blunt injunctions:

1. Play chorales superbly, and consequently have a comprehensive knowledge of thoroughbass
2. Play a good, suitable prelude
3. Be adept in accompanying a musical work and be able to play in the less commonly used keys
4. Have knowledge of organ building, and try to maintain his instrument in good condition.[64]

As many of the composers of *Probestücke* were also cantors and church musicians, *Kirchenmusik* during this period shows deft reactions to music pedagogy's deteriorating apprenticeship model. Nowhere is this transposition more apparent than in the history of the choral book – a once concealed and esoteric piece of music literature exclusive to professional church musicians and their protégés, and so materially constitutive of the apprenticeship model in church music instruction. Beginning in the late-eighteenth century, choral books became printed in bulk for elementary schools and domestic amateurs. Their function as an organist's compendium of accompaniment devices, once they were introduced to amateurs through simplified arrangements and mass printing, converted into a "complete" textualized teacher for prospective church organists. After sketching a media history of the choral book below, this chapter concludes with a few publications of Hiller – an overtly Rousseauian-pedagogue and champion of music education through print media. Hiller's choral books demonstrate how church music instruction adapted to new pedagogical models and material forms.

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The Amateur *Choralbuch*

The German Protestant choral book was, for a time, functionally distinct from the hymnbook. Unlike the former, in the Lutheran tradition the latter has always been considered a domestic technology of devotion as much as a civic one. For the early modern *Hausvater* and his family, *Erbauungsschriften* ("devotional literature") was indispensable to the Lutheran tradition,[65] with musical play enriching the heritage of *privat Andacht* ("private devotion") and *häusliche Frömmigkeit* ("domestic piety").[66] As Stephen Rose writes, "spiritual songs and chorales

[64] Türk, *The Role of the Organist in Worship,* xxv.
[65] On domestic reading practices in the German Enlightenment, see Curran, "Oral Reading, Print Culture, and the German Enlightenment."
[66] See Brown. *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*.

provided a backdrop to everyday life, and were also a source of individual edification and consolation."[67] The *Gesangbuch* ("hymnbook") was the centerpiece of Lutheran devotional texts, supplying stanzas to memorized choral melodies to be sung after the day's duties (*Pflichten*) were completed. By contrast, the *Choralbuch* through most of the eighteenth century was a less visible form of music literature, also functionally distinct from the *Gesangbuch*. Hymnbooks required only elementary literacy in a common language, whereas choral books were written in advanced musical notation such as (un)figured bass, and with ornate choral preludes; the latter were thus the primary resource for students learning church music via the apprenticeship model.

Early choral books mainly circulated in manuscript among trained cantors and organists, the only personnel for whom it was accessible, applicable, and legible. For Joseph Herl, "It seems possible that in the early decades of organ accompaniment of congregational singing organists read from their own manuscript intabulations of choral settings, or perhaps from their own harmonization that they then notated on paper."[68] These choral books worked to equip church organists and to connect spaces of Protestant worship at the height of Pietist fervor. Printed choral books, first appearing around 1700, were designed to cross the social and media thresholds from *Gottesdienst* ("church service") to *Hauskirche* ("house church").[69] As one title suggests, Daniel Speer's *Choral Gesang-Buch* was an early hybrid between the cantor's private manuscript of chorale accompaniments and the mass printed collections of hymnal verse (see Figure 4). The choral book's function during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries therefore closely resembled that of the *Notenbüchlein* ("notebook") or (in Italian context) *zibaldone* rather than the German *Gesangbuch*: choral books were largely handwritten and compiled *ad hoc*; they confidentially circulated among trained accompanists and existed for storing collections of stock musical devices – nifty *passagi* of choral interludes, preludes, extemporizations, and thoroughbass progressions. A necessity only for cantors, Kapellmeisters, and professional organists, choral books allowed church musicians to assimilate musical knowledge and inculcate it in their students.[70] Johann Samuel Beyer's *Musicalischer Vorrath* ("Musical Stock," Freiburg 1716) makes plain the choral book's function as a storehouse for a keyboardist's maneuvers. Beyer published both chorales and their

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[67] Rose, "Daniel Vetter and the Domestic Keyboard Chorale in Bach's Leipzig," 40.
[68] Herl, *Worship Wars in early Lutheranism*, 137.
[69] For an excellent overview of the early modern Lutheran *Hauskirche*, see Rose, "'Haus Kirchen Cantorei'," 103-22.
[70] On the confidentiality and user function of the *zibaldone*, see Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 8. As Roger Moseley argues, the ludic function of *zibaldoni*, whose notation enabled play to be "partly scripted partly improvised," was consistent with that of the north German thoroughbass tradition. See Moseley, *Keys to Play*, 144-5.

variations, he claimed, "because there are far more of them who do not have familiarity with the keyboard and are poorly versed on it, nor understand the slightest thing about composition, and therefore often fail to play a single measure accurately, or know how to deal with a simple chorale."[71] By printing choral variations, Beyer effectively publicized a private media form in the hopes that more young church organists would be equipped for their services.[72]

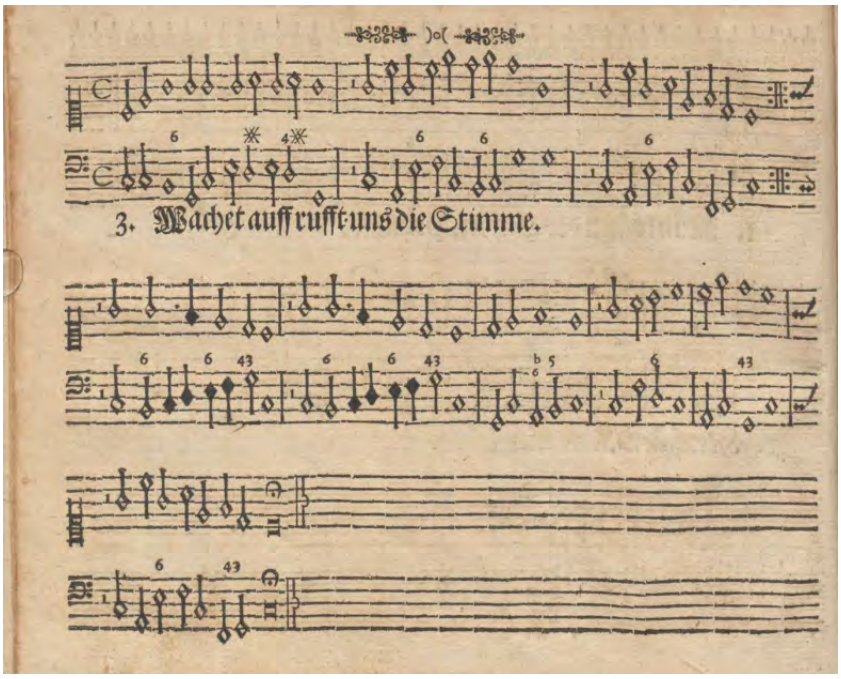

Figure 4. Chorale, "Wachet auf ruff tuns die Stimme," in Speer, *Choral Gesang-Buch*, 2.

One task of the first printed choral books was to adapt church services to domestic spaces. Stephen Rose, Nicholas Taylor, and Derek Remeš have analyzed German choral books of the early eighteenth century, demonstrating that around 1700, cantors and organists negotiated between the sites of domestic devotion and church music. Daniel Vetter and Georg Philip Telemann each published their "keyboard hymnals" in Hamburg to translate liturgical music for

[71] "… weil derenigen weit mehrere zufinden, welche weder einen habitum auf dem Clavier haben, und auf selben schlecht versieret sind, auch nicht das Geringte von der Composition verstehen, und also oft nicht einem einzigen Takt accurate zu spielen, oder einen Simplen Choral zu tractieren wissen" Beyer, *Musicalischer Vorrath,* unpaginated preface.

[72] On the domestic use of Beyer's choral book, see Pirro, *The Aesthetic of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 433.

domestic use to varying degrees.[73] Vetter wrote elaborate and densely packed chorale tunes "intended for the organ," and best fit for a learned church musician, then followed them up with lighter variations "for spinet or clavichord," instruments and arrangements that marked the variations for the home. And as Taylor as recently shown, Telemann's *Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst* brought the full calendar of Lutheran services into the format of an opera aria keyboard transcription, a popular product around Hamburg at the time, by simplifying *Kirchenmusik* to two or three playable staves for amateurs (see Figure 5).

By appropriating the format of the aria transcription, Telemann's complete arrangements of full church service into amateur keyboard notation intended to reproduce church services at home: "I have the honor to present you with another year, also for all Sundays and high holidays, but which is more dedicated to private use and house devotion than church worship."[74] As Taylor argues, Telemann's publication entered a print market and confessional context that was actively adopting the pietist practices of the *Hauskirche*.[75] To simplify church music as an amateur vocal score involved substantial rearrangements at every notational parameter, obliging Telemann to meticulously recount and illustrate these edits in the preface. He recounted his arrangement's clef alternations and key transpositions, modulations and harmonic transitions, lighter bass figures, and parsed out performance markings – all meticulously edited to "make the score more legible" on the printed page.[76]

Publishing choral books was time-consuming and financially risky, and thus scarcely popular compared with other musical prints of their time. Herl traces the proliferation of choral books until the nineteenth century, concluding that printed choral books were rare across all Christian confessions among German lands, until a relatively large and sudden uptick during the 1780s.[77] That decade saw simultaneously the renovation of several Prussian hymnbooks, new laws on religious tolerance in both the Habsburg and Prussian empires, and the dominance of keyboard literature in the music market. As musicians responded to these changes, choral books came to be printed in bulk, often backed by hundreds of prenumerants, as editors adapted musical legibility to local changes in their

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[73] See Taylor, "The Published Church Cantatas of George Philip Telemann"; Rose, "Daniel Vetter and the Domestic Keyboard Chorale in Bach's Leipzig."
[74] "…habe ich die Ehre, Ihnen hiermit einen andern Jahr-Gang gleichfalls auf alle Sonn- und Feyer-Tage vorzulegen, der jedoch mehr zum Privat-Gebrauche und zur Haus- als Kirchen-Andacht, gewidmet ist." "Vorbericht," in Telemann, *Harmonischer Gottesdienst*, first page (unpaginated).
[75] Taylor, "The Published Church Cantatas of George Philip Telemann," 18-24.
[76] "Vorbericht," in Telemann, *Harmonischer Gottesdienst*, translated in Taylor, "The Published Church Cantatas of George Philip Telemann," 53.
[77] Herl, *Worship Wars*, 138.

religious context and print circulation. These new, widely distributed choral books – which would henceforth accompany the many German *Gesangbuch* reforms through the end of the nineteenth century – were earmarked for amateur players across their social sites (namely, schools, churches, and homes). A prominent example of the popular amateur choral book was *Alte und neue Choral-Gesänge* (Berlin, 1786), arranged by the Berlin church organist Johann Christoph Kühnau.

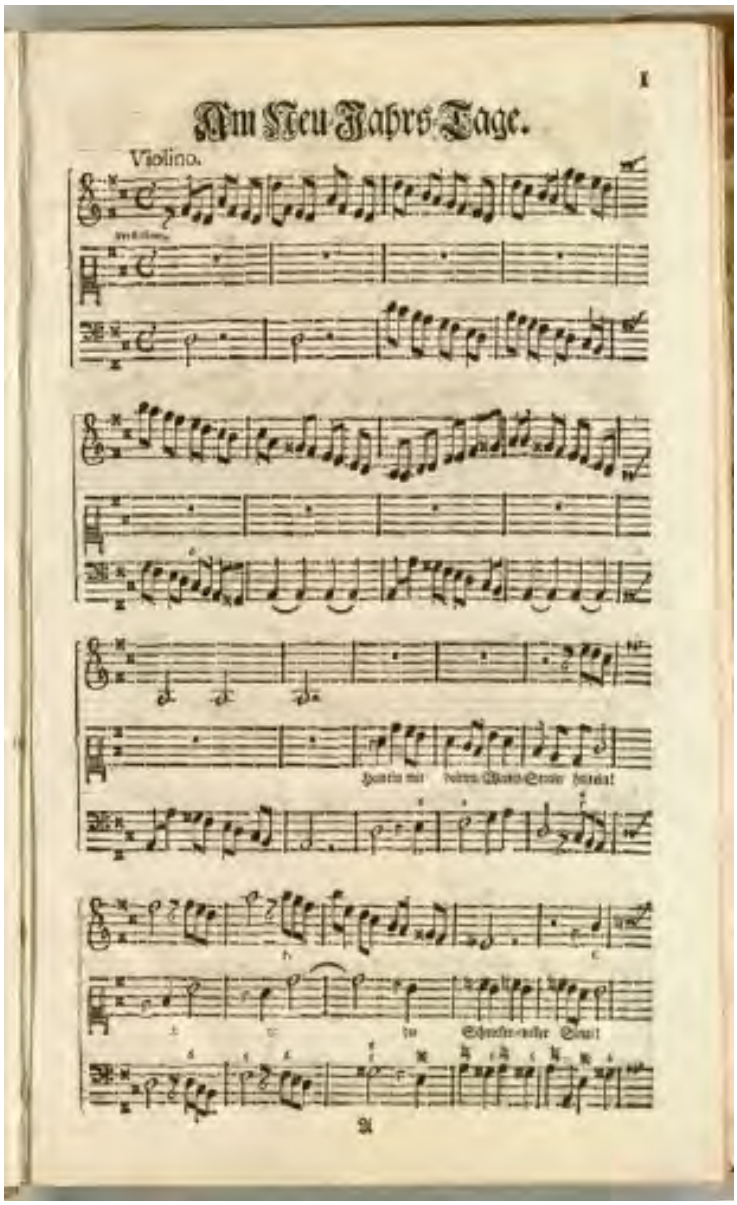

Figure 5. Telemann, *Harmonischer Gottesdienst*, 1.

The title of Kühnau's publication referenced J. S. Bach's posthumously printed chorales of the same name, one that Kühnau's teacher Johann Kirnberger edited and published two years earlier. Reviewers generally considered Kirnberger's edition, which was marketed to amateur keyboardists, far too difficult for domestic use. Boasting thick harmonies packed within a grand staff, most considered it illegible for both amateur keyboardists and choir singers. While revered for their contrapuntal prowess, the books of Bach's chorales were musical monuments of a bygone era more than spurs to a revival of an old master – a reception that was largely a consequence of their compositional arrangement and format.[78] By contrast, reviewers welcomed Kühnau's choral book as a corrective to Bach's edition, with arrangements that were friendlier to the eyes and hands of amateurs without oversimplifying the tunes themselves.[79]

Earlier choral books, such as Johann Joachim Quantz's *New Church Melodies*, sought clear and tasteful bass lines, but did not consider thoroughbass availing weaker keyboardists in the ways Kühnau provided (see Figure 6). For example, Kühnau's thoroughbass by and large maintains stepwise motion and remains near the upper register. For accompanists, this strategy favored easy closed-hand movements between chords, until the rules of strict composition – such as the threat of voice-crossing – oblige sudden leaps downward for better harmonic spacing (see Figure 7, mm.5-6). Because Kühnau's thoroughbass usually ran high in the bass clef, the frequency of closed hand positions also allowed more frequent frontloading of harmonies onto the right hand. This frontloading or, in eighteenth-century keyboardist's parlance, "undivided accompaniment," was a common habit among amateur keyboardists, and was discouraged in thoroughbass manuals by masters like C. P. E. Bach.[80]

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[78] Jerold, "Johann Philipp Kirnberger and the Bach Chorale Settings," 34-43.

[79] Robin Leaver and Derek Remeš argue that the textual dissemination of J. S. Bach's chorales was split into two traditions, one vocal (*Choralgesang*) and the other keyboard (*Choralbuch*). However, a media history of texts such as the "Sibley *Choralbuch*" and later printed editions of Bach's chorales better explains their distinction: whereas the former was a private manuscript used for music teaching in the manner of earlier choral books, the latter were intended for a new amateur public, and accordingly rearranged for domestic use. Leaver and Remeš therefore mistake the new media function of the popular amateur choral book for an ulterior compositional process of "harmonization" or "stage of pedagogical method" dating back to Bach himself. See Leaver, "Bach's Choral-Buch?" in Dirst, *Bach Perspectives*, 16-38; and see Remeš, "J. S. Bach's Chorales: Reconstructing Eighteenth-Century German Figured-Bass Pedagogy in Light of a New Source."

[80] See Bach, *Essay*, 209, 278. On the amateur habit of undivided accompaniment and its effects on eighteenth century keyboard literature, see Kane. "The influence of basso continuo practice," 95-105.

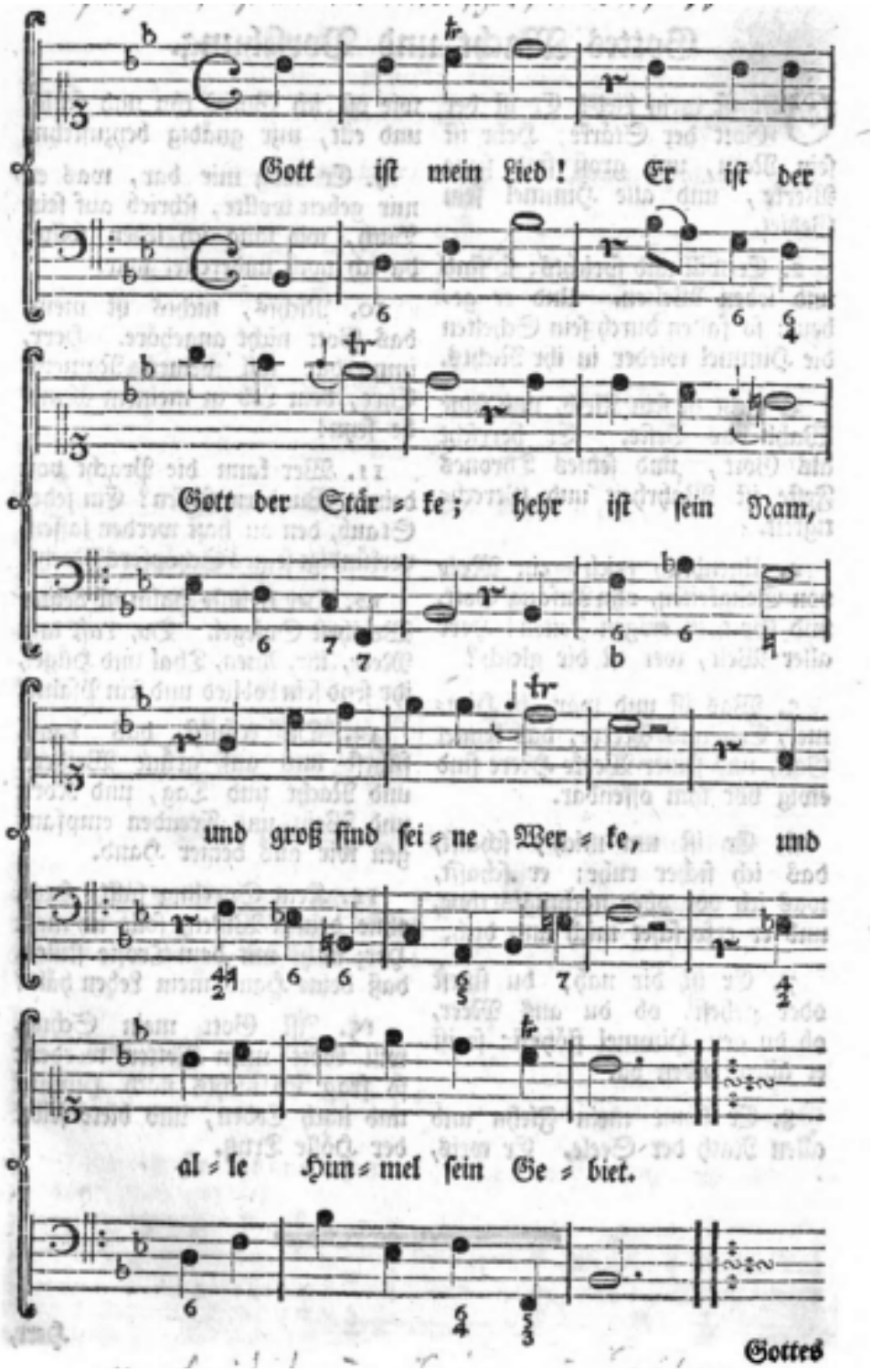

Figure 6. "Gott ist mein Lied," in Quantz, *Neue Kirchen-Melodien*, 26.

Kühnau's choice of noteheads also promoted easier reading without spoiling an opportunity to strengthen one's skills at thoroughbass: Figured bass and discant lines are in large, bolded, and stemmed half notes. By contrast, the inner voices are filled in according to the figured bass, but without stems, and with noteheads appearing much smaller and filled in; they are meant to be subtle musical couriers that can be easily ignored in favor of a simpler improvised arrangement, or a crutch for reading bass figures, perhaps if a novice became stuck accompanying (see Figure 7).

The notational and compositional arrangements of the *Choralgesänge* had all the features of a thoroughbass manual for those who wished to teach themselves. As Kühnau claimed, "The usefulness of these chorales is obvious. Primarily, organists not only in cities but also in the country, could use them to play their chorale with ease, and beginners can even teach themselves without a teacher and use them for instruction, to be able to play a chorale according to thoroughbass."[81] Kühnau's assemblage of "old and new" chorales favored the former. Out of 172 chorales, only sixteen were composed by Kühnau's contemporaries (and included two of his own). The rest were venerable tunes in continuous liturgical use, some dating back to Luther himself. The variety of *Choralgesänge* delivered a snapshot of commonly-used melodies in Protestant churches across north Germany.

By the end of the eighteenth century, then, the professional organist's *Choralbuch* relocated to the pious Protestant home, becoming musical supplements to family hymnbooks and integrating with the musical materials of domestic devotion discussed in the previous chapter. The choral book's new, domestic amateur id-century *geistliche Lieder* such as those by Gellert and Klopstock participated in a different media environment from whence they came. Now, amateur reading practices mostly dictated the formats and arrangements of scores on the music market. Moreover, choral books began populating homes at a moment when domestic *Geistliche Lieder* were functional accomplices to *Kirchengesänge* (church hymns). These religious and media conditions enabled new musical hybrids of lied collections and choral books.

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[81] "Die Brauchbarkeit dieser Choräle fällt von selbst in die Augen. Vornehmlich können Organisten, nicht nur in Städten, sondern auch auf dem Lande, sich derselben mit Nutzen bedienen, um mit leichter Mühe ihren Choral richtig zu spielen, und Anfänger können sich so gar selbst ohne Lehrer daraus unterrichten, und sich derselben zu Anweisung bedienen, einen Choral nach dem General-Basse spielen zu können." "Vorrede," in Kühnau, *Vierstimmige Alte und Neue Choralgesänge*, viii.

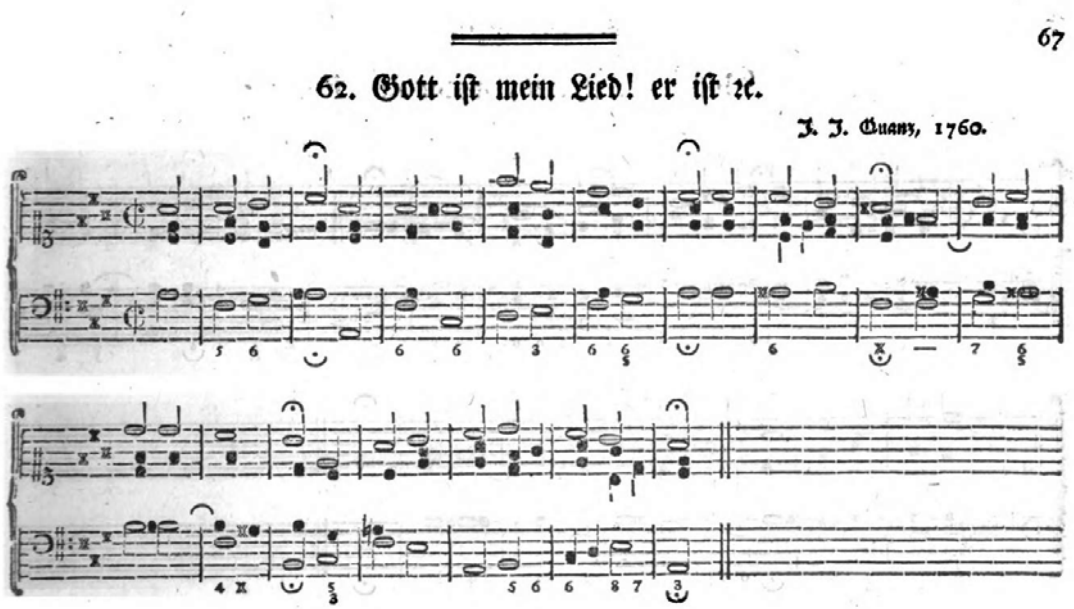

Figure 7. "Gott ist mein Lied," in Kühnau, *Choralgesange*, 67, melody by Quantz (cf. Figure 6).

As Reichardt wrote in his *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, "We do not have a choral book furnished in such a way that music lovers [*Musikfreunde*] who do not understand harmony could occupy themselves at the keyboard with prodding and emptiness; and our most glorious sacred poems remain uncomposed or as good as uncomposed."[82] In the article entitled, "On Domestic Edification Through Music," Reichardt called for a *Choralbuch* of *Geistliche Lieder* by Klopstock and Lavater to be published, and, "if done by a master hand, it would be the greatest devotional hymnbook [*Erbauungsgesangbuch*] of all time."[83] The old church melodies that Klopstock used for creating his *Geistliche Lieder* once precluded composers from setting them to new melodies. Therefore, despite a popularity rivaling that of Gellert's collection, Klopstock's poems rarely appeared in new musical arrangements following the first edition's publication in 1758. But writing in 1782, at a time when the materials of domestic devotion and liturgical ritual freely exchanged – an exchange that Klopstock's *Geistliche Lieder* helped initiate –

[82] "Wir haben nicht nemahl ein Choralbuch daß so eingerichtet wäre dass Musikfreunde, die nicht Harmonie verstehen, sich beym Klavier damit ohne Anstoß und Leere beschäftigen und erbauen könnten: und unsre herrlichsten geistlichen Poesien bleiben unkomponirt oder so gut als unkomponirt." Reichardt, *Kunstmagazin* IV, 172.

[83] […] geschieht dies von einer Meisterhand, so wird es für alle Zeiten das vollkommenste Erbauunggesangbuch." Ibid.

Reichardt considered the churchly character of Klopstock's poetry advantageous for domestic settings. The kind of lieder-like "choral book" Reichardt probably had in mind was his *Spiritual Songs by Lavater and Reichardt, to sing at the keyboard and also in choir*, published two years after his article in Berlin. Reichardt favored the keyboarding *Liebhaber* by composing on two staves without figured bass and using undivided accompaniment (see Figure 8). Most settings were composed as chorales or simple choral preludes with the complete text below the score (much like earlier lied collections; cp. Figures 9 and 10 from Chapter 1), just as Reichardt's article had suggested.

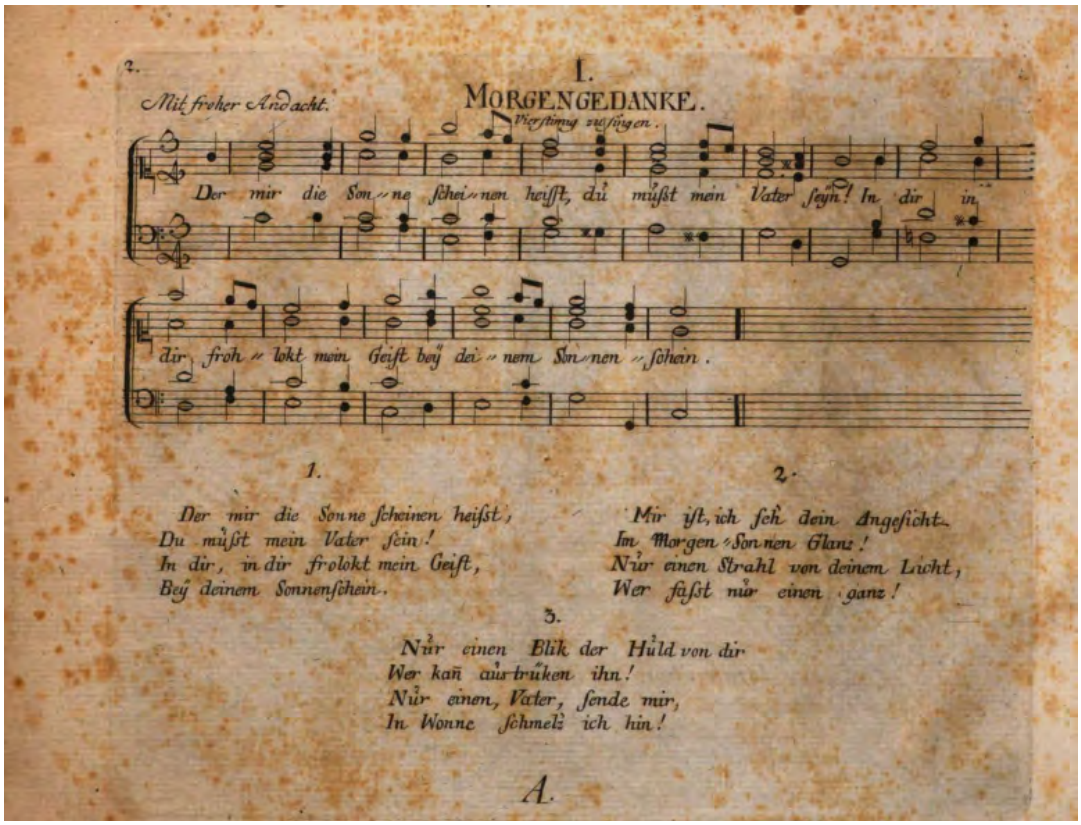

Figure 8. Reichardt, "Morgengedanke," in *Geistliche Lieder*, 2.

Reichardt's *Geistliche Lieder* demonstrates that as the choral book came into the domain of German Protestant amateurs, it took on some of the same functions of *geistliche Lieder*, namely, to promote domestic devotion among amateurs. The functional and musical overlaps of spiritual song books and choral books in the last two decades of the eighteenth century prompted musicians like Reichardt to experiment with generic hybrids, not unlike the ways Doles, Bach, Quantz, and Hiller had in the 1760s (see Chapter 1). Yet the latter-century choral books sought

to mediate devotional musical materials in ways distinct from Doles and other mid-century *geistliche Lieder*. Whereas Doles's Gellert settings, as a supplemental or comparative gesture, displayed both practices of Protestant worship in each of their respective formats (churchly choral book and domestic keyboard reduction), Reichardt's *Geistliche Lieder* embedded the genre of the choral book – understood as a collection of chorales and liturgically-appropriate hymns – within Lieder book. In Reichardt's score, the choral book co-opts the format of the north German Lied collection, which, in his estimation, made it "the greatest devotional hymnbook of all time" precisely because of its generic integration.

Hiller's two collections Gellert lieder were published thirty years apart, and accordingly bear out both of these pivotal moments in eighteenth-century devotional media around 1760 and 1790. For example, Hiller set his earlier *Choralmelodien* (1761) much as a continuo lied – bare melody and bass, with bass figures that encourage a budding accompanist to furnish the arrangement with a light harmony (see Figure 9). Yet resetting the same hymn three decades later – and with an editorial approach consistent with his later keyboard reductions of the 1780s, as discussed in the previous chapter – he sought to challenge the amateur with four-staved choral notation that adorned a Quantz-inspired church melody (see Figure 10).

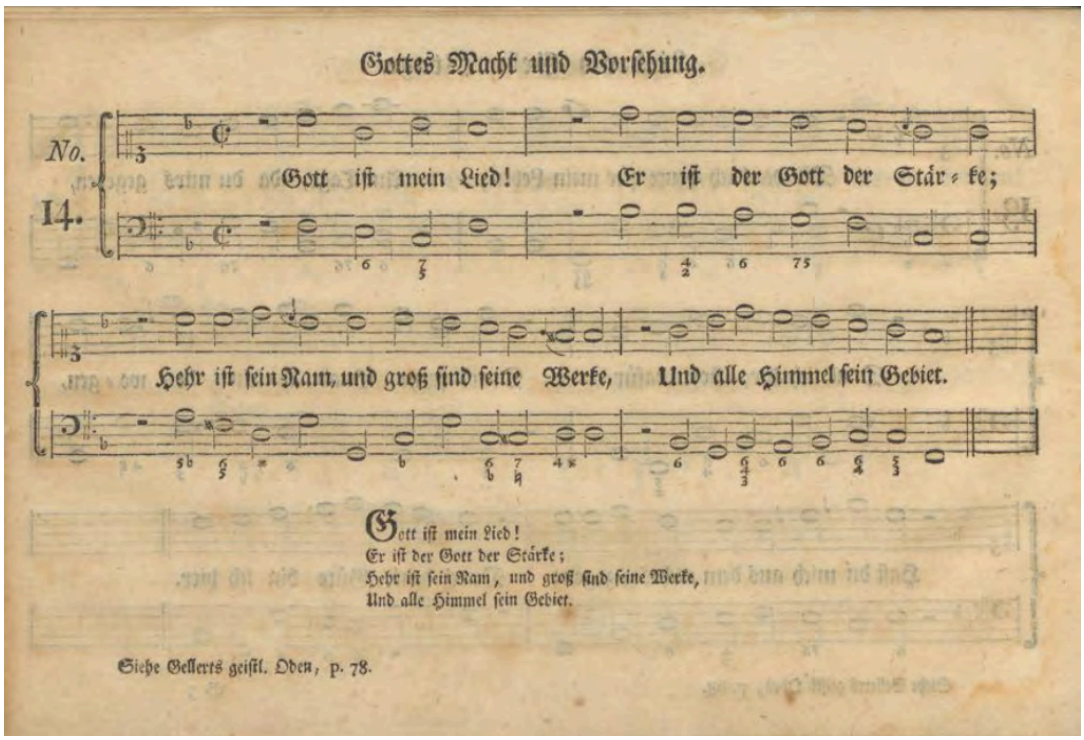

Figure 9. "Gott ist Mein Lied," in Hiller, *Choralmelodien* (1761), 14.

Hiller's choral books of the 1790s considered the printed choral book as an

opportunity to educate the musical amateur public in the skills of the Lutheran cantor and church organist. In the preface to his *Fünf und zwanzig neue Choralmelodien* ("Twenty-five New Choral Melodies") in 1792, which revised and explanded upon a collection of Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* from 1761, the 64-year-old *Kappellmeister* reflected on his current historical moment of print media proliferation, the function of religious domestic song, and techniques of keyboard arrangement – all to excuse his convoluted score editing:

> The means [*Mitteln*] by which new melodies of a congregation are made familiar also belong to the fact that they publicly appear in print; and perhaps it [print] is the most effective medium [*Mittel*] of all. For now that instruction in music is considered an essential part of education in good homes, since singing and playing give so many families the most pleasurable entertainment, it would be quite unkind to claim that a light, interesting chorale melody never affords them entertainment, never to be worth their attention.[…] Not without cause, but in many respects for the benefit to be gained therefrom, I have allowed these melodies to be printed in four voices, on four lines[…] My chief concern in producing these melodies has been the singing choirs of schools in cities. It is the best way to tune the singers' sense of pure harmony by letting them sing well-set chorales of long notes until they have made them their own[…][84]

With its complex format, *Neue Choralmelodien* undertook the unique challenge for editors arranging church melodies for amateur keyboardists by the end of the century: how to circumvent the amateur habit of undivided accompaniment, which negated voice leading of the inner voices and violated the "pure harmony" that ostensibly generated pious feelings and religious musical experience.[85] Kühnau had side-stepped this issue by printing divided

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[84] "Zu den Mitteln, wodurch man neue Melodien einer Gemeinde bekannt macht, gehört auch, daß man sie im Drucke öffentlich erscheinen läßt; und vielleicht ist es unter allen das wirksamste Mittel. Denn da jetzt Unterricht in der Musik als ein wesentliches Stück der Erziehung in guten Häusern angesehen wird, da Singen und Spielen so manchen Familien die angenehmste Unterhaltung verschafft, würde es sehr lieblos seyn, wenn man behaupten wollte, daß eine leichte, interressante Choralmelodie ihnen nie eine Unterhaltung gewähren, nie ihrer Aufmerksamkeit würdig seyn könne. […] Nicht ohne Ursache, sondern in mancherley Rücksicht auf den damit zu stiftenden Nutzen, habe ich diese Melodien in vier Stimmen, auf vier Linien, drucken lassen. […] Mein vornehmstes Augenmerk bey Verfertigung dieser Melodien sind die Singchöre der Schulen in Städten gewesen." "Vorrede," in Hiller, *Neue Choral-Melodien*, x-xi.

[85] Hiller discusses "divided accompaniment" and amateur legibility at length,

accompaniment in small, stemless noteheads for the inner voices, and by tailoring bass lines to favor "pure harmony" in closed position (see Figure 7) – these provisions allowed Kühnau to market his collection to amateur readers while also boasting an adherence to strict composition. By contrast, Hiller's choral arrangement hardly compromises for the keyboardist, who was necessary for any performance. As he confesses in the preface, Hiller arranged the vocal lines to favor divided accompaniment. Additionally, amid the score's four different clefs, the vocal bass doubled as a thoroughbass for the accompanist while preventing keyboard reduction, thus compounding the obstacles for amateur accompanists.

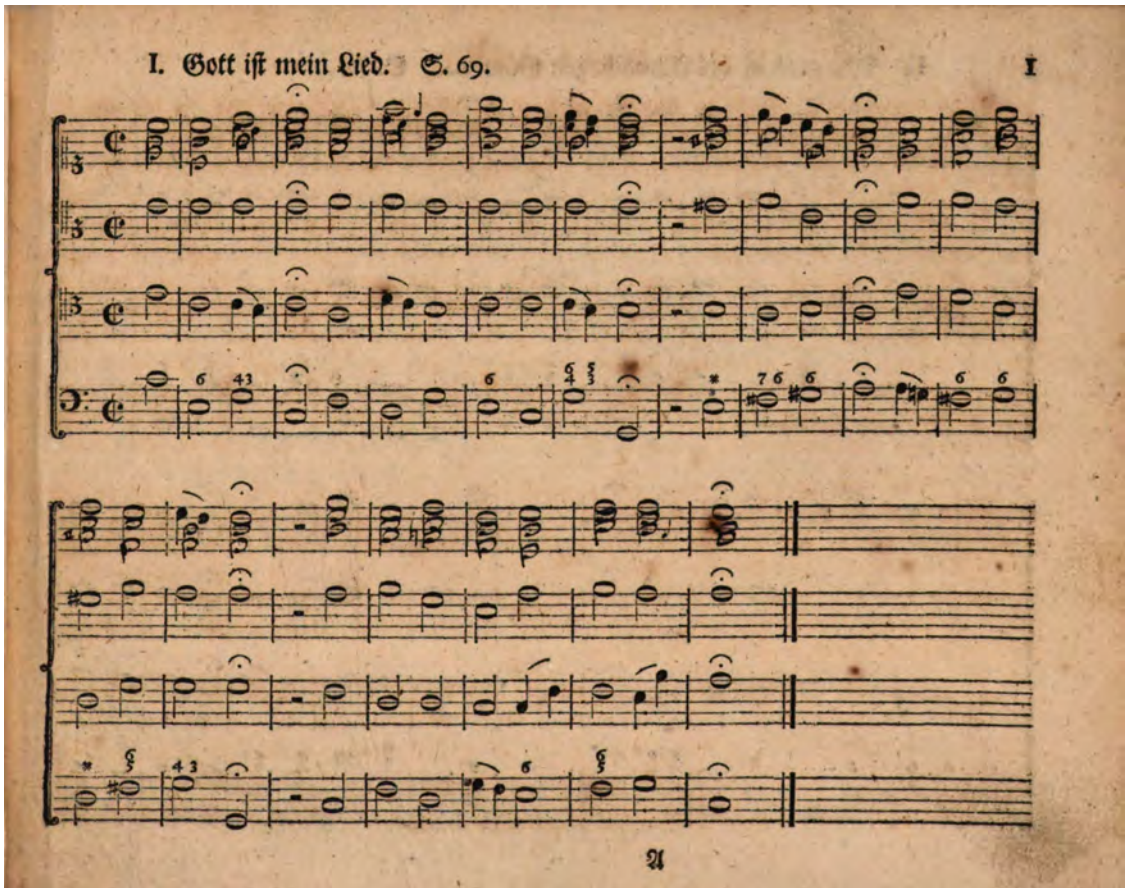

Figure 10. "Gott ist mein Lied," in Hiller, *Neue Choralmelodien* (1792), 1, with amateur markings.

