

**JOHANN FRIEDRICH AGRICOLA
(1720–1774)**

**A CRITICAL STUDY AND CATALOGUE OF THE
MUSICAL SOURCES**

Volume I

A thesis presented by

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submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Music at the University of Oxford



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DECLARATION

I certify that this doctoral thesis comprises only my original work, and that due acknowledgement has been made in the text to the work of others.

Including footnotes and bibliography—but excluding the texts of musical works, associated commentary and catalogues—it does not exceed 100,000 words in length.

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For my parents

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ABSTRACT

The Berlin *Hofkomponist* Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720–1774) is today still perhaps best known as a pupil and copyist of Johann Sebastian Bach. Together with Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, he co-authored Bach's 1754 obituary, and later received acclaim for his translation and revision of Pier Francesco Tosi's singing treatise, published in German as *Anleitung zur Singkunst* (1757). However, Agricola's own musical legacy has received very little attention, despite the fact that he composed a substantial quantity of music across a range of genres and was also a prolific copyist of works by many major composers of his day. These sources demand attention as both the legacy of an important Berlin composer schooled in the Bach tradition, and, more broadly, as case studies in the rich and complex networks of musical exchange that occurred between composers and musicians during this period.

This thesis presents the first critical study of all the known sources of music, both manuscript and printed, connected to Agricola. It is divided into three sections. Volume I opens with a biographical profile of Agricola, before considering some of the theoretical and historiographical challenges associated with approaching *galant* music and the materiality of eighteenth-century sources as evidence for musical networks and exchange. This is followed by an overview of the development of musical life at the Dresden and Berlin courts, which enjoyed a close relationship in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the major Berlin collections where most of the Agricola sources are found. A detailed re-examination of Agricola's handwriting in light of newly uncovered manuscripts, together with watermark and ink analyses, provides

the basis for a refined chronology of the sources. These findings then inform my discussion of two areas where the autograph manuscript tradition is particularly rich: the genre of sacred music, and Agricola's role as a copyist, where I consider selected manuscripts in more detail. In Volume II, I present a critical edition of two hitherto unpublished cantatas by Agricola, the Easter Day cantata *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers* and the funeral cantata *Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut*. The edition supplements the discussions of these works in Chapter 4 and makes them available in a scholarly text for the first time. Volume III comprises the first thematic catalogue of Agricola's works, the *Agricola-Werke-Verzeichnis* (AgWV), and a descriptive catalogue of the manuscript copies that are wholly or partially in Agricola's hand. The thesis is intended to provide the fundamental groundwork for future source studies on Agricola, the Berlin School and the legacy of the Bach tradition after 1750.

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LIST OF LIBRARY SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

RISM sigla

A-GÖ	Benediktinerabtei, Musikarchiv, Stift Göttweig
A-Sm	Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Bibliotheca Mozartiana, Salzburg
B-Bc	Bibliothèque Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles, Brussels
CH-E	Kloster Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek, Einsiedeln
CH-Zz	Zentralbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Zürich
CZ-Brn	Moravské zemské muzeum, oddělení dějin hudby, Brno
CZ-Pnm	Národní muzeum - České muzeum hudby, hudebně-historické oddělení, Prague
D-ABGa	Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchgemeinde, Kantoreiarchiv St. Annen, Annaberg-Buchholz
D-B	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
D-Bga	Geheimes Staatsarchiv – Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
D-Bhm	Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsbibliothek, Berlin
D-Bsa	Sing-Akademie zu Berlin/Notenarchiv (now held in D-B), Berlin
D-BDk	St. Katharinenkirche, Notenarchiv, Brandenburg an der Havel
D-BNu	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Bonn
D-Dla	Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden
D-Dl	Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden
D-DS	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Darmstadt
D-DT	Lippische Landesbibliothek/ Theologische Bibliothek und Mediothek, Detmold
D-GI	Justus-Liebig-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Gießen
D-GLAU	Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchgemeinde St. Georgen, Musikarchiv, Glauchau

D-GOa	Augustinerkirche, Notenbibliothek, Gotha
D-GOI	Forschungsbibliothek Gotha der Universität Erfurt, Gotha
D-Hs	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Hamburg
D-HER	Unitätsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität, Herrnhut
D-KNh	Hochschule für Musik und Tanz, Bibliothek, Köln
D-LEb	Bach-Archiv, Leipzig
D-LEm	Leipziger Stadtbibliothek - Musikbibliothek, Leipzig
D-LEt	Thomanerchor, Bibliothek, Leipzig (now held in D-LEb)
D-Mbs	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München
D-OLH	Evangelisch-Lutherisches Pfarramt, Pfarrarchiv, Olbernhau
D-RAd	Domarchiv, Ratzeburg
D-RH	Fürstlich zu Bentheim-Tecklenburgische Musikbibliothek, Rheda
D-ROu	Universität Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek: Abt. Sondersammlungen, Musikalien, Rostock
D-RUh	Hofkapellarchiv, Rudolstadt (now held in D-RUI)
D-RUI	Landesarchiv Thüringen - Staatsarchiv Rudolstadt, Rudolstadt
D-Sla	Landeskirchliches Archiv, Stuttgart
D-SWI	Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Günther Uecker, Musikaliensammlung, Schwerin
D-W	Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
D-WFe	Ehemalige Ephoralbibliothek, Musikaliensammlung, Weißenfels
D-WRgs	Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar
D-WRha	Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt, Hochschularchiv, Weimar
D-WRz	Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar
DK-Ch	Brødremenigheden, Christiansfeld
F-Pc	Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Paris
F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
GB-Lbl	The British Library, London
GB-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
I-MOe	Biblioteca Estense, Modena

PL-KŁwnm	Parafia Rzymskokatolicka Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny, Kłodzko
PL-ŁŻu	Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Sekcja Muzykaliów w Oddziale Zbiorów Specjalnych, Łódź
PL-Wu	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Warsaw
PL-WRu	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław
RUS-Mrg	Rossijskaja Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka, Moscow
S-Skma	Musik- och teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm
US-BEm	Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library - University of California, Berkeley, CA
US-BETm	Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA
US-CA	Harvard University, Harvard College Library, Cambridge, MA
US-LAum	University of California, Music Library, Los Angeles, CA
US-NH	Yale University, Music Library, New Haven, CT
US-Wc	The Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington, D.C.
US-WS	Moravian Music Foundation, Archie K. Davis Center, Winston-Salem, NC

Bibliographic abbreviations

Am.B	Amalien-Bibliothek (now held in D-B)
Blechtschmidt	<i>Die Amalien-Bibliothek: Musikbibliothek der Prinzessin Anna Amalia von Preußen (1723–1787)</i> (= Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 8) Berlin: Merseburger, 1965
BDok I–IX	<i>Bach-Dokumente, herausgegeben vom Bach-Archiv Leipzig. Supplement zu Johann Sebastian Bach, Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke. 9 vols.</i> Vol. I: <i>Schriftstücke von der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs</i> , vorgelegt und erläutert von Werner Neumann und Hans-Joachim Schulze. Leipzig and Kassel: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik/Bärenreiter, 1963 Vol. II: <i>Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs</i> , vorgelegt und erläutert von Werner Neumann

und Hans-Joachim Schulze. Leipzig and Kassel: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik/Bärenreiter, 1969

Vol. III: *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750–1800*, vorgelegt und erläutert von Hans-Joachim Schulze. Leipzig and Kassel: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik/Bärenreiter, 1972

Vol. IV: *Bilddokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs*, vorgelegt und erläutert von Werner Neumann. Leipzig and Kassel: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik/Bärenreiter, 1979

Vol. V: *Dokumente zu Leben, Werk und Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1685–1800. Neue Dokumente, Nachträge und Berichtigungen zu Band I–III*, vorgelegt und erläutert von Hans-Joachim Schulze unter Mitarbeit von Andreas Glöckner. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007

Vol. VI: *Ausgewählte Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1801–1850*, vorgelegt und erläutert von Andreas Glöckner, Anselm Hartinger und Karen Lehmann. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007

Vol. VII: *Johann Nikolaus Forkel: Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke (Leipzig 1802): Edition, Quellen, Materialien*, vorgelegt und erläutert von Christoph Wolff unter Mitarbeit von Michael Maul. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008

Vol. VIII: *Dokumente zur Bach-Überlieferung 1801 bis 1850*, vorgelegt und erläutert von Peter Wollny. Kassel: Bärenreiter (in prep.)