From a pedagogical perspective, Hiller may not have been successful at bucking the trend of undivided accompaniment and keyboard reductions in

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outlining their ramifications for choral arrangement and the choral book's user function. See Hiller, *Neue Choral-Melodien*, xi.

choral books. One copy of *Neue Choralmelodien* currently held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek shows an early keyboardist's pen markings that nullified Hiller's meticulous arrangements (see Figure 10). In a moment of ludic defiance, some anonymous player went through each chorale (over 200) and rewrote the inner voices on the soprano clef, thus requiring her to read only the top and bottom systems in undivided accompaniment. Much like the pencil marks on Hiller's *Tod Jesu* reduction discussed in the previous chapter, this makeshift keyboard reduction (this time with blank ink) upon a complex choral book circumvented the need to interpret figured bass, and saved one the hassle of reading alto and tenor clefs. The pen markings rearranged inner voices by the principles of haptic accessibility and alternative legibility, with some voices dropped (see Figure 10, m.8) for ease of the hands, and others condensed (see Figure 10, mm. 15-16) for ease of the eyes. Another remarkable feature – literally and figuratively – is the size of the hand-written half notes that match the printed noteheads for quicker reading. Evidently this amateur was not concerned with a scholarly rewriting of Hiller's arrangements (in the way Hiller sought to update old church melodies, as his preface advertises), nor was this a scrupulous copy of Hiller's counterpoint. Rather, it was an expedient solution to an otherwise inconvenient and illegible format.

One year after releasing *Neue Choralmelodien*, Hiller published another choral book, *Allgemeines Choral-Melodienbuch für Kirchen und Schulen,* whose full title in English was, *General Choral-melody book for churches and schools, also for private use, set in four voices, pulled together on two lines for the convenience of organ and keyboard players; with figured bass* (Leipzig, 1793).[86] The title alone bears evidence of the daunting task during the 1790s of mediating disparate readerships and levels of literacy through choral book arrangements. Hiller attempted to synthesize contemporary chorales from four north German cities (Dresden, Leipzig, Hamburg, Berlin) that all used separate hymnbooks, though not to include so many melodies as to make his book unpurchaseable. Yet Hiller also claimed he wanted to include different musical settings for the same hymns, which would have also led to an unwieldy volume. His solution was to arrange the chorales on a grand staff instead of the four-part systems of his *Neue Choralmelodien*. The result was 245 different choral melodies setting hymns on 224 pages, constituting one of the heftiest choral books of the eighteenth century intended for "private use." Despite being "pulled together on two lines" (*zusammen gezogen*), a technique of arrangement editors used for making keyboard reductions (which I will return to in a moment), Hiller arranged the music in divided accompaniment for what he hoped would be the first in a series

[86] "Allgemeines Choral-Melodienbuch für Kirchen und Schulen, auch zum Privatgebrauche, in vier Stimmen gesetzt; zur Bequemlichkeit der Orgel- und Clavierspieler auf zwo Linien zusammengezogen; mit Bezifferung des Generalbasses." Hiller, *Allgemeines Choral-Melodienbuch*, title page.

of five separate volumes, a herculean effort to standardize music education across north Germany through the sheer popularity of print media. He only managed to publish the first volume, which included a lengthy *Nachtrag* ("Addendum") that briefly summarized scholastic and ecclesiastic performances of *Kirchenmusik* in eight sections. Following the *Nachtrag* was its own addendum (*Nachtrag zum Nachtrage*) that addressed the interchangeability of listed hymns to the melodic settings. Next, an "attachment" (*Anhang*) followed the addenda, containing ten hymns for vespers and holidays, and fourteen more chorale melodies that set hymns from recently-published hymnbooks to diversify the repertoire. The final product was an exhaustive startup packet for aspiring amateur cantors and church musicians, both in schools and smaller churches around north Germany.

Formatting musical information to be comprehensible enough for a beginning keyboardist, while still packing in enough information to complete one's journey to mastery – this was a tall order for a choral book. Like Wiedeberg's autodidactic text with without exercises, Hiller had to make great compromises in his arrangements. As Figure 11 below shows, Hiller's *Allgemeine Choral-Melodienbuch* embodied a kind of synthesis between Hiller's two earlier Gellertian choral books: The grandstaff with figured bass and upward stems of for the chorale melody marks a return to his earlier continuo lied format (see Figure 9), while the divided accompaniment is inherited by his resetting of the previous year. In fact, it is the same arrangement as found in his *Neue Choralmelodien*, only in keyboard reduction (cp. Figure 10). Rather than challenging the keyboardist, for the sake of pedagogical and repertorial comprehensiveness, Hiller writes out what the amateur is otherwise supposed to extemporize, making this setting, in some respects, even easier to read than his early *Choralmelodien* of 1761.

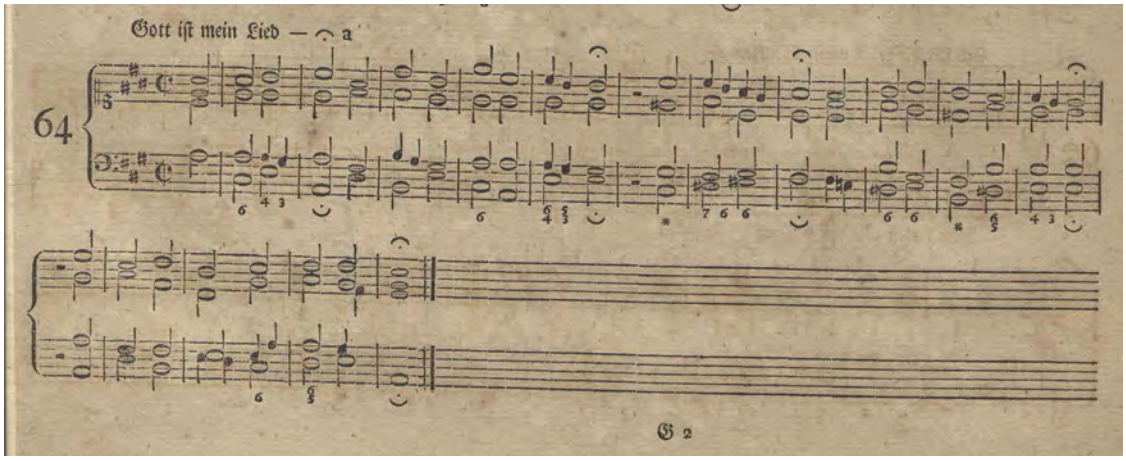

Figure 11. "Gott ist mein Lied," in Hiller, *Allgemeine Choral-Melodienbuch*, 27.

Latter-century choral books like those by Hiller and Kühnau worked to

circumvent the apprenticeship model that had long sustained and circulated the insider knowledge of professional church musicians. As John Butt has argued, Hiller and other music pedagogues of his generation maintained that "music should be treated as a beautiful 'Wissenschaft' rather than a craft."[87] For Butt and many other scholars, it follows that a supposed "crisis" of church music in the late-eighteenth century can be attributed to an empirical decrease in the number of cantors, the musical "schoolmasters" of Lutheran parishes.[88] But a media history of choral books demonstrates that a newly entextualized pedagogy of church music recuperated the cantor's pedagogical responsibilities in the print market. Hiller's *Allgemeines Choral Melodienbuch*, for the first time, brought the full gamut of church music's pedagogical system, formerly safeguarded by early *Choralbücher*, into the amateur's home and the children's classroom. With a little help from a local tutor, even a beginner could ostensibly follow Hiller's instructional steps to acquire the professional skills necessary for liturgical performance. The history of eighteenth-century church music and its corresponding modes of pedagogy was therefore not one of decline, but of remediation.[89] This pedagogical shift only became possible once choral books were reformatted for the reduced skill levels of domestic amateurs, a pedagogical task promoted by the medium of print.

By the nineteenth century, compositional treatises, accompaniment literature, choral books, and self-teaching music manuals formed a new constellation of didactic responsibilities, all of which were characterized by quick learning and brief texts. In 1817, Gottfried Weber summarized the state of music pedagogy when he pointed out in musical amateurs–

> the false supposition on the part of this class of persons, that their more limited object can be attained by a correspondently shorter route, and consequently, misled by such an impression, they eagerly reach for the shortest instruction books so abundatly to be found in every market under the specious titles of *Elementary Books, Treatises on Harmony, Thoroughbass Schools*, and the like. The mulitplicity of such books, taken in concetion with the smallnes of their size, naturally confirms the uninformed in the false idea that everything essential can be adequately furnished in nuce on this small number of pages… [90]

These music treatises reproduced the roles of educators in coordination

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[87] Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, 173.
[88] Ibid., 166-92. See also Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 177-88.
[89] See Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*, 93-147. David Gramit examines the important role pedagogical methods played in north German musical culture around 1800. See Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 95-124.
[90] Weber, *The Theory of Musical Composition*, xi.

with other pedagogical print media to reconfigure and disseminate musical knowledge formerly under the jurisdiction of the apprenticeship model. The largescale denunciation of the apprenticeship model in German pedagogy, which I contend is most visible in these musical texts, was largely the product of Rousseauian pedagogues optimizing the affordances of print media to textualize, simplify, and disseminate information. This is not to say that all German music teachers followed Rousseau's specific pedagogical method, although such musical teachers and texts indeed existed.[91] Rather, musicians such as those discussed above, who published instruction books and corresponding practice pieces, intentionally based their teaching materials on the same ethical premise as Rousseau's *Dictionaire* and *Project Concerning New Music Symbols* – the notion that teachers had a responsibility to publicize musical knowledge, previously veiled by the apprenticeship model, to a domestic amateur public.

[91] See, for example, Bossler, *Elementarbüch der Tonkünst*.

Chapter 3

Ancient Church Music, c.1800

> The splendid future has become a miserable present.[1]

After Wilhelm Wackenroder assembled his literary pieces to print in 1797 for *Intimate Confessions of an Art-Loving Friar*, he claimed to have directed them "only to young, beginning artists or to youths who intend to dedicate themselves to art and who still carry in a quiet, uninflated heart holy respect for the time which has passed by. Perhaps they will be even more touched by my otherwise insignificant words, inspired to a still deeper respect; for they read with the same love with which I have written."[2] The *Confessions* cautioned young artists and music students to protect artistic sensibilities that their schools and apprenticeships could not teach – and would perhaps even threaten. The Romantic archconservative Caroline Schlegel noted Wackenroder's neo-Rousseauian critique of scholarly art training in her review of the first edition,

> The view of the formative arts underlying this pleasant piece is not the usual one found in our age…[The author's] intention is to convey his own admiration for the great masters to budding artists and amateurs [*Liebhabern*], and everywhere emphatically opposing that particular, self-contented presumption of expertise [*Kennerey*] dwelling more on a ready tongue than in the innermost soul, and which confidently scrutinizes the most sublime creations of genius as if the latter were actually subject to its jurisdiction.[3]

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[1] Wilhelm Wackenroder, in Schubert, *'Confessions,'* 155.
[2] "To the Reader of These Pages," in Schubert, '*Confessions*,' 81-2.
[3] "Die Ansicht der bildenden Künste, welche diseser angenehmen Schrift zum Grunde liegt, ist nicht die gewöhnliche unsers Zeitalters…Seine Absicht ist, angehenden Künstlern und Liebhabern seine an Anbetung gränzende Ehrfucht vor den grossen Meistern, mitzutheilen, und aus nachdrücklichste widersetzt er sich überall einer gewissen selbstgefälligen Kennerey, die mehr auf einer fertigen Zunge als im Innern des Geistes wohnt, und die erhabensten Schöpfungen des Genius, als wären sie wirklich ihrer Gerichtsbarkeit unterworfen, zuversichtlich durchmustert." "Schöne Künste," in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 46 (Jena, 10 Feb 1797): 361.

As an heir to the media regime that Enlightenment thinkers promulgated, Wackenroder saw the critical and pedagogical project of his day as discriminating between "good and bad" collections of art, an activity to which, as a proud *Kunstliebhaber*, he took exception: "I could never…separate the Good from the so-called Bad in my chosen favorites and, in the end, to place them all in a row in order to observe them with a cold, criticizing eye, as young artists and so-called friends of art tend to do nowadays."[4] Wackenroder claimed that his short stories turned away from the "cold, criticizing eye" promoted by art journals and teaching manuals, in favor of an eclectic, universal appreciation of art. This turn marked a radical departure from the project espoused by most contemporaneous pedagogical media: For Wackenroder, the responsibility of artists and critics was no longer to make scholarly objects intelligible through a critical gaze, as Reichardt, Hiller, Friedrich Cramer, Rellstab, and other editors had attempted through their musical print media. Instead, as skilled versions of amateurs, artists and experts ought to cultivate a sensitivity toward – that is, to love – all art, and the inexhaustible supply of unique, delightfully incomprehensible artworks. The eponymous friar Joseph Berglinger embodied this attitude when listening to a symphonic concert "with the very same reverence as if he were in the church."[5] In his early years as an art-lover, before obtaining a systematic musical education, Berglinger listened to all forms of music with equal sensitivity.

Wackenroder celebrated a kind of aesthetic eclecticism in unprecedented fashion, praising the historical, generic, and geographical diversity of artworks lately made accessible, comparable, and so in some sense equivalent in the regime of Enlightenment media.[6] Yet Wackenroder rejected the very pedagogical project that had helped to produce such a proliferating variety. In this way, Wackenroder's aesthetic writings represent a reiteration of Rousseau's critique of book-centered education, belatedly turned against the north German regime of printed knowledge.

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[4] Schubert, *'Confessions'*, 81.

[5] Schubert, *'Confessions,'* 149.

[6] As a descriptor of aggregated variety, it should come as no surprise that the very word, "eclectic," has its own significance in late eighteenth-century art and philosophy: The Greek term was derived from ancient Greek philosophy, in which *eklektikon* meant "a philosophy whose structural character is that of deliberately planning to select some doctrines out of many philosophies and fit them together." Enlightenment thinkers such as Johann Winkelmann, Denis Diderot, and Joshua Reynolds revived the word "eclectic" to variously describe the manner in which modern thinkers and artists haphazardly derived their ideas and styles from across Greek antiquity. See Donini, "The History of the Concept of Eclecticism," 15-33, 16.

Insofar as it is both indebted to and critical of Enlightenment media infrastructure, one could consider this mode of eclecticism (or as Wackenroder called it, "universal love" of art) distinct to Romanticism, per Clifford Siskin and William Warner's formulation.[7] "Romanticism," Siskin and Warner argue, is an historical period denoting both an inheritance and critique of Enlightenment, a "coming to terms with what had just happened in the terms of [Enlightenment.]"[8] Around 1800, north German musicians, teachers, and scholars registered and intervened upon media proliferation "in the terms" of Enlightenment media, which, for Siskin and Warner, marked a moment when the access and particular uses of print media became assumed, and even resisted, as a response to a palpable sense of "too much" media.[9] Chad Wellmon similarly argues that during this time the unabated increase of print media produced an "epistemic anxiety" for the German public; the glut of printed knowledge, or "information overload," led to an increased concern with authority.[10] This anxiety was not only about what information was reliable, but also about the authority of the institutions and technologies that created and disseminated this information. The result, at the end of the century, was what Wellmon calls "a crisis in epistemic authority." In Wellmon's narrative, the ultimate solution for north Germans would arrive with the University of Berlin (est. 1810), the first modern research university, which not only acted as a technology to collect and reorder knowledge, but also to legitimate it.[11]

Music, however, was arguably the most resistant to such claims of "epistemic authority," still sitting precariously between a science (*Tonwissenschaft*) and a fine art (*Tonkunst*). Music was the last field to be "disciplined" in the University of Berlin, with Friedrich Zelter's music professorship opening in 1822 and a fledgling music department helmed by A. B. Marx in 1830.

Before Zelter and Marx helped institutionalize music in Berlin (which will be taken up in the next chapter), there was an ongoing controversy among critics – not least Wackenroder – over how to compensate for print media's deleterious effects on musical knowledge, yet near unanimity as to what those effects were. These critics unambiguously depicted church music as the main casualty to a pedagogical and media profusion around 1800, prompting Craig Comen to describe their laments of church music as an "elegiac strand of musical

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[7] Schubert, *'Confessions,'* 111.
[8] Siskin and Warner, "If This is Enlightenment, then What is Romanticism?," 282.
[9] A synonymous term, denoting the effects that a critical mass of media has on a society is "saturation." See Siskin, *System*, 151.
[10] Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment*, 19.
[11] Ibid., 12-3.

modernity."[12] Conversely, discussions on church music invariably aired grievances about a "deluge of songs" in the print market polluting it, and the poor state of musical instruction that sustained it.[13] As E.T.A Hoffmann argued in his article on "Old and New Church Music," published "works for the church have been in short supply" because of an "unparalleled frivolity" in the training of church musicians.[14] Before teachers and statesmen ultimately disciplined music through new political institutions of knowledge, church music became a focal point for a new generation reckoning with the media disruptions of their immediate past. For Wackenroder and his generation, the initial solution for music critics seeking to shore up epistemic anxieties wrought by Enlightenment media was to look further back – to ancient church music.

Early nineteenth-century proposals for church music to be recast from ancient models were not, as music historians commonly suppose, evidence of a decrepit, secularized Protestantism in need of purification – not least because, as I will show, such calls perpetuated eighteenth-century arguments under new terms.[15] Nor did such proposals necessarily indicate the (rather abstract) rise of Winkelmannian "historicism," as James Garratt has suggested.[16] Rather, I suggest that historicist interventions in church music around 1800 expressed an early reckoning with Enlightenment mediation: more specifically, they registered print media's effects on music and religion in the context of German Protestantism. This chapter, then, reassesses the Romantic "problem" of modern church music from the perspective of a newly disruptive Enlightenment media; it addresses why *alte Kirchenmusik*, or rather a small, carefully curated selection of it, became the first recourse for stabilizing a disruptive eighteenth-century musical mediascape. In turn, the discourse, practices, and materials of ancient church music in German religious life were the basis of music's and religion's new institutional identity as fields of scientific knowledge in Berlin.

The newly fabricated legacy of ancient church music – its specific historical narrative and enduring liturgical value – hinged on the Lutheran chorale. Musicians and critics, I argue, derived their liturgical applications of *alte Kirchenmusik* from those of the Lutheran chorale. In the early nineteenth century, music not strictly in the genre of the chorale, but which now counted as part of the chorale's historical lineage, was newly interpreted as being "chorale-like," and so was associated with the same religious-aesthetic experiences (communal

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[12] Comen, "Hoffmann's Musical Modernity and the Pursuit of Sentimental Unity," 10.
[13] Thibaut, *On Purity in Musical Art*, 5.
[14] Hoffmann, *Musical Writings*, 353.
[15] One the revival of ancient church music as a symptom of secularization, see Feder, "Decline and Restoration," in Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History*.
[16] Garratt, *Palestrina*, 60.

sentiment, transcendence, and moral edification) as the Lutheran chorale. Accordingly, diverse examples of ancient church music, which aroused feelings of spiritual transcendence – Gregorian chant, a Kyrie by Palestrina – were routinely described as resembling a chorale. The new "epistemic authority" of ancient church music thus relied on the status of the chorale as an historically unchanging musical form – a form that enabled German Protestants to appropriate ancient Catholic artifacts as their musical heirlooms. The Enlightenment mediations of the chorale, in other words, gave ancient church music both its cultural legitimation and its enduring proto-Protestant sheen.

If the previous two chapters described new Enlightenment mediations of the chorale – its domestic and pedagogical functions in print – this chapter traces the chorale through a series of "Romantic mediations," which, I argue, remade the chorale as an historically continuous aestheticized object.[17] In what follows, I describe three "epistemic anxieties" produced by the print media of music – overload, authority, and expectation. Each of these anxieties, in turn, generated a corresponding response in church music – eclecticism, historicism, and an ethic of *naiveté*. Together, these reactions recast the chorale as both the liturgical root and historical essence of *Kirchenmusik* in the early nineteenth century, and in turn consolidated and authorized a new repertoire called *alte Kirchenmusik* – an early solution to the malaise of Enlightenment musical-religious media.

I Overload and Eclecticism

Few German critics were so keen to bring order to an excess of printed musical information as Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818). His *Universal Literature of Music* (1792) surveyed the far reaches of the musical printscape across time (*Geschichte*) and space (*einzelnen Völkern*), only to find that it was ultimately impossible to fully circumscribe with a single catalogue. Forkel, whose birthdate falls directly between those of the print-manual cynic C. P. E. Bach and the eclectic Wilhelm Wackenroder, contented himself with this realization, and thought his catalogue might still serve good purposes: "Just as one can be very rich and yet not satisfy all the needs of life, so a library can also be very well stocked in any subject without therefore containing everything that has been supplied from the beginning of the learned world, or what one would like to know about it."[18] Forkel authored several "universal" accounts of musical knowledge (see below) and bibliographic

[17] See Burgess, Dick, and Levy, "Introduction: Romantic Mediations," 277-80.
[18] "So wie man sehr reich sein, und doch nicht alle Bedürfnisse des Lebens befriedigen kann, so kann auch eine Bibliothek in irgend einem Fache sehr gut besetzt sein, ohne deswegen alles in sich zu enthalten, was etwa vom Anbeginn der gelehrten Welt geliefert worden, oder was man gerne davon wissen möchte." "Vorrede," in Forkel, *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik*, vi.

catalogues, working at the problem of music's information overload from both sides of supply and demand – that is, both cataloguing printed musical texts and instructing amateurs and experts in how to navigate those texts.[19] One minor publication, assembled from his university lectures at Göttingen, was *On the Theory of Music with respect to Amateurs and Experts* (1777), in which he claimed that the task of cultivating musical amateurism was that of making order out material disarray: "The objects of the eye must frequently be brought out of the wild disorder in which they continually produce nature left to itself, into various order, regularity, uniformity, and conditions arranged according to certain purposes."[20] For Forkel, parsing a boundless world of musical information was the act of criticism, an act Wackenroder described as the futile separation of "the Good from the so-called Bad." Wackenroder, in fact, was Forkel's music student at Göttingen, and probably heard the lectures from *On the Theory of Music*.[21] Wackenroder departed from his teacher's catalogic and critical strategies by proposing an all-embracing perspective, what was previously called "aesthetic eclecticism," in response to the problem of musical excess. One essay from the *Confessions*, "A Few Words Concerning Universality, Tolerance, and Human Love in Art," is a veritable manifesto for aesthetic eclecticism. Significantly, Wackenroder framed the essay in cosmological terms:

> The Creator, who made our earth and everything upon it, encompassed the entire globe with His glance and poured out the river of His blessing upon the whole earthly realm. However, from His mysterious workshop He scattered over our globe thousands of infinitely diverse seeds of things which bear infinitely varied fruits and, in honor of Him, shoot up into the largest, most colorful gardens...The roaring of the lion is as pleasant to Him as the crying of the reindeer…He looks with pleasure upon each and all and delights in the variegated mixture.[22]

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[19] On Forkel and teaching amateurs and experts, see Riley, "Johann Nikolaus Forkel on the Listening Practices of 'Kenner and 'Liebhaber.'"

[20] "Die Gegenstände des Auges müssen häusig aus der wilden Unordnung, worinn sie gewöhnlich die sich selbst überlassene Natur hervorbringt, in mehrere Ordnung, Regelmässigkeit, Ebenmaas, und nach gewissen Absichten eingerichtete Verhältnisse gebracht werden." Forkel, *Über die Theorie der Musik, insofern Liebhaber und Kenner*, 1.

[21] On Wackenroder's studies with Forkel, see Gillies, "Einleitung," in Wackenroder and Tieck, *Gerzensergiesungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, xxviii-xxix; and Scher, "Temporality and Mediation: W. H. Wackenroder and E. T. A. Hoffmann as Literary Historicists of Music."

[22] Schubert, *'Confessions,'* 109.

For Wackenroder, it followed that artists and art-lovers, approximating the gaze of the infinite Artist that made them both, elevate all styles of art in their infinite variety – "ancient" and "modern," church music and dance music, *a capella* and instrumental, and so on: "In each work of art in all the zones of the earth, He sees the trace of the heavenly spark which, having emanated from Him, passed over through the breast of the individual into his little creation, from which it then glows back again to the great Creator. The Gothic temple pleases Him as well as the temple of the Greek and the crude war-music of the uncivilized is for Him just as lovely a sound as artistic choirs and hymns."[23] For Wackenroder, the potential for a universal knowledge of art was not produced by Enlightenment media, but by the infinite "gaze" of the Creator – a gaze that at once perceived each individual perspective, and assimilated this infinite variety into a totalizing whole. This "single glance" did not organize its parts systematically into encyclopedic branches and subsets, but instead, "for the Eternal Spirit, everything dissolves into harmony…"[24] This eclectic vision produced an incipient kind of cultural relativism, allowing one to love diverse human activities across space and time. Wackenroder thus chastised Enlightened geo-temporal prejudices, which organized non-Europeans and ancient historical figures into hierarchies of culture and intellect: "O, at least feel your way into these unknown souls and observe that you have received the gifts of the spirit from the same hand as your misunderstood brothers!"[25]

For Wackenroder, eclectic taste led to divine inspiration, especially the kind found among *Liebhaber* (a crucial category for Wackenroder, who elided the act of "loving art" with naive inexperience). Wackenroder thus drew on a long-established Lutheran musical aesthetic – the idea that all music is inherently good and God-given – in order to exalt the diversity by amateur musical experience afforded by his contemporary media environment.[26] Lutheran musical aesthetics offered a way to understand and negotiate the new fact of information overload, which, for him, was insufficiently processed by the "systematizers" of the Enlightenment, including "criticism" shaped by rational "intellect."

Lutheran views of music pervaded Wackenroder's *Confessions*. When Wackenroder claimed that music was "a language of angels," he was not waxing eloquent with an untethered "amphiboly" of art and religion. As a *Liebhaber* of historical religious art, such as the Reformation engraver Albrecht Dürer, Wackenroder was well aware of early Lutheran theologies, in which church harmonies were held to approximate the sound of celestial worship. As Joyce

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[23] Schubert, *'Confessions,'* 109.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., 110.

[26] On musical aesthetics in Lutheranism, see Hendrickson, *Corpus Christi: A Lutheran Aesthetic*; and Irwin, *Neither Voice Nor Heart Alone.*

Irwin has argued, the idea of angelic music – which, in a uniquely Lutheran view, included instruments as well as voices – dates back at least to Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum* (1614-1619), but was most forcefully maintained by Johann Mattheson in the early eighteenth century, in works such as his *Affirmation of Heavenly Music* (Hamburg, 1747).[27] (Significantly, when Hoffmann expressed his praise of Mozart's *Requiem* he appropriated this Lutheran heritage, writing of "chords that speak of another world," and likening them to the experience of listening to a chorale.)[28]

Wackenroder, along with his literary partner Ludwig Tieck and the music antiquarian Anton Thibaut, are typically cast by musicologists as rigid extremists of nineteenth-century musical taste making. Garratt, for example, argues that, in the writings of Thibaut, "assertion[s] of the primacy of vocal music against modern instrumentalism is reflected in their championing of *a capella* idiom."[29] But this was true only when they addressed circumstances unique to Protestant church liturgy; their professed preference for unaccompanied vocal music was never a prescription for public musical culture. Besides, even for the staunchest advocates of ancient church music, eclecticism was the very precondition for their advocacy. Like Wackenroder's *Confessions*, Thibaut's *On Purity in Music* (1825) regularly expressed an appreciation for the generic diversity of music in several places: "Private societies may have for their objects either instrumental or vocal music. It is most delightful when there are both kinds;" and, "I do not for a moment deny the peculiar charm of instruments for certain purposes. I do not deny, for instance, that gracefulness and rapidity; that romping, bustle, and tumult, and dancing, may be a far fitter subject– a thousand times fitter if you will–for instruments than for the voice. But," he continued, "let us put all things in the places for which they are fitted."[30] Thibaut argued that, based on the proliferation of musical genres commonly available, church music should have its own style and not mix with other genres, just as any other genre would do well not to mix styles if they are properly to fulfil a social function. As Garratt notes, Thibaut praised old Catholic church music specifically because it showed an "absence of the generic mixing present in more recent church music."[31] Thibaut criticized the stylistic diversity present in church music on the premise that each genre should accord with its own social environment – theater music with the stage, chamber music for social gatherings, church music for the church service, and so forth.

Ludwig Tieck, another strong proponent of reviving the performance of ancient church music, also celebrated musical variety: "Hundreds and hundreds

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[27] See Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven in Lutheran Church Music Tradition*.
[28] Hoffmann, *Musical Writings*, 375.
[29] Garratt, *Palestrina*, 65.
[30] Quoted in Thibaut, *Purity in Musical Art*, 169, 111-2, respectively.
[31] Garratt, *Palestrina*, 67.

of musical works express gaiety and pleasure, but in each one a different spirit sings and toward each of the melodies different fibers of our hearts respond with trembling."[32] As with Thibaut, it was precisely this eclecticism that made possible Tieck's passion for ancient church music. One article by Tieck, written to conclude Wackenroder's unfinished work, *Fantasies about Art for the Friends of Art* (Berlin, 1799), was called, "Concerning the various genres in every art and especially concerning various types of church music." In it, Tieck reiterated Wackenroder's eclectic taste:

> It always seems strange to me when people who profess a love of art constantly restrict themselves in literature, in music, or in any other art, to works of one genre, one coloration, and turn their eyes away from all other types…it has been the case all along that the type of music which I am just then hearing seems to me each time to be the best and most magnificent and causes me to forget all the other types. Just as I believe, in general, that the true enjoyment, and simultaneously, the true test of the superiority of an art work occurs when one forgets all other works because of this one and does not even think of comparing it with another. Hence it happens that I enjoy the most varied genres in the art of music, as, for example, church music and dance music, with the same love. Yet I cannot deny that the creative power of my soul inclines more to the first type and restricts itself to the same.[33]

For Tieck, the eclectic art-lover embraced all genres of music, but from within this eclectic taste identified herself with (or as) one over the others. Yet even given this preference, eclectic taste conditioned Tieck's penchant for church music, which he expressed in terms of generic variety: "But this holy Muse [church music] does not speak of the things of heaven continually in one manner alone, but rather derives her pleasure from praising God in highly varied ways – and I find that each way is a balsam for the human heart, if one understands its true significance correctly."[34] Tieck's description of the "three styles" of church music relied on a typology of worshippers: the first church music style "moves along lively, gay notes, lets herself be led by simple and pleasant harmonies...in the manner of children who deliver a speech or a dramatic presentation before their good father on his birthday." The second "is characteristic of only a few chosen spirits...they use large masses of sounds like wonderful paints, in order to paint for the ear that which is magnificent, exalted, and divine."[35] This style resembled

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[32] Schubert, '*Confessions*,' 184.
[33] Ibid., 181, 182.
[34] Ibid., 184.
[35] Ibid.

those whose thoughts are "so filled beyond all measure with the almighty thought of God that they thereby totally forget the frailty of the human race…" The third style, in which Tieck places himself, characterizes "some quiet, humble, constantly penitent souls to whom it seems a sacrilege to address God in the melody of earthly gaiety, to whom it seems rash and presumptuous to absorb His entire sublimity boldly into their mortal beings."[36]

Tieck's essay culminates with a description of religious music that resembles "old choral-like church music." The sonic avatar of this style was the recently-printed Allegri's *Miserere*, which allegedly epitomized church aesthetics (see Figure 1): "contrite," "pious" and "noble," a form of religious art that is, he claimed, more "audacious" than all other religious artforms (sacred painting and poetry), yet more "noble" than all other musical genres.[37] From his universe of various beautiful and grand art objects examined, Tieck crowns "chorale-like" church music as the realm's vaunted ruler.

Anti-Systems of Music and Religion

Wackenroder's last writings described a jaded Berglinger returning to the chapel ruins that first gave him a love for church harmony. But now, he could no longer access the religious transcendence he once treasured – the experience that drove him in his youth to abandon his family from the countryside to apprentice with a musical master in "the grand city." Reflecting on why he could no longer hear music as he once did, Berglinger remarked,

> When I think back to the dreams of my youth, -- how happy I was in these dreams! – I thought that I wanted to dream on ceaselessly and pour out my full heart in works of art, -- but how strange and austere the very first years of apprenticeship seemed to me. How I felt when I stepped behind the curtain! That all the melodies (even if they had produced the most heterogeneous and often the most wonderful sensations in me), all were based upon a single compelling mathematical law! That, instead of flying feely, I first had to learn to climb about in the awkward scaffolding and cage of the grammar of art! How I had to torment myself in order first to produce a correct work with the ordinary, scientific, mechanical understanding, before I could think of adding my emotion to the musical notes! – It was a tedious mechanical effort. – Yet, even so! I still had

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[36] Schubert, '*Confessions*,' 185.

[37] Ibid. Allegri's *Miserere* was printed for the first time in Charles Burney's *la Musica Che si Canta Annualmente nelle Funzioni della Settimana Santa* (London: Bremer, 1771), 35-42.

> youthful elasticity and hoped for the magnificent future! And now! – The splendid future has become a miserable present.[38]

Throughout Wackenroder's writings, and especially in the musical accounts of the semi-fictional friar Joseph Berglinger, training in art by musical "systematizers" always led to disenchantment. Berglinger learned the "mechanical laws" of harmony, the knowledge of which prohibited him from accessing the naïve aesthetic experiences of his youth. In this passage, Berglinger confronted the very aesthetic-pedagogical dilemma that Friedrich Schiller attempted to resolve two years prior in his *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, which similarly rejected systematic knowledge production and reductive techniques of scientific reasoning in favor of the fine arts. In violent scientific language Schiller described the process that aesthetic feelings undergo when analyzed within the Kantian faculty of reason: "unfortunately the understanding [*Verstande*] must first destroy the objects of the inner sense before it can appropriate them… he must bind it in the fetters of rule, dissect its fair body into abstract notions, and preserve its living spirit in a sorry skeleton of words. Is it any wonder if natural feeling does not recognize itself in such a likeness…?"[39] Berglinger's account of musical disenchantment affirmed Schiller's description of human reason turning aesthetic experience into what he called a "technical formulation."[40] Yet Wackenroder described Schiller's diagnosis from the amateur's perspective: For Wackenroder, all artists must become sincere *Liebhaber*, "lovers of art," since loving art and systematically understanding its technical components were mutually exclusive.

Pedagogical media in north Germany had allegedly encouraged this exclusion, as systems of scientific inquiry attempted to understand and communicate the hidden beauties of art. "He who believes a system has expelled universal love from his heart!" Wackenroder declared.[41] For Wackenroder, systems applied their reductive procedures in vain, and worse – teachers employing "systems" led their art-loving students astray.[42] In "Raphael's Vision," the opening short story of the *Confessions*, Wackenroder applied this anti-systematic approach to aesthetic experience:

> The so-called theorists and systematizers describe to us the inspiration of the artist from hearsay…It seems as if they would be ashamed if anything were to lie concealed and hidden in the soul of man, concerning which they could give inquisitive young people no information…[They] totally

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[38] Schubert, *'Confessions,'* 155.
[39] Schiller, *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, 24.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Schubert, '*Confessions*,' 111.
[42] Ibid., 110

> deny with mockery the divine element in art enthusiasm and are absolutely unwilling to admit any special distinction or consecration of certain unusual and exalted intellects.[43]

Here and throughout the *Confessions*, Wackenroder blames "systems" of art criticism and education for feigning to "comprehend" the "divine language" of the fine arts that "communicate" with the human soul. The systematic attempt to explain why some art was especially "beautiful" or "deeply moving" was symptomatic of insensitivity, in both the artist and the art lover.[44]

The fine arts were not the only fields of knowledge in which Enlightenment "systematizers" were increasingly suspect. Friedrich Schleiermacher's *Speeches on Religion* (Berlin 1799), boasting the same publisher and provocative Unger-Fraktur font as Wackenroder's *Confessions* and Tieck's *Fantasies* (that latter of whom Schleiermacher personally knew at the time of writing the *Speeches*), famously rejected popular depictions of religion as a suffocated "system" of ethics or a scholarly system of metaphysics. Instead, Schleiermacher redefined religion as a spontaneous "feeling" (*Gefühl*) of "longing for the infinite." For Schleiermacher, Enlightenment pedagogies of religion, particularly philanthropinism, had warped religious education. His Third Speech, "The Cultivation [*Bildung*] of Religion," – which, significantly, contains the first use of the term "art-religion" – outlined the challenge of how to propagate an unprompted religious experience, arguing that religious experience could be taught through any pedagogical scheme. In a passage that could easily have appeared in Wackenroder's *Confessions*, Schleiermacher writes,

> The only thing you can effect in other people through art and external activity is to communicate your thoughts to them and make them a storehouse [*Magazin*] of your ideas, and interweave them so closely with their ideas until they recall them at an opportune time. But you can never cause them to bring forth from themselves those ideas that you wish…We can, to be sure, communicate our opinions and doctrines to others; for that we need only words and they need only the comprehending and imitative power of the spirit. But we know very well that our words are only a shadow of our intuitions and feelings, and without sharing these with us they would not understand what they say and what they believe they think. We cannot teach them to intuit.[45]

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[43] Schubert, '*Confessions*,' 82.
[44] Ibid., 82-5.
[45] Schleiermacher, *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultural Despisers,* 57.

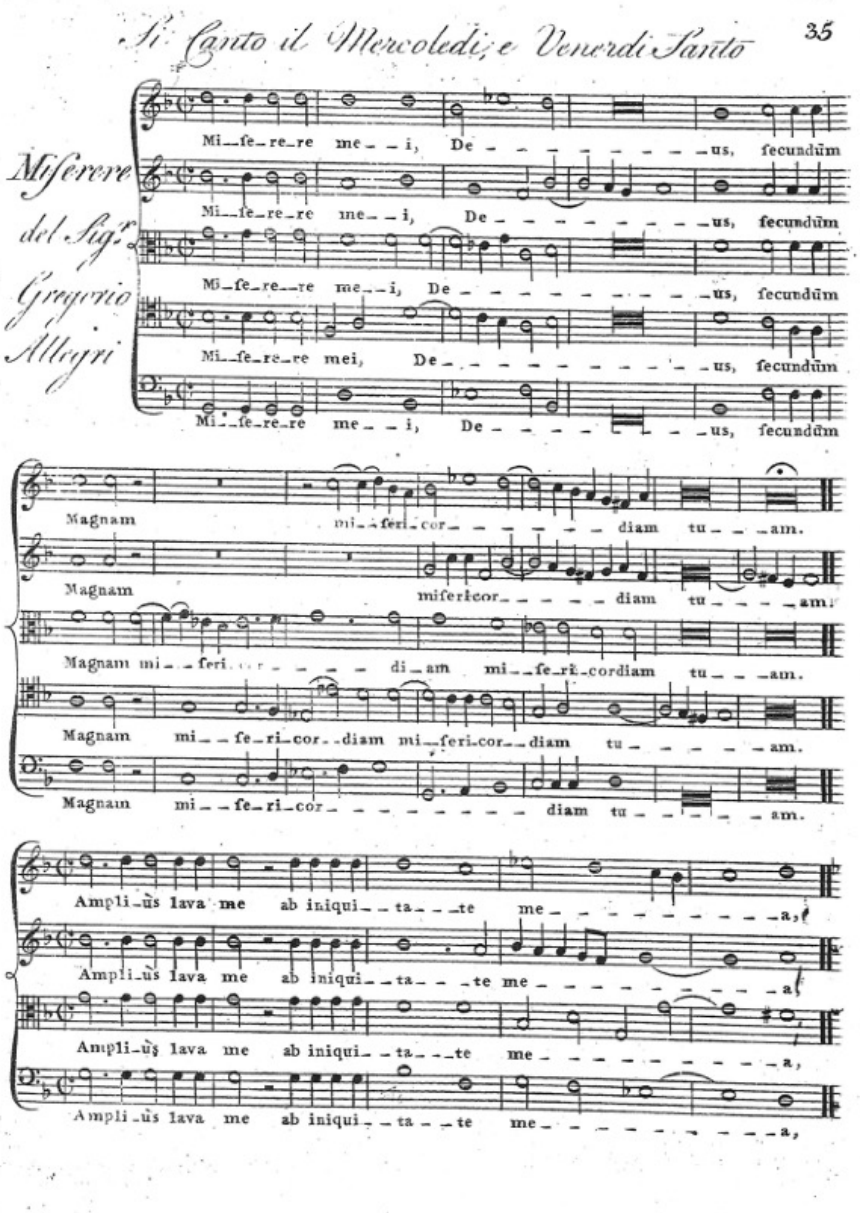

Figure 1. First printing of Allegri's "Miserere" in Burney, *La Musica Che si Canta Annualmente nelle Funzioni della Settimana Santa*, 35.[46]

[46] Burney's mensural notation for double whole notes in mm. 4, 11, 12 dramatically visualizes the "slow" chords that Tieck describes in the Miserere. Cf. Schubert, *'Confessions,'* 185.