Vol. IX: *Bach: Ein Lebensgeschichte in Bildern / A Life in Pictures (= NBArev 5)*, ed. Christoph Wolff. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2017

BR-WFB

Peter Wollny and Christoph Wolff, *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke (BR-WFB)*. Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 2012

BWV

Wolfgang Schmieder, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach. Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1950

- BuxWV Georg Karstädt, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Dietrich Buxtehude: Buxtehude-Werke-Verzeichnis (BuxWV)*. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1974
- CPEB-CW *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works*. Los Altos, CA: The Packard Humanities Institute, 2005ff.
- Dürr Chr Alfred Dürr, 'Zur Chronologie der Handschrift Johann Christoph Altnikols und Johann Friedrich Agricolas'. *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1970): 44–65.
- Eitner Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, Vol. 1. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1900
- EnßlinSA Wolfram Enßlin, *Die Bach-Quellen der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin* (= Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 8). 2 vols. Hildesheim: Olms, 2006
- Fk Martin Falck, *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sein Leben und seine Werke, mit thematischem Verzeichnis seiner Kompositionen und zweil Bildern*. Leipzig: C.F. Kahnt, 1919
- GraunWV Christoph Henzel, *Graun-Werkverzeichnis (GraunWV): Verzeichnis der Werke der Brüder Johann Gottlieb und Carl Heinrich Graun*. 2 vols. Beeskow: Ortus, 2006
- H E. Eugene Helm, *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- HWV Bernd Baselt, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Georg Friedrich Händel*. 3 vols (= Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, Supplement [Händel-Handbuch], Vols. 1–3). Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978–1986
- Henzel 2003 Christoph Henzel, 'Agricola und Andere: Berliner Komponisten im Notenarchiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2003: 31–98
- Henzel 2004 Christoph Henzel, 'Das Konzertleben der Preußischen Hauptstadt 1740–86 im Spiegel der Berliner Presse (Teil 1)', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2004: 216–291

- Henzel 2005 Christoph Henzel, 'Das Konzertleben der Preußischen Hauptstadt 1740–86 im Spiegel der Berliner Presse (Teil 2)', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2005: 139–241
- Henzel 2009 Christoph Henzel, *Berliner Klassik: Studien zur Graunüberlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*. Beeskow: Ortus, 2009
- Henzel 2013 Christoph Henzel, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola und die friederizianische Oper nach dem Siebenjährigen Krieg', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2013: 253–275
- HoWV Uwe Wolf, *Gottfried August Homilius: Thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke (HoWV)*. Stuttgart: Carus, 2009
- KöcF Thomas Hochradner, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Joseph Fux (?1660–1741) (FuxWV)*. Völlig überarbeitete Neufassung des Verzeichnisses von Ludwig Ritter von Köchel (1872). Vienna: Hollitzer-Verlag, 2016
- Marpurg *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, Vol. 1. Berlin: Johann Jacob Schützens seilge Witwe, 1754–5
- NBA Johann Sebastian Bach, *Neue Ausgabe Sämtliche Werke (Neue Bach-Ausgabe)*. Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1954–2007
- NBA KB *Kritischer Bericht to NBA* (see above)
- NBArev Johann Sebastian Bach, *Neue Ausgabe Sämtliche Werke: Revidierte Edition (Neue Bach-Ausgabe, Revised Edition)*. Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 2010ff.
- QV Horst Augsbach, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Joachim Quantz: Quantz-Werke-Verzeichnis (QV)*. Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1997
- RISM *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales: Internationales Quellenlexikon der Musik*. Available online at <https://rism.info>
- SA Sing-Akademie zu Berlin/Notenarchiv (now held in D-B)
- SACat Axel Fischer and Matthias Kornemann (eds.), *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Catalogue / Das Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Katalog*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010

- Schwinger 2012 Tobias Schwinger, 'Der preußische Hofkomponist Johann Friedrich Agricola in seiner Rolle als Kirchenkomponist für die Kirche St. Petri in Berlin', in *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und die protestantische Kirchenkantate nach 1750*, ed. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Peter Wollny (= Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik, Band 1) (Beeskow: Ortus, 2012), 195–220
- SWV Werner Bittinger, *Heinrich Schütz: Werke Verzeichnis*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960
- TVWV Werner Menke, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Vokalwerke von Georg Philipp Telemann*. 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1981–1983
- TWV Martin Ruhnke, *Georg Philipp Telemann: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke*. 3 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984–1999
- Weiß *Katalog der Wasserzeichen in Bachs Originalhandschriften*, von Wisso Weiß, unter musikwissenschaftlicher Mitarbeit von Yoshitake Kobayashi (= NBA IX/1). 2 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985
- Wq Alfred Wotquenne, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel 1905. Repr. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1968
- Wucherpfennig Hermann Wucherpfennig, *Johann Friedrich Agricola: Sein Leben und Seine Werke*. Doctoral diss., Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1922
- ZDok I, II *Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien*. In Verbindung mit Ortrun Landmann und Wolfgang Reich, vorgelegt von Wolfgang Horn und Thomas Kohlhase. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1989
- ZWV Wolfgang Reich, *Jan Dismas Zelenka: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke (ZWV)* (= Studien und Materialien zur Musikgeschichte Dresdens 6). 2 vols. Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1985. Repr. in ZDok II, 279–321

Instruments, Instrumentation and Voices

- | | |
|---------|-------|
| Alt; A | Alto |
| Bass; B | Basso |

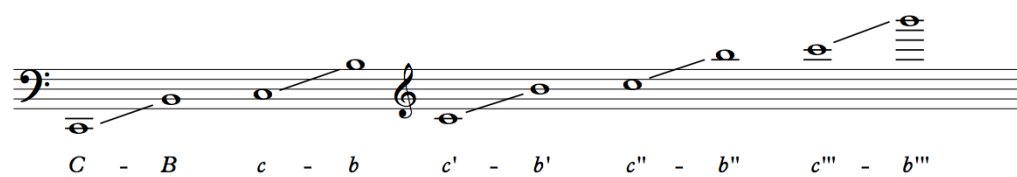
BC	Basso Continuo
Conc	Concertante
Fg	Fagotto
Fl	Flauto Traverso
Ob	Oboe
Org	Organo
Sop; S	Soprano
Ten; T	Tenore
Timp	Timpani
Tr	Tromba
Tbn	Trombone
Vc	Violoncello
Vla	Viola
Vln	Violino
Vlo	Violone

Other abbreviations

b.	bar
fol.	folio
fn.	footnote
movt.	movement
p.	page

Note on Pitch Identification

The system of pitch identification used in this thesis is as follows:



CHAPTER 1

Music, Materiality and Johann Friedrich Agricola:

A Theoretical Introduction

On 2 December 1774, the Prussian court composer (*Hofkomponist*) Johann Friedrich Agricola died in Berlin at the age of 54. An obituary published in the *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung* four days later called him ‘one of the most learned, most excellent composers of the century’.¹ Yet his music, and his reputation as a composer of high standing, fell quickly into oblivion, even in comparison to many of his contemporaries. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, in his 1802 biography of Johann Sebastian Bach, mentions Agricola as one of ten ‘celebrity pupils’ of Bach, but says only the following:

Agricola, Prussian Court Composer. He is less known by his compositions than by his knowledge of the theory of music. He translated [Pier Francesco] Tosi’s directions for singing from the Italian into German [*Anleitung zur Singkunst*, 1757] and accompanied the work with very instructive notes.²

¹ ‘... als einen der gelehrtesten, vorzüglichsten Tonkünstler seines Jahrhunderts ...’. *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung*, 6 December 1774, quoted in Wucherpennig, 35. It should also be noted that in that year, Christian Gottlob Neefe (1748–1798), later Beethoven’s teacher, dedicated his *Sechs Neue Klaviersonaten* (Leipzig: Schwicker, 1774) to Agricola. See RISM ID no. 990046910.

² ‘Agricola, Preussischer Hof-Componist. Er ist weniger durch Compositionen als durch seine Kenntnisse in der Theorie der Musik bekannt. Tosi’s Anweisung zum Singen hat er aus dem Italiänischen ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit sehr lerreichen Anmerkungen begleitet.’ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister und Kühnel, 1802), 43 (facsimile of the first edition, ed. Axel Fischer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999)). A critical edition is given in BDok VII, 55.

This is, it must be said, hardly an effusive description. Clearly, by the start of the nineteenth century, Agricola's legacy as a theorist (and, by extension, critic) was already being privileged over his abilities as a composer. Indeed, of the more prominent composers of the so-called Berlin School, Agricola's posthumous reputation seems to have particularly suffered; by comparison, Forkel positively gushes about Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–1783), 'one of the most remarkable of Bach's pupils, full of the most useful zeal and genuine noble sense of the art'.³ Subsequent assessments by historians of Agricola's abilities as a composer and his importance in Berlin musical life have ranged wildly from high praise to being downright derisive. How are we to make sense of this, and why should this be?

From a twenty-first-century perspective, Agricola occupies a strange, ill-defined place in the history of eighteenth-century German music. His name is familiar, particularly to devotees of Bach scholarship, yet the details of his life are remarkably obscure. He is mentioned countless times in a great variety of scholarly and popular studies, but as a side player in the sweeping narrative of music history—a commentator, a pupil, a theorist and copyist who inevitably serves in these narratives to cast light on the greatness of others. It is no exaggeration to say that since the publication of Forkel's biography of J.S. Bach, Agricola's reputation has firmly rested on his association with his illustrious teacher and, to a lesser extent, his translation of

The English translation given here is adapted from that in Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel and Christoph Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, 457.

³ 'Er war einer der merkwürdigsten unter Bachs Schülern, voll des nützlichsten Kunsteifers und wahren hohen Kunstsinnes.' Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, 45, critical ed. in BDok VII, 55, trans. in David, Mendel and Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader*, 457.

Tosi's treatise. Along with so many of his colleagues from Berlin and further afield, however, his current reputation is also symptomatic of larger, still current, historiographical challenges in musicology. These include the problematic periodisation of a century of great musical change bookended by giant musical 'heroes'; the resulting marginalisation of so-called eighteenth-century *Kleinmeister*; and varying, sometimes conflicting, theoretical approaches to dealing with the explosion in the copying and collecting of music in this period, as reflected in the sources, particularly with regard to how composers formed complex networks that resulted in the material exchange of music across Germany and further afield, and how this influenced the development of style.

These issues have, in recent years, taken on a new clarity of vision and expression as source-based research into German music of the early to mid-eighteenth century has acquired a renewed impetus. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the greater accessibility of archives in the former East Germany and Eastern Europe has led to the ongoing recovery of hundreds of thousands of sources that have and continue to shed a radically new light on musical life in both Saxony and Prussia during this period. At the same time, the rise of digital technology has completely transformed the manner in which scholars are able to engage with these materials, allowing us to conceive of and perceive connections between disparate, often seemingly quite unrelated sources, places and people that would have been almost impossible to make in a pre-digital age.