Schleiermacher's religious critique of system was based on a relativistic cosmological perspective, the same as that informing Wackenroder's eclectic tastes. The theologian Steven Jungkeit called this perspective Schleiermacher's "infinite gaze," pointing up the colonial imaginary Schleiermacher used when describing religion's "infinite extension" across the corners of the world.[47] As Jungkeit explains, Schleiermacher thought that "to have a [religious] intuition of the universe is to find oneself radically decentered in that cosmos…This means that there is no privileged center of knowledge or insight, a fact that Schleiermacher seems to revel in."[48] System was the very opposite of Schleiermacher's idea of religion – systems began from a central principle and coordinated a world of information in direct hierarchical relation to it.[49] For Schleiermacher, as for Wackenroder, it followed that systematic reasoning was anathema to the precious inner experiences provoked by art and religion: "A system of intuitions? Can you imagine anything stranger? Do views, and especially views of the infinite, allow themselves to be brought into a system?"[50] Such hostility to systematizing religious feeling caused Schleiermacher's "cultured despisers" to seek spiritual nourishment beyond German Protestantism. Schleiermacher's *Speeches* were thus both a rejection of the kinds of thinking that systematic media enabled, as well as a repudiation of systems themselves. In the complimentary early writings of Wackenroder, Tieck, and Schleiermacher, the characteristically Lutheran coupling of musical and religious aesthetics served a Romantic critique of system.

Clifford Siskin perceives the late eighteenth-century moment through the changing status of "system" as a literary genre. This genre became, according to Siskin, an object of blame, designed to fail in its countless attempts to totalize and encapsulate universal knowledge. System was ultimately defined by its shortcomings, as systems assimilated with other genres of knowledge production – the "history," the "essay," or the "outline," especially from the 1780s.[51] A critique of system – of the kind we have traced in the work of Schleiermacher and Wackenroder – proved indispensable to the legitimacy of historical knowledge, and appeared concurrent with the "epistemic anxiety" over print media's authority as diagnosed by Wellmon. In the British context, Siskin argues that "blaming the system" for unruly excess of printed information led to the structures of disciplinarity within the nineteenth-century research university. The advent of the Romantic impulse to "blame the system," which Siskin argues is a constitutive feature of modern liberalism ("…you can't beat 'The System;' 'System' is always

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[47] Jungkeit, *Spaces of Modern Theology*, 41-81.
[48] Ibid., 52.
[49] See Siskin, *System,* 172.
[50] Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 26.
[51] Siskin, *System*, 53-7.

breaking down…"), accompanied a discursive turn inward, toward the poetic "I."[52] Poetry by William Blake, Mary Wollstonecraft, and William Wordsworth was, he argues, premised on the displacement of systems into new psychological domains, a move Siskin claims was intended to escape and critique the external systems of the world. In the north German context, Romantic literature by Schleiermacher, Friedrich Schlegel, Schiller, Tieck, and Wackenroder all eschewed writing "Essays," "Systems," or "Outlines" in favor of "Speeches," "Fragments," "Letters," "Fantasies," and "Confessions" – migrating to more intimate literary genres in order to blame the system. Charles Taylor once labeled this movement toward inwardness "the expressivist turn" in German art and literature.[53] But, in their very eclecticism, the Romantic media forms that this generation championed recast the cosmic view of system as the mobile, "infinite gaze" of the harmonious divine. Systems were now definitively finite, hierarchical, static, and thus inherently unfit to account for one's highly-contingent aesthetic experiences, as well as the overload of printed knowledge (as Forkel ultimately confessed). By contrast, the anti-systematic gaze of Schleiermacher's religion, and of Tieck and Wackenroder's aesthetic eclecticism, could each embrace ever more precise inward experiences and compounding bits of worldly information to their infinitude.

II Authority and History

For most of the eighteenth century, "history" had not necessarily meant diachronic narrative, but rather, following the medieval generic precedent of *litteraria historia*, was concerned with "the way things really are" – a bibliographic account of all the claims previously made on a given subject.[54] Whereas systems unified and coordinated informational fragments, making parts into wholes, these earlier histories focused on explaining and describing discrete objects, turning wholes into parts.[55] With both system and history increasingly assimilating other fields of knowledge into their generic forms at the end of the century, Siskin quantitatively shows history and system "on a collision course," as they frequently paired together in print, and blended their literary functions. Significantly, history arose in the period of Wellmon's "epistemic anxiety" over print media's authority.

If the critique of system in music and religion essayed by figures such as Schleiermacher and Wackenroder expressed anxieties over the authority of print

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[52] Siskin, *System,* 192-4.

[53] Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 630.

[54] Siskin, *System*, 30. My treatment of history as a literary genre is also derived from recent historiographic scholarship. See Pomata and Siraisi, *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*.

[55] See Siskin, *System,* 30.

media, then, following Siskin, we might regard system-oriented histories of music and religion as a response. The advent of systematic, or "universal" music histories around 1780, in other words, was another epiphenomenon of the eighteenth-century print media transformations: "music history" became a genre distinguishing past from present while forging a chain of connections between several discrete pasts to a singular, predetermined present. This mode of music history marked not so much a new historical awareness or consciousness of the past – as musicologists have frequently claimed – as it was a new literary form of knowledge about music. In this way, music history drew from the past much in the same ways that Dahlhaus astutely observed in concert repertoire: he described a new musical present in the early nineteenth century that possessed an "at once close and problematical relation to the musical past – a past that entered current musical culture in the form of a standing repertoire."[56] Just as Beethoven's music after his death both helped shape and competed with successive repertoire in concerts, so did systematic-historical writings at the end of the eighteenth century bring influential-yet-adversarial musical pasts to bear upon the music of the present.

The first music history in this modern sense written in north Germany plainly announced the generic convergence of system and history – the *Universal History of Music* (Leipzig, 1788) by Forkel, a church organist turned music historian. In his introduction, the opening section boasts the subheading, "Usefulness of a correct idea of the scope of music, and how little by little so great a scope is attained."[57] The section tackled the foundational challenge of a "universal history," namely, its totalizing purview. Indispensable to his project, Forkel claimed, was "an accurate notion of [music's] gradual formation from the first elements to the highest and most perfect union of all separate parts into a whole."[58] This passage articulated the task of writing a "universal history," which is founded entirely on the epistemological principle of system – namely, to show a "most perfect union of all separate parts into a whole." For Forkel, the universal knowledge of music was attainable through the new hybrid genre of history-as-system.

Forkel's universal history of music began with the chorale: "The simplest, earliest, and oldest musical genre is the chorale [*der Choral*]. It is undeniably from the most ancient times, and is the only remnant of the music of ancient peoples

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[56] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 24.

[57] "Nutzen einer richtigen Vorstellung vom Umfang der Musik, und wie sie nach und nach einem so großen Umfang erhalten hat." Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, xix.

[58] "…einen genauen Begriffe von ihrer allmähligen Ausbildung, von den ersten Elementen an bis zur höchsten und vollkommensten Vereinigung aller einzelnen Theile zum Ganzen..." Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, 1.

[*Völker*]. It is also perhaps the only reliable means [*Hülfsmittel*] for getting a proper understanding of the nature of the art [of music]."[59] For Forkel, the chorale was living history, the sole musical practice bequeathed to Germans from ancient musical worlds. Within a universal history, the chorale's many technical developments – shifting church modes, harmonic arrangements, and stylistic transformations – told of its multifarious, globally dispersed pasts. Charged with writing a universal music history, the chorale (with its enduring liturgical lineage) uniquely enabled Forkel to make music both historical and universal. The chorale, in other words, became the paragon of music history in north Germany.

With an equally "universal" scope, the globe-trotting Catholic Abbé Vogler (1749-1814) articulated musical system and history converging in a reverse order, system-as-history.[60] Vogler's *Choral-System* (1800) completed a career-long project that began with *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsetzkunst* (Stuttgart, 1779; "The Science of Sound and the Art of Musical Composition"), his grand formulation of the musical universe that took up the task of linking music theory and acoustics with the practice of thoroughbass and the art of musical composition. Setting *Choral-System* apart from Vogler's earlier scholarly writings, however, was its reliance on chronological explanation. What now unified his "choral-system" was an origin in the Greek modes, an origin whose historical lineage Vogler traced from the contemporary German Protestant chorale. The first page of Vogler's musical supplement to *Choral-System* visually renders the foundational work of history in *Choral-System*, with a table of "The origin of the chorale" (left) listing the twelve Greek modes in "authentic" and "plagal" tonal centers, flanked by a prescriptive "Musical Chorale Arrangement" on the Phrygian scale, and, below, a summarized chart of "cadential closures" in each Greek mode (see Figure 2). Based largely on his travels to Spain and north Africa in 1792, Vogler attempted to account for how church music should be played by recovering its "pure" historical origins, which could still ostensibly be heard in the courts of Cadiz, Gibraltar, and Morocco. What was therefore supposed to function as a practical

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[59] "Die allereinfachste, erste und älteste Musikgattung ist der Choral. Er stammt unläugbar aus den ältesten Zeiten her, und ist, als das einzige Ueberbleibfel von der Musik alter Völker, auch vielleicht das einzige sichere Hülfsmittel, uns von der Beschaffenheit der Kunst bey den Alten einen richtigen Begriff zu machen." Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, 45.

[60] An exact contemporary of Forkel, Georg Joseph Vogler was one of the more well-traveled musicians of his generation, and one of the earlier south Germans to participate in north German music criticism and pedagogy in his publications. A deep familiarity with German Protestant musical practices served him well when he became *Kapellmeister* to the Lutheran King Gustav III in 1786 at Stockholm, Sweden. On Vogler's travels and sustained engagement with north German music pedagogy, see Grave and Grave, *In Praise of Harmony*.

guide for chorale accompaniment virtually becomes, in Floyd and Margaret Grave's words, "a manifesto of antiquarian revival."[61]

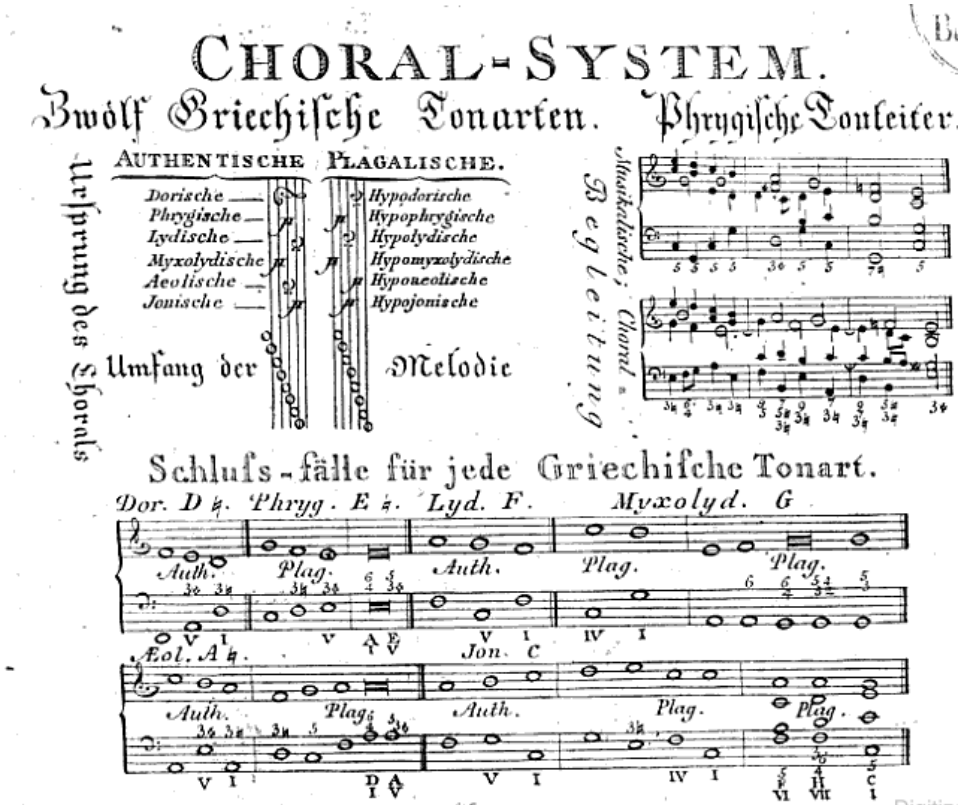

Figure 2. First Page of Vogler's *Choral-System* (1800).

Forkel and Vogler's historical writings demonstrate that universal music history was fashioned in the image of the Protestant chorale: its supposed ubiquity throughout ancient religious practices was the premise on which they assimilated music into a system-cum-history. And insofar as its continuing religious functions presented an opportunity for future reform, it was the chorale that gave music history new epistemic authority around 1800.

History and Church Music

The turn toward ancient church music at the dawn of the nineteenth century – which, according to James Garratt, launched the new and enduring movement of "musical historicism" – was not merely a repudiation of proliferating Enlightenment media forms, but also a consequence of them. Through musical

[61] Grave, "Vogler and the Bach Legacy," 119-41, 129.

editing and print reformatting techniques, publishers reconfigured historical materials for contemporary amateur consumption, and for expert criticism. Bringing scores from discrete musical pasts to the present was not merely a matter of publishing forgotten manuscripts, as past musical material had to be standardized for general legibility and comparison. Palestrina's modal counterpoint, for example, had to be reduced into an eighteenth-century keyboard reduction and repackaged in Reichardt's *Kunstmagazin* alongside other keyboard reductions: Palestrina's music was now to be read and understood in the new terms of this print medium. For Reichardt himself, this permitted a critical-comparative gaze that helped make historical change legible and unilinear. When Reichardt juxtaposed "ancient and modern" church music to be "compared and enjoyed" in his *Kunstmagazin*, he connected his edited selections with a single theme – namely, to display the aesthetic of "noble simplicity."[62] This aesthetic, according to Reichardt, was achieved when a composer faithfully followed the rules of strict composition (see Chapter 1). Later writers would compare and connect the same musical materials based on historical lineage. E. T. A. Hoffmann's 1814 think-piece, "Old and New Church Music" reoriented Reichardt's very musical selections toward a "pragmatic history" of church music. The difference between old and new church music, for Hoffmann, was "the simplicity of the chorale-like singing" in the former, "which was not overwhelmed by a hotchpotch of accompanying figures" found in the latter.[63] So invested was Hoffmann in repackaging Reichardt's content as a linear history that he even censured himself partway through his review: "These remarks are intended merely to clarify what follows concerning the relationship between old and new church music; they would expand into a pragmatic history of the subject, and it would lead too far for the scope of these pages, if the gradual transitions into later styles were to be demonstrated by listing the works of every composer." [64]

What Garratt called "the problem of church music" in the nineteenth century was the task of "reconciling a progressive principle of [musical] form" with a brazenly backward-looking Christian tradition.[65] The chorale and its universal historical lineage around 1800, then, at first appears to exacerbate, if not partially induce this problem. If indeed church music had any "problem," it was not a new one, and a rather tremendously productive one at that. The chorale and its newfound history merely changed the terms of what was, by then, an old debate around printed church music. As the previous two chapters have shown, calls for reforming church music were continuous since the mid-eighteenth century, when new media and its attendant social protocols began to encroach

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[62] Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* V, 40.
[63] Hoffmann, *Musical Writings*, 359.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Garratt, *Palestrina*, 53.

upon the Protestant practices of church service, such as congregational singing and hymnbook reading, and domestic devotion, such as the amateur appropriation of the professional organist's choral book. Throughout the late eighteenth century, new media were produced to clarify and reorganize Protestant liturgical and devotional practices. Choral books and liturgical treatises towards the end of the century, such as Johann Gottfried Vierling's *Choralbuch auf vier Stimmen* (Schmalding, 1789), Gottlob Turk's *On the Duties of the Church Organist* (1788), and G. F. W. Bekuhr's *Ueber die Kirchen-Melodien* (1796) variously called for simpler setting of the chorales, for the selection of appropriate church melodies for weekly services, and for organists to simplify their accompaniments and interludes so that participating congregations could better follow and sing along. These calls for liturgical reform, which stemmed from the early days of Klopstock and Gellert around 1760, did not cease in the nineteenth century, but continued with church musicians publishing new choral books that helped solidify the chorale's ancient musical genealogy.

Church musicians and critics during the early nineteenth century, such as Anton Thibaut, Klamer Frantz, Konrad Kocker, Peter Mortimer, Bernhard Klein, Carl Friedrich Becker, and others continued the Enlightenment project of updating Protestant liturgies for devotional purposes, but did so by antithetical means. They idealized ancient church music by promoting the exotic, faintly-familiar sounds of the Greek modes, *falsobordone* chordal style, and *a capella* arrangements of Allegri, Palestrina, or Leonardo Leo. From their perspectives, the German Protestant church service had been diluted by the very congregational singing and simple organ arrangements that proliferated in the preceding decades. Drawing on the bounty of Protestant church music's "universal history," these reformers advocated for authentic unedited chorales, and for professional singers and musicians, who might elevate the musical skill of church services to facilitate religious devotion. Hence Forkel's second volume to the *Universal History of Music* (Leipzig 1801) – which laid out a bona fide "universal history" of *Kirchenmusik* from antiquity until the Protestant Reformation – advocated for the wider use of *figuralmusik* and antique melodies in church services: "Christian joy cannot be caused and maintained by mere congregational singing; it requires pure, clear and flexible voices and skillful melodies or modulations befitting the holy word which are present only in *figuralmusik* and cannot be performed by an entire congregation but only by skilled and educated singers and musicians."[66] In reclaiming

[66] "Diese christliche Freudigkeit kann durch den blo en Choralgesang nicht bewirkt und unterhalten werden; es sind dazu reine, klare, geläufige Stimmen und geschickte den heiligen Worten angemessene Melodien oder Modulationen erforderlich, die nur bey der Figuralmusik Statt haben und nicht von einer ganzen Gemeinde, sondern nur von geübten und gebildeten Sängern und Spielern bewirkt werden können." Forkel,

figuralmusik, which had gone out of vogue in Lutheran liturgies during the late eighteenth century, Forkel suggested that there was still a place for the kind of professional musical virtuosity that relegated congregations to mere listeners.

Just as the eighteenth-century choral book served to mediate between the amateur's skill level and the functional world of the church service, so the nineteenth-century choral book mediated between esoteric modal composition characteristic of the historical chorale, and a generation of church musicians and congregants underprepared to return to a more elaborate musical liturgy. Like the eighteenth-century choral book, the nineteenth-century media environment thus presented a variety of solutions to the problem of employing ancient chorales for church services and domestic devotion.

In 1811, Klamer Wilhelm Frantz, a little-known preacher from Halberstadt, attempted this mediation in his *Choralbuch, enthaltend die bekanntesten und vorzüglichsten Choräle der protestantischen Kirche Deutschlands, mit reinen Melodien und reinen, überall ausgeschiebenen Harmonien. Zur Begründung eines würdevollen harmonischen Kirchengesangs und zur Beförderung häuslicher Erbauung* ("Choral book, containing the most famous and excellent chorales of the Protestant Church in Germany, with pure melodies and pure harmonies written-out throughout. To establish a dignified, harmonious church hymn and to promote domestic edification"). Frantz's choral book, for the first time, systematically collected and arranged the oldest-known church melodies for the amateur and presented the melodies in their supposedly original state, integrating them with contemporary choral melodies that best represented the continuation the history of "pure melodies and pure harmonies." Nevertheless, Frantz's arrangements had much in common with earlier choral books, such as Vierling's *Choralbuch* – namely, the "written out" harmonies, plodding half-notes, and chordal arrangements favoring amateur undivided accompaniment (see Figure 3). However, a crucial distinction between these choral books were Vierling's atomized measures against Frantz's unmetered, fantasia-like measures (see Figure 4). Vierling's unusually copious bar lines reinforced the musical meter, allowing amateur singers and players to follow the tactus of the chorales. Though similarly designed for both the church service and the home in an amateur arrangement, Frantz's open measures, by contrast, conveyed longer, chant-like melodic lines, and even furnished some measures with slurs to show how lines ought to be sung in a single breath. Frantz's notational format was consistent throughout all chorales, which made visible to the amateur an unbroken historical lineage of modern Lutheran chorales. At bottom, Frantz's choral book suggested that contemporary Lutheran chorales were present-day iterations of ancient Gregorian, Ambrosian, and medieval chant. By attempting to accommodate the skill levels of church musicians and amateurs while also claiming to preserve the

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Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik, II, 16. See also Wessel, "Divine Air: Johann Nikolaus Forkel's (1749-1818) Justification of Church Music," 7.

authenticity of ancient church melodies, Frantz exoticized familiar Lutheran chorales as much as he made ancient church music accessible.

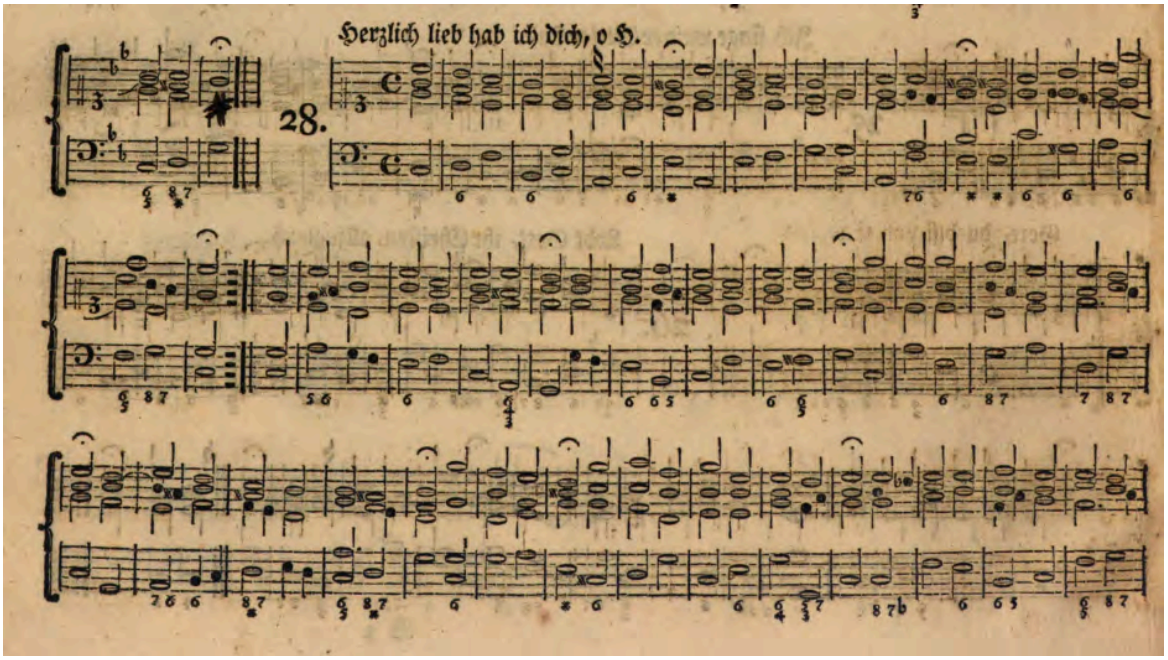

Figure 3. "Herzlich hab' ich dich," in Vierling, *Choralbuch*, 14.

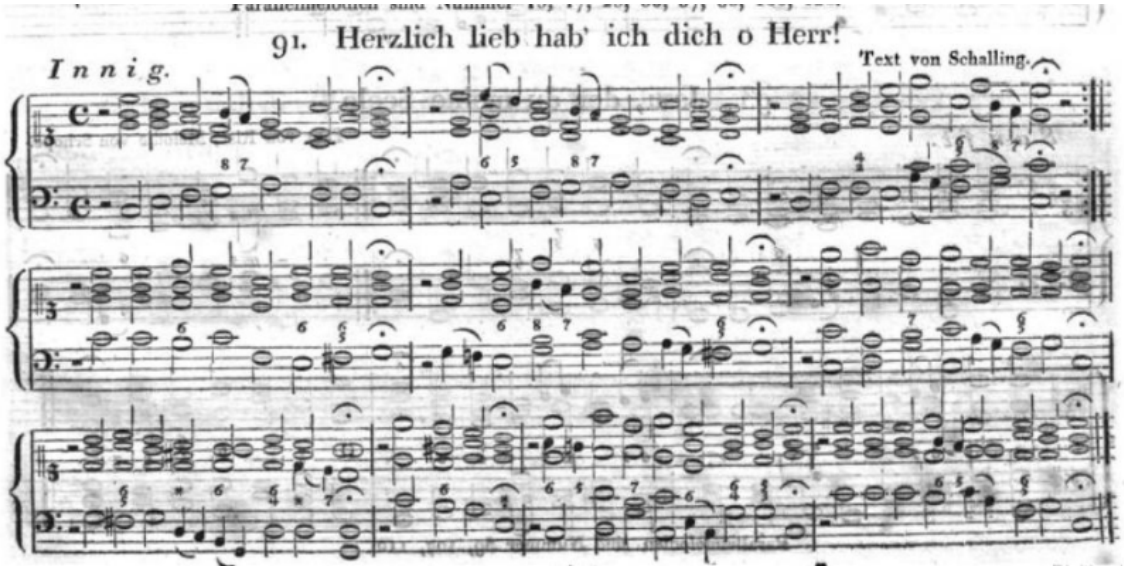

Figure 4. "Herzlich hab' ich dich," in Frantz, *Choralbuch*, 49.

Musical Purity

Frantz wrote in his choral book's scholarly "Vorbericht":

> Chorales with nobly simple melodies and purer, powerful, tasteful harmonies are surely excellent means of edification [*Erbauungsmittel*]…They are enlivened by a spirit of devotion, a pious childlike feeling that we have sought in vain in recent chorales. Is it the Greek tonal system that gives its melodies dignity, simplicity, variety, and a more definite character than any of the present keys, or is it the pious sense that formerly expressed itself more powerfully than now, or is it the ignorance of the opulent tones of modern music, which gives them the touching, sublime and uplifting – enough, the ancient chorales are excellent, some are masterpieces of musical art, [and] have always been valued as such, even if the texts for them have been rejected, and will retain their full value as long as the True and Natural are valid in the realm of the beautiful.[67]

Anton Thibaut expressed similar sentiments about the universality of ancient church melodies in *On Purity in Music*: "For the finer ancient melodies are easily grasped, and produce upon educated persons, as I know from many trials, so deep an impression, that all that is necessary is to offer them, and bespeak their acceptance."[68] In these passages, Thibaut and Frantz departed from the ethos of eighteenth-century church musical media: eighteenth-century printed choral books had edited, or "modernized" the ancient church melodies and their accompaniments in order to make them intelligible for an amateur religious

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[67] "Choräle mit edler einfacher Melodie und reiner, kraftvoller, zweckmässiger Harmonie, sind gewiss treffliche Erbauungsmittel. Die protestantische Kirche Deutschland sist reich an solchen Werken der Tonkunst. Besonders wird der religiose Sinn durch die ältern Gesänge ergriffen. Es belebt sie ein Geist der Andacht, ein frommes kindliches Gefühl, wie wir es in den Choralälen neuerer Zeit vergeblich suchen. Ist es das griechische Tonsystem, was ihren Melodien Würde, Einfalt, Mannigfaltigkeit und bestimmteren Character giebt, als irgend eine der jetzigen Tonarten, oder ist es der fromme Sinn, der sich ehemals kräftiger als jetzt aussprach, oder ist es die Unbekanntschaft mit en üppigen Tönen der modernen Musik, was ihnen das Rührende, Erhabene und Herzer hebende ertheilt – genug, die ältern Choräle sind votrefflich, einige sind Meisterstücke der Tonkunst, immer als soche geschätzt worden, wen nauch die Texte dazu verworfen wurden, und werden, so lange das Wahre und Natürliche im Gebiete des Schönen gilt, vollgültigen Werth behalten." "Vorbericht," in Frantz, *Choralbuch*, vii.

[68] Thibaut, *On Purity in Musical Art*, 24.

public. Thibaut, however, suggested that ancient melodies needed no such modifications, and that their very "purity" resulted from their uncultivated, fossilized arrangement. These "fine ancient melodies" on their own produced moralizing effects that any civilized person, regardless of musical expertise, could "grasp." Thibaut claimed that the devotional efficacy of church melodies came not from compositional technique, but from church music's history. A congregant, while he or she may not be able to comprehend the proper harmonization for a Phrygian melody, could nevertheless register such a hymn as historically ancient, which was enough to elicit religious devotion.

Thibaut's and Frantz's aesthetic of ancient church melodies shows that with respect to the chorale, the Enlightenment ideal of musical purity underwent a transformation – from a formal conception to a historical one. In the eighteenth century, musical "purity" described a technical achievement of musical arrangement – the way a composer edited and arranged scores to simplify (and thus purify or distill) musical knowledge into a compositional reduction. Johann Kirnberger, in his *Art of Pure Musical Composition*, articulated musical purity explicitly in technical terms:

> For the composition to be correct and pure, 1) the chords must follow one another in good coherence, following the rules of harmony; 2) each voice must have a flowing song and a pure progression; 3) and several voices must sound pure together, and not have anything unpleasant in the progression.[69]

As Markus Rathey argues, the epitome of the musically pure for Kirnberger was the Protestant hymn. "Not only is the four-part setting the purest kind of music [for Kirnberger]," writes Rathey, "but a composition should also be based on a simple, diatonic melody set in simple counterpoint...Thus the most beautiful and pure kind of music is the four-part setting with a diatonic melody in stepwise motion. The basis for this aesthetic paradigm becomes clear in Kirnberger's choice of musical examples, most of which are four-part settings of Protestant hymns."[70]

By the nineteenth century, critics such as Thibaut described music's purity more as a historical pedigree than as technical simplicity. In Thibaut's words,

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[69] "Soll der Satz richtig und rein sein, so müssen 1) die Accorde in einem guten Zusammenhang, nach den Regeln der Harmonie auf einander folgen; 2) muss jede Stimme für sich einen fliessenden Gesang und eine reine Fortschreitung haben; 3) auch mehrere Stimmen zusammen rein klingen, und in der Fortschreitung nichts unangenehmes haben." Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des Reinen Satzes in der Musik*, 143.
[70] Rathey, "Mozart, Kirnberger, and the Idea of Musical Purity," 251.

> All the songs that emanate from the people themselves, or are adopted by them and preserved as favorites, are, as rule, pure and clear in character, like that of a child. Such songs almost invariably re-echo the emotions of vigorous, unperverted minds, and for that very reason have in various ways quite a peculiar value from their connection with great national events; and, dating from times when nations had all the innocence and freshness of youth, they seize with irresistible force upon minds which, however, much warped, are still alive to true and genuine impulse.[71]

If, for Thibaut, musical purity was a universally recognized aesthetic, it stood to reason that the purity of ancient church music also implied the interdenominational unity of religion:

> But with the return to ancient music, all sectarian spirit among Protestant communities must disappear, and each must be forward to adopt from another such tunes as are really admirable. What reason can there be that a Lutheran should not sing a fine Calvinistic hymn, or a Calvinist an unexceptionable Lutheran Chorale? Or why should the Hussite Chorales, some of which are quite unapproachable, be abandoned to the Moravians? At this very moment, the task of collecting the finer Chorales used in various churches has become a necessity, by reason of a common form of worship having been, in many places, agreed upon by the Lutheran and Calvinists.[72]

The modern use of ancient church melodies would, he argued, facilitate a greater liturgical unification. And in turn, liturgical unification would purify modern church music – would make it maximally edifying for all Protestants. To this end, Thibaut advocated for a singular, authoritative, and state-funded interdenominational choral book to be used across German Protestant lands:

> If I were now shortly to express my own wishes, I would say–make a collection of the best church-song, hearty, vigorous, and fervent; choose for this purpose the finest melodies that the old churches have left to us including everything that in modern times masterly minds have added to them; and lastly, provide organists with a hymnbook in which everything shall be printed in full (for there are many who cannot readily play from a figured bass); and put into their hands also a collection of approved preludes and postludes, so that they can never waver or wander from the

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[71] Thibaut, *On Purity in Musical Art*, 68.
[72] Ibid., 24-5.

> path…Lastly, I would appeal to our Protestant congregations collectively. Agree upon a uniform chorale-book for all German Protestants, and so upon a work which, executed with the assistance of the first talent, would impart to your [congregational] body, ever more and more, a happy consistency and unity.[73]

Unlike Frantz's malleable solution, in which local churches would integrate ancient church melodies at their own pace, Thibaut sought to standardize the practice of singing ancient church melodies, whose power lay in a now (un)alienated past.

Frantz was later to develop his view of chorales into an essay, *Ueber die älte Kirchenchoräle* (1818), which sought to explain their universal power. Frantz's essay drew heavily on the scholarship of an eighteenth-century Benedictine monk, Martin Gerbert, whose *de Cantu musica sacra* (1774) was the extant authority on Catholic church melody's patristic and medieval history. Frantz, a Protestant, made a brief summary of *de Cantu* in an addendum at the end of his *Choralbuch*, which he shoehorned into a broader history of the Lutheran chorale. In doing so, Frantz claimed that the aesthetics of the Lutheran chorale could be traced to the beginning of Christian antiquity. It was this unbroken lineage that, for Frantz, provided the source of the chorale's power, which accordingly lay in its ancient melody, rather than its modern harmonizations:

> As for harmony, it is not really necessary. Through their melody alone the chorales create a religious effect. They have their own harmony that is easy to feel, and easy to find.[74]

Because these arcane melodies were both little known and foreign-sounding, Frantz directed his claims about ancient church melodies mostly to those melodies that were currently in use:

> The spirit of devotion, the pious childlike feeling that it animates, speaks to everyone. This peculiarity, which distinguishes old chorales from later times, has earned them Canonical prestige. One sings them everywhere with old and new texts. The writers have long since passed away, but the tunes themselves have lasted for centuries, millennia, while others from

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[73] Thibault, *On Musical Purity in Art*, 35.

[74] "Was die Harmonie betrifft, so ist sie eigentlich nicht nothwendig. Die Choräle machen durch ihre Melodie allein schon religiösen Effect. She haben ihre Harmonie in sich selbst, die leicht zu fühlen, leicht zu finden ist." Frantz, *Ueber die ältern Kirchenchoräle*, 9.

> later times were ephemeral sounds that were soon forgotten, or are only sung in those areas where the writers lived.[75]

Thibaut disagreed with Frantz's pragmatic approach, encouraging more aggressive liturgical reforms even though he praised Frantz's writings for having drawn greater attention to ancient church music. Citing Frantz's essay, Thibaut wrote:

> The promoters of a reform of church music have of late in several instances contended for no more than adherence to such melodies as have gained currency in particular localities, as having acquired, once for all, a firm footing, and only requiring to be docked, so to speak, of their wild shoots. But this would seem, in truth, an excess of timidity. If our congregations were capable of substituting inferior modern melodies for fine old ones, they are also capable of retracing their steps, provided organists are instructed where to find good music, and how to revive it.[76]

Like Frantz, Thibaut considered the universal history of the chorale as the foundation for a reform of church music during the early nineteenth century. By 1824 Thibaut could safely assert that "historical study" was the "foundation of all true knowledge," the premise from which he launched his attack on the contemporary state of church music. Thibaut and Frantz nonetheless disagreed on the extent to which ancient chorales ought to be made newly comprehensible to church congregations. Thibaut wanted no compromise, and suggested that state-funded programs should be implemented so that church musicians could be trained to perform ancient church music. But before this stage, Thibaut acknowledged, was the problem of how to make ancient church music accessible and intelligible.

To Thibaut, it was obvious that ancient church music remained "buried" beneath "an unlimited amount" of inferior original compositions. But the resulting impediments for modern church music, as he proposed in *On Purity in Music*, required more than a blitz of vintage scores appearing in print. Access to

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[75] "Der Geist der Andacht, das fromme kindliche Gefühl, das sie belebt, spricht jeden an. Dieß Eigenthümliche, das sie von allen Chorälen späterer Zeit unterscheidet, hat ihnen kanonisches Ansehn erworben. Man singt sie überall, mit altem und neuem Texte. Längst sind die Verfasser vermodert, aber die Weisen selbst haben sich Jahrhunderte, Jahrtausende erhalten, während andere aus spätern Zeiten ephemerische Tongebilde waren, die bald vergessen wurden, oder doch nur in denjenigen Gegenden noch gesungen werden, wo die Verfasser lebten." Frantz, *Ueber die ältern Kirchenchoräle*, 8.

[76] Thibaut, *On Purity in Musical Art,* 23-4.

ancient church music around 1800 was at once a material and pedagogical problem – a problem of technologies and techniques. On the material front, most ancient church music was either lost or stored in manuscript, "scattered about here or there," hidden in private libraries or monasteries: "Even a journey to Italy is not of much avail without skilled investigation, for even there the choicest works (excepting several which are performed in the Sistine Chapel) are as good as dead and buried." Thibaut wrote from experience – a wealthy lawyer, he was one of the most rapacious music collectors of his generation, hiring several full-time archivists to travel to Italy and procure manuscripts for him. So poor was German Protestantism's historical record of its own musical tradition, according to Thibaut, that there existed no known music of "genuine Ambrosian and Gregorian chants," which, if ever found, he encouraged Protestant churches to adopt (Frantz's Ambrosian melodies were unauthenticated, apparently taken from inaccurate sources).

The second obstacle to reinvigorating Protestant liturgy with ancient church music, an obstacle inextricable from the paucity or unevenness of printed media, was church music's associated methods of instruction. Mastery of thoroughbass, in particular, proved a barrier to understanding ancient church music, on the off-chance that church organists encountered it. Church musicians needed to be taught to read, play, and sing in the old church modes, with figured bass, and using notational formats in which ancient church music appeared. According to Thibaut, the reason for this pedagogical lacuna was partly the new media of music education, which privileged quick learning outcomes and circumvented the long apprenticeships through which musicians acquired the knowledge of thoroughbass (a trajectory taken up in my second chapter). This lacuna was, for Thibaut, symptomatic of insufficient reverence for music's history across Protestant Germany. Unlike other art forms, such as poetry, architecture, and painting – all of which still operated on classical models for mastery of their craft – music alone, he claimed, had particular "disdain" for its history, one nonetheless rich in pedagogical exemplars. The solution, therefore, was two-pronged: reviving ancient church music, and so reinvigorating religious devotion in the Protestant church service, required a material process of recovery and far-reaching pedagogical reforms.

III Expectation and *Naiveté*

According to Friedrich Schiller, "*naiveté* is a childlikeness, where it is no longer expected."[77] It is no longer "expected," for Schiller, because someone "acquainted with the world" should have acquired the "understanding" (*Verstand*)

[77] Schiller, "On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry," 184.

that takes the place of such ignorance.[78] In other words, *naiveté* is only meaningful in an environment where there is an expectation that certain information has been acquired, be it social decorum or artistic technique. Within that environment of saturated information distribution, the naive resists an expectation of accessing knowledge, specifically, access that congealed as an ethical imperative.

Similar to Paula MacDowell's argument that "an abstract concept of the 'oral'" was invented and applied retroactively in a print market already made predominant in communication, I contend that a comparably abstract concept of the naive was not simply a nostalgic condition of being modern, but a back-formation of what Siskin and Warner have called the "media saturation" of printed knowledge in the late eighteenth century.[79] In other words, *naiveté* can only exist in an environment where "there is now a pervasive sense that there is nowhere to hide from the differences [a media technology] generates," a sense that for Siskin is the very "index to saturation and confirmation of change" in one's media environment.[80] Print media in the eighteenth century sought to make universal knowledge and to make knowledge universal: not only did the reductive forms and genres of knowledge enable the fantasy of a singular, all-encompassing understanding of the world, they also aimed to deliver that knowledge into the hands of every literate burgher under the sun. And, to that extent, the late eighteenth-century moment of media saturation was also the moment in which a knowledge of and deep engagement with new media became an expectation. Among German thinkers, this arguably produced another response to Wellmon's "epistemic anxiety" – a new ethic of the naïve.

The "simplicity" (*Einfalt*) essential to Schiller's naive was not a formal feature – appreciable in the reductions of printed media – but a historical stance. To judge something or someone as naive was covetously to glimpse the kind of simplicity only found among those excluded from the new world of media saturation: "On Naive and Sentimental Poetry" famously argued that Nature produced aesthetic effects in those belonging to discrete groups – "children," "country folk," and "the primitive world."[81] These aesthetic naïfs, according to Schiller, "are what we were; they are what we should once again become. We

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[78] Ibid., 187.

[79] MacDowell, *The Invention of the 'Oral'*, 12. Siskin argues that in historical moments of "media proliferation," there comes a tipping point at which new norms of practice take hold, when access to new media becomes "saturated," or naturalized. In an environment where more people have more access to particular technologies, "strangely enough, direct access is not required–that even those lacking or refusing access are transformed by the ubiquitous presence of the technology." See Siskin, *System*, 127-8.

[80] Siskin, *System*, 127.

[81] Schiller, "On Näive and Sentimental Poetry," 83.

were Nature just as they, and our culture [*Kultur*], by means [*Mitteln*] of reason and freedom, should lead us back to Nature."[82] For Schiller the ethical imperative of the naïve was thus fundamentally historical: naiveté is the consequence of observing another's present state as one's own history – in the primitive world that has not yet become civilized, in the child who has not yet arrived at adulthood, and in the countryman who has not yet urbanized.[83] Schiller's aesthetic writings combine the aesthetic purity that history allegedly recovers and the moral simplicity that the naive allegedly preserves. Naiveté was thus at once a reiteration and critique of the simplicity vaunted within Enlightenment principles of mediation.

In music history, the naïve typically finds a place among eighteenth-century discussions of "folk music" and its related styles, such as the primitive and pastoral.[84] Matthew Gelbart has argued that the north German *volkstümlich*, epitomized by Johann Abraham Peter Schulz's *Lieder im Volkston* (Berlin, 1785), arrived largely by way of Rousseau's new conception of nature, which "came to represent an objective, past stage of historical or artistic development, a stage idealized and carefully balanced between the extremes of brutality and crudity of the one end, and civilization (i.e. Baroque vainglory) on the other."[85] Schiller, after all, was one of Rousseau's most devout disciples – when *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man* were originally printed to help launch his new journal *Die Horen*, Schiller quoted Rousseau's *The New Heloise* for its epigram: *Si c'est la raison qui fait l'homme, c'est le sentiment qui le conduit* ("If it is reason that makes man, then its is feeling that drives him").[86] Gelbart continues to assert that "it was Rousseau…who codified how this version of nature *sounded*."[87] Rousseau's aboriginal view of nature not only prepared the ground philosophically for the category of "folk music," but stylistically as well (I will return to the folk style in relation to church music below).

It was precisely Schiller's formulation of *naiveté* that Friedrich Schlegel appropriated when describing a growing deference to Catholicism among

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[82] Ibid., 85.

[83] To be sure, it was for this reason that Schiller rejected any hint of the naïve in poetry, since his generation no longer lived in a naïve past. For Schiller, to intentionally summon the naïve as a poetic register in a self-conscious, sentimental age was not childlike, but childish. See Schiller, "On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry."

[84] See, for instance, Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*; Bohlman, *Songs Love the Masses*; Gramit, *Cultivating Music*; and Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'*.

[85] Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'*, 67.

[86] Schiller, "Ueber die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reyhe von Briefen," 7.

[87] Ibid.

Protestant-bred Germans in 1801: "Catholicism is naive Christianity, Protestantism is sentimental."[88] By classifying Christianity in Schillerian terms, Schlegel subverted an eighteenth-century conceit that Protestantism was the quintessentially rational religion – a reputation in Protestant Germany that disparaged Catholicism, and depended on it as a theological foil. Catholicism was considered by many Protestants an irrational, childish confession – legally tolerated since the Thirty Years War, to be sure, but marginalized all the same.[89] Schlegel and his generation had recast this long-held Protestant prejudice in the terms of a new ethic of the naive. Deploying the Schillerian naive as a religious ideal, Schlegel was able to portray Catholicism's reputed simplicity, sensuousness, and irrationality as virtues in modern religious life.

Schiller would surely have detested Schlegel's appropriation of his ideas: the otherwise religiously tolerant Weimar circle abhorred the Catholic revival springing up in north Germany for abusing the aesthetic riches that Catholic art bequeathed to Protestant Prussia. For Goethe and the Weimar Classists, not least Schiller, Heinrich Voss and Klopstock, conversion to Catholicism was tantamount to a descent into madness, insofar as it abandoned the quintessential religion of reasonable faith. Bodily practices unique to Catholic church services, such as programmatic genuflecting and prostrating, reinforced this sentiment in Protestant minds. Specifically, Catholicism's sonic cues for bodily comportment in its liturgy, which were altogether foreign to Lutheran practice, elicited metaphors of enslavement and automatism, as depicted in a letter in 1808 from Heinrich Kleist: "The ringing of the bells reminds one inexorably of the Catholic religion, just as the rattling of chains reminds the prisoner of his slavery. In the middle of lively discussions, everyone falls to his knees at the clanging of the bells, all heads bow, all hands are folded; and whoever remains on his feet is a heretic."[90] Kleist soon mythologized this theological "slavery" in "Saint Cecilia, or The Power of Music," a short story depicting four rabble-rousing brothers planning to pillage a Catholic convent, when its music mysteriously overtakes them, resulting in their compulsory service and ultimate descent into madness.[91]

James Garratt has meticulously charted how critics of contemporary church music around 1800 considered ancient Catholic music – especially the Palestrinian *a cappella* styles – a compositional and spiritual paradigm for modern church composers. Yet hardly any of these critics agreed on a singular canon of

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[88] Schlegel, *Athenium Fragments* [II], no.231, 1798, quoted in Garratt, 48. Schlegel co-wrote the Athenium Fragments with Schleiermacher and Novalis in Berlin.
[89] See Printy, *Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism*.
[90] Kleist, letter to Wilhelmine von Zenge, 1808. Translation from Beesley, "Catholic Conversion and the End of the Enlightenment," in *Religion, Reason, and Culture in the Age of Goethe*, 178-9.
[91] See Hamilton, *Music Madness, and the Unworking of Language*, 134-58.

church composers from which to draw, proposing a range of visions for the future of *Kirchenmusik* in both Protestant and Catholic confessions. While Garratt regards the haphazard compilations of musicians created by contemporary music critics as a new patchwork of "antiquarianism," their variety is perhaps better explained by the new print mediations of formerly private collections, and the attendant critical practice of comparing diverse transnational, transhistorical church music.[92] Eighteenth-century church music criticism was shot through with Protestant prejudices toward Catholicism. But wielding a new ethic of *naiveté* around 1800, young writers such as Wackenroder, Tieck, Schlegel, and Hoffmann mobilized these very prejudices as a kind of exotic, to be used against contemporary Protestant church music. For these Berliners, Catholics were recast as a local, theological species of the *bon sauvage*: an idealized religious subject that remained naively "enslaved" by superstitious beliefs and fetishized ritual objects. Yet, precisely because of their allegedly primitive rudiments of worship, Catholics preserved a coveted *naiveté* in their worship that elevated devotional feeling to divine immediacy.

Garratt notes the significance of the naive in the Protestant reception of historical Catholic art, "[For Friedrich Schlegel and E.T.A. Hoffmann,] the naive art of the Catholic Middle Ages provides the paradigm of the relation between a secure religious foundation and superlative artistic production."[93] Indeed, as Garratt points out, Hoffmann's review of ancient and modern church music is infused with the principle of *naiveté*, which particularly informed his discussion of Palestrina's music: "Palestrina is simple, true, childlike, good, strong, and sturdy."[94] Here Hoffmann coordinated the naive's rhetoric of "simple, true, and childlike," with the masculine "good, strong, and sturdy," thus portraying Palestrina in the same terms as the Schillerian naif. In the same passage, Hoffmann's paradigmatic example of Palestrina's *naiveté* cited a widely circulated piece that we have already discussed, mediated by Reichardt: "Reichardt in the fifth part of his *Kunstmagazin* has printed a splendid four-part Gloria from one of Palestrina's masses which corroborates all that has been said."[95] To Hoffmann, Reichardt's keyboard reduction of Palestrina's music foregrounded the chordal sublimity that was the essence of naive church music, effectively describing the Gloria as a chorale – and so responding to Reichardt's arrangement of the Gloria as if it were a domestic keyboard chorale: "In Palestrina's music every chord strikes the listener with full force, and even the most artful modulations could

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[92] Garratt, *Palestrina*, 40.
[93] Ibid., 49.
[94] Hoffmann, *Musical Writings,* 355.
[95] Ibid.*,* 358.

never affect the spirit in the same way as those bold, powerful chords, blazing forth like blinding shafts of light."[96]

As Hoffmann's review demonstrates, north Germans in the early nineteenth century heard ancient Catholic music, from Saint Ambrose through Mozart, as naive chorales through because of their musical idiom – in their slow, chant-like rhythms, stepwise melodic motion, and homophonic harmonies – and their mediation as print objects. The works of Palestrina, Allegri, and Bai variously invoked, for Hoffmann's generation, the ambience of the chorale. It is hardly surprising, then, that several of Hoffmann's examples from Palestrina in his 1815 essay are not by Palestrina at all, but bore a vague resemblance to the *falsobordone* technique that, when mediated as choral notation, became examples of the same chordal, homophonic idiom. Besides, Hoffmann tended to choose excerpts that already resembled Protestant chorales.

For Friedrich Rochlitz, the *Allgemeine Musicalische Zeitung*'s chief editor, who had commissioned Hoffmann's "Old and New Church Music," including Palestrina's music in his magazine meant cleaving to the format of a printed chorale and even to a chorale aesthetic in performance (see Figure 5). Two years prior to Hoffmann's review, Rochlitz had printed a "very rare" excerpt of a Palestrina mass (see Figure 6). He claimed that the "small but truly significant *Miserere*…has been sung in the papal chapel in Rome for three centuries. There the first choir performed the first six bars, the others the second choir, without any accompaniment. The whole piece is extremely slow, solemn and not to be sung more strictly in time, like a chorale."[97] The excerpt appeared twice more in the journal, in 1818 and 1824. The latter appearance was copied by Franz Liszt, and later became the source for his ostentatious rendition, in *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* (1837; Liszt's title was taken from the 1824 excerpt, "Miserere, d'apres Palestrina").

"Tieck and Hoffmann," writes Garratt, "emphasize not merely the religious quality of Palestrina's music, but the idea that its greatness stems from having been conceived by a naive genius in an age of unreflective belief: that it embodies, as the aesthetician Eduard Krüger later put it, a 'mentality of unalloyed innocence, a paradise of childhood lost to us'."[98] A crucial material premise of

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[96] Hoffmann, *Musical Writings,* 358. For a discussion on Reichardt's anachronistic harmonic analysis of Palestrina's Gloria, see Kramer, "The New Modulation of the 1770s: C. P. E. Bach in Theory, Criticism, and Practice," 568-70.

[97] "…dem kleinen, aber wahrhaft bedeutenden *Miserere* …wie dies seit drey Jahrhunderten…in der päpstlichen Kapelle zu Rom gesungen wurde. Dort trug die ersten sechs Takte der erste, die andern der zweyte Chor, ohne alle Begleitung, vor. Das Ganze ist zusserst langsam getragen, und nicht streuger im Takte zu singen, wie ein Choral." Rochlitz, *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, vol. 12, 591. See Figure 6.

[98] Garratt, *Palestrina,* 49-50.

this Romantic ideal, I suggest, was a new media condition whereby ancient Catholic music became historically continuous with modernized Protestant chorales: the repertoire of ancient Catholic music was now legible in notational formats and printed media forms alongside modern church music. And insofar as the chorale was both an aesthetic template and a historical foil, ancient church music – naïve, Catholic – was the object of fetishistic gaze among German Protestants, resulting, as we will see, in a phenomenon hitherto parsed by music studies as "art-religion."

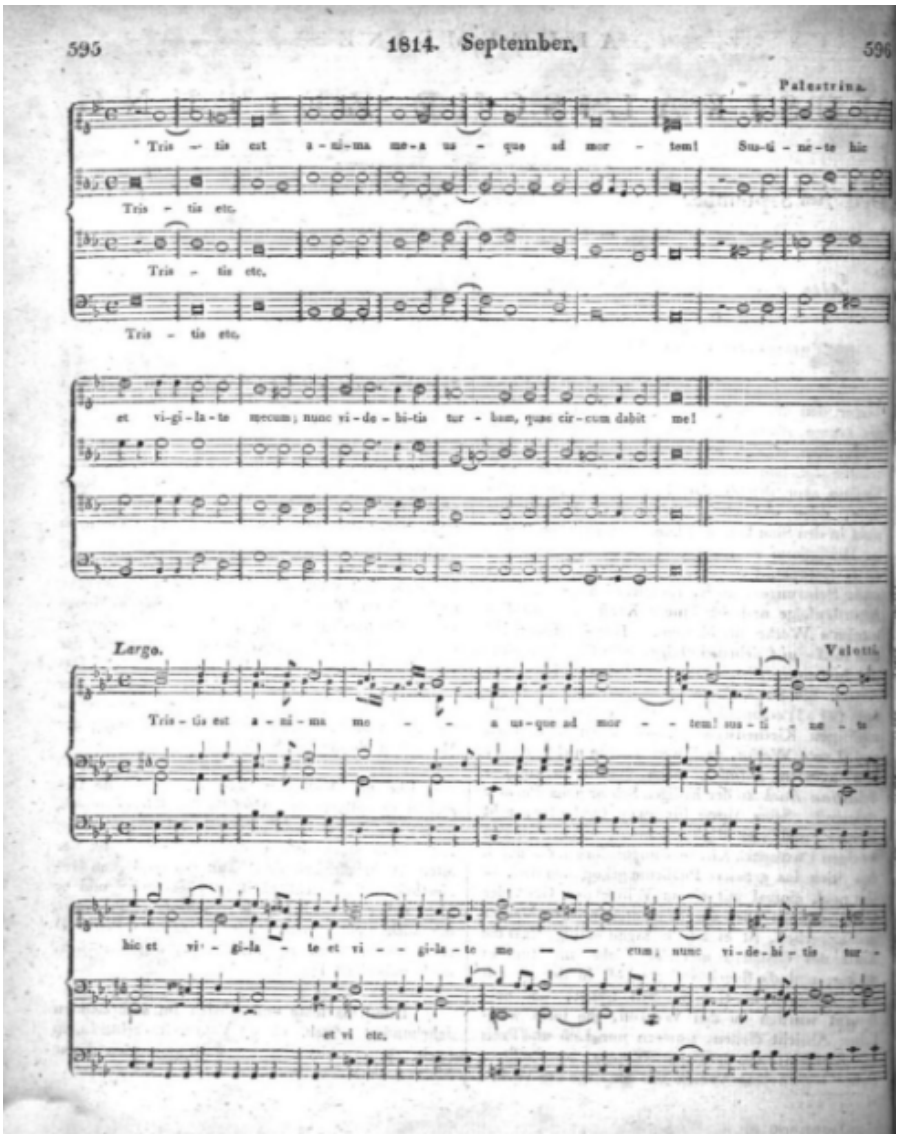
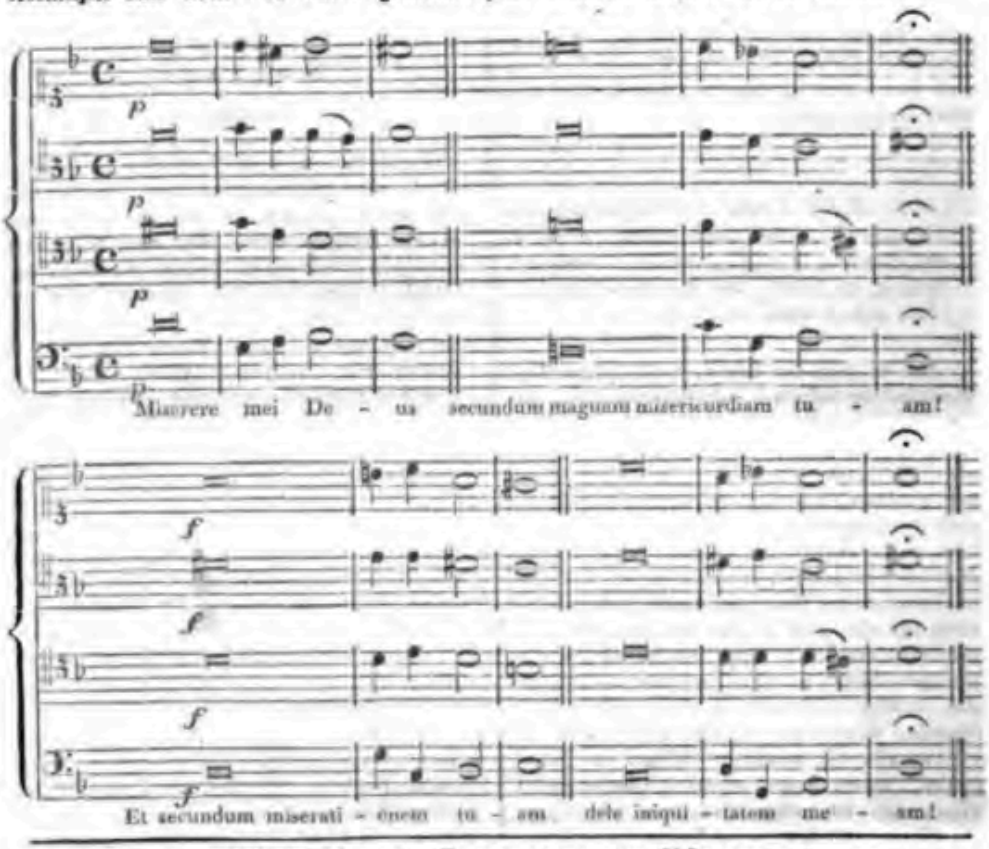


Figure 5. Hoffmann, Palestrina excerpt in 'Alte und neue Kirchenmusik,' *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1814), 595.

In München ist Dem. Schmalz für den Sommer mit 1500 Gulden engagirt, um in der neuen Oper: *Numa Pompilio*, zu singen.

Da die Aufmerksamkeit der Freunde der Tonkunst jetzt wieder mehr, als seit langer Zeit, auf die ältesten, herrlichen Werke italienischer und deutscher Meister gerichtet ist, werden wir von Zeit zu Zeit ein kleines Stück dieser Art, das noch nie im Druck erschienen oder doch sehr selten geworden ist, hier mittheilen. Wir machen den Anfang mit dem kleinen, aber wahrhaft bedeutenden *Miserere* des Palestrina, (oder, wie er auch heisst, Pranestino,) wie dies seit drey Jahrhunderten — wenigstens bis vor einigen Jahren, in der päpstlichen Kapelle zu Rom gesungen wurde. Dort trug die ersten sechs Takte der erste, die andern der zweyte Chor, ohne alle Begleitung, vor. Das Ganze ist äusserst langsam getragen, und nicht strenger im Takte zu singen, wie ein Choral.



LEIPZIG, BEY BREITKOPF UND HÄRTEL.

Figure 6. Rochlitz excerpt, *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, vol. 12, 1810, 591.

The Protestant Encounter

As the historian Lisa Beesley has shown, German Protestants around 1800 feared that the Catholic liturgy prompted sensory stimulations that compelled the prostration of the body, and wielded somatic powers that might bewitch even the staunchest rational Protestant, to say nothing of innocent pious youths. This attitude intensified as a bona fide Catholic revival spread throughout north Germany, with conversion accounts frequently crediting the sensuous seductions of Catholic liturgy (Schlegel and his wife Dorothea being chief among them).[99] Jonathan Fine calls this movement "the Protestant encounter with Catholicism," a phrase shrewdly marking the colonialist discourse, complete with primitivist and exoticizing vocabulary, that early Romantic writers adopted when describing Catholic ritual.[100] This extended passage from Wackenroder's short story, "Letter of a Young German Painter in Rome to his Friend in Nuremberg," epitomizes the Protestant Encounter around 1800:

> I went into the rotunda recently, because there was a huge festival and splendid Latin music was to be played…The magnificent temple, the teeming crowd of people which pressed in little by little and surrounded me more and more tightly, the splendid preparations, all this disposed my spirit to wonderful attentiveness…the sounds drew my soul completely out of its body. My heart was pounding and I felt a powerful longing for something great and exalted which I could embrace. The sonorous Latin singing which penetrated through the swelling sounds of the music, rising and falling just like ships which sail through the waves of the sea, lifted my soul higher and higher…I lifted my eyes, which had been turned inward, and looked around myself, and the entire temple came alive before my eyes, so delirious the music had made me…Everything right around me sank down and a mysterious, wonderful force also drew me irresistibly to the ground and I could not have held myself erect with all my strength.[101]

Using the premise of a Grand Tour travelogue, Wackenroder trots out the major tropes of the Protestant Encounter, such as ancient ruins or Catholic cathedrals, and ancient Catholic church music. In this passage, a cocktail of sensory experiences – the visuals of church architecture and its gilded crucifix, the smell of incense, and aural stimulation of the choir – that "opens up the pathway to the

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[99] Beesley, "Catholic Conversion and the End of Enlightenment," in *Religion, Reason, and Culture in the Age of Goethe*, 166-86.
[100] Fine, "Aestheticized Religion," 100.
[101] Schubert, *'Confessions'*, 122-4.

divine for the Protestant outsider."[102] Fine suggests that glamorized narratives of the "Protestant encounter" soon went out of vogue in poetic writings after 1800, largely because of the high-profile Catholic conversion of Friedrich Leopold Stolberg in 1801, and the ensuing smear campaign in the press. However, in music criticism the trope clearly persisted for several decades. One can hardly mistake the rhetoric of the Protestant Encounter in musical fictions of the early-nineteenth century, particularly those from Berlin, such as Ludwig Tieck's *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* (1798) and *Phantastus* (1812), Heinrich Kleist's "Cecilia, or the Power of Music," (1810) and E.T.A. Hoffmann's short stories, "Sanctus" (1817) and "The Jesuit Church of G" (1816). In all these musical scenes, Catholic church music incited irrational sensory effects on unsuspecting Protestant visitors, such as coerced prostration, hallucination, spiritual possession, bodily dissociation, and amnesia. Therefore, where scholars typically have seen "a convergence" or "amphiboly" of art and religion in early German Romanticism, Fine makes the simple yet radical observation that, behind major examples of art-religion, particularly those from Friedrich Schlegel, Wackenroder, and Novalis, was a Protestant-bred German enamored with Catholicism and its rituals.[103]

The Protestant encounter with Catholic art helps clarify the way eclecticism, history, and *naiveté* emerged as necessarily entangled responses to print media's "epistemic anxieties." Ancient church music's answers to the overload, authority, and expectation of Enlightenment knowledge are all too easily interchangeable, as much of them discussed in this chapter could be reread through the other sections – Tieck's review of Allegri's *Miserere* as historical or naive, Hoffmann's listening of Palestrina's Gloria as eclectic or historical, Thibaut's reception of Gregorian chant as naïve or eclectic, as so on. Little wonder, then, why the ideas surrounding the naïve appeared across so many artistic domains after the late eighteenth century. As Dahlhaus remarked in explicitly Schillerian terms, "there is no overlooking the close connection between exoticism, historicism, and folklorism – all features as characteristic of nineteenth-century music as they are of the literature and painting of the time."[104] In the last section, I briefly show how church music, especially its domestic, printed form in Berlin around 1800, was one such site of intersection between eclecticism, history, and *naiveté*.

Schleiermacher's *Christmas Eve Celebration: A Dialogue*

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[102] Fine, "Aestheticized Religion," 49-50.
[103] On art-religion as a conceptual "amphiboly," around 1800, see Müller, *Ästhetische Religiosität und Kunstreligion in den Philosophien von der Aufklärung*; Spencer, "Revelation and *Kunstreligion* in WH Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck"; Kramer, "The of Idea *Kunstreligion* in German Musical Aesthetics of the Early Nineteenth Century."
[104] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 25.

In Schleiermacher's *Christmas Eve Celebration: A Dialogue* (Berlin, 1805), a free-flowing conversation on the meaning of Christmas between several young men, women, and a child is interposed between devotional moments at the keyboard, with the domestic gathering singing Protestant hymns together. The guests are confined to the house of Friederike, Karoline, and their young girl Sophie on a cold night. Throughout the novella the party casually alternates between the salon (with the Christmas gifts) and the drawing room (with the keyboard). Theologians disagree as to which character most closely represents Schleiermacher himself in the story. Schleiermacher was an avid salon visitor in Berlin, and drew heavily from his social interactions at Miss Varnagen's salon and Reichardt's garden parties. Whether or not Schleiermacher wrote himself into the story, the intended protagonist was clearly Sophie – the child whose humility and *naiveté* quietly exemplify the Christ child, as she repeatedly confounds the adults' theological discussion in the manner of Pharisaic discourse. Sophie is the joyfully tender and pious child that, via the philanthropic movement, was by then a trope of north German *Kinderliteratur* (indeed, Schleiermacher's preface suggested that the story should be read in the home by parents and children together).

The novella describes Sophie's eclectic taste for all genres of keyboard vocal music, nevertheless – in a manner echoing the eclecticism of Schleiermacher's personal friend Ludwig Tieck – her favorite pieces to play were those "set in the grand style of church music."[105] This is evident when Sophie distinguishes between songs of pleasure and sacred music, being sure not to diminish either style: "It was rarely to be taken for a sure sign of a purely joyful mood when she warbled half aloud some light and merry song. When she would sit down to the piano, however, and begin to sing out in her lovely voice, already tending to the lower range, it was this grand genre of [church] music she always chose."[106] When Sophie is asked to open her Christmas gift in front of the company, her father assures her that the gift will reinforce the fellowship of the home: she receives a collection of keyboard scores. "Music!" She "exclaimed with a shriek," and "leafed through the music…reading the titles of the pieces, which were most religious music, all written in celebration of Christmas, all excellent and some old and little known."[107] Dramatizing the pleasure Sophie derives from the solemnity of church hymns, Schleiermacher thus placed chorale-like *Kirchenmusik* in a domestic, social, and leisurely setting, and positioned it alongside "old and little known" religious music. Sophie's musical taste was essentially Tieck's: generically eclectic, yet showing a preference for "the grand style of church music."

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[105] Schleiermacher, *Christmas Eve Celebration*, 6.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

Immediately after receiving her gift, Sophie brings the house guests to her bedroom, where she has displayed on her table a collection of moving mechanical figures depicting scenes from the history of Protestantism, gathered into three groups. The first depicts the baptism of Christ, Golgotha (the mount of his crucifixion), the mount of his ascension, the Spirit at Pentecost, the destruction of the temple, and battles from the Crusades. The second shows the pope at St. Peter's, the martyrdom of John Hus, and Luther's burning of the papal bull. The last group depicts "the baptism of the Saxons, missionaries in Greenland and Africa, a Herrnhuter Brethren churchyard, and the Halle Orphanage" – the latter being the famous Pietist enclave that cultivated scientific education throughout the eighteenth-century. Schleiermacher describes the tapestry as a diligently curated display, ennobling the childish kitsch of *künstliches Spielwerken* as a solemn religious diorama. Sophie connects these scenes – from first-century Christianity, the early Reformation, and eighteenth-century pietism – as "great accomplishment[s] of religious zeal." Schleiermacher wrote the *Dialogue* among religious peers who newly vaunted Catholicism, so it is significant that Sophie's diorama excludes all Catholic church history after the Reformation, turning instead to early Protestant figures such as Luther and John Hus. Schleiermacher, a Lutheran preacher who was a firsthand witness to the "cultured despisers" of religion in Berlin who were converting to Catholicism (including his roommate, Friedrich Schlegel). Sophie's tapestry thus subtly presents an alternative history of Christianity that quietly sought to reclaim a Protestant-based spirituality, turning the newly exotic gaze of Catholic history back onto Protestant history – a Protestant Encounter with Protestantism. Indeed, given the backdrop of the Romantic Catholic revivals that left modern Protestantism in the dustbin of Enlightenment reason, Schleiermacher's *Christmas Eve Dialogue*, as with his *Speeches on Religion*, represented the sole attempt at the time to aestheticize religion from within the tradition of Protestantism, rather than without.

Schleiermacher's narrative deftly coordinates six points of view on the meaning of Christmas, teasing out discrepancies and shared insights in a form that, as many have noted, is indebted to Plato's *Dialogues*, a German translation of which was currently preoccupying the theologian (Beethoven also had a copy on his bookshelf). Yet amid the series of spirited conversations that constitute the novella, Sophie's music becomes the only activity that leaves chatty interlocutors at once speechless and unified:

> While most of the party were still busy looking [at the Christmas tapestry], Sophie softly persuaded her father to join her, with Friederike and Karoline, in the other room, where Karoline sat down to the piano and the four sang the hymn "Let Us Love Him" and the chorale "Welcome to This Vale of Sorrow." They followed these with some

> additional things from Reichardt's splendid Christmas Cantelina, in which the feeling of deliverance and humble devotion and joy are all so beautifully expressed. Soon the whole company had become their reverent audience, and when they had finished, all remained still, as so often happens with religious music, in a mood of inner satisfaction and retirement. This reaction was followed by a few silent moments in which they all knew that the mind and heart of each person was turned in love toward all the rest and toward something higher still.[108]

After this moment of spiritual edification, all are quickly reminded of their domestic setting with a call for tea in the salon (*Saal*), and none lingers but little Sophie, still transfixed by the score on the piano desk. Significantly, it was within this transcendent moment of domestic devotion that Schleiermacher cited a specific musical score: Reichardt's keyboard reduction of the *Weihnachts-Cantilene*, published in Berlin in 1785. Both Reichardt's score and Schleiermacher's description focus on a transformative moment in the history of Protestant musical devotion. Sophie had skim-read the cantilena (Schleiermacher cites *übersehen*, the cultural technique of amateur keyboarding discussed in Chapter 1), with "her fingers forming the chords as she studied it," so the reader is to presume that the hymns had been selected by Sophie as her early favorites in the collection. The pieces not only represent the Protestant's ideal medium of domestic devotion, but the preference of the innocent, pious child. Schleiermacher is unusually specific: he names the composer and score, and even cites several movements within the score, a "*chor (chorus) …und chorale*." The reader is thus invited to experience the same "humble adoration" (*demürthige Anbetung*) and "quiet satisfaction" (*stille Befriedigung*) of the characters by playing the pieces for themselves.

The main chorale Schleiermacher cites from Reichardt's *Weihnachts-Cantilene* is "Welcome To This Vale of Sorrow," written by Matthias Claudius about the sorrows that would befall the child Jesus (see Figure 7). Reichardt's melody would soon be appropriated as a renowned folk melody by Schulz, also set to a Claudius text, "Der Mond ist Aufgegangen," in his third edition of *Lieder im Volkston* (Berlin, 1790). To be sure, there are small differences between the melodies: instead of beginning the melody on the fifth degree of the tonic harmony, as Reichardt had done, Schulz transposes the melody to the first degree (a kind of intertextual fugal answer to Reichardt's chorale; see Figure 8). Its very simplicity – the melodic range is only a major sixth, with the largest sung interval just a fourth, with uniform rhythmic values and frequent cadences afforded by the chorale form – allows it to be repurposed without any acknowledgement of its "sacred" origins.

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[108] Schleiermacher, *Christmas Eve Celebration*, 10.

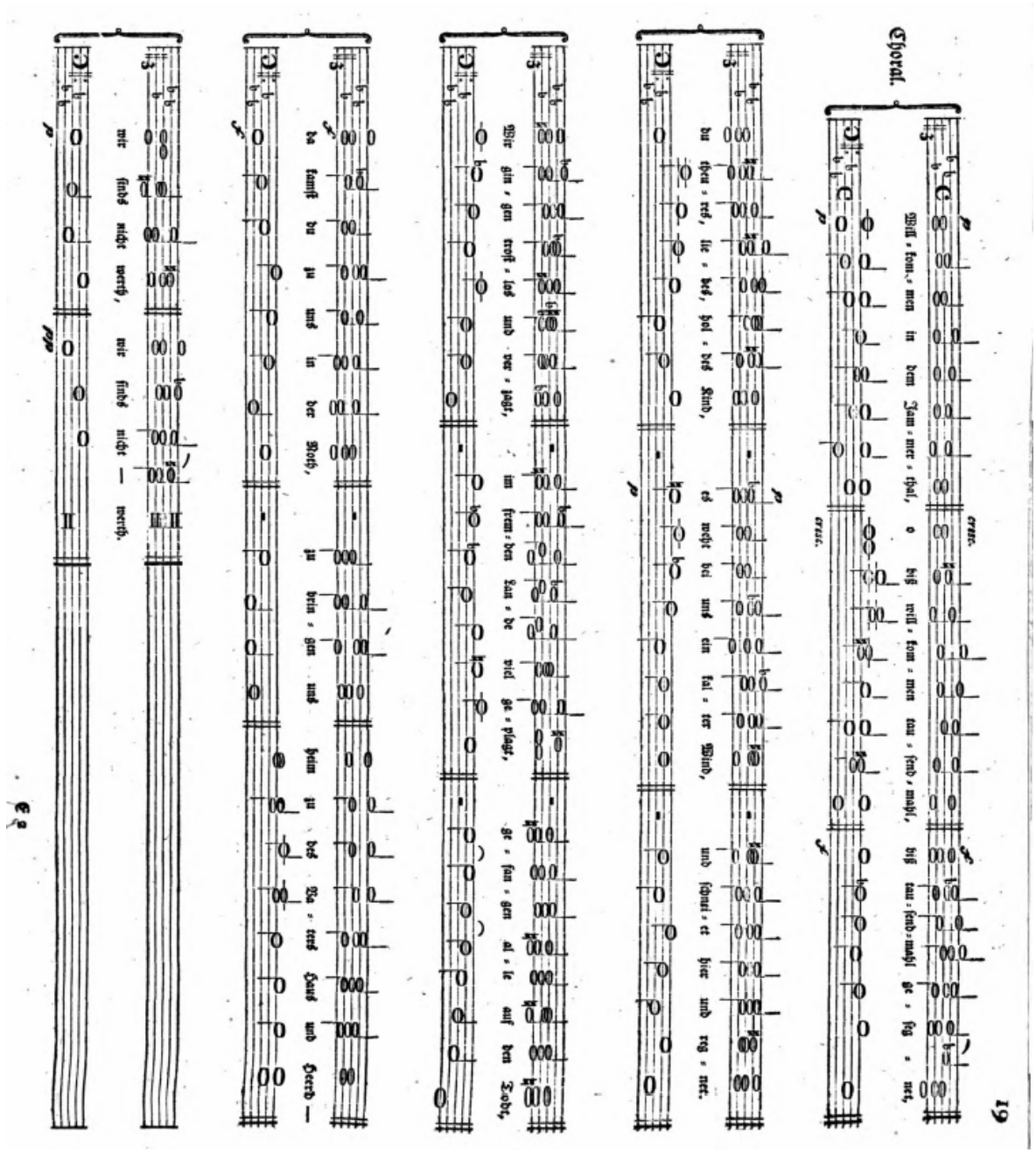

Figure 7. Chorale, "Willkommen in dem Jammerthal," in Reichardt, *Weihnachts-Cantilene* (Berlin, 1785), 19.

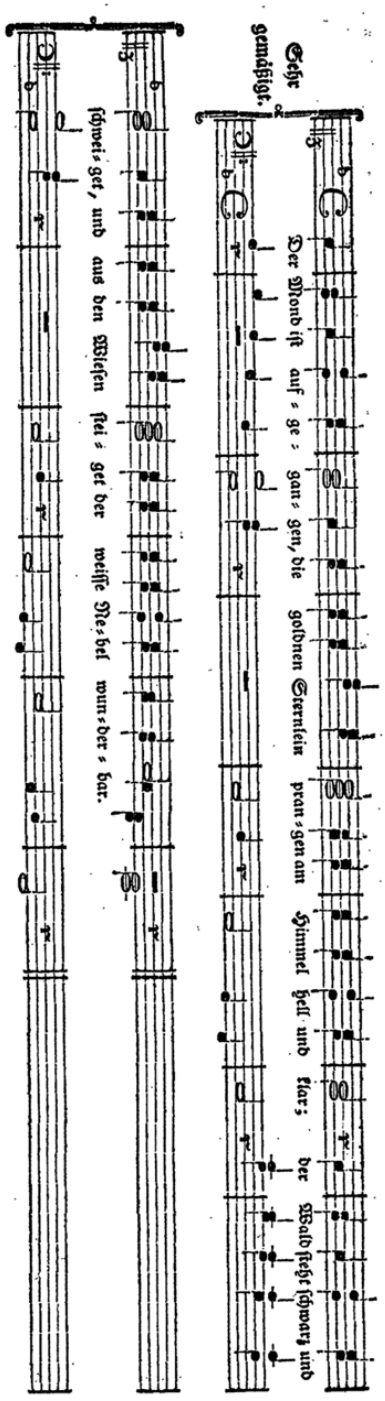

Figure 8. "Der Mond ist Aufgegangen," in Schulz, *Lieder im Volkston*, (Berlin, 1790).

In any case, Schleiermacher's Sophie was probably not admiring the Schulzian folk arrangement of Reichardt's chorale, but another melody with a far older history. Schleiermacher wrote his novella twenty years before the score's second edition, edited by Reichardt's daughter Louise (1779-1826) in 1826. (Louise was doubtless Reichardt's model for the keyboard reduction's child-amateur skill level, as she was only six years old at the time of its publication in 1785. This has led some scholars to suggest that Louise Reichardt was the inspiration for Sophie.) The only *Weihnachts-Cantilene* score available to Schleiermacher, then, was its first edition, published in Berlin during Advent. Unconcerned with recruiting subscribers, Reichardt's first edition was hastily published in a small run of copies at the composer's expense. Reichardt published the reduction of the Christmas cantata for his friend Claudius – "a small memorial of my love for you," as the dedication ran. Schleiermacher's close personal friendship with Reichardt – the theologian frequented the composer's soirees, through which he befriended Ludwig Tieck and other members of Berlin's intelligentsia – suggests that Schleiermacher's knowledge of the score probably came from the composer himself, either as a gift, formal purchase, or, equally likely, because he had heard the young Louise perform it at the keyboard. Unlike subsequent editions, Reichardt's first edition contained an unusual supplemental arrangement of the chorale "Welcome to this Vale of Sorrow." This was the only piece in the publication that contained an additional arrangement. Over the page from his original, folk-like chorale composition, Reichardt reset Claudius's simple text "after a common church melody." The melody was "Herzlich hab' ich dich," a Lutheran funereal hymn from the sixteenth century, which commonly appeared in north German choral books throughout the late eighteenth century (see Figure 9). As a chorale text, "Herzlich hab' ich dich" is unique in the structure of its feet and cadence of each stanza. Claudius had evidently set "Welcome to this Vale of Sorrow" to the old Lutheran hymn without any reference in the text's printings, but Reichardt had musically acknowledged this by including a supplement that arranged it according to the church melody. A Lutheran theologian as hymn-loving as Schleiermacher would have readily understood Claudius's theological commentary in placing a funeral hymn at the heart of a Christmas cantata: the beauteous innocence of the Christ-babe remains linked with the tragedy of his sacrificial death.

Most remarkable about Reichardt's supplemental arrangement, however, is that Reichardt did not compose its accompaniment, but rather had used the bassline from J. S. Bach's closing chorale in the St. John Passion (1724), which was set to the same chorale melody. The use of harmonic material from Bach's *Johannes-Passion* is especially puzzling when one considers that elsewhere Bach had set "Herzlich hab' ich dich" to a different bassline altogether, which was widely known through his posthumously published choral books during the late

eighteenth century. The score of the St. John Passion was, however, hardly known. If the critical reception of Bach's posthumous publications are any indication, even if it were widely known it would have remained unperformable in most Lutheran churches, and would have seemed stylistically outdated by the 1780s. Only a few handwritten copies (all of the extant manuscript copies today come from Bach's lifetime) were quietly passed down from teacher to pupil as pedagogical keepsakes. The first printing of the *Johannes-Passion* did not arrive until 1830 on the coattails of the St. Matthew Passion Easter performance in Berlin. Therefore, Reichardt's arrangement is the earliest instance of any part of Bach's St. John Passion to be printed, making it the only known material from the St. John Passion printed in the eighteenth century.

It remains unknown how Reichardt could have come into possession of this rare musical material from J. S. Bach. Several manuscript copies have long resided in the Sing-Akademie Archive since the early-nineteenth century, and tracing their provenances may yield an answer (see Figure 10).[109] Reichardt perhaps came across a St. John Passion score when C. P. E. Bach, who owned a complete copy, died in 1788, leaving his renowned *Nachlass* up for sale.[110] Were the "Herzlich hab'" bassline derived from Emmanuel Bach's copy, Reichardt must have known the buyer of Emmanuel's father's Passion manuscript and obtained it long enough to copy its material, since Reichardt's accompaniment is almost identical to Sebastian Bach's choral arrangement and basso continuo (the Passion does not appear in Reichardt's *Nachlass*, and it is unclear whether Reichardt ever owned a Passion manuscript. It may have been Claudius himself, who lived in Hamburg when Emmanuel Bach died; or perhaps Reichardt procured it from one of the many collectors he knew in Berlin, such as Friedrich Zelter, who would eventually come to possess a St. John Passion manuscript).

The way Reichardt edited Bach's harmonization reveals much about how Protestant church music could readily draw from its own distant historical past(s) at a relatively early stage during the 1780s. Reichardt retains Bach's thoroughbass by and large with few modifications. In Reichardt's edition, Bach's harmony is a fully realized thoroughbass notated in undivided accompaniment, whereas Bach's Passion has *basso continuo* and divided accompaniment in the choral voices. In several places, particularly at the cadences where Bach is most contrapuntally dynamic, Reichardt condenses the complexity of the bass rhythms that Bach's *Passion* contained into uniform, plodding half notes to match the rhythm of the upper voices. These simplifications are consistent with the rest of the *Cantilene's* beginner-level arrangement, as its entire score lacks figured bass: even the *Cantilene's* recitatives are supplied with realized harmonies in small notation.

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[109] Cf. Fischer and Kornemann, *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Catalogue*.
[110] See Leisinger, "Die 'Bachsche Auction' von 1789."