The time is therefore ripe to reconsider Agricola's legacy. In this thesis, I aim take a new, comprehensive view of the extant musical materials associated with him, and consider important research questions that are fundamental to an understanding

of his music and musical activities. What is the scope of Agricola's musical *oeuvre* and his copies of works by other composers, as defined by the present source situation? How might the chronology of his manuscripts and handwriting be refined? What patterns can be observed in Agricola's compositional, copying and collecting processes, and how did he interact with other Berlin copyists? And how can an analysis of Agricola's musical materials contribute to understandings of materiality and musical networks and exchange in mid-eighteenth-century Germany?

In this introductory chapter, I seek to dissect some of the key issues that will fundamentally underpin what is to come. When approaching any aspect of Agricola and his music as a subject of serious critical enquiry, however, the scholar encounters a considerable barrier to research. In her 2010 study of Berlin court musical life, Ellen Exner deplored that there is still no works catalogue or complete biography of Agricola.⁴ We must, therefore, work from the ground up; and although Exner's desire for a comprehensive biography must remain unrealised for now, it is nonetheless with Agricola himself, and the ascertainable facts about his life, that we should begin.

1.1. Existing Biographical Studies

The only scholarly study that deals with both Agricola's life and music in any comprehensive manner is the dissertation by Hermann Wucherpfennig (1884–1969) entitled 'Johann Friedrich Agricola: sein Leben und seine Werke', which was

⁴ Ellen Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age: King Frederick the Great and Music for Berlin, 1732 to 1756' (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2010), 248.

submitted in 1922 for a doctoral degree at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin. Although initially a student of musicology, Wucherpfennig subsequently embarked on a career as an opera singer, and any impetus he may have had to continue with his research on Agricola was seemingly abandoned. For several decades his doctoral work remained the sole scholarly contribution to the study of this composer.⁵ Wucherpfennig's dissertation presents a broad overview of the composer in six large sections. The first is essentially a biographical profile (*Lebensbeschreibung*) of Agricola, subdivided into parts covering his youth and education (concluding with his time in Leipzig studying with Bach), and his life and work in Berlin. Subsequent sections proceed to discuss his theoretical writings and musical works. The fourth section provides an attempt at a systematic catalogue of Agricola's works and their sources, of which more will be discussed later in the present study, while the fifth presents a selection of letters and documents related to Agricola's life. The final section, according to the contents page, is an insert (*Beilage*) with musical examples; unfortunately, this is missing from the microfilm copy in D-B and printings derived from it held in other archives.⁶ Wucherpfennig's *Lebensbeschreibung* runs to thirty-six pages and gives a detailed and (sometimes overly) enthusiastic portrayal of the composer, albeit one often couched in highly descriptive language and rather sparsely referenced.⁷

⁵ A comparison may be drawn here with Norbert Schulz's dissertation on Zelenka, 'Johann Dismas Zelenka' (Doctoral Diss., Berlin, 1944), which was the first and, until the 1980s, only major scholarly study of Zelenka and his music.

⁶ For example, the printing held in the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, to which I was kindly given access.

⁷ This is all the more unfortunate given the fact that Wucherpfennig's biography is far more detailed than any of the other biographical profiles of Agricola, and from the references he does provide it is clear he

Much of the key factual information found in the first half of Wucherpfennig's profile, in particular, is derived from the five-page *Lebenslauf* devoted to Agricola in the first volume of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (1754–5).⁸ Although it is anonymous, Agricola himself—who was well-acquainted with Marpurg, and regularly contributed articles to the *Beyträge*—may have in fact been the author.⁹ It is on the information provided by this document that all subsequent biographical profiles, to varying degrees, have been based. These include a memorial entry (*Ehren-Gedächtniß*) published in Christian Carl Rolle's *Neue Wahrnehmungen zur Aufnahme und weitem Ausbreitung der Musik* (1784),¹⁰ and, nearly a century later, an entry in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1875, hereafter *ADB*).¹¹ The *ADB* entry, in particular, borrows heavily from the *Lebenslauf*—indeed, it cites the

had access to sources (particularly church registers) that have not been consulted since and, in some cases, may have disappeared.

⁸ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (ed.), *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, Vol. 1 (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schützens selige Witwe, 1754–5), 148–152. The first volume was published in five parts, or 'stücke', of which the Agricola *Lebenslauf* is found in the second (1754).

⁹ Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Agricola, Johann Friedrich', *MGG Online* (accessed 30 June 2020). The profile of Agricola's colleague Johann Gottlieb Janitsch that immediately follows (p. 152–156) is likewise anonymous; compare the famous and extremely lengthy *Lebenslauf* of Quantz, found in the third volume (p. 197–250), which is explicitly stated as being autobiographical ('von ihm selbst entworfen').

¹⁰ 'Ehren-Gedächtniß Johann Friedrich Agricola, Königlich-Preußischen Hof-Compositors (Hof-Componisten) nach Grauns Tode Capelldirectors', in Christian Carl Rolle, *Neue Wahrnehmungen zur Aufnahme und weitem Ausbreitung der Musik* (Berlin: Arnold Wever, 1784), 92–95. Rolle, who was the cousin of the Berlin court violist and composer Johann Heinrich Rolle, served as the Cantor of the Jerusalemkirche and Neuekirche in Berlin. The *Neue Wahrnehmungen* also contains a memorial entry for Agricola's contemporary, Carl Heinrich Graun.

¹¹ Arrey von Dommer, 'Agricola, Johann Friedrich', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 1 (Munich: Historische Commission bei der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften/Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot: 1875), 149–150.

Beyträge as its sole source—and simply adds a short, rather vague conclusion to its biographical section to cover the years after 1755 (thus making it, needless to say, a somewhat unbalanced profile). However, the *ADB* also incorporates a paragraph on Agricola's works that passes judgement on their stylistic quality. It comments:

On average, he has had only very moderate success with his compositions. Since he was completely dependent on the modern Italian manner of Hasse and Graun and also far less inventive, his otherwise correct *Satztechnik* [compositional technique] and some pleasant melodies were not sufficient to give even the best of his works more than temporary recognition ... As an organ player, he was considered the best in Berlin, and his reputation as an excellent vocal master was by no means unfounded ... His writings betray spirit and knowledge; similar to Scheibe, he was stronger in [music] criticism than production [i.e. composition].¹²

The author of the *ADB* entry, Arrey von Dommer (1828–1905), presumably had at least some access to Agricola manuscripts that were kept in Berlin, as he comments on the number of surviving sources, but he does not give examples from specific works (or, indeed, contemporary criticism) to support his assessment.¹³

¹² 'Mit seinen Compositionen hat er durchschnittlich nur sehr mäßige Erfolge gehabt. Da er von der modern italienischen Manier des Hasse und Graun völlig abhängig und überdieß weit schwächer an Erfindung war, reichten seine sonst correcte Satztechnik und manche angenehme Melodien nicht hin, selbst den besten unter seinen Tonwerken mehr als vorübergehende Anerkennung zu verschaffen ... Als Orgelspieler galt er für den besten in Berlin, und ebenso war sein Ruf als vortrefflicher Gesangmeister keineswegs unbegründet ... Seine Schriften endlich verrathen Geist und Kenntnisse; ähnlich wie Scheibe war auch A. stärker in der Kritik als in der Production.'

¹³ In the view of the Bach scholar Georg von Dadelsen, at any rate, von Dommer's opinions—even accounting for their nineteenth-century biases—have merit: 'His writings are characterized by critical

Robert Eitner's *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, published at the turn of the twentieth century, also includes a brief entry on Agricola. Eitner provides only a cursory biographical outline but gives a withering assessment of Agricola's abilities as a composer: 'Agricola was not necessarily devoted to the Italians, like Graun and Hasse, but rather he tried very hard to go his own way. But since nature had only given him small gifts, his music met with little response.'¹⁴ Eitner therefore takes a similar view of the reception of Agricola's compositions to the *ADB*, but, curiously, ascribes them to his allegedly unsuccessful attempts to forge his own style, rather than, as the *ADB* claims, being too dependent on the style of Graun and Hasse. The 1953 entry on Agricola by Rudolf Elvers in the *ADB*'s successor, the *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (hereafter *NDB*), is similarly dismissive: 'His compositions, with which he strives for a "natural" music of feeling, do not have their own character and hardly reach the average of the Berlin school'.¹⁵ As with the *ADB* entry, Elvers emphasises the importance of Agricola's critical writings, and, notably, his collaboration with C.P.E. Bach on the *Nekrolog*, which is not mentioned in earlier biographical profiles.

judgment, solid historical knowledge and clear representation' ('Seine Schriften zeichnen sich durch kritisches Urteil, gediegene historische Kenntnisse und klare Darstellungskraft aus.'). See Georg von Dadelsen, 'Dommer, Arrey v.', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 4 (Munich: Historische Commission bei der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften/Berlin: Duncker and Humblot: 1959), 68.

¹⁴ 'A[gricola] war die Italienern nicht wie Graun und Hasse unbedingt ergeben, sondern er suchte nur allzusehr seine eigenen Wege zu gehen. Da ihn aber die Natur nur mit geringen Gaben ausgestattet hatte, so fand seine Musik wenig Anklang.' Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1900), 58–59.

¹⁵ 'Seine Kompositionen, mit denen er eine „natürliche“ Musik des Gefühls anstrebt, tragen keine sehr eigenen Züge und erreichen kaum den Durchschnitt der Berliner Schule.' Rudolf Elvers, 'Agricola, Johann Friedrich', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 1 (Munich: Historische Commission bei der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften/Berlin: Duncker and Humblot: 1953), 101–102.