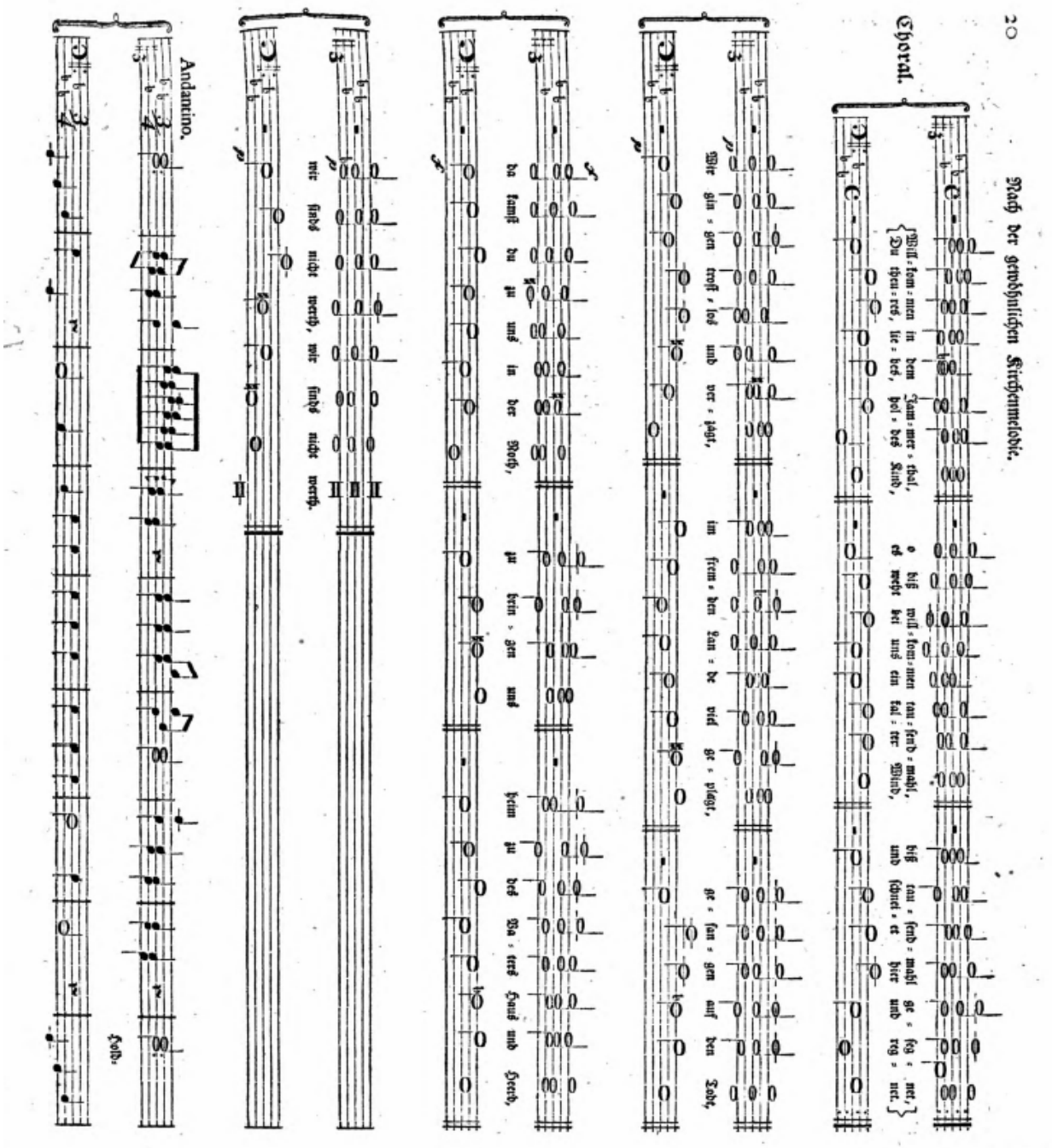

Figure 9. Reichardt's second arrangement of "Herzlich hab' ich dich," with J. S. Bach's bassline, in *Weihnachts-Cantilene* (Berlin, 1785), 20.

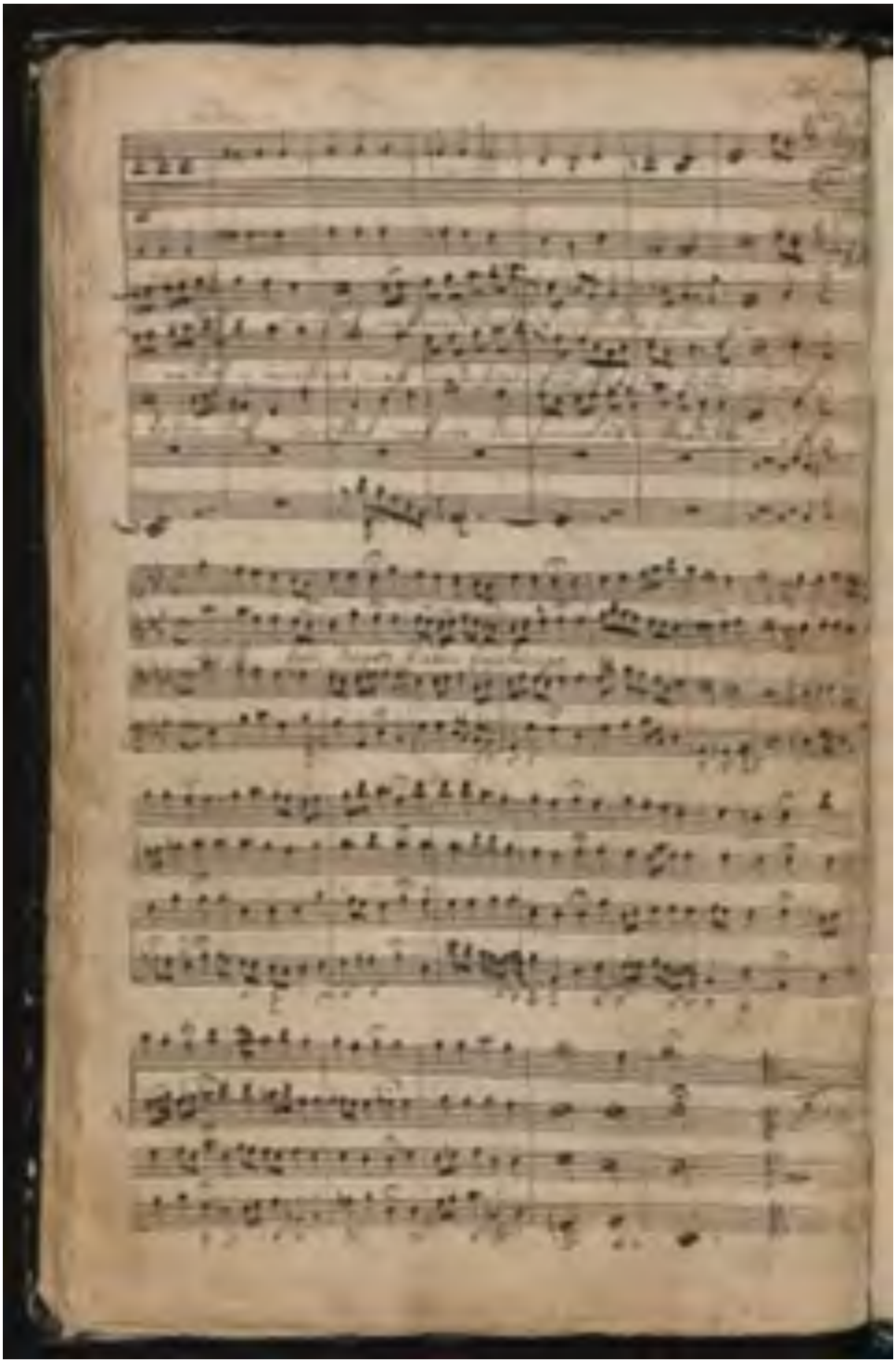

Figure 10. closing chorale, "Herzlich hab' ich dich," (bottom three systems) in J. S. Bach, *Johannes Passion*. Courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Bach's harmonic language nevertheless contrasts with Reichardt's original chorale composition and that of other choral books contemporaneous with the *Cantilene*. While Reichardt's arrangement privileged simple harmonic motion and predictable cadences that aided an amateur's eyes and ears, Bach's thoroughbass is more harmonically complex: in keeping with Bach's harmonization, Reichardt retains the extended chromatic motion in the tenor voice in beats 3-6 of the first phrase – an unusually long descent given the simple harmonic motion that most published chorales supplied around the 1780s. Moreover, Bach's harmonization – which is also retained in Reichardt's arrangement – calls for a half-cadence in the relative minor at the end of the second phrase with a subtle descent in the bass from an A-flat major to G minor. Evidently, Reichardt intentionally preserved Bach's eccentric harmonic idiom and contrapuntal movement, but did not want to compromise on the score's skill level. In sum, Reichardt's Bach-based chorale was edited for a small child that had just begun to read musical notation – yet Reichardt was ambitious enough to insert an old church-modal melody ("Herzlich lieb" is in the Mixolydian mode) and support it with the antique counterpoint of Bach's thoroughbass.

The *Cantilene*'s Bachian chorale, replete with Reichardt's editorial decisions, was likely included in the publication as an acknowledgement of Reichardt's musical relationship with Claudius, who was an early proponent of *alte Kirchenmusik*. As early as 1774, Claudius wrote a short essay, "Ueber die Musik," which was published in his innovative newspaper *Wandsbecker Bote*. In 1783, Herder reprinted Claudius's essay as an "Attachment" to his famous intervention into Old Testament scholarship, "On the Spirit of Hebrew poetry," which gave Claudius's essay its broadest audience. In his essay, Claudius cited Palestrina and the ancient Italian "masters" as an important moment in Protestantism's church music history:

> From time to time music at the church service in Rome tried to become mischievous, so that various Popes found themselves tolerant to their mischief. Pope Marcellus II wanted to banish them from the altar for this cause, but Palestrina placated him with a mass that goes slowly and devoutly without any mischief, directs your eyes immovably to heaven, and hits the heart with every step.[111]

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[111] "Beim Gottesdienst in Rom versuchte die Musik von Zeit zu Zeit muthwillig zu werden, dass auch verschiedene Päbste sich gemüssigt fanden, ihrem Muthwillen Schranken zu setzen. Pabst Marcellus II wollte sie aus der Ursache gar vom Altar verbannen, aber Palestrina versöhnte ihn noch durch eine Messe wieder, die ohne allen Mutwillen langsam und andächtig einher geht, ihr Auge unbeweglich gen Himmel richtet, und in jedem Schritt das Herz trift." Claudius, "Ueber die Musik. Ein Anhang," 253.

Reichardt himself might well have supplied Claudius with this information; the two became acquainted in 1774 and had many collaborations preceding the *Weihnachts-Cantilene*. In any case, quoting Bach's St. John Passion in the *Weihnachts-Cantilene* suggests that Reichardt actively sought to enlist the harmonic soundscape of ancient church music in a Protestant amateur setting. Two decades later, Schleiermacher could still hear this "grand style of church music," now all the rage in Berlin, as "the feeling of deliverance and humble devotion and joy."

If we accept that Schleiermacher heard Reichardt's chorale as the "grand style of church music," then the Bachian chorale in Reichardt's *Weihnachts-Cantilene* surely marks a pivotal moment in the media history of church music. For Thibaut, the "purity" of the chorale lay in its historicity – the fossilized church modes and harmonies supposedly left unedited and unadorned. For Kirnberger, the "purity" of the chorale lay in its strict rules of musical composition, and reached its apotheosis in the present. Reichardt's *Weihnachts-Cantilene* mediates the competing technical and historical bases for musical purity: he stripped Bach's lush harmonies down to their bare bones and rearranged inner voicings to accommodate child players, so that they might partake in domestic contexts of the "devotional feelings" such ancient church music produced. Yet Reichardt's Bachian chorale, informed by Schleiermacher's childlike reception of it and Claudius's text, is simultaneously an early instance of a growing prestige of ancient church music. In other words, the *Cantilene*, insofar as it produced naive church music, brought the Enlightenment technique of simplifying learned church music as *Kinderlieder* together with the Romantic reception of ancient church music. In the ensuing decades, these values and their attendant compositional practices would become mutually exclusive, as critics such as Thibaut argued that ancient church music to be left unedited, in their historically pure forms, untainted by modern technical editions.

Perhaps it was this older Bachian chorale that Schleiermacher referenced in *Christmas Eve* after all – an ancient modal melody with eccentric harmonic accompaniment, whose history was as a *Sterbeslied* ("song for the dying"). The chorale surely provided a complementary reading of Claudius's text that highlighted both the divinity of child-like naiveté and the impending death of the Christ-babe. If Reichardt's original melody, with its folkish melodic contour and harmonic arrangement, depicted the child as innocent and morally pure, his supplemented arrangement, "Herzlich hab'" girded Claudius's text by historicizing Protestantism, accenting the mournful, inevitable death and sacrifice of a naive Christ – naive, in this sense, as both the infant's ignorance of his future crucifixion and an innocence in the face of humankind's sinful nature: "Welcome to this Vale of Sorrow/oh be welcome a thousand fold/be blessed a thousand

fold/you dear sweet child." Reichardt's doubly-arranged chorale, in other words, expresses complimentary forms of a Protestant naiveté – both demonstrate the child-like simplicity of accompaniment, while the former arrangement expresses a rural *Volkstyl*, and the latter arrangement depicts the "primitive world" of ancient music history. In that regard, Schleiermacher's novella invoked Reichardt's chorale not merely to express Sophie's musical taste, but her moral character as well. At the keyboard Sophie's virtuous *naiveté* is mediated through the Protestant chorale in a domestic setting, ultimately demonstrating the ancient form of the chorale as the only means of acquiring "religious devotion and edification," and doing so in stark contrast to the rationalist *Streitkultur* of the adults' theological debate.

Schleiermacher's *Christmas Eve* thus granted a kind of morally purifying power to keyboard reductions of "grand style of church music" under the stipulation that it be played with the appropriate moral character as that style, namely, with a naive, child-like piety, replete with an eclectic love of art and historical tapestries of spiritual heritage. In Schleiermacher's scene of domestic musical devotion, musical print media is mobilized to affect the same religious edification at home as found in the church service, where Reichardt's *Weihnachts-Cantilene* was originally performed. Schleiermacher's *Christmas Eve* therefore demonstrates an aesthetic extension of church liturgy into the very social domains that musical print media transported it. In this way, Schleiermacher's musical descriptions built upon his earlier *Speeches On Religion* to argue that experiencing religion as a "feeling" need not reside only in liturgical participation, but in the domestic, the leisurely, and the mundane.

Chapter 4

Instituting Music and Religion in Berlin

> One wants to bring reform to the Academy and the universities; something should be done for the Spiritual, for the Moral.[1]

J. F. Reichardt's *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* (est.1782), to invoke this journal once more, made its first prefatory remarks in the form of a political petition, "To Benevolent Regents."[2] According to Reichardt, no other fine art – painting, sculpture, or architecture – was so much at the mercy of the "benevolence" of rulers than music. Music could "elevate" a "whole population" – yet it was, he claimed, [3] unique in having no organized support in the form of a state educational infrastructure. Reichardt pointed to the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin, which until then had not retained a music section, nor any members practicing *Tonkunst*.

Never before had music's absence from Berlin's Academy of Arts seemed so glaring, despite the city's long heritage of bona fide music scholars. This was because, as we saw in Chapter Two, Berlin's court musicians, however learned, were primarily concerned with simplifying and disseminating musical knowledge through new print media – an Enlightenment project that by and large ran contrary to the ethos of the baroque Academies. That music and musical skills were now widely available in print delayed music's incorporation into the academy further: many of the era's leading thinkers, not least Prussian Academy members, already wavered over music's status as a fine art.[4]

The Academy of Arts in Berlin was founded in 1696 largely in emulation of its Parisian counterpart, and hence favored the visual arts (its original name, to which Reichardt's petition alluded, was the *Electoral Academy of the Painting, Sculpting,*

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[1] "Man will die Akademie, man will die Universitäten in Aufnahme bringen; es soll etwas für das Geistige, das Sittliche geschehen." Quoted in Köpke, *Die Gründung der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 31. On the matter of translating "Aufnahme bringen" as "reform," see, Susan, et al. *Languages of Reform in the Eighteenth Century*, 105-10.

[2] Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* I, iii-vii.

[3] Ibid., v.

[4] For an intellectual history on the formation of the fine arts as a category of knowledge, see Kristellar, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics," 17-46.

and Architectural Arts, subsequently broadened to include the "mechanical sciences" in 1704). Aside from bestowing prestige, the Academy's main function was to preserve the highest standards of knowledge and practical expertise. Members regularly advised on royal projects within their respective fields – designs for civic buildings, royal portraits, and the like – and held conferences to present new research.[5] The Academy's exclusion of music did not hinder Berlin's reputation as a bastion of musical theory and composition during the eighteenth century. But that reputation rested primarily on the literary side projects of the city's court musicians, not least Reichardt himself.[6] In fact, according to Reichardt it was because of his prestigious employment as *Kapellmeister* that he was able to ask for the state's intervention without appearing self-serving, since he did not "demand treasures from the people for the acceptance of my art." Reichardt claimed that his *Kunstmagazin* was created as "medium" (*Mittel*) that should eventually be usurped by a state-led pedogogical institution, which would "produce a greater effect with fewer tools."[7]

The most remarkable feature of Reichardt's petition was that his request did not depend on merely including music in the Academy – an oversight he evidently saw as symptomatic of a larger problem – but rather criticized the state's apathy toward the dilapidated state of music education in Prussia: no other fine art's educational models had been as radically disrupted by print media as music. Yet, for Reichardt, it was incumbent upon the purveyors of new media, including the magazine, to chart a way forward for music education. He listed the functions of his magazine as an example:

> Furthermore, in this work I have strived for a lofty sense for art [*Kunstsinn*], arousing high enthusiasm in the artist, to draw attention to the high dignity and soul-lifting power of church music, to nobler, more appropriate musical poetry, to noble, great singing, to edification and early cultivation of music, singing drama that has a more noble, lofty sense of art and great feeling, about greater truth, guise and spreading the gong in the finer singing drama, about the noble simplicity and truth of the folk-delighting folk song and folk dance, about enhancing the general importance of singing schools, about increasing the importance of singing schools, instrumental music, on the importance and difficulty of good, noble execution, on more expedient application of [musical] instruments, to the perfection of the instruments themselves, to effective buildings, and finally - on which everything is based, on the better, more

[5] See *A History of More than 300 Years: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities*.
[6] See Röder, "Music and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century Berlin."
[7] Reichardt, *Kunstmagazin* I, vi.

> functional, noble education of the artist. With examples from the works of the greatest German, Italian and French musicians, I tried to enhance the spirit of my contemporaries, who were immersed in gimmicks: I have whole pieces and individual large passages by Couperin, Durante, Gluck, Handel, Kaiser, Kirnberger, Leo, Lulli, Rameau, Schulz, and what seemed to me to be extremely valuable of my works not yet known : I have prepared the pieces by those masters and the latest works by our CPE Bach, Georg Benda, Fasch, Haydn, Rolle, Wolff, and others. I tried to shed a critical light: I made our musicians aware of the most noble German writers so important to them, and presented my own best ideas to the best of my ability.[8]

All such endeavors will be in vain, he continued, without state-run "schools of art" for musicians. Within these proposed *Kunstschulen*, the principles of Rousseau would reign supreme: "the young pupil is not only taught theoretically and practically in his art with insight and feeling and taste, where his heart is also taught by genuine religion, enjoyment of nature, history and example of noble teachers nobly and well cultivated [*gebildet*], his head enlightened by knowledge of

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[8] "Ich habe ferner in diesem Werke verſucht hohen Kunstsinn, hohe Begeisterung im Künstler zu wecken, aufmerksam zu machen auf die hohe Würde und seelerhebende Macht der Kirchenmusik, auf edlere, treffende, musikaliſche Poesie, auf edlen, großen Gesang, auf Erbauung und frühe Bildung durch Musik, auf das edlere, hohe Gefühle Kunstsinn und großen Geſchmac wirkende Singeſchauſpiel, auf größere Wahrheit, Kührung und Geſangverbreitung im kleineren Singeſchauſpiel, auf die edle Einfalt und Wahrheit des Volkbeglückenden Volfgeſanges und Volktanzes, auf Verbeſſerung des Geſanges überhaupt durch Singeschulen, auf beſtimtere Bedeutung der Instrumentalmusik, auf die Wichtigkeit und Schwierigkeit der guten edlen Ausführung, auf zweckmäßigere. Anwendung der Instrumente, auf Vervollkommnung der Inſtrumente selbst, auf effektuirende Gebäude, und endlich – worauf zulegt faſt alles beruht, auf die bessere zweckmäßigere edlere Erziehung des Künſtlers. Ich habe durch Beispiele aus den Werken der großesten deutſchen italieniſchen und franzöſiſchen Tonkünſtler den Geiſt meiner in Spielereien versunkenen Zeitgenoſſen zu heben versucht: ich habe ganze Stücke und einzelne große Züge von Couperin, Durante, Gluck, Handel, Kaiser, Kirnberger, Leo, Lulli, Rameau, Schulz, und was mir von meinen noch nicht bekannten Arbeiten vorzüglich werth schien vorgelegt: ich habe die vorgedachten Stücke jener Meister und die neuesten Werke unserer C. P. E. Bach, Georg Benda, Fasch, Haydn, Rolle, Wolff u. a. kritisch zu beleuchten gesucht: ich habe unsere Tonkünstler auf die edelsten auch Ihnen wichtigen deutschen Schriftsteller aufmerksam gemacht, und meine eigne beste Ideen nach meinem Vermögen vorgetragen." Reichardt, *Kunstmagazin* I, vi-vii.

Nature, the ancients and the world and such a high noble sense of art is shown in him - Oh, that I should yet see such art schools!"[9]

With the prospect of these schools, Reichardt's *Kunstmagazin* almost literally functioned as a "storehouse of art" from which such *Kunstchulen* could draw their musical objects and aesthetic judgments. Reichardt's petition embodied a conception of the musical magazine as a textual placeholder for a future public institution of music, one that would educate Berlin's amateur readership in technique and taste. Yet Reichardt also understood that print media (his admittedly "weak attempt" at educating the musical public) hardly sufficed for a school that he imagined housed in its own building, replete with teachers and instruments. A new technology was necessary for training the host of literate Prussian musical amateurs.

"To Benevolent Regents" prefigured a new technology of epistemic authority in musical practice, one that would assimilate print media yet be distinguished from it, and, in Rousseauian fashion, form the minds and hearts of Prussian burghers into productive citizens. For all the challenges that Reichardt cited, the call for such a school was hardly unique for its time.[10] For Chad Wellmon, the glut of such proposals ultimately led to a newly aggregated "technology," a school more or less consistent with Reichardt's vision, which assimilated and legitimated literary knowledge, and turned knowledge transmission to the purpose of forming disciplined subjects: a new university in Berlin.

This chapter traces the development of musical instruction at *Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin* (est. 1810), which scholars usually consider Europe's first modern research university. Music historians have typically described the moment at which musical study entered the university and became the basis of other public organizations in Germany – particularly amateur singing choirs – as a response to the institutional vacuum left by the retreat of the eighteenth-century church. As we will see, there are many reasons to challenge this thinly veiled secularization narrative – foremost, the fact that church music and its employees, in the context of the media disruptions addressed in my previous chapters, fundamentally shaped early university music instruction.

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[9] "…der junge Zögling nicht bloß in seiner Kunst theoretiſch und praktisch mit Einsicht und Gefühl und Geſchmack unterrichtet wird, wo auch sein Herz durch ächte Religion, Naturgenuß, Geschichte und Beispiel edler Lehrer edel und groß gebildet, sein Kopf durch Kenntniß der Natur, der Alten und der Welt aufgeklärt und so hoher edler Kunstsinn in ihm erzeigt wird — O daß ich solche Kunstschulen noch sähe!" Reichardt, *Kunstmagazin* I, vii.

[10] Wellmon describes similar institutional visions expressed at the same time and place as Reichardt's *Kunstmagazin*. See Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment*, 151-81.

"Systematization in the late eighteenth century went hand-in-hand with institutionalization," writes Clifford Siskin.[11] But, unlike the disciplines that Siskin follows into British universities – history and literature – music took a circuitous path into Prussia's new research university. And yet music was acknowldged by the university's founders from their earliest memoranda. And it was church music that provided the institutional blueprint according to which musical instruction entered the research university. Indeed, as we will see, religious study at the university and several religious controversies in Berlin were the background against which music courses were offered at the university from 1820. Church music had an indispensable role in the theology department, allowing the university's framers, Friedrich Schleiermacher not least among them, to represent religious study as a "scientific" domain of knowledge. This is most evident in Schleiermacher's plans for a nonsectarian university church service, which foregrounded the school's controversial scrutiny of religion. Tracing an institutional history of church music through the University of Berlin, I argue that Protestant church music was essential to post-Napoleonic conceptions of Prussian education, and so to the modern research university.

First, the chapter will recount how Friedrich Zelter politicized and cultivated the practice of Protestant church music with certain institutional aspirations, beginning with the *Singakademie* and culminating in the Institute for Church Music in Berlin (ICM), a state-funded organization that trained professional church musicians and established a direct relation to the university. The second part of the chapter turns to church music's role in the university, including its function in Schleiermacher's notional university church service, the institutional relation of ICM to the university, and the music sung by university students. The chapter concludes by considering the academic writings of Adolph Bernhard Marx, the first lecturer to ground an approach to music education in the university's new scientific ethos.

I

A "Singing-Academy" in Berlin

Reichardt inadvertently instigated his own dreamt-of *Kunstschule* shortly after printing his first volume of *Kunstmagazin* issues in 1782, when he traveled to Italy and took stock of rarely accessible *alte Kirchenmusik*. In 1783 Reichardt returned to Berlin with the manuscript of a sixteen-part double-choir mass by Orazio Benevoli (1605-1672).[12] Upon showing it to Carl Fasch, Reichardt's fellow court

[11] Siskin, *System*, 151.

[12] It is not certain which 16-part mass it was that Reichardt acquired, yet it is widely believed, based on its archival appearances and copied from Carl Fasch's own hand,

musician swiftly copied it out in full, inspiring an original composition that approximated Benevoli's grandiose technical proportions. In just a few weeks, Fasch composed a *Mass for Sixteen Voices* of his own. The only problem was that no one in the city could sing it.

As one modern-day conductor describes the performance challenges of Fasch's *Mass*, "the work's greatest challenge is that it requires fine intonation, agile vocalism, and confident independent singing."[13] Fasch's humble solution to his problem – to train a small cohort of amateur and professional singers up to the skill level of the *Mass* – was eventually adapted as the prototype for a Reichardtian school of art. Much like Reichardt's *Christmas Cantilena* (Berlin, 1785) described in my last chapter, Fasch's *Mass* was derived from a piece of ancient church music, while its style and technical demands mediated a new tension between the playability and *Singbarkeit* of amateur church music and the exotic esoterics of ancient church compositions. Fasch's *Mass* thus represents an alternative solution to the unique problem of Romantic mediation that the *Christmas Cantilena* engaged: the growing prestige of ancient church music encroached upon, and in some ways subverted, a culture of Enlightened amateurs playing simplified church music. Unlike Reichardt, Fasch did not bring his composition down to the level of amateurs, but rather sought to elevate the level of amateurs to match his complex antiquarian vision.

Fasch originally sought out a singing group in the city that could perform his *Mass*. In 1785 he asked the Cantor and organist of Berlin's *Nicolaikirche*, Johann Gottlob Lehmann (eventual father-in-law to Muzio Clementi), who led a singing school through the church, but the *Mass* proved too complex for the St. Nicholas Church choir. In 1789 Fasch began tutoring Charlotte Dietrich, a Berlin socialite and stepdaughter of a Prussian privy councilor. Using the councilor's backyard gazebo and several court musicians, Fasch gathered a cadre of singers to practice for the performance of his *Mass*.[14] The group rehearsed between leisurely conversation and tea, but their ambitious little *Gesellschaft* soon attracted other professionally-trained members, including Lehmann and Carl Fredrich Zelter, both of whom joined in 1791 (Reichardt was an occasional visitor as well, and even composed a sacred chorus for the group sometime in the early 1790s).[15]

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that the mass in question was Benevoli's *missa in diluvio aquaram multarum*. See Henzel, *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin Catalogue*, 166.

[13] Kelly, "Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch and his Mass for Sixteen Voices with Performance Edition," 15.

[14] Beverly Jerold details why Berlin's court singers could not perform the *Mass*, citing issues in musical legibility. See Jerold, "Fasch and the Beginning of Modern Artistic Choral Singing," 61-86.

[15] The chorus was *Miltons Morgengesang*, with the text from Milton's *Paradise Lost* translated into German by Herder. Herder's translation remains unpublished to this

Zelter's involvement with Fasch's choir is well documented and need not be revisited here.[16] Significant for our purposes is the choir's new status as a "Singakademie," which occurred after its rehearsals moved into the entrance hall of Berlin's Academy of the Arts on the Unter den Linden in 1793. This new name signified how Zelter, who orchestrated the relocation, emulated the practices of knowledge preservation in the Academy, and how he positioned the choir's repertoire – predominantly church music – on par with the Academy's state-funded art projects. As the *Singakadmie* continued its rehearsals under Zelter into the 1820s, many critics in the city, including Adolf Bernhard Marx, complained that the group was closed-off and secretive, and did a disservice to the public advancement of musical art in the city. Its lack of a public-facing dimension even provoked one of Zelter's best singers, Otto Friedrich Gustav Hansmann, the organist at St. Peter's Church, to break away and start a Berlin *Singinstitut* of his own in 1804. Hansmann's *Singinstitut* performances outnumbered Zelter's *Singakademie* in Berlin's concert life.[17] The *Singinstitut*, however, shows up a crucial distinction in the function of the respective choral groups: under Zelter, the *Singakademie* was not attempting to serve the public directly through concert entertainment, but rather serve by producing professionally trained musicians with the intention of raising the standard of musical expertise among the public. This purpose echoed that of the Academy within whose walls the choir rehearsed. As Zelter unapologetically stated in his statutes for the Singakademie in 1816:

> The Singakademie is an art association for sacred and serious music, especially for music in the choral style, and its purpose: practical exercise on the works of the same, for the edification of the members, therefore it seldom appears in public and never other than under the direction of its director.[18]

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day, making Reichardt's *Morgengesang* the only printed version of the text. The score was first published in keyboard reduction (the arrangement nevertheless denoting an archaic, Italianate double choir) in his journal *Cäcilia* in 1795, and published in full-score with orchestration in 1808 shortly after its performance premier in Kassel. See Schletterer, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt, sein Leben*, 551-2.

[16] See, for example, Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 134.

[17] Ibid., 164.

[18] "Die Sing-Akademie ist ein Kunstverein für die heilige und ernste Musik, besonders für die Musik im gebundenen Styl, und ihr Zweck: practische Uebung an den Werken derselben, zur Erbauung der Mitglieder, daher sie nur selten und nie anders, als unter der Leitung ihres Directors öffentlich auftritt." Zelter, *Grundriß der Verfassung der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin*. Quoted in Hucht, "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys vierstimmige Chorlieder," 12.

The difference between Hansmann's "Institute" and Zelter's "Akademie" concerned the purpose and dissemination of musical knowledge. This disparity would be reiterated by the University of Berlin, as bureaucrats displaced many of the responsibilities of the Academy of Arts and the Academy of Sciences into the University.[19] Therefore, to call the *Singakademie* a "public institution" under Zelter's leadership from 1801 (following Fasch's death) must come with some qualification. As Theodor Ziolkowski reminds us, north Germans during this moment not only "realize[d] their dreams" in institutions, they also defined what a public institution was.[20] *Pace* Celia Applegate, Zelter's *Singakademie* did not constitute a "failure" of public music in Berlin; it was a practical – and ultimately successful – attempt to legitimize music as an academic field of knowledge in the fine arts.[21]

Besides occasioning an enterprising name change, other benefits of the *Singakademie's* strategic location in the city were not lost on Zelter. As he stated in the *Singakademie's* datebook in 1800, "Here we could practice among the arts and sciences...undisturbed, independent and free."[22] Its spatial proximity to the city's premier authority of artistic knowledge also facilitated personal introductions to some of the most powerful bureaucrats in the empire. One such contact was Friedrich Anton Freyherr von Heinitz, a mining baron and King Friedrich Wilhelm II's privy counsilor of finance who was a leading member of the *Bergakademie* ("Mining Academy") in Berlin (est.1770). The Mining Academy's inclusion into the Academy of Arts and Mechanical Sciences in 1790 came with the Academy's institutional restructuring of that year. The absorption of Prussia's mining industry into the Academy of Arts involved Heinitz's becoming the curator of the Academy – as curator, Heinitz formally allowed Zelter and Fasch to rehearse in the Academy's *Saal* in 1793. When Heinitz died on 15 May 1802, Zelter feared the successor would expel the *Singakademie* from the premises. Two weeks later, on June 1, Zelter wrote to the newly appointed curator – a reform-minded bureaucrat named Carl August Freiherr von Hardenberg, who had the ear of the king – to allow the *Singakademie* to continue rehearsing in the Academy's hall.[23] Hardenberg happily complied.[24] Hardenberg's good graces emboldened Zelter to legitimize his group as an academic organization, just as Heinitz had successfully vied for the Mining Academy a decade earlier. On 28 September 1803, Zelter drafted a lengthy memorandum for Hardenberg, arguing for the *Singakademie's* formal recognition as a Reichardt-style "school of art" through the

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[19] Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment*, 251.
[20] Ziolkowski, *German Romanticism and its Institutions*, 17.
[21] Cf. Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 149.
[22] Quoted in Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 134.
[23] See "Bildende Kunst – Mitglieder," in *Akademie der Künste*.
[24] The memo and response are in Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie*, 69-72.

Academy, and for Zelter to be made full member. Zelter's memorandum itself crossed an institutional threshold unprecedented for Prussian musical study – Hardenberg had asked members of the Academy to submit proposals for the advancement of learning art and the prospect of instituting an "advanced school of visual arts" (*hohe Schule der bildenen Künste*). Zelter was excluded from Hardenberg's intended audience, yet dared to send a proposal anyway.[25]

The proposal was especially bold considering the Academy's official title at the time – *Prussian Royal Academy of Visual Arts and Mechanical Sciences*. Zelter thus requested that the government reform the Academy's purview yet again, as it had done for Heinitz's *Bergakademie* just thirteen years prior. Specifically, Zelter suggested replacing the "visual arts" to encompass a more "universal" description, the "free arts," which would bring the Academy to a state of epistemic "perfection": "Should a perfected Art-Academy now happen, it is necessary to cultivate all the fine arts together. Therefore an Academy of Arts is: A system of *all* arts and the lack of a single branch will make a gap that cannot be replaced by anything else and the effect of the whole would be disturbed by this gap, if not eliminated."[26] Zelter's first memorandum, along with six additional memoranda over the next decade (containing personal insights from none other than the author of the *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*), would emerge as "the founding document of Prussia's national music culture" in Berlin.[27] Its contents would be repeatedly invoked by Zelter, Schiller, Hardenberg, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Adolf Bernhard Marx, and even King Friedrich Wilhelm III in the years ahead, shaping music's role in the Prussian university for the nineteenth century.

The Political Necessity of Church Music

Zelter's first memorandum to Hardenberg relied on connecting the activities of the Singakademie in an unbroken institutional lineage to the musical court of Friedrich the Great. Carl Fasch, Zelter claimed, had tried to carry on the court's original task of bringing the state of musical art to "perfection" so as to "honor" both the crown and, by extension, "the city of Berlin." Berlin's musical court, however, had declined under Friedrich Wilhelm II (reigned 1786-1797). With

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[25] Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie*, 72.

[26] [Emphasis original] "Soll nun eine vollkommene Kunst - Akademie stattfinden; so ist es nöthig alle schönen Künste zusammen anzubauen. Denn eine Akademie der Künste ist: Ein System *aller* Künste und der Mangel eines einzelnen Zweiges wird eine Lücke geben, die sich durch nichts anderes ersetzen läßt und die Wirkung des Ganzen würde durch diese Lücke gestört, wo nicht aufgehoben." Erste Denkschrift, Zelter to Hardenberg, 1803, in Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie,* 73.

[27] "…die Gründungsurkunde der Preußischen Staatlichen Musikpflege." Schünemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter: der Begründer*, 10.

Fasch's recent passing, Zelter was hardly able to keep up the *Singakademie* alone, since, toward the end of his days, Fasch had devoted himself to working for the Singakademie fulltime. Thus at the heart of the proposal, which first suggested that *Tonkunst* be included in the Academy, was Zelter's plea to be included and employed by the Academy as a full member so that he could devote himself full time to the *Singakademie* (he had been maintaining his day job as a mason, having eleven children to feed). His employment, he reassured Hardenberg, would come with many reforms for the city's musical life. The first item on his agenda, so Zelter wrote, would be the improvement of church music in Berlin through formal training and examinations for cantors and organists, among other interventions in the performance of liturgical music:

> Thus for example most of the Cantor and organist positions in the churches are filled with entirely unsuitable subjects, since there is a lack of supervision. Art cannot affect the active citizen if it is not held in dignity and honor. He who, in recent times, is clever, active and skillful, but is cheeky, arrogant and brazen, knows nothing about himself, honors nothing, and only needs his so-called enlightenment to make himself feel; how should this one find edification and emotion in a church where nothing is interesting and holy but some things are cold and messy; where he hears a fumbler on the organ or a wretched voice that distorts and tears down the noble, lofty chorale in an unfavorable and nonsensical way? ...Church music would have to be gradually reintroduced and church attendance made interesting.[28]

Two weeks later, adopting a a polite bureaucratic tone, Hardenberg replied that, although he could imagine music's inclusion as beneficial to the Academy, the request depended upon new funds from the royal purse, and such matters were

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[28] "So sind z . B . die meisten Cantor und Organistenstellen der Kirchen mit ganz untauglichen Subjekten besetzt, indem es dabey an aller Aufsicht fehlt. Die Kunst kann auf den handthierenden Staatsbürger nicht wirken, wenn sie nicht in Würden und Ehren gehalten wird. Er, der in neuerer Zeit zwar klug, thätig und geschickt, aber dabey frech, arrogant und dreist ist; nichts über sich erkennt, nichts verehrt, und seine sogenannte Aufklärung nur braucht um sich fühlen zu machen; wie soll dieser Erbauung und Rührung in einer Kirche finden, wo nichts intereſant und heilig sondern manches kalt und schmutzig ist; wo er einen Stümper auf der Orgel, oder eine elende Stimme hört, die den edeln, hohen Choral auf widrige und unsinnige Art verzerrt und zerreißt? und kurz wo eine unwürdige Kunstanschauung seine gemeine Kritik erregt und rechtfertigt? …Die Kirchenmusik müsste nach und nach wieder eingeführt und die Besuchung der Kirchen interessant gemacht werden." Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie*, 78-9.

not left to him. Zelter was undeterred, and subsequently called upon the brightest literary minds he knew in Goethe and Schiller. Zelter mailed the Weimar poets a copy of his first memo to Hardenberg. Zelter's second memorandum, written sometime in 1804, shows the influence of his correspondence with Goethe and Schiller. The poets, both of whom had close ties with the king's royal cabinet, suggested emphasizing music's necessity to the Academy of Arts and Prussian culture writ large.[29] Schiller wrote to Zelter, having just returned from Berlin himself, and conversations with the king's privy council,

> We will have to keep your most splendid arguments up our sleeves and put emphasis on those that are drawn from the political need of our time…Few feel that it is high time to do something for art, but everyone can understand that religion cannot stay as it is. And since one is ashamed to have religion oneself and wants to pass for [someone] enlightened, one must be very happy to be able to come to the aid of religion through art. Now is the right moment for such an undertaking in the Brandenburg Lands. One wants to bring reform to the Academy and the universities; something should be done for the Spiritual, for the Moral: indeed, the spirit of the times took this direction, since Catholicism is being newly constituted in France, that religion should also be thought of in Protestantism and even philosophy. All these and similar arguments could provide the material for a deduction by which this matter was suggested to the state. Only, I repeat it once more, the advantage which this accrues on the musical side should not appear as the main thing, only as an accessory.[30]

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[29] The exact date of the second memorandum is unknown. Celia Applegate suggests that it was sent on the same day as the first memorandum. See Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 145. However, a footnote by Georg Schünemann mentions that the second memorandum was dated "Sommer 1803," which precedes the first memorandum. Based on Zelter's correspondence with Goethe in May 1804, Schünemann cites this date as erroneous, probably due to an administrator's backdating at a later juncture around 1809. Based on the feedback Zelter received from Goethe and Schiller in 1804, passages and ideas of which are evident in the second memorandum, I estimate that the document in question was written sometime shortly before or after Zelter's correspondence with Schiller on 16 July 1804. Zelter's fourth memorandum is accurately dated 1 August 1804, and would have arrived after the second and third memoranda. See Schünemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter: der Begründer*, 18; and Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie*, 82-108.

[30] "Wir werden Ihre herrlichsten Argumente in petto behalten und auf diejenigen ein Gewicht legen müssen, die von dem politischen Zeitbedürfnis hergenommen sind...Daß es hohe Zeit ist, etwas für die Kunst zu tun, fühlen Wenige, aber daß es

Incorporating Schiller and Goethe's substantial feedback, Zelter's new strategy, articulated in his subsequent memoranda, was to demonstrate that music, particularly the church music practiced by the *Singakademie*, provided an elegant solution to the problems of religion in Prussia, as well as the challenge of extending *Bildung* to Prussian citizens.

Music scholars have already analyzed the sequence and contents of Zelter's early letters to Hardenberg.[31] This scholarship has tended to downplay the extent to which Zelter advocated for reform in church music, and how church music itself was the basis of the cultural status of his *Singakademie*. His second memorandum, for example, invoked the Romantic myth of Palestrina to argue for the necessity of the *Singakadmie*, which, in Zelter's estimation, was attempting to do the same work that the *Missa Papa Marcelli* had accomplished, nearly 250 years earlier:

> In earlier times the urgency went so far that one Pope Macrcellus II banned music from the Roman church in 1555 because the composers allowed the sacred style to degenerate into an irreligious note-playing. The famous Palestrina, who was 26 years old at the time, pushed his way through the guards, fell at the Pope's feet and asked to postpone the prohibition until he had performed a new church music composed by him in the presence of His Holiness. The Pope allowed it and withdrew the ban in honor of Palestrina. It has now been a main occupation of the *Singakademie* to restore the serious style in music and to preserve the few

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mit der Religion so nicht bleiben kann wie es ist, läßt sich Allen begreiflich machen. Und da man sich schämt selbst Religion zu haben und für aufgeklärt passieren will, so muß man sehr froh sein, der Religion von der Kunst aus zur Hülfe kommen zu können. Es ist jetzt eben der rechte Zeitmoment zu einer solchen Unternehmung in den Brandenburgischen Landen. Man will die Akademie, man will die Universitäten in Aufnahme bringen, es soll etwas für das Geistige, für das Sittliche geschehen: ja der Geist der Zeit verlangt es, da sich der Katholizismus in Frankreich neu constituiert, daß auch im Protestantischen an die Religion gedacht werde, und selbst die Philosophie nahm diese Richtung. Alles dieses und ähnliche Argumente könnten den Stoff zu einer Deduction hergeben, durch welche man diese Sache dem Staat nahe legte. Nur, ich wiederhole es noch einmal, müßte der Vorteil, welcher der musikalischen Seite dadurch erwächst, nicht als Hauptsache, nur als ein Accessorium erscheinen." Briefe, Schiller to Zelter, 16 July 1804, in Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie*, 88.

[31] See Sowa, *Anfänge institutioneller Musikerziehung in Deutschland*; Schroder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie*; Schunemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter: der Begründer*; Köpke, *Die Gründung der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*; Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*; and Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, esp. 15-22.

> remnants of it in their dignity. If she has made some progress in this; so this is something, but not nearly as much as would be necessary to be able to affect something universal, to which it can only come through a higher sanction.[32]

Like Reichardt's plea "To Benevolent Regents" two decades earlier, Zelter described the *Singakademie* as a proxy for a musical institution of the state with the express intent of revitalizing music in the church through institutional instruction. Zelter added urgency to his request by folding the *Singakademie* into a longer history of attempts to revitalize church music. That history, as the previous chapter showed, was forged only in the previous two decades, a discursive effect of the media disruptions within church music. Here Zelter suggests that the culmination of a history of attempts to preserve the "sacred style" of music could only arrive with a public institution that would instruct church music, and maintain its "dignity," as the Academy of Arts did for the visual arts.

The third memorandum went further, emphasizing the extent to which liturgy itself needed state intervention. Zelter discussed how disciplinary measures for church music could succeed Johann Christoph von Wollner's notorious Religious Edict of 1788 had failed. Wollner's Edict, signed by the king's predecessor, King Friedrich Wilhelm II, was an unprecedented attempt at state intervention in Protestant liturgical practices. The Edict provoked severe criticism by Lutheran consistories, which until then had never needed to defend their decisions regarding clerical appointments and liturgical matters. The political intersection of Protestant German states and ecclesiastic practice, *jus in sacra*, had rarely been so controversial since the Thirty Years War.[33] The Edict was reversed shortly thereafter by King Wilhelm III (r. 1797-1840), but the damage was already

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[32] "Die Strenge gieng in früheren Zeiten so weit darinne daß ein Papst Macrcellus II im Jahre 1555 die Musik deswegen aus der römischen Kirche verbannte weil die Componisten den heiligen Styl in ein unreligiöses Notespiel ausarten ließen. Der berühmte Palestrina, welcher damals 26 Jahr al war, drängte sich durch die Garden, fiel dem Papst zu Füßen und bat: das Verbot so lange aufzuschieben, bis er ein von ihm komponirte neue Kirchenmusik werde in der Gegenwart Seiner Heiligkeit aufgeführt haben. Der Papst gestattete es und nahm zu Ehren des Palestrina das Verbot zurück. Es ist nun eine Hauptbeschäftigung der Singakademie gewesen den ernsthaften Styl in der Musik wieder anzubauen und die wenigen Reste derselben in ihrer Würde zu erhalten. Wenn sie darinn einige Fortschritte gemacht hat; so ist dies Etwas, aber lange nicht so viel als nöthig wäre, etwas Allgemeines wirken zu können, wozu sie nur durch eine höhere Sanction gelangen kann." Printed in Schünemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter: der Begründer,* 18.

[33] For an excellent summary of Prussia's church-state relations up until the nineteenth century, see Howard, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern Research University*.

done, as many church leaders in Prussia grew distrusting of the crown's nominal religious authority.[34] Zelter recalled the Wollner Edict controversy in his third memorandum, and presented the state's oversight of church music as a much-needed and peaceable solution:

> A few years ago the higher authorities organized well-meaning measures to rekindle the cold sense of seriousness and religion. Perhaps one did not have a clear purpose and thus no plan [...] It was said: the state ordered something that could not be ordered; they wanted to lead the people back to obscurantism, to superstition: the undertaking had to fail as good as the intention was [...] If the King's Majesty gave the order to one of the members of the Academy to decorate the interior of any church, for example the Domkirche, with dignity and ingenuity, have church music reintroduced according to certain laws, for which the means [*Mittel*] are at hand; but make universal an external liturgy obligatory for the church disciplines, which is appropriate to the holiness of worship; so the service would be interesting, outwardly through taste and seriousness, inwardly through spirit and truth.[35]

These memoranda, together with a fourth letter citing Zelter's credentials (for two decades he was musical apprentice to Berlin's court musicians in Kirnberger and Fasch) delivered on 1 August 1804, were carried forward from the Prussian Cabinet (of which Hardenberg was a member) to the king himself. On 11 August 1804 Zelter received a "friendly reply" from the king asking Zelter to send further information on 24 August.[36] That day, Zelter's fifth memorandum turned highly

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[34] See Schui, *Rebellious Prussians: Urban Political Culture Under Frederick the Great and His Successors*, 144-75.

[35] "Vor wenigen Jahren wuden von höherer Behörde aus, wohlmeinende Maaßregeln veranstaltet, den kalten Sinn für Ernst und Rleigion wieder zu erwärmen. Man hatte vielleicht keinen klaren Zweck und also auch keinen Plan… Es hies: Der Staat befehle etwas, das sich nicht befehlen laße; man wolle das Volk zum Obscurantismus, zum Aberglauben zurück führen: das Vornehmen mußte mißlingen so gut auch die Absicht war… Wenn des Königs Majestät, einem der Glieder der Akademie den Auftrag gäben, das Inwendige irgend einer Kirchen, zum Beispiel der Domkirche, würdig und geistreich zu verzieren; die Kirchenmusik, nach bestimmten Gesetzen wieder ein führen ließen, wozu die Mittel bei der Hand sind; überhaupt aber den Kirchendisciplinen eine äusserliche Liturgie zu Pflicht machten, die der Heiligkeit des Gottesdienstes angemessen ist; so würde der Gottesdienst interessant sein, äußerlich durch Geschmack und Ernst, innerlich durch Geist und Wahrheit." Schünemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter, der Begründer*, 15, 17.

[36] Schröder, *Zelter und die Akademie*, 108.

pragmatic, outlining specific measures to be put in place. "Those proposals which I wanted to submit to the King's Majesty and ask to use my mediation in carrying them out concern the most important branch of musical art. This branch is the public church hymn, which is utterly desolate and living in an unholy corruption."[37] In order to rectify this central problem of church music, Zelter outlined a two-pronged solution – first, "place the choirs of the city of Berlin under a public, legal authority again and to organize them one by one; examine their rights and duties and return them to the church service to which they belong; the choirs and organists will gradually be staffed with the best choristers; as well as granting the right to choir positions to the good *currende* boys." Second, take Berlin's town musicians off of the street and "form a school out of which the best subjects for the Royal Prussian regiments and the royal orchestral service, with well-drilled, capable instrumentalists." Local musicians would therefore be equipped to perform church music adequately.

By these measures Zelter effectively suggested that all facets of Berlin's musical life be subsumed under government supervision. Overseeing such tasks would be a "music director" appointed by the king to the Academy of Arts. This director would also be made a "music professor" (a post for which Zelter was the perfect candidate), who would lead lectures each year, alternating between the "history of music," "the origins of musical art, composition, and style," and music's "application, expression, and limits, in short, on the aesthetics of music." Finally, "As a royal servant, [the music director] would first be given the task of examining the choirs, *Currenden* [Berlin's charitable church-based choirs who sang in the streets for alms], cantorate and organists of the churches and report on their condition. The organs, of which there are some excellent ones in Berlin, would still be easy to help if the King's Majesty allowed the repairs of a single Berlin organ (which can only cost a few hundred thalers) to be included in the construction budget every year."[38] With this memorandum, Zelter envisioned a Prussian state authority over church music that would mediate between local parishes, consistories, and the government in a time of extreme religious unrest and educational change.

It should be noted that Zelter's proposals rested on an essential condition, namely, the specifically urban scene of political reform in the Prussian empire. Zelter claimed that the city of Berlin, at once the seat of government and the historical "torch" that first illuminated a "reasonable" Protestantism for the world, proved the ideal location for implementing his plan.[39] For Zelter, Berlin needed to

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[37] Ibid., 109.

[38] Zelter to Hardenberg, 24 August 1804, Fifth Memorandum, in Schröder, *Zelter und die Akademie*, 109-16.

[39] Quotations are from Schiller's letter to Zelter, 16 July 1804, in Schöder, *Zelter und die Akademie,* 102.

centralize its musical life through the artistic and educational arms of the government in order to improve the state of church music throughout the empire. Music's institutionalization in Berlin would accordingly extend from the Academy of Arts to the churches' choirboys, and even to the "town pipers." An institutional overhaul of the city's musical life proved too ambitious for immediate political action. Nevertheless, many of the measures Zelter cited in his memoranda would eventually materialize; the idea of a centralized urban musical culture, an altogether new vision for a European metropolis, lingered and revived during the reign of the king's son, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, and his search for a *Generalmusikdirektor* who would oversee all public, liturgical, and educational matters of music in the empire.[40]

Zelter's centralizing vision of urban musical life finally began to take shape in 1809, when sweeping educational reform in Prussia was underway and the king's new, Napoleon-approved administration had radically reconfigured the Ministerial branches. On 17 May 1809 the king's royal decree recognized Zelter as a full "ordinary member" of the Academy of Arts. The king himself wrote that by this decree, "Heartfelt church music is particularly important. I expressly assume, however, that the plan with the most worthy clergy regulates this music, especially for singing and organ, and therefore singing in the schools and examination of the cantors and organists is provided."[41]

In a sense, Zelter's inauguration into the Academy of Arts marked a belated vindication of Rousseau's discomfiting presence before the Academy of Sciences at Paris in 1742: A craftsman's son had finally broken into the ivory tower wielding the art of music (recall Chapter Two). Yet this historically remarkable moment was only possible once the Berlin Academy's responsibilities were dismantled and transferred to a new institution, which usurped the Academy as the authority and center of knowledge production. Zelter's new membership, announced in the May 1809 issue of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, thus marked a posthumous, pyrrhic victory for the Rousseauians. The pedagogical reforms that Rousseau's thought set in motion for music education in north Germany made Zelter's necessity to the Academy both visible and urgent, but they also helped to dismantle the Academy's own institutional raison d'etre. Zelter and his *Singakademie* effectively chased a sinking ship: just one year later, the University of Berlin was established, with much of the Academy's personnel, public events, and libraries supplying its material and intellectual infrastructure. The smallest

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[40] See Toews, *Becoming Historical*, 260-78.

[41] "Besonders wichtig ist eine herzerhebende Kirchenmusik. Ich setze aber dabei ausdrücklich voraus, daß der Plan dazu mit den würdigsten Geistlichen reguliert, diese Musik besonders auf Gesang und Orgel gerichtet, und deshalb für Gesang in den Schulen und für Prüfung der Cantoren und Organisten gesorgt werde." Schipke, "Geschichte des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik in Berlin," 8.

possible spatial relocation of scholarly authority – the Academy's building and *Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität* were adjacent on Unter den Linden with street numbers 8 and 6, respectively – once again left a musical tradesman outside its doors.

Celia Applegate has argued that the communications between Zelter and Hardenberg, Zelter's membership in the Academy of Arts, and the *Singakademie's* preservationist attitude toward sacred music were evidence that musicians such as Zelter and other Berliners "tried to compensate for the poor quality of church music by taking sacred music out of churches and into secular public spaces."[42] As we have seen in Chapter One, however, the prevailing Weberian view that sacred music sought refuge in "secular public spaces" overlooks the many ways in which sacred music dominated public spaces in Protestant Germany for decades through print media – in many respects the true locus of the German "public," not least in the estimation of German-speakers themselves.[43] And as we have seen in this chapter, Applegate's claim tends to ignore how church music was central to a broader crisis in the status of musical knowledge – to what extent music was a "fine art" and/or a "science," which public entities were responsible for preserving music as an art, and how music education should be publicly pursued. These questions were provoked less by the dilapidated state of church music than by the transformations wrought on music literature by proliferating print media. As Chapter Three argued, the critical consensus that church music was in decline was an effect of these transformations, not their cause. Zelter appropriated this conception of church music, strategically reframing its cultural and religious ramifications for the Prussian empire (and Berlin in particular) to advocate for music's inclusion in Berlin's Academy of Arts. Contrary to the argument that church music was transplanted into "secular public spaces," then, Zelter's early institutional proposals, as well as their institutional realization, had always had, as their fundamental aim, the improvement of musical worship in the Protestant church. Far from being "indifferent to the needs of a worship service," Zelter and Berlin's bureaucrats primarily had the Protestant church service in mind when taking steps to institutionalize music in the early nineteenth century.[44] Gert Holtmeyer once observed that, in early nineteenth-century Prussia, "the secularization of education in neo-humanism had not been carried out by music education. The state's organization of musical culture, influenced by Zelter, still understood music education to be based on churchly duties."[45] Given Zelter's

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[42] Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 188.

[43] See Franzel, *Connected by the Ear*.

[44] Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 189.

[45] "Von der Musikerziehung die Säkularisierung der Bildung im Neuhumanismus nicht mitvollzogen worden sei. Die von Zelter beinflußte staatliche Musikpflege verstand die Musikerziehung nach wie vor von kirchlichen Aufgaben her."

sustained focus on church music in his contributions to music's changing institutional status, we should not be surprised. Secularization was never Zelter's aim, nor even his concern.

Measures for improving Protestant church music in Zelter's terms finally materialized in the Royal Institute for Church Music – a school for training and evaluating Prussia's Protestant church musicians, pastors, and organists – which was approved by King Friedrich Wilhelm III in 1811. The Institute's relationship to the University of Berlin, as we will see, originally complimented the university's theological studies. And it was precisely from this departmental affiliation and the scientific ethos of the university that its first lecturer on music, Adolf Bernhard Marx, developed his influential music curriculum throughout the 1830s.

II

A Univeristy in Berlin

The relationship between the Institute for Church Music (est. 1822) and the University of Berlin (est. 1810) was forged by the politics of Napoleonic Berlin. Before Napoleon seized the capital in 1806, Prussia's two most powerful government branches were the General Directory (*Generaldirektorium*) and the Royal Privy Council (*Geheimer Staatsrat*). The former was the central administrative artery channeling affairs in finance and war, but over the course of the eighteenth century increasingly became "illogically divided between territorial and administrative duties." The latter was a collection of the king's closest personal advisors with major portfolios such as religion, treasury, and law, but it was disconnected from most administrative bodies and thus "no longer functioned in all practicality."[46] As is well-known, Napoleon's occupation forced the King into a humiliating exile at Tilsit, and hastened the administrative restructuring of the King's governing bodies.[47] A combination of failed wartime administration,

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Holtmeyer, *Schulmusik und Musiklehrer an der höheren Schule*, 28. See also Schenk, *Die Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin*, 22.

[46] Gray, "Prussia in Transition: Society and Politics under the Stein Reform Ministry of 1808," 49.

[47] For a concise history of these reforms, see Gray, "Prussia in Transition: Society and Politics under the Stein Reform Ministry of 1808," 1-175. For an accessible visualization of Prussia's political restructuring, see "Behörden-Diagramm" in the Geheimes-Staatarchiv Preussischen Kulturbesitz. https://gsta.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/nutzung/arbeitshilfen/behoerden-diagramm/. Last accessed 19 July 2021. For an excellent analysis of the Stein-Hardenberg Reforms within a broader history of bureaucratic theory, see Michalski, "Creon's Secretaries: Theories of Bureaucracy and Social Order in 18th and early 19th Century Prussia," 195-235.

disastrous court counsel, and weak terms negotiated in the Treaty of Tilsit led the king (with Napoleon's blessing) in 1808 to reorganize these two bodies, which were once instrumental to Prussia's territorial expansion in the previous century, into five Ministries – Justice, Foreign Affairs, War, Interior, and Finance. The men behind these political reforms, Hardenberg and Karl vom Stein, sought more than just efficient administrative cohesion – they envisioned a new Enlightened state that eradicated feudalist safeguards (often considered a tinderbox for revolution) and actively sought broader class representation in government.

According to the historical theologian Thomas Albert Howard, Prussia's political reforms of 1808 embodied the uniquely German Protestant idea that "to have freedom was to have a share in the modern state; it meant the ability as a citizen to participate in building a rational, liberal, and strong state, and one active in religious and cultural affairs."[48] To that end, Stein, the first (albeit short lived) Minister of the Interior, established a Division for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education (*Sektion des Kultus und öffentliche Erziehung*) to build a new educational institution following the closure of universities at Halle and Jena, and to implement new educational standards throughout Prussia. As a result, Wilhelm von Humboldt was summoned from his post as Prussia's foreign minister of Rome to lead the division in Berlin.

By the time Humboldt signed on to reform Prussian education in 1809, it was already clear that the location of a new institution of higher education was not going to be Halle, as many first suspected, but Berlin. Because the king was in exile, the Berlin would function as the king's institutional proxy, as head of an Enlightened state. This image was reinforced by the fact that the university campus would be hosted in the King's own royal palace. Long before Napoleon's arrival, the king forsook his official urban residence when he ascended to the throne in 1797 (in an act of proto-bourgeois solidarity, he famously chose the rustic countryside near Potsdam as his residence). *Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität*, a pointed name in French-controlled Berlin, further reinforced the impression of a mediated royal presence in the city.

But Berlin had far more to offer a university than the seat of government. In his *Occasional Thoughts Concerning Universities in the German Sense* (1808), Friedrich Schleiermacher argued that Berlin was an ideal location because of the bounty of intellectual societies, vocational organizations, and an urban infrastructure unique to the capital. No other German city, Schleiermacher claimed, could boast of a mining academy alongside eminent geologists and geographers, a medical center as renowned as the Charité, such a bounty of libraries and scholars as the two Academies, a (relatively) generous culture of religious tolerance, mixture of social classes, and infrastructural capacity for rapid population growth as Berlin.

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[48] Howard, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern Research University*, 224.

Humboldt gave similar reasons for locating the university in Berlin: "The first thought of a universal and higher educational institution in Berlin undoubtedly arose from the observation that in addition to the two Academies, a great library, observatory, a botanical garden, and many collections, there truly is a complete medical faculty in Berlin. It was felt that [...] collections and institutes such as those mentioned above only became really useful when full scientific instruction is combined with them, and that finally to get to the fragments to add what belongs to a universal institution, it is only necessary to go a single step further."[49] For Schleiermacher and Humboldt, Berlin itself would serve to shape the ethos of a scientific research university as much as any idealist philosophy or pedagogical method.

The Prussian capital was well equipped to mediate and reorder pre-existing institutions of knowledge through scientific inquiry, as its built environment already expressed a vision of a central and authoritative hub for diverse forms of knowledge. For Humboldt, "only in Berlin" could a university gather knowledge harvested from all corners of the nation and disseminate it from its center. The new university, Schleiermacher claimed, would be guided not by a static, encyclopedic vision of universal knowledge, but by a uniquely urban principle of mobility and "interconnectedness" (*zusammenhang*). As much as Berlin provided an optimal location for connecting diverse institutions of knowledge and classes of citizens, the city also determined how those connections would be forged – in which ways and to what extent the "fine" and "mechanical" sciences could "communicate" with one another, how art schools and gymnasiums would work in tandem with local churches, and so on. A university in Berlin would not only depend on intellectual and material paths already laid down, but unify the city by establishing internetted communication structures among its diverse yet spatially proximate institutions.[50] Schleiermacher and Humboldt's newly imagined

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[49] "Der erste Gedanke an eine allgemeine und höhere Lehranstalt in Berlin entstand unstreitig aus der Betrachtung, dass es schon jetzt in Berlin ausser den beiden Akademien, einer grossen Bibliothek, Sternwarte, einem botanischen Garten und vielen Sammlungen eine vollständige medicinische Fakultät wirklich giebt. Man fühlte, dass jede Trennung von Fakultäten der ächt wissenschaftlichen Bildung verderblich ist, dass Sammlungen und Institute, wie die oben genannten, nur erst dann recht nützlich werden, wenn voll ständiger wissenschaftlicher Unterricht mit ihnen verbunden wird, und dass endlich, um zu diesen Bruchstücken dasjenige hinzu zusetzen, was zu einer allgemeinen Anstalt gehört, nur um einen einzigen Schritt weiter zu gehen nöthig war." Humboldt, "Antrag auf Errichtung der Universität Berlin," 19 July 1809, printed in Humboldt, *Wilhlem von Humboldts Gesammelte Schriften*, 150.

[50] In the terms of the new institutionalists, Berlin provided a certain "path dependency" to the univeristy, making it difficult to reverse coarse once the university

university, in other words, mobilized the spatial proximities of the city's urban built environment for the production of human knowledge.[51]

It was to Humboldt's new administrative office that Zelter, with Goethe as his liaison, had successfully petitioned for membership in the Academy of Arts. At the time he granted Zelter's request, Humboldt was busy creating a coalition of Berlin's brightest scholars, called the Scientific Deputation, to reinvent a curriculum for a new "universal" institution of Prussian education. Humboldt appointed Friedrich Schleiermacher as the Deputation's director, and thus the terms of what would constitute all branches of "scientific study," and how "science" (*Wissenschaft*) would be practiced and circumscribed at an institution of Humboldtian *Bildung,* was fundamentally shaped by a Protestant theologian.

Schleiermacher's *Universitätsgottesdienst*

German universities held church services (*Universitätsgottesdienst*) since the early days of the Protestant Reformation, but by the nineteenth century, with German universities in financial dire straits and many closing down, most university services were indefinitely postponed.[52] In 1806 Schleiermacher, then a theology faculty member at the University of Halle, reopened the university service after a voluntary petition of the student body during the height of political uncertainty.[53]

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was established. According to Paul Pierson, path dependency accounts for the remarkable stability of an institution's functions and protocols, where "the entrenchments of certain institutional arrangements obstruct an easy reversal of the initial choice." Thus it also partly accounts for historical change (or lack thereof), to the extent that it refers to "the causal relevance of preceding stages in a temporal sequence." Recently, Caroline Devine has argued that path dependency also explains the "staying power" of disciplinary practices in universities, such as nationally-partitioned departments and curricula framed by periodization. In this regard, the "path dependency" I have described Berlin affording the first research university could partly explain both the advent and historical perseverence of disciplinary practices, such as scientific research and introductory seminars, and, perhaps, even that of disciplinarity itself. See Pierson, "Increasing Regurns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," 252; see Devine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network*, 59; and see Lecours, "New Institutionalism: Issues and Questions," 9.

[51] On the university's inherent connection between knowledge production and the formation of Prussian citizens, see Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment*, 108-22. See also Kittler, *Discourse Networks*, 150-3.

[52] On the crisis of universities in the late-eighteenth century, see Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment*, 151-81. On the history of the university church service, see Hammann, *Universitätsgottesdienst und Aufklärungspredigt*.

[53] On the day of the event within the history of the university worship service at Halle, see Keyser, "Die akademische Gottesdienst," 115-8.

Fresh from that experience Schleiermacher wrote to Humboldt on the details of a university church service in Berlin. Schleiermacher passionately lobbied for a university service to be up and running by the university's founding on 27 October 1810. Schleiermacher thought that a university service represented the very heart of the university's ethical and political functions, and could frame the practice of scientific research – especially theology – as consistent with an Enlightened Protestant kingdom. The service was necessary, Schleiermacher claimed, because it would "bring about the union of the scientific spirit with the religious sense," and would dispel any false dichotomy between science and religion – a dichotomy that Schleiermacher's theology department similarly sought to resist. The university service, moreover, would serve the theology department by "setting the tone" for how theology students steeped in the scientific study of religion should operate a church service. This was of utmost importance because, as the department's statutes stipulated, the theology faculty should "make competent by means of lectures and other academic exercises the young men who dedicate themselves to the service of the church."[54] A significant departure from sectarian norms, the university service, in order to be acceptable to students of all confessions, would have an open Communion, designed for both Calvinists and Lutherans.

The nonsectarian communion service would accordingly become, wrote Schleiemacher, "the religious point of unification for the whole university." Indeed, the theology department was likewise designed to adhere to no one confession: "The difference of confession in the theological faculties should no longer be regarded."[55] To maintain this nonsectarian status, the preacher should be selected from the theology faculty, and not be under any jurisdiction of a consistory or synod. Instead, the university preacher should report directly to the Division of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education. Thomas Albert Howard considers this a remarkable departure from clerical allegiance, and a vote of confidence in the state as an instrument of religious progress: "Schleiermacher judged the state as the ablest protector of academic freedom and progress in religion in the important sphere of university worship. Indeed, despite his many otherwise sceptical remarks about the state, Schleiermacher here clearly enlisted it, against ecclesiastical influence, as the necessary agent to further what he presumably regarded as the church's own highest interest: the unification of the scientific spirit and religion, which could best be accomplished in a university setting."[56] For Schleiermacher, the university worship service was "indispensable"

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[54] Thomas, *Protestant Theology*, 189.

[55] Schleiermacher, "25.Mai 1810 Professor Schleiermacher über die Einrichtung der theologischen Fakultät," in Köpke, *Die Gründung der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 212; quoted in Howard, *Protestant Theology*, 184.

[56] Howard, *Protestant Theology*, 188.

to the university because it would do what the theology department could not – namely, unify *Wissenschaft* with the religious sense.

Given its nonsectarian status, church music in the worship service would have to be bespoke, not relying on any extant hymnbook – as they all bore denominational characteristics. This would have presented considerable inconveniences for the church musicians and music director, who would have to consult the preacher regularly about how the service should sustain a nonsectarian service. In Schleiermacher's imagined university service, therefore, the preacher would have full control over the hymn selection in order to communicate a unified expression of nonsectarian worship. In his memorandum on the university service, Schleiermacher outlined the function church music would have, and proposed innovative solutions:

> [The university service] consists essentially of singing, prayer and a religious speech over a freely chosen biblical text, but in such a way that the more detailed arrangement is left to the preacher. The university preacher is to be put in contact with the professor of music in order to gradually elevate the church hymn to its proper dignity and perfection. In order to tie his endeavors all the more firmly to the university church service, one could also appoint said [music] professor as music director at the same time. Since no known hymnbook, much less one introduced here, could fully meet the needs of the university church service, the inexpensive arrangement would have to be made so that the hymns would be printed each time on a special sheet and put out at the church doors until one was able to do so gradually and without rushing to find a suitable hymnbook.[57]

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[57] "Er besteht wesentlich aus Gesang , Gebet und einer religiösen Rede über einen freigewählten biblischen Text, so jedoch, dass die nähere Anordnung dem Prediger überlassen bleibt. Der Universitätsprediger ist mit dem Professor der Musik in Verbindung zu setzen, um den Kirchengesang allmählig zu seiner rechten Würde und Vollkommenheit zu erheben. Man könnte auch gedachten Professor, um seine Bestrebungen desto fester an den Universitäts-Gottesdienst zu knüpfen, zugleich zum Musikdirector bei demselben ernennen. Da kein bekanntes Gesangbuch noch weniger ein hier eingeführtes den Bedürfnissen des Universitäts-Gottesdienstes völlig entsprechen dürfte, so müsste die wenig kostspielige Veranstaltung getroffen werden, dass die Gesänge jedesmahl auf einem besonderen Blatte gedruckt und an den Kirchenthüren ausgegeben würden, bis man auf diese Weise allmählig und ohne etwas zu übereilen zu einem zweckmäſsigen Gesangbuch gelangte." Schleiermacher, 25.Mai 1810. "Desselben Entwurf zur Errichtung eines Univeresitätsgottesdienstes in Berlin," In Köpke, *Die Gründung der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 215.

In time, the university worship service would construct a bespoke hymnbook appropriate to its liturgy. In Chapter Two we saw how nonsectarian religious services emerged in the late eighteenth century from experiments in religious pedagogy with children. Schleiermacher's idea of a nonsectarian worship service, therefore, was not strictly unprecedented. Indeed, there had also existed church buildings that housed multiple denominations, called *Simultaneum*. But it seems that Schleiermacher's university service was an early attempt at a nonsectarian German church service, implemented to accommodate and attract a wide range of students across Christian confessions, and bring them into a new unity as part of their education.

Zelter, in Schleiermacher's eyes, seemed to be the obvious choice for the music director that the university preacher (presumably Schleiermacher himself) should consult. Schleiermacher was acquainted with Zelter's musical direction as a faithful singer in the *Singakademie*. But a Schleiermacher-Zelter liturgical collaboration never occurred. The Division for Public Education had trouble finding a venue for the service – congregations and their clergies were reluctant to share a chapel with another congregation. And though Schleiermacher considered the church service as integral to the university's mission, the university service would not take place until 1847, over a decade after his death. Nevertheless, Schleiermacher implemented many of the measures of the university service in other ecclesiastical contexts. Shortly after the university was founded, Schleiermacher began printing leaflets of hymns each week for his *Dreifaltigkeitskirche* congregation in Friedrichstadt, and passed them out at the front door on Sunday mornings. At his church, Schleiermacher had full control over the musical portion of his services, and experimented with a wide array of denominational songs – Moravian, Reformed, Lutheran, and Catholic among them.[58] Schleiermacher also strongly endorsed the king's proposal for the Prussian Church Unification in 1817, inaugurated by an "open communion" shared by the king (Reformed) and his wife Queen Louise (Lutheran).[59] In 1822 Schleiermacher was also charged with creating a new hymnbook for the newly unified liturgical *Agenda*, culminating in his controversial *Berliner Gesangbuch* in 1829.[60]

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[58] The contents and analysis of these *Liederblätter* can be found in Carl Schmidt's *Schleiermachers Liederblätter 1817*. On Schleiermacher's conception and practices of the church service, see also Schmidt, *Lied–Predigt–Kirchenmusik*.

[59] Cf. Clark, "Confessional Policy and the Limits of State Action: Frederick William III and the Prussian Church Union 1817-40."

[60] On the creation and reception of Schleiermacher's hymnbook, see Sieling, *Schleiermacher und das Berliner Gesangbuch*.

Music, Seminar(ie)s, and the University

Before Humboldt's arrival – even before the plan to revamp Prussia's education system even involved a university – the earliest discussions of a new educational institution to replace the schools lost to French defeat (those at Jena and Halle) included musical instruction. On the king's first exilic birthday, 3 August 1807, Prussia's most celebrated classical Greek scholar and bureaucrat Friedrich August Wolf sent a proposal to the king's head of Cabinet Affairs, Carl Friedrich von Beyme, concerning the establishment of a "literary institute" that would harvest and reassemble Berlin's scholarly resources from the Academy of Sciences and other "local educational institutions." Wolf's plan, accordingly, proposed Berlin as an ideal site for a new institution. In his proposal, Wolf suggested that a course taught by "Zelter on the scientific theory of music," might be included.[61] In 1809, Humboldt's own memorandum to the king on 15 May, on the basis of which the king confirmed Zelter's new academic status, cited Zelter in a similar capacity at their prospective Berlin university: "[Zelter] has occupied himself a great deal with the study of the people's character and the means of improving them. He could also be extremely useful as a theoretical teacher of music in the establishment of a university."[62] The early framers of the university posited music as a possible discipline adjacent to other sciences, such as theology, philology, and mathematics. But the presumed recipient of a musical professorship, Zelter, had little interest in lecturing on the "scientific theory" of music. Though he would eventually teach at the University (as a choir director), he never lectured on the "theory of music." Throughout his career Zelter continued to pursue a university professorship of music as a fine art, but considered the position much in the way professors in the Academy of Arts were structured – civic authorities, highly coveted teachers in their field, and above all expert practitioners. The university at Berlin was established explicitly to usurp this baroque model of a lecturing professor.[63] Accordingly, for the first several decades a fine arts department at the University existed only as parasitic on other sciences, namely, the "*history* of art" and "*history* of classical sculpture."[64] *Friedrichs-Wilhelm Universität*, as has been well-documented, was not a trade school like the *Bergakademie*, nor merely a seminar-based school for teaching teachers like Gedike's *Seminar for learned schools* in Berlin. Rather, the university functioned as a "universal" disciplinary center for

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[61] Köpke, *Die Gründung der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 157

[62] "Er hat sich überdies viel mit dem Studium des Volkscharacters und der Mittel auf denselben zu würken, beschäftigt. Bei Errichtung einer Universität könnte er auch als theoretischer Lehrer der Musick äußerst nützlich gebraucht werden." Humboldt, 14 May 1809, in Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie*, 123.

[63] See Franzel, *Connected by the Ear*.

[64] See *Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen WH, 1830*.

(re)making students into rigorous researchers pursuing an autonomous ideal of "science."[65] And Zelter never considered music education in the scheme of Humboldtian *Wissenschaft*. Although he would try to adopt pedagogical technologies unique to the university to enter its domain, Zelter never aimed to secure music's scientific disciplinarity within the university curriculum.

With an approach consistent with his earlier memoranda, Zelter represented his entrance into the university curriculum in a proposal to Friedrich von Schuckmann (Humboldt's successor at the Section for Public Education) during the first semester of university instruction in February 1811. Zelter emphasized the necessity of musical training for churchmen in Berlin. He proposed establishing a "Seminary for cantors, prefects, and singing teachers, a singing school according to an orderly method; the instruction [would] be free, extended unto singing, keyboard, organ playing, thoroughbass, etc."[66] The seminary would work in tandem with the university, supplementing musical training for the university's theology students for service in the church. Here again, Zelter's choice of pedagogical model was significant: while he had no interest in teaching music as a science, his proposal for a "seminary" nevertheless aligned with the university's core commitment to scientific research. As historians of education have noted, the seminary – first invented at the Halle Orphanage around 1700 for training Pietist clerics for ministry – had become the German scholar's most effective means for training teachers in the eighteenth century.[67] According to Wellmon, "It was the seminary [at the University of Berlin] that first disciplined the disciplines and institutionalized the logic of science as disciplinarity."[68] Zelter's church music seminary was thus consistent with the new university's pedagogical purpose of turning their respective fields into a "discipline" and disseminating it through future teachers. Moreover, a church music seminary also served the university's civic function as it connected the city's dispersed sites of church musical activity. Zelter intended to bring local church choirs "into connection" with one another, as students collaboratively acquired standardized knowledge among the city's church musicians (a chief component of Zelter's *Seminarium*, as with other contemporary academic seminars, was its entrance and culminating examinations). Like local, contemporary seminars, such

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[65] See Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment*, 179-233.

[66] Errichtung eines Seminariums für Cantores, Praefecti und Singlehrer, einer Singschule nach einer ordentlichen Methode; der Unterricht sei frei, er erstrecke sich auf Singen, Klavier-, Orgelspiel, Generalbaß usw. See Schipke, "Geschichte des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik in Berlin," 8.

[67] See Paulsen, *Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*. And see Wilhelm Erben, "Die Entstehung der Universitäts-Seminare," 1247-64.

[68] Wellmon, *Organizing Enightenment*, 235.

as Friedrich Gedike's seminars for gymnasium teachers in Berlin, Zelter's seminarians would be trained to serve at local schools and gymnasiums, in addition to their expected positions within church parishes.

Schuckmann was apparently impressed with Zelter's proposal, and in September 1811 relayed it to Hardenberg (by then the Chancellor of Prussia) in hopes of enacting the necessarily ambitious measures for Zelter's seminary. Among them included a renovated section of the Academy building for large choirs (so that Zelter no longer had to coordinate reservations of the Academy's conference hall with Fichte's philosophy lectures) and a hefty bill of 4,300 thaler per year to pay Zelter a full time salary, along with four teachers, an assistant director, two administrators, heating and lighting, and other daily necessities).[69] That year Schuckmann received two other proposals to establish seminars through the university in Berlin – from Schleiermacher (head of the theology department), and August Böckh (head of the philology department). Unlike Zelter's proposal, which fought for a musical facet of university instruction as much as it had tried to set state requirements for church musicians, Schleiermacher and Böckh's proposal did not involve an exorbitant annual cost; their proposals were essentially pedagogical supplements, needing little more than an official signature. Schuckmann granted all three seminars. But Zelter, as the only one unaffiliated with the university, would have to wait until funds were made available for his *Seminarium*.

In July 1811, a similar request for a professional school teaching church musicians was made by the head of the theology department at the University of Königsberg, Johann Christoph Wedeke. Several music pedagogues had previously attempted to start schools for church music in Königsberg, and, as the royal musical authority in Prussia, Zelter had visited the college town to supervise these matters in 1809 at Humboldt's request.[70] With Zelter's approval, Schuckmann's Division for Public Education granted Wedeke his plans for a school of church music that would work with the local university. Wedeke's prominent position at the University of Königsberg gave his church music school a head start over Zelter. Wedeke soon hired a local church cantor, Otto Christian Gladau, to teach rigorous courses in counterpoint, ear training, harmony, singing, and elementary composition to Wedeke's theology students at Königsberg.[71] These courses, through additional proposals by local church musicians and university administrators, would blossom into the Institute of Church Music at

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[69] See Schuckmann's letter to Hardenberg in Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie*, 128-31.

[70] See Huchzermeyer, "Beiträge zu Leben und Werk des Kirchenmusikers Ernst Maschke (1867-1940)," 75-8.

[71] Huchzermeyer, "Beiträge zu Leben und Werk des Kirchenmusikers Ernst Maschke (1867-1940)," 75-8.

Königsberg in 1824, with full time music students, in addition to the music courses it had offered to university students since its inception. In 1812, Zelter also helped establish an Institute for Church Music in with a similar relationship to the University of Breslau. By hiring a music director, Zelter proposed that the university could serve its local churches and musicians through church music seminars and free private lessons in instruments, thoroughbass, and composition, just as he had recommended in Berlin.[72] As with Königsberg, the funds, faculty, and facilities were already prepared at Breslau, and the institute was founded in 1815.[73] Meanwhile, Zelter would have to wait nearly a decade for proper funds to begin any similar enterprise in Berlin.

Besides funding problems, Zelter's choice of personnel also stalled the establishment of his Berlin seminary. He was strict about which teachers would fit his institutional vision; they not only needed to be qualified to teach organists and cantors up to a professional level, but also to share his convictions regarding the improvement of church music from ancient models. In 1819, one such teacher arrived in Berlin seeking out Zelter for further studies – a young Kapellmeister from Cölln named Bernhard Joseph Klein.