The authors of the articles on Agricola in the two major current music encyclopedias present a more sympathetic view. Eugene Helm and Darrell Berg, writing in *Grove Music Online*, comment:

Agricola was respected by his colleagues as a composer of considerable ability. He was a contributor to most of the lieder collections that formed the 'First Berlin School' of song, and his keyboard pieces were published in anthologies of the 1750s and 60s. His sacred works were in demand during his lifetime; copies of many of them survive in European libraries and archives. They show Agricola to have been an excellent craftsman, schooled in the Bach tradition and acquainted with the *galant* fashions of the mid-century, but prosaic in his treatment of melody.¹⁶

The *Grove* article, unlike its predecessors, also attempts a more balanced assessment of Agricola's legacy—both as a musicographer ('his most lasting accomplishment') and as a composer—in relation to his contemporaries (for example, commenting on Agricola's lack of understanding of Gluck's operatic reforms, it notes his writing 'reflects a conservatism that might be considered typical of north German music critics').¹⁷ But despite their less critical tone, Helm and Berg do not fundamentally advance Agricola's reputation much further, given their emphasis on craftsmanship and the prosaic. A similar, albeit more biographically detailed, approach is adopted in Hans-Joachim Schulze's article in the most recent edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte in*

¹⁶ E. Eugene Helm and Darrell Berg, 'Agricola, Johann Friedrich' (2001), *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, accessed 30 June 2020.

¹⁷ Helm and Berg, 'Agricola, Johann Friedrich', accessed 30 June 2020.

Gegenwart (MGG).¹⁸ A short biographical profile is also included in Julianne Baird's English translation of *Anleitung der Singkunst*, which particularly emphasises Agricola's difficult relationship with Friedrich II and the stylistic preoccupations of the Berlin school in order to serve as context for discussion of the treatise itself.¹⁹ Finally, it is worth mentioning a small booklet by Bärbel Berkholz, produced by Dobitschen's local history association in 1995.²⁰ While not a scholarly text, and one which acts more as a distillation of some key facts from Wucherpennig's findings, it nonetheless presents a concise summary of the composer's life and his musical style in the context of music at the Prussian court.

It is not the aim of the present study to provide a comprehensive new biography of Agricola based on an exhaustive assessment of new documentary material, despite the clear need for one. There are multiple reasons for this. Firstly, and most significantly, any biographical material that substantially adds to that already published in, for example, Wucherpennig's dissertation or major collections of relevant documents such as the *Bach-Dokumente* is most likely to be found in the form of official Prussian court records, today kept at the Brandenburg-Preußisches

¹⁸ Schulze, 'Agricola, Johann Friedrich', *MGG Online*, accessed 30 June 2020.

¹⁹ Julianne C. Baird, 'Introduction', in Johann Friedrich Agricola, *Introduction to the Art of Singing*, ed. and trans. Julianne C. Baird (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 4-7.

²⁰ Bärbel Berkholz, *Johann Friedrich Agricola: Königlich Preußischer Hofcompositeur* (Dobitschen: Geschichtsverein Wasserschloß Dobitschen e.V., 1995). In a handwritten addendum to the copy held in the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, dated 1 August 1999, Berkholz notes that a new edition of the brochure was planned for publication in 2005 to incorporate research findings made since 1995 ('Die Broschüre ist der Kenntnisstienel von 1995. Inzwischen liegen uns neue Ergebnisse vor. Es ist für 2005 geplant eine wesentlich erweiterte Neuauflage zu erarbeiten. B. Berkholz'); for various reasons, this never materialised (personal communication with author). I am grateful to Frau Berkholz for her generosity in sharing with me the history of her research and details of Dobitschen's efforts to promote Agricola's life and music.

Hausarchiv, part of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. Many have still not been properly sorted and catalogued, and some are inaccessible at the present time. Whilst some detailed research has been conducted on this collection,²¹ the results of which are referred to here where relevant, a thorough primary investigation of the thousands of records relating to musicians at the Berlin court during Agricola's time lies well beyond the scope of a doctoral dissertation, and must remain for a future project. In addition, several aspects of Agricola's biography are more entwined with his activities as a theorist and critic, which again lie outside the scope of this study.

A further consideration is that in cases where available biographical source material is particularly limited or repetitive, as with Agricola, detailed knowledge of a composer's *oeuvre* may act as a foundation from which to make the best sense of more obscure documentary evidence. In the absence of a thematic catalogue, or any kind of comprehensive survey of the source material for Agricola's music, this becomes a significantly more difficult task. The following biographical profile therefore only seeks to critically synthesise the major known facts about Agricola's life, drawn from the literature discussed above, in order to provide background information for the examination of musical sources that follows.

²¹ See, for example, Mary Oleskiewicz, 'The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia', in Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice B. Stockigt (eds.), *Music at German Courts: Changing Artistic Priorities* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 79–130. Oleskiewicz notes (p. 92) that although many primary sources do survive, there were nonetheless heavy archival losses during the Second World War.

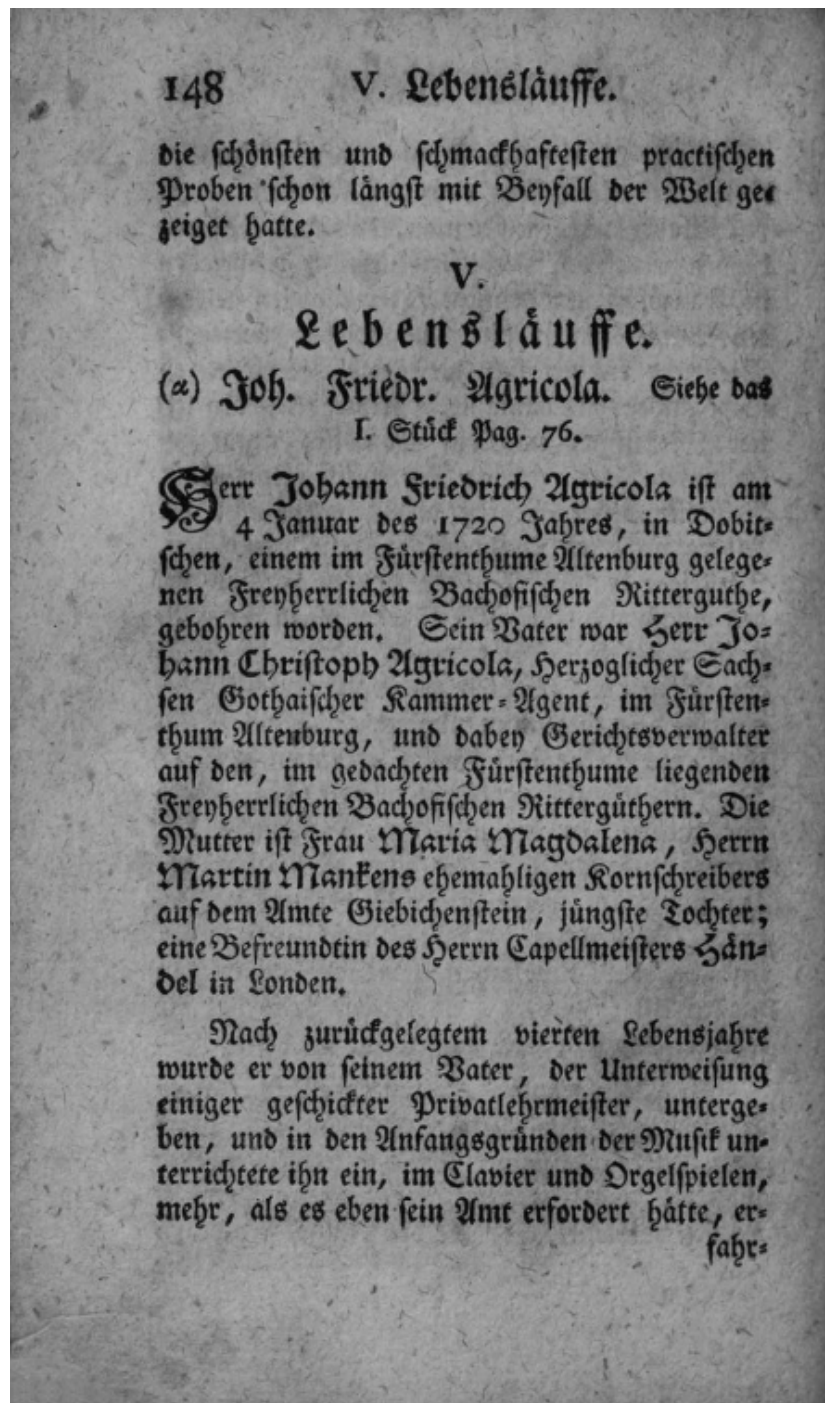


Figure 1.1: Opening page of Agricola's *Lebenslauf* in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (ed.), *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, Vol. 1 (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schützens seilge Witwe, 1754-5), 148. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, D-Mbs Mus.th. 2147-a-1.