Klein's reputation as a church music composer preceded him. He was taught at the prestigious Paris Conservatory under Cherubini, and had rare first-hand experience with ancient church music. In 1817 Klein made an extended visit to Heidelberg to meet several friends, one of whom was the conductor of Thibaut's *Singverein*, Christian Phillip Köster. For his own, Köster was Europe's premier restorer of Renaissance oil paintings, and previously the music teacher to Wilhelm von Humboldt's children while he was the Prussian ambassador to Rome 1807-1809. In Rome, Köster developed a love for ancient church music, and, through Thibaut's choir, sought to transfer to church music what he had achieved in the sphere of Renaissance art. Partly because of Köster, Klein found great favor with Thibaut. Klein stayed in Heidelberg for five months directing Thibaut's choir, studying Thibaut's rare manuscripts of ancient church music, and composing new church music for the choir. Klein's Heidelberg compositions (including a Kyrie, Dies irae, and an Offertorium – none of which are known to survive) were the only contemporary music that Thibaut allowed his choir to sing, believing that Klein's musical language had successfully incorporated the ancient

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[72] Zelter sent a memorandum to Schuckmann in 1812, proposing that if church music be improved in the city, the University of Breslau should hire a "music director" to head a choir and seminary for training cantors, choir leaders, and organists. The director would be in charge of "arranging and producing music" for university celebrations, as well as heading the seminary, instructing "talented and passionate students." See Schröder, *Carl Friedrich Zelter und die Akademie*, 133-4.

[73] Sowa, *Anfänge institutioneller Musikerziehung in Deutschland*, 117-24.

music that the choir preserved and restored.[74] Thibaut wrote letters to Zelter and Klein about one another's activities throughout 1818, and this fueled Klein's aspiration to study in Berlin to improve church musical instruction in his hometown.

Once in Berlin, however, Klein's talents turned out to exceed Zelter's own hardwon skills by some distance. Klein's expertise and rare experience with ancient church music prompted Zelter to hire him that year. Klein taught courses through the university for the incipient church music school at 400 thalers per year (Zelter would also hire the *Marienkirche* organist August Wilhelm Bach to teach organ, and he would become the main attraction for prospective students for decades after).[75] In the Winter 1820-1821 semester, a music class appeared in the *Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität* course directory for the first time. The description simply read: "Mr. Klein instructs in music free of charge."[76] This terse, reluctant-sounding inclusion in the university course listing involved singing church music in a choir, and seemed to suggest the possibility of private lessons if students sought out further musical training. At least one music course was offered to university students each semester thereafter. But, in its inception, musical instruction at Berlin's university was optional, and not compulsory, as it was for Wedeke's theology students in Königsberg.

In 1821, Berlin's university rector Friedrich Schultz (1819-1824) boasted that Klein's new choir featured "many" students and faculty members from the theology department, and it quickly grew sufficient to warrant "official confirmation."[77] The following year, Karl Freiherr zum Altenstein, Prussia's first Minister of Culture (a position given to Altenstein by elevating the Division for Public Education to ministerial status in 1817) granted Zelter a "Budget for funds for the improvement of sacred music," which helped make his church music seminary solvent, and administratively independent from both the Academy of Arts and the *Singakademie*, which had until then bolstered the fledgling seminary in personnel and facilities.[78] The official title of the school, over which Zelter was appointed as director, was, "The Musical Institute in Berlin for the promotion of

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[74] Koch, *Bernhard Klein* 24.

[75] On Bach's role in the Berlin organist scene, see Sieling, *A. W. Bach.*

[76] "In der Musik unterrichtet Hr. Klein ungeltlich." *Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen WH 1820/1821*, 8.

[77] Schultz was a last-minute political appointment in November, strategically placed to stifle student unrest due to the Carlsbad Decrees passed a few weeks before university instruction began. See Sowa, *Anfänge institutioneller Musikerziehung in Deutschland*, 119.

[78] Details of the budget can be found in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Geheimes Archiv,
I. HA Rep. 76, Va Sect. 2 Tit. IX No. 7 Vol. 1.

church music and the training of organists and music teachers at grammar schools and school teacher seminars" (henceforth, the Institute of Church Music, or ICM).[79] The following semester, the university music course description grew more specific: "Mr. Klein leads the academic singing choir for church music, in which students can take part free of charge, and offers private lessons in basso continuo and counterpoint." The choir rehearsed on the university premises.[80]

According to Georg Sowa, Berlin's ICM and its sister schools in Breslau and Königsberg "would not have happened so quickly had it not been for the needs of the theological faculties in particular."[81] Based on available course listings from the 1820s, the University and ICM musical classes in Berlin must have substantially overlapped. The university course listing in music for 1822 (cited above), for example, matches precisely Zelter's original proposal for a church music seminary in the university – specifically, free private lessons, choirs revitalizing the Protestant *Kirchengesang*, and more advanced courses in counterpoint and thoroughbass. But the university's music courses and those from the ICM were not wholly identical. In the early days of the ICM, there were few students; Sowa estimates that enrollment in Berlin's ICM was around 30 students in 1824.[82] From earliest period of instruction in September 1822, most ICM students were organists under A. W. Bach, who never taught at the university (nor could he, given that the university's building had no organ). Klein, therefore, probably combined his fulltime ICM students and university students into one "singing choir." Since Schultz claimed that most members of the choir were theology students, the choir would have been a potentially awkward mixture of near-professional musicians and amateurs – perhaps even novices – from students around the university. This would have challenged Klein to find a middleground between multiple levels of musical proficiency, much in the way choral books of the late eighteenth century had negotiated varying levels of musical legibility (see Chapter Two). The choir's diverse skill levels eventually gained a musical

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[79] "Das musikalische Institut zu Berlin behufs der Beförderung der Kirchenmusik und Ausbildung von Organisten und Musiklehrern an Gymnasien und Schul-Lehrer-Seminaren." Sowa, *Anfänge institutioneller Musikerziehung in Deutschland*, 118.
[80] "Dr. Klein leitet den akademischen Singchor für Kirchenmusik, an welchem Studirende unentgeltlich Theil nehmen können, und erbietet sich zu Privatunterricht im Generalbaß und Kontrapunkt." *Verzeichnis der Volesungen WH 1820/1821*, 8.
[81] "Die Gründung der drei Anstalten wäre nicht so schnell erfolgt, hätten nicht Bedürfnisse vor allem seitens der theologischen Fakultäten bestanden...Bewußt hatte er [Zelter] die drei Anstalten der Obhut der Universität anvertraut." Sowa, *Anfänge institutioneller Musikerziehung in Deutschland*, 123.
[82] Ibid., 120.

analogue in the religious music Klein composed for the choir during his teaching appointments at the University and ICM between 1820 and 1832.

Klein's *Religiöse Gesänge für Männerstimmen*

Beginning in 1828, Klein printed the choral music he had composed for the choir over the previous decade. Although his earlier music garnered success with major music publishers in north Germany (chief among them Breitkopf & Härtel), Klein called upon Berlin's newest music publisher for the project, Traugott Trautwein (1787-1865), who was carving out a niche in the city's rapidly expanding musical trade by publishing church music for local choirs.[83] Trautwein got his start printing provocative musical treatises on ancient Greek music by Friedrich von Drieberg in 1820.[84] Capitalizing on a newfound audience for ancient music created in part by the success of Drieberg's *Musical Science of the Greeks*, Trautwein partnered with the *Singakademie* member Samuel Ferdinand Mendheim in 1821, and outsourced music arranging to the Viennese musicians Philip Jakob Riotte and Ignaz Franz von Mosel.[85] In 1824, Trautwein announced an ambitious new series, *Klassische Werke der alterer und neuerer Kirchenmusik, in ausgesetzten Chorstimmen* (*Classical Works of Older and Newer Church Music, set out in Choir Voices)*, with keyboard accompaniment, releasing the first six volumes at once, which included Handel's oratorio *Samson*, three volumes of Mozart's church music (a "Hymn No.6," "De Profundis," and the *Requiem*), a Psalm setting by J. S. Bach ("Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied,"), and a Magnificat by Francesco Durante. Trautwein and Klein transferred the notational format of this series to the University's choir music – six staves of four-voice open score with grand-staff piano accompaniment

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[83] For Berlin's musical publishers in the early-nineteenth century, see Elvers, *Altberlin Musikverlegers*; Rasch, *The circulation of music in Europe 1600-1900: a collection of essays and case studies*, 175; Lenneberg, "Music Publishing and Dissemination in the Early Nineteenth Century. Some Vignettes," 174-83; and see Lenneberg, "Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music," 122-30.

[84] The publishing firm would later expand to build pianos by 1840, and continue to become a major music firm in Germany well into the twentieth century. See "Trautwein, Traugott," https://www.dieter-gocht.de/?page_id=613; and see Beer, "Traugott Trautwein," https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg13006&v=1.0&rs=mgg13006.

[85] See the negative review of Trautwein's scores in *Allgemeine Musicalischer Anzeige*, 2 December 1826, 179-80. Ferdinand was the older brother of Julius Mendheim (1788-1836), the famous Berlin chess master. One of his chess books was published by Trautwein in 1832. Mosel and Riotte previously worked on a popular keyboard reduction of Handel's *Timotheus, oder Gewalt der Musik* in 1812, which Trautwein probably knew.

underneath. As contemporary reviews of Klein's publications all mentioned, this format was ideal for the choral groups cropping up across German lands (see below). The Klein-Trautwein choral publication series was entitled *Religiöse Gesänge für Männerstimmen* (*Religious Hymns for Male Voices)*, and would become one of the most influential musical collections for male choirs throughout the nineteenth century.[86] The music from the series' eight volumes, published between 1828-1832, were practice pieces both for the University and the ICM.[87]

Although music scholarship is virtually silent on the matter, Klein's *Religiöse Gesänge für Männerstimmen* stands at the intersection of several significant (and, until that point, mutually indifferent) trends in the history of European vocal music, including the development of the *geistliches Lied*, the institution of the male chorus, and the history of music in higher education. It represents the first music ever composed for (and within) a research university, as well as the first religious repertoire composed for male choirs (which until then derived its repertoire from drinking or social songs, patriotic anthems, and other *Liedertafel* ditties), and it figures as the first male choral music within Protestant Germany's venerable tradition of non-liturgical spiritual music.[88] Accordingly, *Religiöse Gesänge* bears traces from each of these musical traditions while departing from all of them in significant ways.

Not unlike philanthropinist musical songs for children, Klein's *Religiöse Gesänge* was at once overtly didactic and devotional in function. Regarding devotion, all the texts that Klein set to music were derived from well-worn liturgical material – extant Lutheran and Latin hymns, and familiar biblical passages. In this regard, Klein's devotional material was more consistent with older north German *Lehroden* and *geistliche Musik* than with any new "quasi-liturgical" or "extra-liturgical" functions. Moreover, while Klein did occasionally borrow styles from beyond Protestant church music – even echoing the patriotic war songs and instrumental genres of the *Liedertafel* (see below) – he seemed

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[86] Several of Klein's pieces are still widely performed by men's choruses today. For a late-nineteenth century review, see the belated memorial to Klein, "Zum Gedächtnis Bernahrd Klein's," in *Musicalisches Centralblatt*, 341-3.

[87] Max Schipke cited the score's institutional overlap specific to the eighth volume. But Klein's biographer, Carl Koch, claimed that Klein wrote the full collection "for the students at the Church Music Institute and for the students of the university." Based on consistencies in arrangement, style, skill level, and repertoire across all eight volumes, Koch's claim is likely true. See Schipke, "Geschichte des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik in Berlin," 8-9; and see Koch, *Bernhard Klein*, 57.

[88] On the origins of German male choirs, see Mikusi, "From Convivial Pastime to Nationalist Propaganda." On male choruses singing patriotic songs in early-nineteenth century Berlin, see Hambridge, "Staging Singing in the Theater of War (Berlin 1805)."

consciously to avoid operatic styles, which would have certainly attracted the ire of conservatives such as Zelter.

Traces of music pedagogical method are also discernable in the order and grouping of Klein's songs. Each volume contains between two to seven short pieces. Most volumes begin with several chorales (save the fifth volume, which contains only two pieces and one chorale) and conclude with the book's most complex compositions. This generic divide is visualized on the title page of several volumes, which divide strictly Lutheran chorales from non-chorale church music, such as Latin hymns and Psalm settings. Within the latter group, the volumes gradually increase in complexity – specifically in terms of rhythm, texture, form, length, and vocal dexterity (see below). In this way, each installment of *Religiöse Gesänge* described a trajectory of progressive difficulty similar to the *Probestücke* analyzed in Chapter Two. (In the case of the religious songs, however, this pattern is replicated within each volume, rather than extended across multiple volumes.) By publishing for a range of singing proficiencies, Klein retained the music's didactic purposes in his publications. This is why, when the third edition of *Religiöse Gesänge* was published in 1861, Trautwein added a subtitle that explained that it was "initially for seminaries and the upper classes of Gymnasiums and the secondary school, as well as for song clubs."[89]

The most obvious trace of the music's pedagogical function is found in Klein's piano accompaniment. The piano part largely follows the choral arrangement note-for-note (two tenors, two basses), which indicates that the piano's role was incidental to compositions primarily designed for a capella performance. As in the case of eighteenth-century *Geistliche Lieder*, published Protestant music usually followed the vocal part in the accompaniment like this. Unique to Klein's arrangement, however, was the ubiquitous octaves doubling the first tenor (which always carries the melody) in the pianist's right hand (see Figure 1). Not seeking to overwhelm the accompanist, Klein's piano score typically leaves out the second tenor (which functions as the "alto" line in the four-voiced arrangement). This was a convenience afforded by the fact that the all-male choir contained only two vocal registers, and neither were expected to have an especially broad range. The frequent unisons in the all-male choral arrangement allowed Klein to double the top voice in the accompaniment without overburdening the pianist, and this made the melody easier to follow for amateur male singers who were not singing in a higher treble range. Having the melody an higher octave in the piano to aid the choir was evidently an innovation of choral accompanying. Klein's voice-training technique via piano accompaniment drew comment in a review by Johann Gottfried Heinitzsch (1787-1856), a music

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[89] "Zunächst für Seminarien und die oberen Klassen der Gymnasien und Realschulen, wie auch für Singvereine neu herausgegeben von Ludwig Erk und Ernst Ebeling." Klein, *Religiöse Gesänge für Männerstimmen von Bernhard Klein* (Berlin, 1861).

teacher at the University of Breslau's church music seminary who, in 1829, founded *Eutonia, a chiefly pedagogical music journal for all who have to teach music in schools and lead in churches, or are preparing for such an office*.[90] "It should be noted as peculiar that Mr. Klein has the upper voice accompanied continuously in octaves on the pianoforte, probably in order to keep the singers in tune and to prevent the [notes from] dragging down, which is sometimes stronger in male voices than the other two [alto and soprano]. And for this purpose it would likely be a very effective means," wrote Heinitzsch.[91] Today, doubling the melody in the piano part is common practice (virtually common sense) when pianists accompany choirs – particularly when they are learning music – but it was first popularized by *Religiöse Gesänge*, occasioned by the amateur level and all-male composition of Klein's university choir.

Klein's chorales are presented in highly simplified harmonic arrangements: chromatic movement is rare, and when it occurs, accidentals seldom appear in more than one voice at a time. Vocal range is minimal, especially in the tenor voices; the bass has the widest range, with barely more than an octave required. In contrast to the more uniform chorales, each *Heft* concludes with more complex compositions in a wide variety of styles. The final piece in the first volume ("Ich will singen"), for example, is a *Kriegslied* that sets the jubilant 89th Psalm in German. Its strong dotted rhythms, frequent unisons at the cadences, and stepwise plodding eighth notes in a consistent *forte* places it along side contemporaneous "*Liedertafel*-style" music characteristic of male societies (see Figure 2).[92] Yet the preceding piece, an *Agnus Dei* replete with Latin text, clearly draws on *Altekirchenmusik*: the repetitive blocked chords, an emphasis on bass "root position," and its Aeolian church mode matches James Garratt's description of several contemporaneous restorations of the Palestrinian idiom, which specifically replicate a kind of *falsobordone* (see Figure 3).[93]

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[90] Heinitzsch, *Eutonia, eine hauptsächlich pädagogische Musik-Zeitschrift für alle, welche die Musik in Schulen zu lehren oder in Kirchen zu leiten haben, oder sich auf ein solches Amt vorbereiten*. The journal was created for teachers such as Klein. Soon after its founding, Trautwein gained partial publishing rights and helped disseminate the journal in Berlin. Cf. *Eutonia*, 8th issue, 1833.

[91] "Als eigentümlich ist da zu bemerken, daß Herr Klein die obere Stimme Durchgangig in Octaven auf dem Pianoforte begleiten läßt, wahrscheinlich um die Singenden im Tone zu erhalten und das Herunterziehen, das bei Männerstimmen fast stärker ist manchmal, als beiden andern, desto eher zu verhindern. Und dazu möchte dieses allerdings ein sehr wirksames Mittel sein." *Eutonia*, 1830, 57.

[92] On *Liedertafel*, its style and history, see Mikusi, "From Convivial Pastime to Nationalist Propaganda," 240-309.

[93] See Garratt, *Palestrina*, 87.

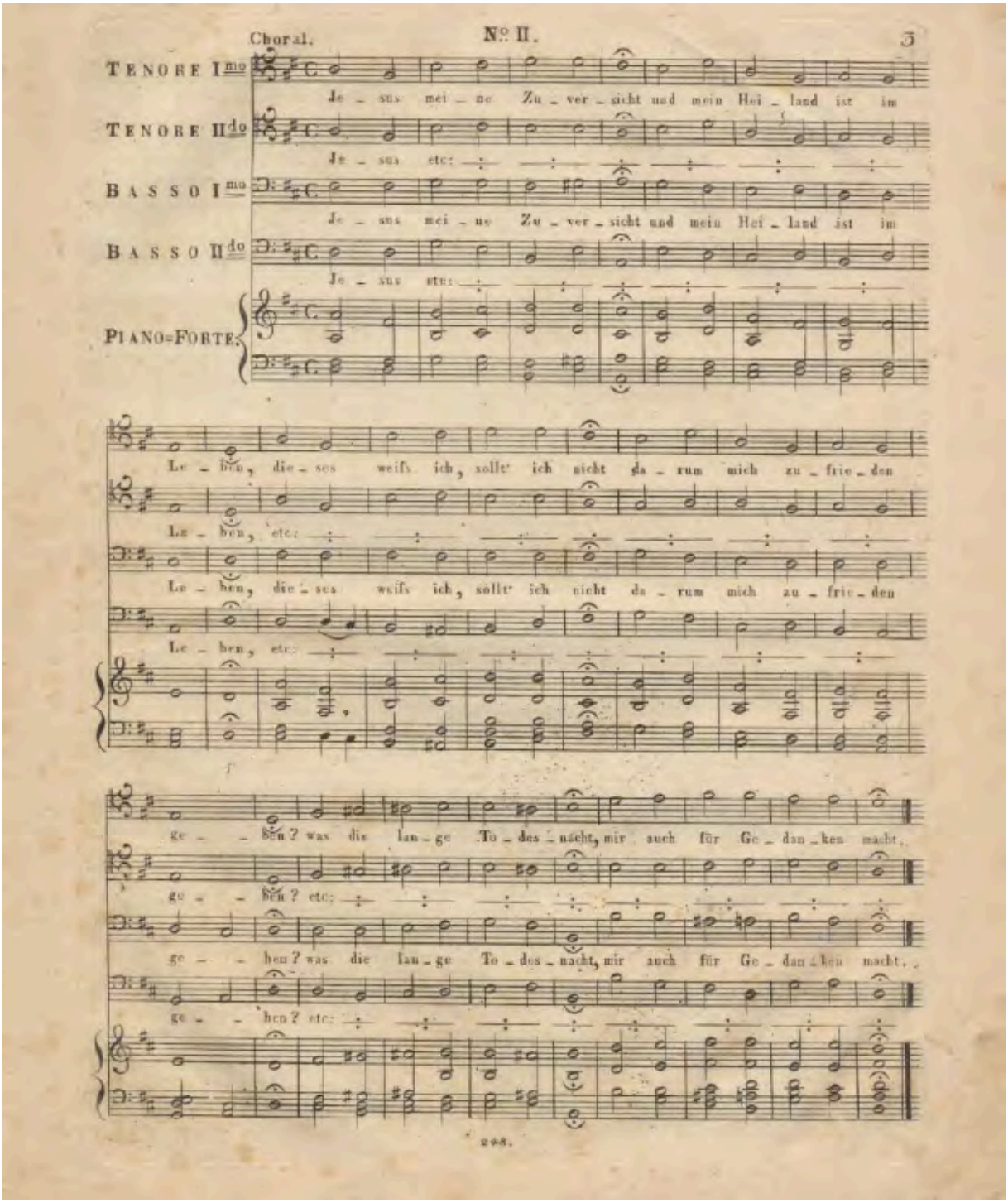

Figure 1. "Jesu meine Zuversicht," in Klein, *Religiöse Gesänge* II, 5, right hand octaves.

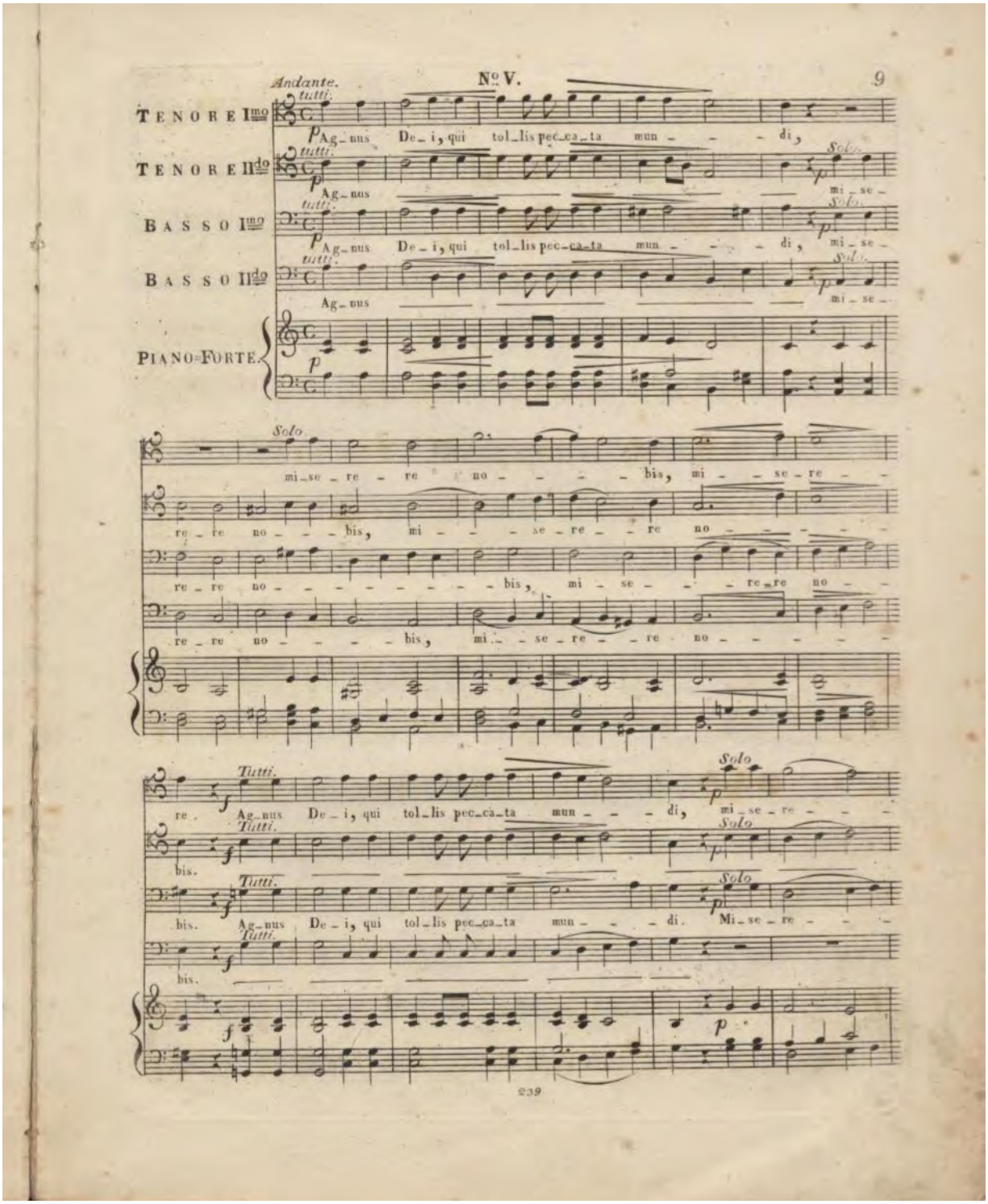

Figure 3. Klein, "Agnus Dei," *Religiöse Gesänge* V, 9.

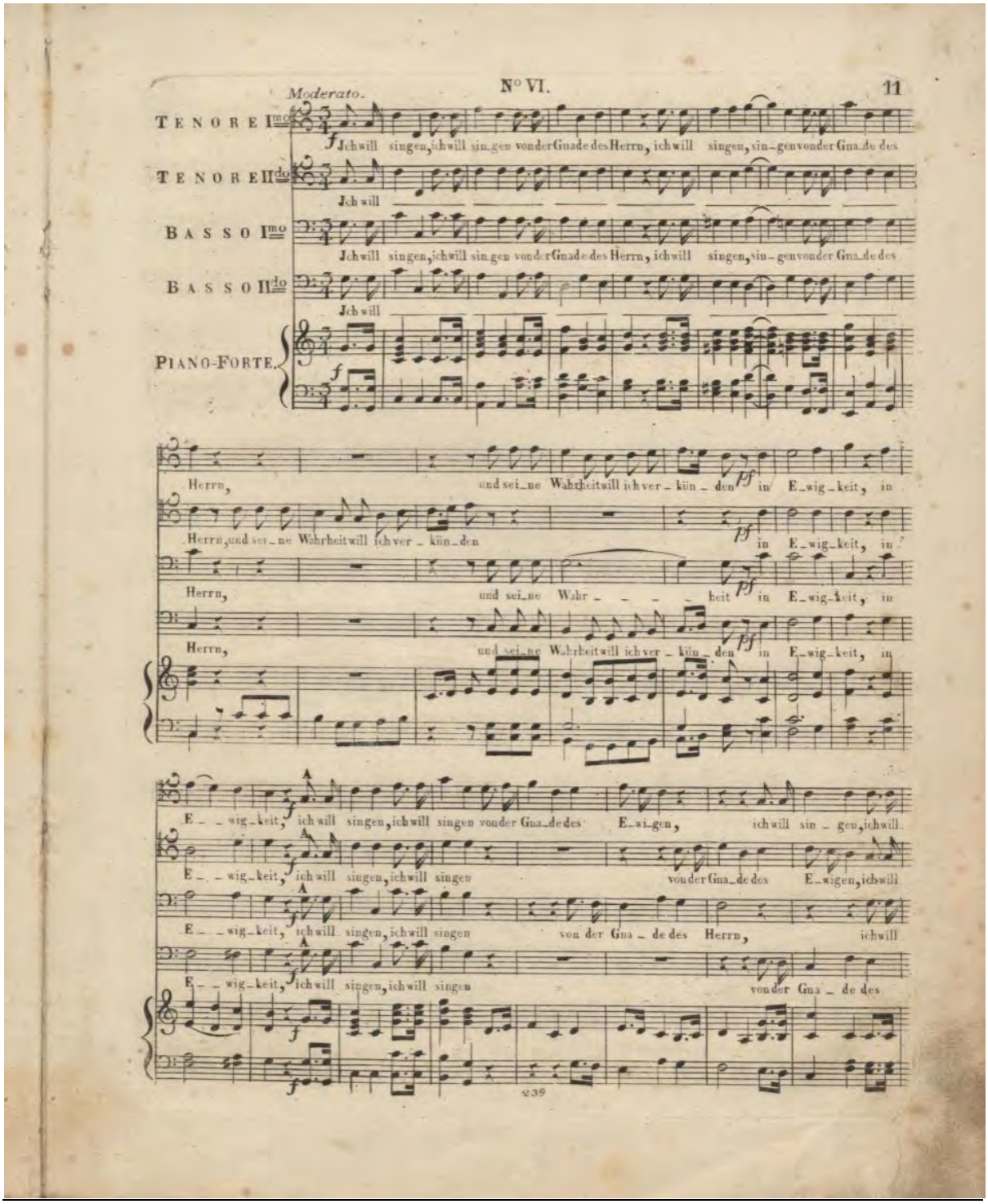

Figure 2. "Ich will singen," in Klein, *Religiöse Gesänge* VI, 11.

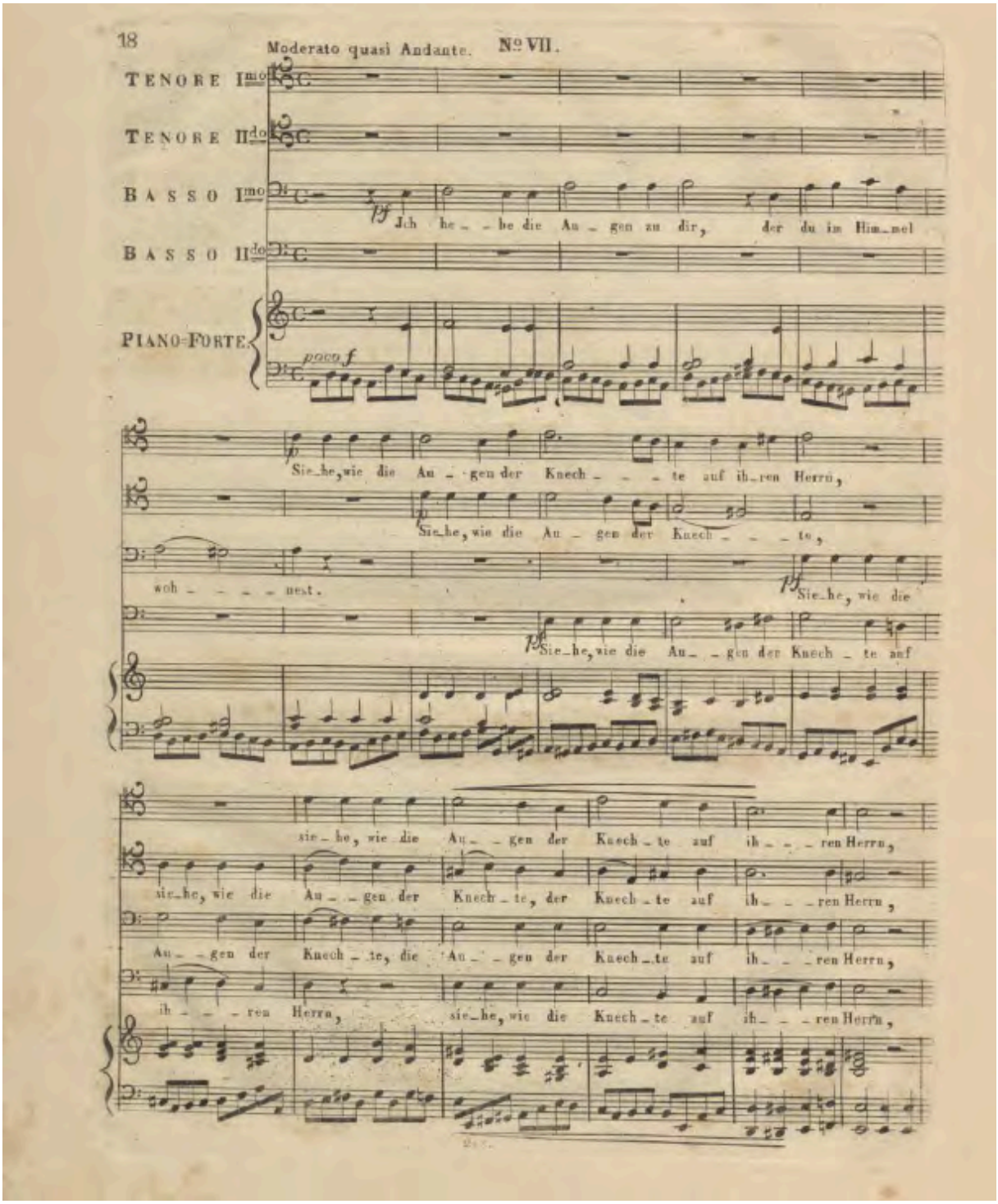

Figure 4. "Ich hebe die Augen zu dir," in Klein, *Religiöse Gesänge*, VII, 18.

Most volumes (save the fifth and eighth) contain at least one Latin setting in several idioms of *alte Kirchenmusik* (one encounters Palestrinian double-choir textures, ancient church modes, *stile antico* and *falsobordone*), which are usually positioned after the more contemporary Protestant chorales. The texts Klein uses for the remaining pieces all seem to be derived from the Psalms. As with the first volume's "Ich will singen", subsequent volumes end with a lengthy, energetic chorus set to Psalm excerpts: though the fifth volume only contains two pieces, the second is "more aria-like than motet," according to Heinitzsch. And concluding the second volume is a Handelian chorus. Here, in a rare departure from its doubling of the the vocal lines, the piano features a kind of written-out *basso continuo* (the text is "Ich hebe die Augen zu dir," a lightly edited version of Psalm 121) (see Figure 4). Based on the repeating scheme of each published volume of *Religiöse Gesänge*, we may reasonably categorize Klein's choral music for the ICM/university choir into three types, based as much on musical style as text: chorales with extant Lutheran church melodies (these always begin the volumes), Latin hymns in ancient church music styles (these usually follow the chorales), and Psalm-settings in a variety of choral idioms. This selection gave the ICM and university's theology students exposure to the texts of both ancient and modern hymns, and provided the basis for a proper training in counterpoint and singing.

Klein and Zelter took turns leading the university choir throughout the 1820s. Perhaps most surprising about these initial choir classes is that they were not categorized under "Fine Arts" or "Theology," but rather under "Philological Sciences" in the university's course listings. The choir class was found among other language electives, such as free lessons in speaking English, and readings in Spanish, Italian, and French. Not until A. B. Marx's lectures on "theoretical-practical instruction in music" in 1831 did music migrate to the "Arts" course section (on which, more below).

That a course on singing church music was subsumed under philology attests to the University's deference to Hellenic models of pedagogy. One may remember from Plato's *Republic* that the guardians of the ideal state were taught their language through music, and physical education through gymnastics. Schleiermacher, who translated Plato's *Dialogues* into German (1804-1828), drew upon this model to evaluate music's role in language acquisition in his own lectures on education at the University in 1826. In his penultimate lecture, Schleiermacher cited the Platonic conception of education as particularly amenable to Prussia, because in Protestant lands, singing had always retained a prominent place in primary education:

> Singing instruction [*Die Gesanglehre*] has been taken up in the elementary school mainly out of religious interest. There is a great difference between Protestant and Catholic Germany. In Protestant Germany, it

> started much earlier and is more advanced. Music is also an essential element of enjoyment for the people; it occurs at all recreations and celebrations in connection with dance. But that is not the point on which the educational appreciation has been linked [in Protestant Germany], but the connection of song [*Gesang*] with domestic and church devotion. From this point of view, this subject has also preferably passed into popular education. But the purely artistic relationship, the effect of song on ennoblement, should be emphasized, as in the teaching of drawing.[94]

This passage appears during a lecture on "the more physical gymnastics" for boys in primary school (*Volksschule*). In the lecture's context, the Platonic dyad of music and gymnastics in childhood education (*Erziehung*) is apparent. Seeking to assimilate the virtues of Plato's musical education into Protestant Germany's existing scholastic curricula, Schleiermacher (who, as mentioned above, supervised the curriculum for the University's scientific fields) found church song doubly appropriate in German education for both linguistic development and religious devotion. Schleiermacher believed that choral music had its rightful place in a school's language curriculum because, in Platonic vein, language was fundamentally musical:

> Language has two sides, which can be distinguished from one another but which relate to one another, the logical and the musical. To the latter belongs everything that concerns external production: purity and clarity and correctness of the sounds and expediency of the accentuation; on the other hand, everything which concerns the relation of thoughts to one another is logical, thus also everything grammatical which relates to the structure.[95]

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[94] "Die Gesanglehre ist überwiegend von dem religiöſen Interesse aus in die Volksschule aufgenommen worden. Es zeigt sich hier ein aussallender Unterschied zwiſchen dem evangeliſchen und katholiſchen Deutschland. Jin evangelischen Deutschland hat man damit viel früher angefangen und ist weiter fortgeschritten. Die Musik ist für das Volk auch ein wesentliches Element des Genusses; sie kommt bei allen Erholungen und Festen vor in Verbindung mit dem Tanz Aber das iſt nicht der Punkt woran die pädagogische Werth schätzung fid geknüpft hat, sondern die Verknüpfung des Gesanges mit der häuslichen und kirchlichen Andacht. Aus diesem Gesichtspunkt ist auch dieser Gegenstand in den Volksunterricht vorzugsweiſe übergegangen. Wohl aber wäre nun die rein künstlerische Beziehung, die Wirkung des Gesanges auf Veredlung auch noch hervorzuheben wie bei der Zeichnenlehre." Schleiermacher, *Vorlesungen der Erziehung*, 402.

[95] "Die Sprache hat zwei Seiten, die wohl von einander zu unterscheiden sind, sich aber auf einander beziehen, die logische und musikalische. Zur lezten gehört alles was

Schleiermacher's lectures on education drew on his memoranda to Humboldt regarding the university's scientific curriculum in 1810. It was Schleiermacher's idea, for instance, that church music be included in the curriculum. In a memorandum to Humboldt entitled, "Prospectus of the General Organization of Learned Schools," Schleiermacher turned to song immediately succeeding a paragraph on religious instruction:

> Among everything that belongs in the field of fine art, one must regard singing as the most universal talent which nature has not completely denied to anyone and in which everyone, with proper practice, can bring it to a skill that beautifies life. Vocal music has an old claim on the learned schools; it is possible to teach them in such a way that the treatment of the individual subject [I.e. private singing instruction] need not stand out from the crowd more than with other teaching objects; It [singing vocal music] grasps in universal national-education in many ways, and leaving the development of this talent to the private institutions of the individual would be as much as giving up completely for a long time. Just as, on the one hand, the Deputation, for reasons which are to be given below, must insist on the complete abolition of the singing choirs that have hitherto existed, so on the other hand it recommends just as seriously a general instruction in singing in all learned schools, which of course only focuses on the solemn style church music. The Deputation has not drawn up a detailed plan for this, and it is respectfully left to decide whether the Division will give the assignment to Professor Zelter, who is very suitable for this.[96]

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das äußere hervorbringen betrifft, Reinheit und Deutlichkeit und Richtigkeit der Töne und Zweckmäßigkeit der Betonung; alles dagegen was das Verhältniß der Gedanken unter sich betrifft, ist logisch, also auch alles grammatische das sich auf die Structur bezieht." Schleiermacher, *Vorlesungen der Erziehung*, 806.

[96] "Unter allem was in das Gebiet der schönen Kunst gehört, muß man als das allgemeinste Talent welches die Natur keinem ganz versagt hat und worin es jeder bei gehöriger Uebung zu einer das Leben verschönernden Fertigkeit bringen kann, das des Gesanges ansehen. Die Vokalmusik hat einen alten Anspruch auf die gelehrten Schulen, es ist möglich sie auf eine solche Weise zu lehren, daß die Behandlung des einzelnen Subjectes nicht stärker aus der Masse herauszutreten braucht als bei andern Lehrobjecten, sie greift in die allgemeine National Bildung auf vielfache Weise ein, und die Ausbildung dieses Talentes den Privatanstalten der Einzelnen überlassen, wäre eben so viel als für lange Zeit sie gänzlich aufgeben. Wie nun auf der einen Seite die Deputation aus Gründen welche unten mitgetheilt werden sollen auf die gänzliche Abschaffung der bisher bestandenen Singechöre dringen muß, so empfiehlt sie

Klein's choir, as it was subsumed under the university's philology electives, demonstrates that church music's inclusion in the university did not reflect a radical break from church music's traditional social spaces. Neither was it evidence of the new, secularized function of sacred music as merely pedagogical or "classic." Rather, Klein's university choir announced the absorption of Hellenic pedagogical thought into the modern German university, and marked the extension of a venerable tradition of popular education to young adults – especially theology students.[97]

Klein's *Religiöse Gesänge* thus challenges current conceptions of nineteenth-century sacred music, especially those those that emphasize genres and compositions without an obvious liturgical function. Garratt has proposed a subtler alternative to the implicitly secularist understanding of nineteenth-century sacred music as either liturgical/private or secular/public, using the term "quasi-liturgical music" to describe early nineteenth-century compositions that, "while written for the concert hall, conform with the restrictions and evoke the aura of liturgical music."[98] By this criterion, *Religiöse Gesänge* falls neatly into Garratt's generic scheme. But Klein's music and his university chorus – especially when examined in the context of the university's scientific ethos – reveal the shortcomings even of the concept of "quasi-liturgical music," which cleaves to an unhelpful sacred-secular binary. No matter that there are ambiguous or threshold examples, we are still left with liturgical music privately practiced in churches and an emerging secular art-religion for the growing musical public. Church music in Protestant Germany was always already public, indeed it helped demarcate a German musical public – in the print market, in the homes of pious amateurs, in city streets with singing *Currenden*, and in primary education. Klein's choir was but another (albeit pedagogically innovative) use of church music to define Prussian public life.[99]

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dagegen eben so ernstlich einen allgemeinen Unterricht im Singen auf allen gelehrten Schulen welcher aber natürlich nur auf den ernsten Stil der Kirchenmusik seine Richtung nimmt. Einen nähern Plan dazu hat die Deputation nicht entworfen, und stellt gehorsamst anheim, ob die Section dem Professor Zelter welcher sehr dazu geeignet ist, den Auftrag dazu geben will." Schleiermacher, "Entwurf der wissenschaftlichen Disputation zur allgemeinen Einrichtung der gelehrten Schulen," in Schleiermacher, *Friedrich Schleiermachers Kritischer Gesamtausgabe*, 118-9.