1.2. Johann Friedrich Agricola: A Biographical Overview

Born on 4 January 1720 in the small town of Dobitschen, in eastern Thuringia, Johann Friedrich Agricola appears to have shown an aptitude for music early in life. He came from an upper-class family, and his father, Johann Christoph Agricola (1674–1751), was a ducal *Kammeragent* in the nearby city of Altenburg; his mother, Maria Magdalena (*née* Mancke, d.1759), may have known Handel in some capacity.²² Johann Friedrich was the second eldest of four children, although his older sister, Sophie Friederike, died at only four days old, on 20 March 1718; his two other siblings were Johanna Maria (b. 10 March 1722) and Carl Christoph (b. 23 October 1724). Agricola was baptised on 6 January in the local church, with the Saxon privy councillor Baron Johann Friedrich Bachoff von Echt I (1643–1726), his son Johann Friedrich Bachoff von Echt II (1679–1736), daughter-in-law Johanna Elisabeth (1684–1751) and the Princely Secretary to Altenburg Georg Friedrich Döhler acting as godparents.²³ From the age of five, the young Johann Friedrich was taught keyboard and organ by the school Kantor Johann Paul Martini, and, from 1731, educated by the theologian Johann Friederich

²² Maria Magdalena's exact relationship to Handel is uncertain: in the *Lebenslauf*, she is referred to as 'eine Befreundtin des Herrn Capellmeisters Händel in Londen [*sic*]', a claim repeated by Hans-Joachim Schulze in MGG. Charles Burney, however, calls her 'a near relation' of Handel and says they corresponded; by contrast, the short biographical profile in Thomas Seedorf's introduction to the facsimile of *Anleitung zur Singkunst* refers to her 'a possible distant relative'. Helm and Berg, writing for *Grove Music Online*, state that Handel research has failed to substantiate Burney's claims.

²³ Wucherpfeffnig, 4. Regarding Döhler, see also the entry in the Altenburg *Bürgerbuch*, reproduced in Wolfgang Becher, Wilfried Köhler, Gabriele Prechtel and Siegmund Theil, *Die Bürgerbücher der Stadt Altenburg in Thüringen, 1700–1838* (= Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Stoye 46) (Marburg/Lahn: Stiftung Stoye, 2008), no. 229.

Heumann.²⁴ The family (and, apparently, Heumann) subsequently moved to Altenburg in May 1737.

In the spring of 1738, Agricola relocated to Leipzig, where he matriculated at the University to study law, history and philosophy, as befitted someone of his class. His *Lebenslauf*, however, states that ‘from his youth he had set out to do his main work with music; so he started right after his arrival in Leipzig to take lessons from the now-famous *Kapellmeister* Johann Sebastian Bach in clavier and organ playing’.²⁵ This conscious decision to pursue a career in music has been noted as somewhat radical, as the profession was not considered worthy for a gentleman.²⁶ In Leipzig, Agricola had the opportunity to play church music ‘under his teacher’s leadership’ and also participated in the *Collegium musicum*.²⁷ As well as playing organ at services in the

²⁴ For more details about Heumann and his relationship to the Agricola family, see Wucherpfennig, 3–4, where a very extensive quotation is given from Heumann’s own *Lebenslauf* in the Dobitschen Kirchenbuch.

²⁵ ‘Weil er aber von Jugend auf sich vorgenommen hatte, mit der Zeit von der Musik sein Hauptwerk zu machen; so sing er gleich nach seiner Ankunft in Leipzig an, bei dem nunmehr seeligen Herrn Capellmeister Johann Sebastian Bach im Clavier- und Orgelspielen, welches er einige Jahre her, nur durch eigene Übung fortgesetzt hatte, Lectionen zu nehmen.’ Marpur, 149. See also Agricola’s 1750 testimony concerning his study in Leipzig in BDok II, No. 596, 466. Although, as mentioned above, the *Lebenslauf* is the key biographical source upon which later profiles have been based, and provides much useful information, the phrasing of sentences such as this is a reminder that it needs to be read critically as a narrative that conforms to various tropes of musician biographies of the time. On such questions of narrative and tropes in eighteenth-century life-stories, see Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), Chapter 6.

²⁶ Beverly Jerold, ‘Quantz and Agricola: A Literary Collaboration’, *Acta Musicologica* 88 (2016): 127–142, at 129.

²⁷ ‘Er hatte dabien Gelgenheit, unter seines Lehrers Anführung, bei der Kirchenmusik, und auch eine Zeitlang im *Collegio musico*, dass Erlernte immer auszuüben. Hierauf unterrichtete ihn gedachter Herr Capellmeister Bach auch in der harmonischen Geßkunst, mit der ihm eigenen Gründlichkeit und Aufrichtigkeit.’ Marpur, 149.

Leipzig churches, he therefore likely took part in performances of both sacred and secular cantatas by his teacher (including some which he copied out himself; see Chapter 5). While studying, Agricola made a short trip at Easter 1740 to the Saxon capital Dresden—examined in more detail below—where he heard the famous Dresden *Hofkapelle* directed by the court *Kapellmeister* Johann Adolf Hasse. The date of his subsequent move to Berlin the following year, however, is uncertain: Berkholz gives it as May 1741, but the *Lebenslauf* states he arrived there sometime in the autumn.²⁸ Whatever the case, he was not initially employed as a court composer; rather, he was employed as an organist and member of the Prussian *Hofkapelle*.²⁹ At the same time, he continued his training in composition, studying primarily with Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773), and here ‘he began to become more familiar with vocal music and theatrical composition, and practiced writing arias and cantatas for several years’.³⁰

Agricola concurrently began to take an interest in music criticism and theoretical writings. In 1749, under the pseudonym of Flavio Anicio Olibrio, he authored his first pamphlet, ‘Schreiben eines reisenden Liebhabers der Musik von der Tyber, an der critischen Musikus an der Spree’, dated 11 March. The ‘critical musician on the Spree’ was none other than Marpurg, who published a short-lived music

²⁸ Berkholz does not give a reference for her dating; see Berkholz, *Johann Friedrich Agricola*, 4, and Marpurg, 150 (‘... begab er sich im Herbste des 1741 Jahres nach Berlin’).

²⁹ The nature of musical life at the Berlin court, about which Wucherpfennig goes into considerable detail at this point in his own biographical profile of Agricola, is discussed more fully in Chapter 2.

³⁰ ‘Hier sieng er an mit der Vocalmusik und der theatralischen Composition sich immer näher bekannt zu machen; und übte sich einige Jahre hindurch in Verfertigung einzelner Arien und Cantaten.’ Marpurg, 150.

journal of the same name from 1749–1750, in which he printed his own article discussing his views on ornamentation. Despite its innocuous title, Agricola's pamphlet adopts a harsh, extremely personal tone, repeatedly attacking Marpurg, whom Agricola sarcastically brands a 'chief art expert', for his ignorance on a number of musical subjects, including ornamentation.³¹ The continuing debate resulted in the publication of a second pamphlet by Agricola, defending his views, a few months later.³² From this point onwards, Agricola regularly contributed music criticism to Berlin publications, including the successor to *Der Critische Musikus*, the *Historisch-kritische Beyträge*.³³ It has also been suggested that Agricola collaborated with Quantz on his famous treatise *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (1752).³⁴ Most of Agricola's writings, indeed, were published under various pseudonyms or completely anonymously, meaning that his authorship has to be determined by

³¹ Regarding Agricola's views on ornamentation, and how they related to those of his Berlin colleagues, see Friedrich Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music, with Special Emphasis on J.S. Bach* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 185–186.

³² Johann Friedrich Agricola, 'Schreiben an Herrn ... in welchem Flavio Anicio Olibrio sein Schreiben an der critischen Musikus an der Spree verteidiget, und auf dessen Widerlegung antwortet', 6 July 1749. Wucherpfennig relates how the Enlightenment writer and philosopher Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) humorously intervened in the debate, drafting the libretto for a mock opera entitled 'Tarantula' that satirised the situation; Lessing, Marpurg and Agricola all later became friends and members of the bourgeois Berlin *Montagsklub*. See Wucherpfennig, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', 8.

³³ This is certainly evidence that, despite their violent disagreements, Marpurg and Agricola later made up, and, as Neumann comments, the latter may even have influenced the former in modifying his views.

³⁴ Jerold, 'Quantz and Agricola', 127–142. Jerold points to a number of unusual features of Quantz's treatise, such its focus on vocal music, specific observations and entries in the index for subjects (including those concerning Bach) with which Agricola, not Quantz, would have been far more familiar, its concern with music education and music history (unusual for someone of Quantz's class) and similarities with Agricola's own treatise *Anleitung zur Singkunst*. See also the commentary to BDok III, No. 651.

attribution from other sources or through textual analysis.³⁵ In this way, it has been suggested that a much greater number and diversity of critical writings and biographies can be attributed to him than previously thought.³⁶ However, some of the conclusions reached by these analyses are open to question, given their reliance on inference and subjective interpretation of Agricola's characteristics as an author.

The year 1751 marked a crucial turning point in Agricola's personal and professional life. Despite an unsuccessful application to succeed Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749) as *Kapellmeister* in Gotha the previous year, he was appointed, in May 1751, as a *Hofkomponist* (court composer) to Friedrich II, largely due to the success of a highly successful work, the comic intermezzo *Il filosofo convinto in amore* (see Chapter 2).³⁷ On 10 July, he married Benedetta Emilia Molteni (1722–1780),³⁸ an Italian singer who had been a student of Porpora, Hasse and Felice Salimbeni (c.1712–1755). Molteni had a considerable reputation: she was first engaged by the Berlin opera in 1742, making her debut in Carl Heinrich Graun's opera *Cäsar und Cleopatra*, and was

³⁵ See Jerold, 'Quantz and Agricola', 130–131, for some examples.

³⁶ Jerold has recently argued that Agricola is the true author of a 1760 letter to Marpurg's *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* written under the pseudonym 'Enypniosophos', which speaks of a 'dream city' in which music is performed in an ideal manner and thereby criticises (by inference) Berlin's performance standards. See Beverly Jerold, 'A 1760 dream for better performance standards', *Musical Times* 161 (Autumn 2020): 85–99.

³⁷ The *Lebenslauf* notes that 'This *Scherzspiel* [comic play], and some other serious arias, which had also been sung before His Majesty the King, made their writer happy to step into the Royal Prussian Service in May 1751' ('Dieses Scherzspiel, und einige andere ernsthafte Arien, welche gleichfals vor Sr. Majestät dem Könige waren gesungen worden, verschaffeten ihrem Verfasser das Glück in May des 1751 Jahres in Königliche Preußische Dienste zu treten'). Berkholz's chronology on this matter is misleading: although she correctly gives the date of the premiere of *Il filosofo* as June 1750, she incorrectly implies that the appointment also took place at this time.

³⁸ The *NDB* incorrectly gives 1721 as Molteni's birth year.

subsequently promoted to the position of *Hauptsopranistin* at the Berlin court in 1748.³⁹ But the marriage brought with it great turmoil: it violated court protocol, which explicitly prohibited the marriage of female singers and dancers employed by the court. As a result, Friedrich II significantly cut the Agricolas' joint salary.⁴⁰ Just under two months afterwards, on 5 September, Agricola's father died.⁴¹

Despite a difficult personal relationship with Friedrich II, the 1750s proved to be a highly productive decade for Agricola in his new role as *Hofkomponist*. It was in this decade that the majority of his sacred vocal works were written, along with several operas—both *opera seria* and comic intermezzi—and lieder, and he was fully involved in court life as a copyist, conductor and performer. Notably, he continued his

³⁹ Benedetta Agricola's skill as a singer is detailed by Charles Burney, who visited the Agricolas in 1772: 'I was now presented to Signora Agricola, whose name before marriage, was Benedetta Emilia Molteni; she is now near fifty years of age, and yet sings songs of *bravura*, with amazing rapidity. The thinness of some parts of her voice, discovers the loss of youth, but yet she has fine remains of a great singer; her compass extends from A in the base [*sic*] to D in *alt*; and she has a most perfect shake and intonation'. Burney goes on to note her training with Porpora, Hasse and Salinbeni and her long service to the Berlin court, explaining that 'she now performs the second woman's part in his Prussian majesty's serious opera'. Benedetta apparently sang for Burney 'three airs in different styles, a *Grazioso*, an *Allegro*, and an *Adagio*', all compositions by her husband. See Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces. Or, The Journal of a Tour through those Countries, undertaken to collect Materials for A General History of Music*, Vol. II (London: T. Becket & Co., J. Robson and G. Robinson, 1773), 93–94.

⁴⁰ The combined salary of Agricola and his wife was reduced by Friedrich II to 1000 thaler; before the marriage, Agricola's salary alone had been 1500 thaler. It was probably thanks to Agricola's independent means, as a member of the upper classes, that the impact of this punishment was not as severe as it otherwise might have been. See Ernest Eugene Helm, *Music at the Court of Frederick the Great* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press), 1960, 206ff.

⁴¹ This resulted in Agricola's mother moving in with his brother Carl Christoph in Göllnitz, who had become a priest there. Although no authentic portrait of Johann Friedrich is known to exist, it is interesting to note that, according to Wucherpfennig (p. 3), a portrait of Carl Christoph hangs in the Göllnitz Dorfkirche.

involvement with publishing writings on music: in 1750, he co-authored the *Nekrolog* of Johann Sebastian Bach with Carl Philipp Emanuel, although this was not published until 1754.⁴² At the same time, he began work on translating Tosi's 1723 singing treatise *Opinioni de' cantori antichi, e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato*, published in 1757 as *Anleitung der Singkunst*.⁴³ Agricola's only child, his daughter Sophia Augusta Amalia Louisa, was born on 26 November 1755.⁴⁴

In 1759, two key figures in Agricola's life died: his mother, on 26 May, and—more significantly in terms of his career—the court *Kapellmeister* Carl Heinrich Graun. In a characteristically spiteful move, the King then gave Agricola all the responsibilities of the *Kapellmeister*, but neither the honour of the title nor an increase in salary, whilst continuing to openly criticise his music. After a rehearsal for Agricola's 1767 opera *Amor e Psiche*, for instance, the King wrote to his attendant Pöllnitz: 'You will tell Agricola that he must change all of Coli's arias—they are worthless—as well as those of Romani, along with the other recitatives, which are deplorable from one end to the other.'⁴⁵ Unsurprisingly, Agricola's relationship with

⁴² Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Johann Friedrich Agricola, 'Nekrolog auf Johann Sebastian Bach und Trauerkantaten', in *Musikalische Bibliothek, oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von alten und neuen musikalischen Schriften und Büchern ... Des vierten Bandes Erster Theil* (Leipzig: Mizlerischen Bücher-Verlag, 1754), 158–176., critical ed. in BDok III, 80–93, trans. in David, Mendel and Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader*, 297–307. The obituary is also reproduced in BDok VII, 93–103, where Christoph Wolff notes that the biographical part of the obituary was written by Carl Philipp Emanuel, whilst Agricola was responsible for the shorter second section that contained an assessment of Bach's artistic accomplishments.

⁴³ Berkholz notes that in 1756 Agricola became ill, which briefly interrupted work on the translation.

⁴⁴ Sophia's godparents were the Queen Mother, Sophia Dorothea, the King's brother, Prince Ferdinand (1730–1813) and his wife Princess Elisabeth Louise, and his sister Princess Amalia. This perhaps underlines the senior rank Agricola occupied at court, despite his uneasy relationship with the King.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Helm and Berg, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola'.

Friedrich II deteriorated further during the 1760s, and he seems to have suffered prolonged periods of ill health from this point onwards.

The nature of Agricola's illnesses, and the extent to which these can be attributed to his strained relationship with the King is unclear.⁴⁶ And although Exner suggests Agricola was 'arguably at the centre of musical life in Berlin from 1759 until his death in 1774', she also acknowledges that our understanding of the musical world outside the court at this time is sorely lacking, making it difficult to gain a complete picture of Agricola's professional activities at this time.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, it is apparent that Agricola, in spite of his illness and his strained relationship with the King, continued to flourish as a composer, music teacher and theorist. In 1765, he was appointed founding collaborator on music for the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, and in the early 1770s he engaged in spirited debates with Gluck about the role of recitative and aria in opera, also providing commentary for Jacob Adlung's *Musica mechanica organoedi*. In at least the last four years of his life, however, Agricola seems to have been constantly ill: in a letter to Padre Martini dated 14 March 1772, he complained of 'a long and tedious disease that has tormented me continuously for two years', which 'dazed and impeded' him.⁴⁸ One vivid primary account of Agricola during this period

⁴⁶ Seedorf calls the relationship between Agricola and Friedrich II 'tense until the end' and directly blames it for Agricola's ill health and death ('Die Beziehung zwischen König und Komponist blieb bis zum Ende gespannt. Agricolas zahlreiche Krankheiten, Fettleibigkeit und schliesslich sein früher Tod am 2. Dezember 1774 lassen sich vielleicht als körperlicher Ausdruck dieser andauernden Konfliktsituation verstehen'). See Seedorf, Introduction to the facsimile of Agricola, *Anleitung zur Singkunst*, XIV.

⁴⁷ Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 248.

⁴⁸ 'Mà d' una malattia lunga e tediosa, che m' hà tormentato più di 2 anni continui, ne fui frastornato ed impedito.' Agricola to Padre Martini, 14 March 1772, reproduced (in full) in Wucherpfeffnig, 108–110, at 108.

comes from Charles Burney, who was apparently introduced to him by the bookseller Christoph Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) on 28 September 1772. Burney writes:

After a long conversation, concerning the state of music in Berlin, M. Nicolai was so obliging as to conduct me to M. Agricola, the present composer of his Prussian majesty's serious opera; a station which he has held ever since the death of the late chapelmaster, Graun. ... His life has been very active in the exercise of his profession, and the number of his compositions, both for the church and stage, are a proof of the fertility of his genius.

He is more corpulent than Jomelli, or than his relation Handel ever was. He received me very politely; and though he was indisposed, and had just been blooded, he obligingly sat down to a fine *piano forte*, which I was desirous of hearing, and touched it in a truly great style. He is regarded as the best organ-player in Berlin, and the best singing master in Germany.⁴⁹

The marked obesity that Burney notes here may have at least partially been the result of Agricola's final illness, as it lead to a severe build-up of fluid in his body.⁵⁰

According to the *Totenbuch* of the Berlin Jerusalemkirche, he died on 2 December 1774 of 'Brust- und Wassersucht'; that is, dropsy (oedema) of the chest:

⁴⁹ Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces*, Vol. II, 89–91. Burney made a second visit to Agricola on 29 September, when he heard Benedetta Agricola sing (see above). Although Burney's account of this particular meeting is important as one of the few primary source accounts of Agricola's character, it is worth noting Mary Oleskiewicz's caution against 'granting excessive authority' to Burney's accounts about the nature of musical life at the Berlin court more generally, as they do not reflect practices from before the Seven Years' War. See Oleskiewicz, 'The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia', 92.

⁵⁰ Berkholz notes this final illness as beginning in 1773. See Berkholz, *Johann Friedrich Agricola*, 4.

Den 2^{ten} Dezember 1774

Herr Johann Friedrich Agricola, Königl.Preuss.Componiste ist Beerdiget, Montag, d.5.

Hallischen Kirchhof. alt 54 Jahr an der Brust- und Wasser Sucht gestorben. hinterlässt:

1 Tochter Louise Sophie Amalia Justina, alt 19 Jahr.⁵¹

As the *Totenbuch* notes, Agricola was buried in the churchyard near the former *Hallesches Tor*, in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, on 5 December. Despite her many years of service to the court, his widow Benedetta was subsequently dismissed by Friedrich II without a pension, and she died six years later.