[97] On the importance of hymn-singing in early modern north German schools, see Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*.

[98] Garratt, *Palestrina*, 69

[99] Garratt's musical examples, moreover, hardly suffice for pieces "written for the concert hall." Louis Spohr's Messe für 5 Solostimmen und zwei fünfstimmige Chöre op.54 (1821) and Otto Nicolai's Psalm 54 (1834) and Pater noster op.33 (1836),

The philological contributions of Klein's university choir also made practical what Thibaut and Zelter had only theorized in memoranda and critical writings. As Garratt notes, "neither Thibaut nor Zelter explore[d] in detail how modern composers should respond to the models of the church and oratorio styles: for the most part, they merely entreat composers to heed generic distinctions…"[100] With mentors in both Thibaut and Zelter, Klein was one such modern composer. As singing exercises for university students, *Religiöse Gesänge* embodied Thibaut and Zelter's view that "the potential of a piece for *Bildung* overrides certain aesthetic criteria."[101] To be sure, the ethics of singing church music at a university also ran contrary to the contemporaneous aesthetic philosophy of other university men in Berlin, Hegel not least among them. As Garratt describes, Hegel's lectures on aesthetics (summer 1823, summer 1826, winter 1828/9; compiled and published by his colleague H. G. Hotho in 1835) warned against considering the purpose of art as primarily didactic. In an introductory lecture entitled, "The Aim of Art," Hegel claimed,

> if the purpose of art is limited to this didactic utility, then its other aspect, that of pleasure, entertainment, and delight, is pronounced to be in itself unessential, and ought to have its substance merely in the utility of the teaching on which it is attendant. But this amounts to pronouncing that art does not bear its vocation and purpose in itself, but that its conception is rooted in something else, to which it is a means. Art is, in this case, only one among the several means which prove useful and are applied for the purpose of instruction. This brings us to the boundary at which art is made no longer to be an end on its own merits, seeing that it is degraded into a mere toy of entertainment or a mere means of instruction.[102]

For the fine arts (Hegel counted music among them) to maintain their significance, their purpose needed to be more than merely a trifling "entertainment," yet they must also avoid being purely didactic, or else their autonomy would be compromised. For Hegel, aesthetic autonomy was more than merely a claim on behalf of art's self-justifying independence. If art was a mere means, and not an end unto itself, it was unworthy of scientific inquiry, and should be banished from the university curriculum. Aesthetic autonomy, in other words, was partly a function of the disciplining of the fine arts by the new

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instead, were cultivated from and intended for the private *Singverein* of Thibaut and Zelter's *Singakademie,* respectively. See Garratt, *Palestrina,* 70.

[100] Garrat, *Palestrina*, 68

[101] ibid.

[102] Translated in Hegel: *Introductory Lectures on Aesthetics*, 57.

institutions of German *Wissenschaft*. Hegel's lectures on aesthetics thus articulated the primary obstacle preventing music from becoming a scientific discipline. Like Zelter's *Singakademie* singing in the Academy's foyer, Klein's *Religiöse Gesänge* helped get music through the university's front doors – but not fully into the classrooms and corridors. For music to become more than a mere supplement to other rigorous disciplines such as philology or theology, music's "aim" needed to be aligned with the aim of the university. That aim was less training students to proficiency in a practical skill than to form students into productive authorities. In Wellmon's words, the university's purpose was "not only to determine what counted as real knowledge and what did not but, just as importantly, form the types of ethical agents for doing so."[103]

Hegel and Klein were, as it happens, cordial friends. Klein was to marry Lili Parthey, the host of the Berlin salon that both Hegel and Klein frequented for over a decade.[104] The two men perhaps met earlier in Heidelberg, when Hegel was an occasional guest at Thibaut's *Singverein* (Thibaut and Hegel were colleagues at the University of Heidelberg during Klein's stay in 1817). Hegel so admired Klein's musical achievements (based largely on his work with the university and the ICM) that he asked Klein to become the first musician to enter the philosopher's prestigious *Society for Scientific Critique* (*Societät für wissenschaftliche Kritik*). Klein accepted, and his name is found among other members in the Society's journal, the *Yearbook for Scientific Critique* (*Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*), from 1828.[105] And yet, that same year, a Berlin music critic, soon to be one of the most influential gatekeepers of nineteenth-century musical knowledge and understanding, disparaged Klein's didactic musical works in explicitly Hegelian terms.

Marx and Music in the Modern University

Many reviewers throughout the nineteenth-century praised Klein's *Religiöse Gesänge* as an instructional aid for singing and as a staple of the male choral repertoire, but from its first publication Klein had at least one notable detractor. It was Adolf Bernhard Marx, who strongly opposed any compositions written primarily for pedagogical purposes. His critical review of Klein's *Miserere mei deus* op.21 (Trautwein, Berlin 1828) in his own *Berliner Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1828 immediately preceded a cheerier review of the *Religiöse Gesänge*'s first volume by

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[103] Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment*, 215.
[104] Hegel was even present when Klein and Parthey first met in 1819. See Montgomery, "From Biedermeier Berlin: The Parthey Diaries," 203.
[105] "Mitglieder und Mitarbeiter," in *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* (1828).

Henri Birnbach – the editorial range being characteristic of the journal's form.[106] Against Birnbach's endorsement that *Religiöse Gesänge* was ideal for men's choirs and church music schools, Marx argued that Klein's sacred music brought "no real profit to the world and to the author," and maintained that such music "should be more than exercises." Marx wanted Klein's music – indeed, Klein himself – to strive for more than technical "faultlessness," and to attempt to express "free art," finding satisfaction for the "artistic sense" rather than mere "craftsmanship."[107] Then, in a gesture undoubtedly intended to goad Klein, Marx quoted Klein's own friend against him:

> Who does not feel filled with respect and sympathy when, for example, he sees a skillful painter, as Mr. Köster is proudly called, who prefers to be modest in the sphere of restoration work, and hears him uttering himself with just as laudable self-conquest as just self-satisfaction: "In addition, the restorer lacks a powerful tool which helps set the independent art practice in motion – fame. He cannot create a visible monument for posterity; rather, he dissolves his own being in order to let it trickle drop by drop into the limbs of his adopted children, whom he loves more than himself. His work proceeds quietly and diligently. What he has done remains without a trace. The purer he has made the revered work from the chaos of distortion, the more surely he has adjusted his limbs for him, the less he will be remembered, and if he succeeded in the most difficult task, this only goes without saying. A good deed must not be praised aloud any more than in the moral sphere. Diligence, patience, and self-denial are his virtues. It is a strict order!"

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[106] On the *BAMZ* and its contradictory articles, see Uribe, "Exchanging Ideas in a Changing World: Adolph Bernhard Marx and the *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1824," in *Consuming Music*: *Individuals, Institutions, Communities*, *1730-1830*. 205-21.

[107] Here is Marx in context: "Seitdem die Kirchenmusik aufgehört hat, allein herrschende Gattung zu sein, scheint es immer mehr dahin gekommen, dass man ein Talent und einen Grad der Erregung, mit dem man sich bei viel geringern Aufgaben nicht begnügte, für ganz hinreichend zum heiligen Gesange hält. Gerade in diesem Gebiet ist auch jene handwerksmäßige Urtheilsweise ain Meisten verbreitet, die sich mit Fehlerlosigkeit und Arbeit (was man so nennt) vollkommen zufrieden stellt und damit an der freien Kunst nichts ausser Acht lässt, als — die freie Kunst. So werden zahlreiche Werke gebilligt und empfohle, an denen allenfalls der Handwerks- aber nie der Kunstsinn Befriedigung findet, die der Welt keinen wahren Gewinn bringen und dem: Verfasser – wenn sie mehr als Übungen sein sollten nur die Zeit zu der ihm gemäßen Beschäftigung nehmen. Diese findet ja jeder; und nur in ihr ist jeder wahrhaft schätzenswerth." Marx, *Berliner Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, no.29, 16 July 1828, 227.

> Clarity, deep intuition, and from there dignity of consciousness! There is more artistic spirit here than in some heap of notes.[108]

Marx claimed that Köster's charge as an art restorer was, *mutatis mutandis*, that of the church music composer. Marx emphasized that art restoration was an endless task, one that required continual historical updating and demanded the restorer's lifelong dedication. Klein did not satisfy this calling with didactic pieces and merely well-crafted compositions. As evidence, Marx provided several musical excerpts of the score to illustrate and criticize Klein's "continuous guidance of the vocal lines" with octaves in the piano accompaniment of *Miserere*, which were "not appropriate to the meaning" of the Latin text (see Figure 5).

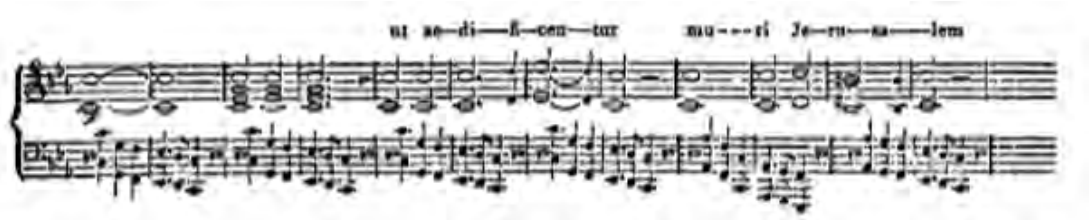

Figure 5. A. B. Marx's keyboard reduction of Bernhard Klein's *Miserere* with octaves, in *Berliner Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1828), 231.

[108] "Wer fühlte sich nicht von Achtung und Antheil erfüllt, wenn er zum Beispiel einen geschickten Maler, wie man Herrn Köster rühmend nennt, sich vorzugsweise zu der Sphäre der Restaurations Arbeit bescheiden sieht, und ihn mit eben so löblicher Selbstüberwindung als gerechter Selbst Befriedigung sich aussprechen hört: Im Uebrigen gebricht dem Restaurator ein mächtiger Hebel, welcher die selbständige Kunst übung in Bewegung setzen hilft - der Ruhm. Er kann sich kein sichtbares Denkmal für die Nachwelt stiften; vielmehr lös't er sein eigenstes Wesen auf, um es tropfenweis ' in die Glieder seiner adoptirten Kinder rinnen zu lassen, die er mehr liebt, als sich selbst. Still und fleissig geht sein Wirken von Statten. Spurlos bleibt, was er gethan. Je reiner er das verehrte Werk von dem Wust der Entstellung hergestellt je sicherer er ihm seine Glieder wieder eingerenkt hat, um so weniger wird man seiner dabei gedenken, Und wenn ihm die schwierigste Aufgabe gelungen, so versteht sich dieses nur, wie von selbst. So wenig, wie im Sittlichen darf die gute That laut gerühmt werden. Fleiss, Geduld, Selbstverläugnung sind seine Tugenden. Es ist ein strenger Orden! Was ihm höher lohnt, ist der vertrauliche Umgang mit den Geistern einer vergangenen Welt, wobei er sich manchmal etwas vor träumt von einem unsichtbaren Dank, welcher irgendwo festhängt, er weiss selbst nicht wo. Klarheit, tiefe Gemüthanschauung, und da her Würde des Bewusstseins!" Marx, *Berliner Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, no.29, 16 July 1828, 243.

If the contrast between the opinions of Klein's sacred music in the *BAMZ* were typical of the dialogic form of Marx's journal, its contradictory reviews, in turn, were consistent with the scientific ethos of Berlin's university. Indeed, Marx's introductory article to the first issue, "Concerning the demands of music criticism in our time," proposed that the journal and its reviews' often adversarial design worked to educate the German musical public in Humboldtian *wissenschaftliche Bildung*:

> Just as the editor will not presume to reject an opinion that runs contrary to his for the sake of it, the less he is entitled, according to this principle, to claim every view taken up in his papers as his intellectual property, and is obliged to defend it as such, indeed, as much as he protests in advance and definitively against the fact that every view is regarded as his artistic or scientific creed, before he has committed himself to it: just as little will one be allowed to accuse the periodical of inconsistency, contradiction and the like for the privilege of giving access to different, even contradictory views. But how, on the other hand, with all freedom in opinions and individual actions, must everyone who demands entry into a society or a scientific membership prove to be suitable for this through the general degree of his social or scientific education [*wissenschaftliche Bildung*]; how must each of his actions and –in scientific memberships– each of his achievements correspond to the challenges which, according to the nature of society, are made to that universal education [*allgemeine Bildung*]; thus the public may expect that no judgment or no judge will be allowed to enter the newspaper in which the demands on the ability to judge in general, as they are rightly made on a musical newspaper, are not satisfied. This leads back to the actual topic of the present essay. We have to speak about the general requirements, on the fulfillment of which the admission of a judgment and judge to our newspaper should depend.[109]

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[109] Emphasis mine. "So wenig also der Redakteur sich anmassen wird, eine der seinigen entgegenlaufende Meinung um deswillen zurückzuweisen, so weniger ferner nach diesem Grundsatze berechtigt ist, jede in seinen Blättern aufgenommene Ansicht als sein geistiges Eigenthumn in Anspruch zu nehmen, und verpflichtet, sie als solches zu vertheidigen, ja, so sehr er im Voraus und ein für allemal dagegen protestirt, dass jede, oder diese und jene Ansicht als sein künstlerisches oder wissenschaftliches Glaubens-Bekenntniss angesehen werde, bevor er sich dazu bekannt hat: so wenig wird man der Zeitung selbst aus dem Vorzuge, verschiedenen, sogar widersprechenden Ansichten Zugang zu gewähren, den Vorwurf der Inkonsequenz, des Widerspruchs und dergleichen machen dürfen. Wie aber auf der andern Seite bei aller Freiheit in den Ansichten und einzelnen Handlungen jeder, der

Throughout his musical career, which was launched by the *BAMZ* in 1824, Marx advocated for a *musikalische Bildung*, the musical forming and educating of German students as productive citizens of the Prussian state. For Marx, this included holding artists to the highest standards. The culminating pedagogical text of his scholarly endeavor was Marx's *Lehre vom musikalischen Komposition*, which endowed musical instruction with a new and lofty ethical function: "The task of the art textbook seems to me to be expressed as follows: That it should transform the most penetrating and comprehensive knowledge of art into the consciousness and feelings of the student *and immediately incite him to artistic action*."[110] Elsewhere Marx outlined the music student's goals:

> Neither abstract knowledge, nor mere technical training, constitute, or even can prepare, the education of an artist; both are the very opposite of art...The School of [Musical] Composition is a school of art, and therefore intended not merely to impart knowledge, but to lead to productive activity. The student, therefore, must by no means be contented with knowing and understanding the different doctrines of the School, but he must be able to produce works of art with ease and certainty.[111]

Zutritt in eine Gesellschaft, oder einen wissenschaftlichen Verein fodert, durch den allgemeinen Grad seiner geselligen, oder wissenschaftlichen Bildung sich hierzu geeignet erweisen muss; wie jede seiner Handlungen und in wissenschaftlichen Vereinen jede seiner Leistungen den Anfuderungen entsprechen muss, die nach dem Wesen der Gesellschaft an jene allgemeine Bildung gemacht werden; so darf das Publikum erwarten, dass keinem Urtheile und keinem Urtheilenden Eingang bei der Zeitung gestattet werde, in dem nicht den Ansprüchen an Urtheilsfähigkeit überhaupt, wie sie mit Recht an eine musikalische Zeitung gemacht werden, genügt ist. Dies führt auf das eigentliche Thema des vorliegenden Aufsatzes zurück. Wir haben uns über die allgemeinen Anfoderungen auszusprechen, von deren Erfüllung die Zulassung eines Urtheils und eines Urtheilenden zu unserer Zeitung abhängig sein soll." Marx, "Ueber die Anfoderungen unserer Zeit am musikalische Kritik; in besondern Vezuge auf diese Zeitung," in *Berliner Allgemeiner Musikalische Zeitung*, no.1, 7 January 1824, 3.

[110] "Die Aufgabe einer Kunstlehre scheint sich mir dahin auszusprechen: Dass sie die durchdringendste und umfassendste Kunsterkenntniss in das Bewusstsein und Gefühl des Jüngers verwandle und sofort zu künstlerischer That hervortreibe." "Vorrede zur zweiten Ausgabe," in Marx, *Die Lehre*, vi.

[111] Quoted in Spitzer, "Marx's 'Lehre' and the Science of Education: Towards a Recuperation of Music Pedagogy," 490-1.

In Marx's hands, Reichardt's notional *Kunstschule* became an institution that shaped the artist as an ever-progressing practitioner, rather than merely a competent master of technical skills. As Michael Spitzer explains, "musical meaning for Marx was 'performative,' rather than 'declarative': since the highest form of understanding is composition, musical knowledge can only emerge from 'productive activity.'"[112]

Marx's publications throughout the 1820s, including *The Art of Song, theoretical-practical* (*Die Kunst der Gesang, theoretisch-praktisch*; Schlesinger: Berlin, 1826), posited musical instruction as compatible with – and even fundamental to – the ethical and epistemological project of the university in Berlin. Marx's pedagogical manifesto, *Ancient Musical Teaching in Conflict with our Time* (*Die alte Musiklehre, im Streit des unserer Zeit,* Berlin, 1841), in many ways "a retrospective prolegomenon to the *Lehre*," was written as a diatribe against Siegfried Dehn's *Theoretische-praktische Harmonielehre mit angefügten Generalbaßspielen* (Berlin, 1840).[113] (Dehn, it should be noted, specialized in ancient church music, and studied with Klein in 1830) Here Marx makes explicit the scientific contribution of his *Lehre*:

> Solely on the basis of a real and complete teaching of composition [*Kompositionslehre*] is an exhaustive scientific knowledge, an aesthetic or philosophy of art possible – or something that occurs earlier would have to take up the entire objective content of the teaching of composition. Only with the cooperation of the teaching of composition can a truly historical or thoroughly scientific treatment of the theory of art have an effect; without them she would only find hearers and disciples with unprepared knowledge.[114]

Musical composition, argued Marx, proved indispensable to scientific knowledge, which greatly raised the stakes for a method of teaching music, and carried profound consequences for church music's role in music pedagogy. Dehn's cardinal sin was to claim that "music does not have feelings to express, but rather

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[112] Spitzer, "Marx's 'Lehre' and the Science of Education: Towards a Recuperation of Music Pedagogy," 497.

[113] Ibid., 513.

[114] "Erst auf dem Grund einer wahren und vollständigen Kompositionslehre ist eine wissenschaftliche erschöpfende Erkenntniss, eine Aesthetik oder Philosophie der Kunst möglich, -- oder es müsste eine früher auftretende den gesammten sachlichen Inhalt der Kompositionslehre in sich aufnehmen . Erst unter der Mitwirkung der Kompositionslehre kann eine wahrhaft geschichtliche oder gründlich wissenschaftliche Behandlung der Kunstlehre Wirkung haben; ohne jene würde sie nur Hörer und Jünger mit unvorbereiteter Erkenntniss finden." Marx, *Die alte Musiklehre,* viii.

emotions to stimulate."[115] This sentiment merely rehearsed a long-running conception of Protestant church music – in the words of eighteenth-century church organist Johann Gottfried Vierling, "nothing can be thought of which could lift and stir the heart more than a hymn voiced by an entire congregation."[116] But this Lutheran aesthetic, which regarded church hymns as emotional stimulants, and extolled what Reichardt had called the "soul-lifting power of church music," now contradicted Marx's philosophy of music education.[117] For Marx, Dehn's aesthetics of church music took sides in a war "of the Spiritual versus the Material, the free knowledge versus the statutes, the unrestrainable progress versus the stagnant and obstinate."[118] The *streit* between Marx and Dehn reveals something of new intellectual periphery to which church music would be banished in the musical *Kunstschule*: church music and its very aesthetic-ethical premise were cast as regressive and sensual in Marx's curriculum. The ancient melodies in particular, which were once viewed as most stimulating of all, were now but "a matter of history," and given but minimal treatment in Marx's *Lehre*. According to Marx, writing in sweeping Hegelian vein, the ancient church modes "arose and were developed before our modern system of keys and modulation, into which they were eventually resolved, had assumed its present form." It became necessary to abandon the church modes because the modern diatonic system "is based upon higher and more universal principles of truth, and was the only system by which the musical art could rise to the immeasurable elevation it has attained during the last two centuries."[119] Ancient church modes were thus worth examining only to the extent that it gave "a clearer insight into the nature and superiority of our own system."[120]

In 1830, Marx was made an "extraordinary professor of music" via the philosophy faculty, giving the 35-year-old seniority over Zelter – a man more than twice Marx's age who had been appointed "professor of music" only the year before.[121] The following year Marx and Zelter each taught courses according to a

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[115] "Musik habe nicht Gefühle auzudrücken, sondern Empfindungen anzuregen." Marx, *Die alte Musiklehre*, 66.

[116] "…in der That läßt sich auch nichts denken, was das Herz mehr heben und rühren könnte, als ein von einer ganzen Gemeine angestimmter Gesang." Vierling, *Choralbuch auf Vier Stimmen zum Gebrauch bey dem öffentlichen- und Privat-Gottesdienst*, xii.

[117] seelerhebende Macht der Kirchenmusik. Reichardt, *Musicalische Kunstmagazin* I, vi.

[118] "Es ist der Kampf des Geistigen gegen das Materiale, der freien Erkenntniss gegen die Satzung, des unverhaltlicben Fortschritts gegen Stillstand und Verstockung." Marx, *Die alte Musiklehre*, vi.

[119] Marx, *School of Musical Composition*, 332.

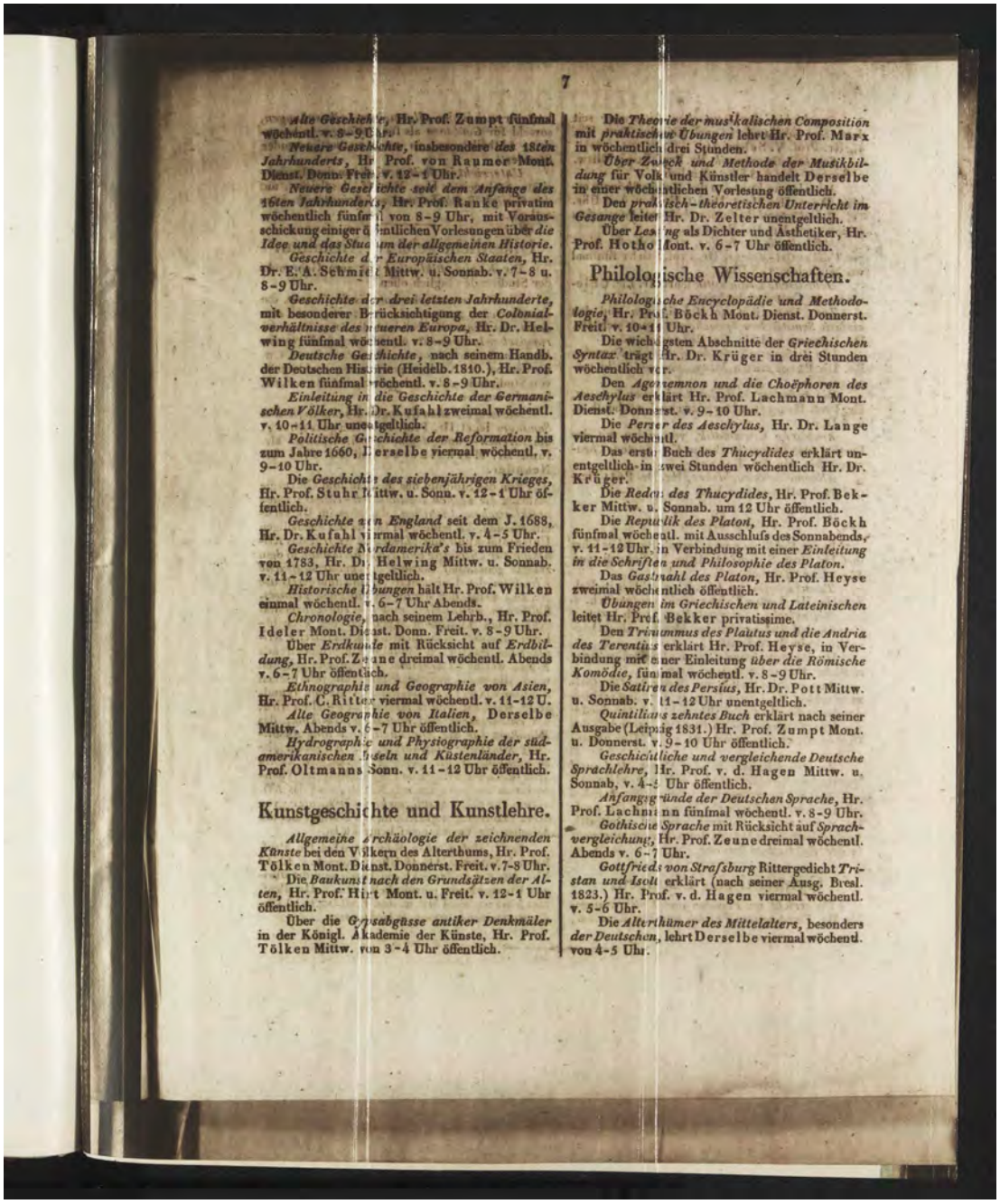
[120] ibid.

[121] The official notice and details of the appointment can be found in the Geheimes Staatarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Rep. 76, Va Sect. 2 Tit. IX No. 7 Vol. 1.

scientific "theoretical-practical" method: Marx taught "Theory of musical composition with practical exercises." This was a course that Marx taught routinely throughout his academic career, and its lectures were eventually published in 1837 as *die Lehre der musicalische Komposition theoretisch-praktisch*. The dozens of later reprints, expanded editions, translations, and subsequent volumes and addenda made it one of the most popular musical textbooks of the nineteenth century in German- and English-speaking lands. Zelter, meanwhile, taught a course on singing. Significantly, this was the first time music classes in the university moved from philology into art history's revamped category, "Art History and Art Theory" (*Kunstgeschichte und Kunstlehre*). The migration involved Zelter adding a theoretical element to his teaching for the first time. Based on his course's title, "The Practical-Theoretical Instruction in Singing" (*Den praktisch-theoretisch Unterricht im Gesange*) Marx may have obliged Zelter to follow the former's *The Art of Singing theoretical-practical* as a textbook, the back of which gave precise instructions to the lecturer on how to teach the material. Zelter's theoretical course also replaced the university choir, which was no longer offered as a course (see Figure 6).

That semester Marx also taught a second course on music pedagogy, "Concerning the purpose and method of music education for people and artists" (*Über Zweck und Methode der Musikbildung für Volk und Künstler*). Some material from this course appeared in the final section on "Musikbildung" from his second university textbook, *Allgemeine Musiklehre* (Leipzig, 1839). The textbook was mainly derived from a third course Marx regularly taught beginning in the summer semester of 1832, "Encyclopedia and Methodology of Music" (*Encyklopädie und Methodologie der Musik*). One could do worse than say that this course marked music's arrival as a discipline in the modern research university. Encyclopedia courses (essentially surveys) were common in the university of Berlin's disciplines, acting as introductory courses for scientific fields. University encyclopedia comprised their disciplines as such – around 1800, the term was wrested back from the world of Enlightenment lexicographical genres by a generation of Jena professors, who sought to restore its etymological sense of a realm of circumscribed knowledge. As Wellmon and Howard variously describe, university encyclopedias organized and unified their respective fields of knowledge, coordinating topics of study the students would undertake throughout their collegiate studies.[122]

[122] See Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment*, 77-107; and Howard, *Protestant Theology*, 304-12.



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Alte Geschichte, Hr. Prof. Zumpt fünfmal wöchentl. v. 8–9 Uhr.

Neuere Geschichte, insbesondere *des 18ten Jahrhunderts*, Hr. Prof. von Raumer Mont. Dienst. Donn. Freit. v. 12–1 Uhr.

Neuere Geschichte seit dem Anfange des 16ten Jahrhunderts, Hr. Prof. Ranke privatim wöchentlich fünfmal von 8–9 Uhr, mit Vorausschickung einiger öffentlichen Vorlesungen über *die Idee und das Studium der allgemeinen Historie*.

Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, Hr. Dr. E. A. Schmidt Mittw. u. Sonnab. v. 7–8 u. 8–9 Uhr.

Geschichte der drei letzten Jahrhunderte, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der *Colonialverhältnisse des neueren Europa*, Hr. Dr. Helwing fünfmal wöchentl. v. 8–9 Uhr.

Deutsche Geschichte, nach seinem Handb. der Deutschen Historie (Heidelb. 1810.), Hr. Prof. Wilken fünfmal wöchentl. v. 8–9 Uhr.

Einleitung in die Geschichte der Germanischen Völker, Hr. Dr. Kufahl zweimal wöchentl. v. 10–11 Uhr unentgeltlich.

Politische Geschichte der Reformation bis zum Jahre 1660, Derselbe viermal wöchentl. v. 9–10 Uhr.

Die *Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges*, Hr. Prof. Stuhr Mittw. u. Sonn. v. 12–1 Uhr öffentlich.

Geschichte von England seit dem J. 1688, Hr. Dr. Kufahl viermal wöchentl. v. 4–5 Uhr.

Geschichte Nordamerika's bis zum Frieden von 1783, Hr. Dr. Helwing Mittw. u. Sonnab. v. 11–12 Uhr unentgeltlich.

Historische Übungen hält Hr. Prof. Wilken einmal wöchentl. v. 6–7 Uhr Abends.

Chronologie, nach seinem Lehrb., Hr. Prof. Ideler Mont. Dienst. Donn. Freit. v. 8–9 Uhr.

Über *Erdkunde* mit Rücksicht auf *Erdbildung*, Hr. Prof. Zeune dreimal wöchentl. Abends v. 6–7 Uhr öffentlich.

Ethnographie und Geographie von Asien, Hr. Prof. C. Ritter viermal wöchentl. v. 11–12 U.

Alte Geographie von Italien, Derselbe Mittw. Abends v. 6–7 Uhr öffentlich.

Hydrographie und Physiographie der südamerikanischen Inseln und Küstenländer, Hr. Prof. Oltmanns Sonn. v. 11–12 Uhr öffentlich.

Kunstgeschichte und Kunstlehre.

Allgemeine Archäologie der zeichnenden Künste bei den Völkern des Alterthums, Hr. Prof. Tölken Mont. Dienst. Donnerst. Freit. v. 7–8 Uhr.

Die *Baukunst nach den Grundsätzen der Alten*, Hr. Prof. Hirt Mont. u. Freit. v. 12–1 Uhr öffentlich.

Über die *Gypsabgüsse antiker Denkmäler* in der Königl. Akademie der Künste, Hr. Prof. Tölken Mittw. von 3–4 Uhr öffentlich.

Die *Theorie der musikalischen Composition* mit *praktischen Übungen* lehrt Hr. Prof. Marx in wöchentlich drei Stunden.

Über Zweck und Methode der Musikbildung für Volk und Künstler handelt Derselbe in einer wöchentlichen Vorlesung öffentlich.

Den *praktisch-theoretischen Unterricht im Gesange* leitet Hr. Dr. Zelter unentgeltlich.

Über *Lessing* als Dichter und Ästhetiker, Hr. Prof. Hotho Mont. v. 6–7 Uhr öffentlich.

Philologische Wissenschaften.

Philologische Encyclopädie und Methodologie, Hr. Prof. Böckh Mont. Dienst. Donnerst. Freit. v. 10–11 Uhr.

Die wichtigsten Abschnitte der *Griechischen Syntax* trägt Hr. Dr. Krüger in drei Stunden wöchentlich vor.

Den *Agamemnon und die Choëphoren des Aeschylus* erklärt Hr. Prof. Lachmann Mont. Dienst. Donnerst. v. 9–10 Uhr.

Die *Perser des Aeschylus*, Hr. Dr. Lange viermal wöchentl.

Das erste Buch des *Thucydides* erklärt unentgeltlich in zwei Stunden wöchentlich Hr. Dr. Krüger.

Die *Reden des Thucydides*, Hr. Prof. Bekker Mittw. u. Sonnab. um 12 Uhr öffentlich.

Die *Republik des Platon*, Hr. Prof. Böckh fünfmal wöchentl. mit Ausschluss des Sonnabends, v. 11–12 Uhr, in Verbindung mit einer *Einleitung in die Schriften und Philosophie des Platon*.

Das *Gastmahl des Platon*, Hr. Prof. Heyse zweimal wöchentlich öffentlich.

Übungen im Griechischen und Lateinischen leitet Hr. Prof. Bekker privatissime.

Den *Trinummus des Plautus und die Andria des Terentius* erklärt Hr. Prof. Heyse, in Verbindung mit einer Einleitung *über die Römische Komödie*, fünfmal wöchentl. v. 8–9 Uhr.

Die *Satiren des Persius*, Hr. Dr. Pott Mittw. u. Sonnab. v. 11–12 Uhr unentgeltlich.

Quintilians zehntes Buch erklärt nach seiner Ausgabe (Leipzig 1831.) Hr. Prof. Zumpt Mont. u. Donnerst. v. 9–10 Uhr öffentlich.

Geschichtliche und vergleichende Deutsche Sprachlehre, Hr. Prof. v. d. Hagen Mittw. u. Sonnab. v. 4–5 Uhr öffentlich.

Anfangsgründe der Deutschen Sprache, Hr. Prof. Lachmann fünfmal wöchentl. v. 8–9 Uhr.

Gothische Sprache mit Rücksicht auf *Sprachvergleichung*, Hr. Prof. Zeune dreimal wöchentl. Abends v. 6–7 Uhr.

Gottfrieds von Strafsburg Rittergedicht *Tristan und Isolt* erklärt (nach seiner Ausg. Bresl. 1823.) Hr. Prof. v. d. Hagen viermal wöchentl. v. 5–6 Uhr.

Die *Alterthümer des Mittelalters*, besonders *der Deutschen*, lehrt Derselbe viermal wöchentl. von 4–5 Uhr.

Figure 6. Music courses under a new course heading, "Kunstgeschichte und Kunstlehre," (bottom left column) in *Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen am Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität*, summer semester 1831, 7. Marx's first course offered at the university (top, right column), and below it the newly theoretical singing course led by Zelter. Courtesy of Universitätbibliothek, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin.

Via the very structure of his *Allgemeine Musiklehre*, Marx seems to have displaced the former prominence of church music in music education, regarding it as but one among several *Kunstformen* (musical genres), and he warranted church music little attention in his music curriculum: church music no longer seemed to embody music's central purpose in the university. To this extent, Marx's new philosophy of music history at once depended on and concealed the fact that church music and its long-standing ethical and political discourses had established music's status as a fine art to begin with. As Marx claims at the end of his *Allgemeine Musiklehre*, "[Music's] nature, like man's own, is twofold; partaking both of the sensual (material); and the mental (spiritual). It has power to raise us from a rude and barren state of being, to a higher, more susceptible, and spiritual existence; to soften and refine our feelings, to awaken in us ideas of pure and perfect humanity; to exalt us above the human sphere to the confines of the Divine, and, in this mental elevation, fill our hearts with love and holy zeal for everything that is good and noble."[123] This view is not an old aesthetics of the Lutheran chorale, now transmuted into a secular vision of art; rather, it expressed the moral inheritance that *Kirchenmusik* bequeathed to musical knowledge when it entered the modern research university.

Marx's science of music thus demonstrates how church music became part and parcel of German "culture." The ubiquity and high status of German Protestant church music helped to transform what was frequently considered to be a trifling pastime into an indispensable index of human progress. To read Marx's injunctions about the "cultivation of music" for the German nation, then, is to witness the moral urgency of German Protestant church music recast within the public settings that it had helped to create – in north German education, political life, print media, domestic leisure, and popular culture. Indeed, this view of church music's legacy as "culture" might even make Marx's final exhortation more palatable to the twenty-first century musicologist: the end of academic *Musikbildung* is, he claims, "to inspire with hope every heart beating for something higher than that which is perishable."[124]

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[123] Marx, *Universal School of Music,* 303.
[124] Ibid., 306.

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Appendix

Selected North German Music Treatises, 1762-1792

This list is derived largely from Johann Nikolaus Forkel's *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik* (Leipzig, 1792). It represents those pedagogical texts for the keyboard written after Bach's second *Essay on the True Art of Keyboard Playing* (Berlin, 1762). Each list is in chronological order, and divided between thoroughbass treatises and keyboard-playing treatises, a distinction sustained in Forkel's catalogue. The list is not exhaustive of all European or even German-language treatises. But, by including those north German keyboard and thoroughbass treatises mentioned by Forkel, this selection supports the claim that north German music pedagogy after Bach's *Essay* supplied quick learning objectives for amateurs and supplemental material for teachers (signaled in titular descriptors such as *deutliche, kurze, kurzgefaßte, gründliche, liechtes, Grundriss, Anleitung*, translated respectively, "clear," "short," "concise," "elementary," "easy," "outline," "introduction," et al.).

Thoroughbass Treatises

Schroter, Christoph Gottlieb. *Deutliche Anweisung zum Generalbaß in beständiger Veränderung des uns angebornen harmonischen Dreyklanges* (Halberstadt, 1772)

Telemann, Georg Michael. *Unterricht im Generalbaßspielen* (Hamburg, 1773)

Hesse, Johann Heinrich. *Kurze, doch hinlängliche Anweisung zum Generalbasse* (Hamburg, 1776)

Gugl, Matthäus. *Kurzer und gründlicher Unterricht, den Generalbass oder die Partitur nach Regeln recht und wohl schlagen zu lernen.* (Augsburg, 1777)

Bach, Johann Michael. *Kurze und systematische Anleitung zum Generalbass, und der Tonkunst überhaupt* (Cassel, 1780)

Kirnberger, Johann Philip. *Grundsätze des Generalbasses als erste Linien der Composition.* (Berlin, 1781)

Löhlein, Georg. *Clavierschule, zweyter Band* (Leipzig, 1781)

Graf, Carl Friedrich. *Versuch über die Natur der Harmonie in dem Generalbaß, nebst einem Unterricht einer kurzen und regelmäßigen Bezifferung.* (Vittelern, 1782)

(Ed.) Hiller, Johann Adam. *Adlungs Anleitung zur Musikalischen Gelahrtheit.* (Leipzig, 1783)

Kellner, Johann Christoph. *Grudriss des Generalbasses, eine theoretisch-praktische Anleitung für die ersten Anfänger entworfen.* (Cassel, 1787)

Portmann, Johann. *Leichtes Lehrbuch der Harmonie, Composition und des Generalbasses – mehr Exempel als Text* (Darmstadt, 1789)

Keyboard Treatises

Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen, der schönern Ausübung* (Berlin, 1765)

Löhlein, Georg Simon. *Clavierschule, oder kurze und gründliche Anweisung zur Melodie und Harmonie*. (Leipzig, 1765; 1772, 1779)

Wideburg, Michael Johann Friedrich. *Der sich selbt informirende Clavierspieler, oder deutlicher und leichter Unterricht zur Selbstinformation im Clavierspielen.* (Leipzig, 1765; 1767, 1775)

Tubel, Christian Gottlieb. *Kurze Unterricht von der Musik*. (Amsterdam, 1767)

Töpfer, Johann Christian Carl. *Anfangsgründe zur Erlernung der Musik, und insonderheit des Claviers, durch eigenen Fleis und Erfahrung aufgesetzt und mit einer kritischen Vorrede begleitet.* (Breslau, 1773)

Laag, Heinrich. *Anfangsgründe zum Clavierspielen und Generalbaß.* (Osnabr, 1774)

Schmidtchen, Michael Christoph Benjamin. *Kurzgefaßte Anfangsgründe auf das Clavier für Anfänger.* (Leipzig, 1781)

Kobrich, Johann Anton. *Gründliche Claiverschule, durchgebends mit praktischen Beyspielen erklärt.* (Augsburg, 1782; 1784)

(anon.). *Unterricht für diejenigen, welche die Musik und das Clavier erlernen wollen.* (Hamburg, 1782)

Merbach, Georg Friedrich. *Clavierschule für Kinder.* (Leipzig, 1782; 1783)

Wolf, Georg Friedrich. *Kurzer, aber deutlicher Unterricht im Clavierspielen* (Göttingen, 1783; 1784, 1789).

Zodermann. *Kurzer Unterricht für Musikanfänger, das Clavierspielen auf eine sehr leichte Art zu erlernen*. Amerstdam 1789.

Türk, Daniel Gottlob. *Klavierschule, oder Answesung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende* (Schwickert, 1789)

Rellstab, Johann Carl Friedrich. *Anleitung für Clavierspielen, den Gebrauch der Bachischen fingersetzung, die Manieren und den Vortrag betreffend.* (Berlin, 1790)