Two days after Agricola's death, the *Berlinische Nachrichten* published its own obituary for Agricola, which read:

The day before yesterday, the famous court composer Mr. Johann Friedrich Agricola died after a debilitating illness. He has served His Majesty the King for many years, and not without acclaim. Posterity will not fail to recognise his extensive musical knowledge and his righteous and beautiful character.⁵²

Although this tribute emphasises Agricola's fame, character and contribution to musical life, it is perhaps less effusive than that offered by the *Berlinische privilegierte*

⁵¹ Jerusalemskirche Berlin, *Totenbuch*, 555 (1774, No. 5), quoted in Wucherpfennig, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', 35.

⁵² 'Vorgestern ist der berühmte Königliche Cammermusicus Herr Johann Friedrich Agricola, an einer auszehrenden Krankheit Todes verfahren. Er hat eine lange Reihe von Jahren Sr. Majestät dem Könige true, und nicht ohne Beyfall gedient. Seine musicalischen weit ausgebreiteten Kentnisse, und Seinen rechtschaffnen und schönem Character wird die Nachwelt nicht verkennen.' *Berlinsiche Nachrichten*, quoted in Henzel 2004, 219. Henzel erroneously states here that Agricola died on 1 December 1773.

Zeitung, and notably avoids mentioning his skill as a composer. Christoph Henzel, indeed, remarks that ‘the brevity and insipidness of the text reflects the scepticism towards Agricola, who took over the official business of Graun after the Seven Years War, but was not up to it as a composer’.⁵³ Henzel fails to elaborate, though, on who exactly was sceptical of Agricola—the King? The Berlin public?—and why he was judged to be an inadequate replacement for Graun. Nonetheless, the implication here is that in his own time, at least in later life, Agricola was seen as deficient in some way, compared to his predecessor. Certainly, matters were not helped by the King’s constant interference in and denigration of Agricola’s professional activities. But this still does not really account for the dismissive tone of the nineteenth and twentieth-century criticism discussed above, particularly because Agricola was by no means the only composer of his age to suffer such posthumous disinterest. For this, we must seek further explanations.

1.3. Heroes and shadows: composer ‘rescue’, periodisation and the *Kleinmeister* problem

In Forkel’s biography of J.S. Bach, Agricola and the other ‘celebrity pupils’ are portrayed as the musical offspring of a great hero, and their subsequent accomplishments as a direct result of their teacher’s masterful instruction. As is well known, it is here that we see the beginning of a narrative that privileges Bach as a singular, towering force of genius, but one who also represents the culmination of a

⁵³ Henzel 2004, 219.

serious, learned style that was then abandoned, thus marking the end of the Baroque. The music of Agricola and the post-Bach generation, from a historiographical perspective, is therefore already tarnished by concepts of 'pre-Classical' and associated terminology such as *Kleinmeister*, and the teleological, not to say pejorative, connotations of these labels have been widely remarked upon elsewhere.⁵⁴

Wolfgang Hirschmann has eloquently described the *Kleinmeister* problem, writing of 'the common *feuilleton* view of eighteenth-century music history' that 'is obviously still dominated by a concept of heroes' tales'.⁵⁵ For Hirschmann, the separation between 'E-' (*ernste*, that is, 'serious') and 'U-Musik' (*Unterhaltungsmusik*, that is, 'light', or less serious music), as popularised by Carl Dahlhaus, also really began with Forkel, who tells a story of J.S. Bach visiting the Dresden opera with Wilhelm Friedemann, and the 'joke' made by father to son about 'lovely Dresden ditties'. This, Forkel claims, is evidence of both individuals' knowledge of 'what is great in art and what is only beautiful and agreeable'.⁵⁶ In recent decades, musicologists working on eighteenth-century music have, quite rightly, attempted to

⁵⁴ See, for example, Daniel Heartz and Bruce Alan Brown, 'Pre-Classical', *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, and Sterling E. Murray, *The Career of an Eighteenth-Century Kapellmeister: The Life and Music of Antonio Rosetti*, xiii.

⁵⁵ Wolfgang Hirschmann, 'Editorial', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11 (2014): 167–172, at 167.

⁵⁶ 'Er hatte auf diese Weise immer eine ausgezeichnet ehrenvolle Aufnahme in Dresden, und ging oft dahin, um die Oper zu hören. Sein ältester Sohn mußte ihn gewöhnlich begleiten. Er pflegte dann einige Tage vor der Abreise im Scherz zu sagen: Friedemann, woollen wir nicht die schönen Dresdener Liederchen einmahl wieder hören? So unschuldig dieser Scherz an sich ist, so bin ich doch überzeugt, daß ihn Bach gegen keinen andern als gegen diesen Sohn geäußert haben würde, der um jene Zeit ebenfalls schon wußte, was in der Kunst groß, und was bloß schön und angenehm ist.' Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, 48, critical ed. in BDok VII, 60, trans. in David, Mendel and Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader*, 461.

challenge and modify both the *feuilleton* view that Hirschmann describes and the hagiography of Bach instigated by Forkel by investigating and ‘rescuing’ neglected composers and repertoire of many kinds. It is extraordinary to think that even such a figure as Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767) has traditionally been firmly relegated by scholarship to the realm of the *Kleinmeister*: a composer of ‘fluent’, ‘popular’ and ‘tasteful’ music, to be sure, but no more. One of the reasons for this was precisely because of the vastness of his musical output, which, for many nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars, was apparently indicative of a superficiality and a lack of originality in his compositions. Problematic, too, was his stylistic heterogeneity (the result of a long life) and sustained engagement with the *galant*, despite being four years older than J.S. Bach, leading to him being derisively labelled as a ‘transitional figure’.⁵⁷ Thanks to recent scholarship, this view is now beginning to change.

One particularly spectacular example of how scholarship has managed to rehabilitate the reputation of a previously neglected figure is that of the Dresden court composer Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745). Until the 1960s, very few modern musicians had heard of Zelenka; his compositions had lain virtually unheard for the best part of 150 years. In her seminal monograph, Janice B. Stockigt opines that the reasons for this are many, but especially include the highly targeted audience and setting of most of Zelenka’s music, which resulted in its near-total neglect once tastes at the Dresden court changed (although we now know the situation to have been more

⁵⁷ Steven Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann’s Instrumental Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), vii–xi.

complicated and nuanced than this).⁵⁸ It has only been during the last forty years or so, thanks to a large amount of research, that a holistic appreciation of Zelenka's life and music has come about. Even as recently as 2000, it was acknowledged that 'the figure of [this] major Bohemian composer remains in the shadows ... In recent years a great deal of information has emerged about the context in which he worked ... but although Zelenka's activities may be more clearly defined within that context, his persona has not yet been fully illuminated.'⁵⁹

In the twenty years hence, the 'rediscovery' of Zelenka has taken on a new, almost feverish momentum. A significant proportion of his compositions are now available in critical editions, and an even greater number have been recorded. There is a dedicated website and online forum for discussion of his life and works,⁶⁰ and an annual festival held in Prague and Dresden, incorporating a series of concerts of music from the Dresden court and a scholarly conference.⁶¹ Zelenka no longer 'remains in the shadows', as Stockigt asserted in 2000, but has instead become something of a cult figure in the world of early eighteenth-century music, even outside specialist musicological circles. Other similar examples of 'rediscovery', with varying degrees of success, include the Zerbst court composer Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758) and the Darmstadt court composer Christoph Graupner (1683–1760). The studies undertaken on these figures have contributed to significantly new understandings about musical

⁵⁸ Janice B. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), vii.

⁵⁹ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, vii.

⁶⁰ 'Discover Zelenka', <http://jdzelenka.net>, accessed 30 June 2020.

⁶¹ Zelenka Festival Prague-Dresden, <http://zelenkafestival.cz>, accessed 30 June 2020.

networks and stylistic development in the eighteenth century, and provide valuable methodological models for the present study.

It might well be argued, however, that despite their previous neglect, none of these composers have suffered from being labelled as true *Kleinmeister* in the most pejorative sense, because that term carries implications of style as well as aesthetic quality that are necessarily related to traditional, outmoded narratives of periodisation. Sterling Murray, in his study of the *Kapellmeister* Antonio Rosetti (1750–1792), squarely frames Rosetti as a *Kleinmeister* within the era of Haydn and Mozart, arguing that ‘the musical production of this short epoch was voluminous [and] often the product of dozens of capable composers working throughout Europe ... shadowy figures whose contributions remain largely unnoticed and unacknowledged’.⁶² By ‘this short epoch’, he means what is traditionally defined as the Classical period. The implication here is that the ‘popular’, allegedly non-serious aesthetic of the *Kleinmeister* is rooted firmly in the development of an anti-Baroque style—that is, the *galant*—that ultimately reached its more intellectual zenith in Vienna at the end of the century. He comments:

... [the development of the classical style] represented the collective effort of many musicians of varying skill and creativity plying their trade in small rural courts as well as the centres of aristocratic power and commercial enterprise. It is impossible to arrive at a comprehensive evaluation of the classical style without considering the contribution of these composers. But in order to do this, we first need to know a great

⁶² Sterling Murray, *The Career of an Eighteenth-Century Kapellmeister: The Life and Music of Antonio Rosetti* (= Eastman Studies in Music 107) (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014), xiii.

deal more about them and their accomplishments. Although often singled out for special praise by critics of their own day, today—more than two hundred years later—the music of these so-called *Kleinmeister* remains on the shadowy periphery of the concert repertory, either ignored or viewed as backdrop for what has been considered the more impressive accomplishments of their better-known contemporaries.⁶³

Although Murray, too, therefore seeks to rescue the reputation of little-known composers such as Rosetti and restore their contribution to the development of ‘the classical style’, he does nothing to challenge traditional concepts of periodisation that are partly responsible for creating the heroes-*feuilleton* binary that resulted in the usage of the term *Kleinmeister* in the first place; namely, the bifurcation of the eighteenth century using the death of J.S. Bach as a marker.

It has long been recognised that this marker is a historical fallacy, and several attempts have been made to construct more realistic alternative models. James Webster, in particular, has discussed this at length, conducting an exhaustive historiographical analysis of this complex problem that I do not intend to replicate here.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, it is worth summarising a few of these alternative viewpoints. Carl Dahlhaus (to whom Webster pays homage in the title of his article, with a pointedly added question mark) dismisses Bach, stylistically speaking, as an ‘esoteric outsider’, arguing that the musical eighteenth century should be defined as the period between

⁶³ Murray, *The Career of an Eighteenth-Century Kapellmeister*, 389–390.

⁶⁴ James Webster, ‘The Eighteenth Century as a Music-Historical Period?’, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 1 (2004): 47–60.

1720 and 1814, being aesthetically characterised by the dominance of Italian opera.⁶⁵ Others, such as Robert Marshall, have taken issue with this, pointing to the importance of a diverse range of national genres and styles during the eighteenth century, but have nonetheless endorsed the attractive idea of viewing it as one long period by seeing it through the lens of a stylistic evolutionary process.⁶⁶ For Marshall, though, it is still ultimately driven and bookended by the stories of heroes. Indeed, he argues that the music of Bach and Handel can be seen as the ‘early fruits’ of the cultivation of the *vermischter Geschmack* (whilst virtually ignoring the contribution of Dresden composers, where the style was first cultivated), vaguely (and rather conveniently) passes over the middle of the century, and then describes a stylistic ‘synthesis’ that ultimately resulted in ‘the music of the Viennese Classical masters’, i.e. Haydn and Mozart. This suits Marshall’s support for the idea of the eighteenth century musical ‘hero’:

The telling point, however, is that these ‘heroes’ were consciously aware of their historic and cultural mission. Gluck spoke in 1773 of his wish to write music that “would appeal to all peoples” and “wipe out the ridiculous differences in national music” ... And, as is well-known, Joseph Haydn once remarked, “My language is

⁶⁵ See Carl Dahlhaus, ‘Das 18. Jahrhundert als musikgeschichtliche Epoche’, in *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (= Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 5) (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1985), 1–8.

⁶⁶ Robert L. Marshall, ‘The Eighteenth Century as a Music-Historical Epoch: A Different Argument for the Proposition’, *College Music Symposium* 27 (1987): 198–205, republished as ‘Prologue: The Century of Bach and Mozart as a Music-Historical Epoch: A Different Argument for the Proposition’ in *Bach and Mozart: Essays on the Enigma of Genius* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2019), 1–8, at 4–5.

understood in the whole world.” It is simply a fatal distortion of the historical facts of the eighteenth century to drive the major figures to the periphery.⁶⁷

To imply that a conscious awareness of a cultural mission is a desirable, even necessary, criterion for the definition of an eighteenth-century musical ‘hero’ seems to be a tall order, not to say—certainly for many composers earlier in the eighteenth century—dangerously anachronistic. And for those for whom we cannot identify such lofty ambitions, are we to regard them as *Kleinmeister*, and thus inherently inferior? This is not to denigrate Marshall’s recognition of the many and varied social and cultural changes, and musical figures, that he acknowledges drove the development of style in the eighteenth century; indeed, he gives the court of Friedrich II in Berlin as an example. Rather, although he has proposed an alternative periodisation with attractive qualities—not least an element of continual stylistic development that avoids characterising the *galant* as an anti-Baroque, post-Bach reaction—he fails to engage with how those not currently recognised as ‘major figures’ contributed to this evolution.

Webster suggests his own tripartite model for the parsing of a ‘long’ eighteenth century (although he explicitly resists defining it as a single epoch, in the Dahlhausian sense). He proposes a late ‘Baroque’ from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries, a central period from 1720 to 1780 governed by a variety of *galant* aesthetics and Italian opera, and, finally, a Viennese-modern period from 1780 to 1815 or 1830.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Marshall, ‘The Century of Bach and Mozart as a Music-Historical Epoch’, 5.

⁶⁸ Webster, ‘The Eighteenth Century as a Music-Historical Period?’, 59–60.

This model, although less neat than Marshall's, is more flexible, because it takes into account the differences between national *galant* traditions (including that centred around Northern Germany) without assuming there was an eventual homogeneity of style that then suddenly became Viennese Classicism.⁶⁹ Further, as Daniel Hertz advocates, it gives the *galant* a separate period all its own, placing those *Kleinmeister*—surely 'minor' masters of *U-Musik* no longer—firmly at the centre.⁷⁰ This, then, is in keeping with a view of them as what Hirschmann calls 'musical phenotypes' of the eighteenth century that saw profound changes in social and aesthetic views of music.⁷¹

To be clear, I am not suggesting that by dismissing the term *Kleinmeister*, and cautioning against overemphasising traditional 'heroes', I am attempting to elevate the status of a composer such as Agricola to that of Bach. Following the lead of Evan Cortens in his study of Graupner, I too am arguing against the necessity for such a privileged status in the first place. As he writes:

To put it another way, I am not offering an aesthetic judgement of Graupner, so much as I am attempting to lay the basic groundwork necessary to allow such appreciation.

In that respect, my efforts here are almost by definition preliminary—exhaustive

⁶⁹ For further background on the heterogeneity of the so-called 'classical style', see James Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in his Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 335–357.

⁷⁰ Hertz, in his magisterial trilogy on so-called 'classic' music, devotes an entire volume to this period, structured around these national traditions. See Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003).

⁷¹ Hirschmann, 'Editorial', 172.

treatment of over 1,400 cantatas is not possible within the confines of a single dissertation.⁷²

In a similar fashion, the fundamental musicological groundwork for Agricola studies has still not yet been laid. The central importance of source-based research for such an endeavour is obvious: cataloguing, dating and analysing the primary material legacy of a composer is undoubtedly a crucial task. It is not, moreover, the case that source studies are merely a necessary positivistic enterprise on the path to higher hermeneutical grounds. Rather, they inform and interact with acts of critical interpretation, and thus carry with them their own theoretical issues that merit consideration.

1.4. Material and musical dialogues: theoretical issues of networks and exchange

In 1775, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach answered a series of questions from Forkel, who was preparing his Bach biography at the time, stating that ‘in his [J.S. Bach’s] last years he esteemed highly: Fux, Caldara, Händel, Kayser, Hasse, both Grauns, Telemann, Zelenka, Benda, and in general everything that was worthy of esteem in Berlin and Dresden. Except for the first four, he knew the rest personally’.⁷³ Until recently,

⁷² Evan Cortens, ‘The Sacred Cantatas of Christoph Graupner: Music at the Intersection of Drama and Theology’ (PhD Diss., Cornell University, 2014), 6.

⁷³ ‘... in der letzten [sic] Zeit schätzte er hoch: *Fux, Caldara, Händeln, Kaysern, Haßen, beyde Graun, Telemann, Zelenka, Benda* u. überhaupt alles, was in Berlin u. Dreßden besonders zu schätzen war. Die erstgenannten 4 ausgenommen, kannte er die übrigen persönlich.’ Letter from Carl Philipp Emanuel

scholarship had largely ignored many of the musicians that Bach himself respected and regarded as friends, colleagues and professional influences. New research into traditionally marginalised eighteenth-century composers is significantly reshaping our understanding of the musical relationships that existed during this period, including those with well-known figures such as Bach, and how they functioned.

Put simply, it has now become abundantly clear that musicians in the mid-eighteenth century did not work as autonomous creative figures in isolation; rather, they interacted closely with other musicians, their patrons and their environment, forming complex and intricate musical networks. Although increased mobility in Europe affected many groups of people, musicians in particular were among those whose professional skills allowed them to travel frequently and move between different social classes.⁷⁴ This mobility allowed the exchange of musical ideas, works, instruments and personnel between different courts, towns, cities and countries, leading to stylistic evolution: it was this, for instance, that resulted in the mixing of the two great national styles of the Baroque (the French and Italian) in Germany to create the *vermischter Geschmack*.⁷⁵ The theorisation and elucidation of these relationships has broader historiographical consequences, too, including for those issues I discussed

Bach to Johann Nikolaus Forkel, 13 January 1775. BDok VII, 108–110, at 109, trans. in Mendel, David and Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader*, 398–400, at 400.

⁷⁴ See Samantha Owens, *The Well-Travelled Musician: John Sigismond Cousser and Musical Exchange in Baroque Europe* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), 1, and Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 45.

⁷⁵ Owens, *The Well-Travelled Musician*, 1. This mobility and mixing of musicians and styles, of course, affected other parts of Europe as well.

above: as Cortens has neatly observed, it dispels the notion that we should attempt to create stories of new 'heroes' by studying neglected composers.⁷⁶

In German-speaking lands, the huge number of small to medium-sized courts with *Hofkapellen*—and, moreover, the interaction of these courts with town and city councils—resulted in the cultivation of some particularly intricate and complex relationships. The exchange of musicians themselves between courts and municipal centres across Germany is documented through a vast amount of primary source material, including diverse official records that also speak to the rich and varied networks that developed at the level of the individual musician. These records show that German musicians frequently moved between courts for a variety of reasons (including being sent as a 'loan' for an extended period to another court), and that such exchange was recognised at the time as having numerous political and cultural benefits.⁷⁷

Of course, musical exchange also occurred in the form of material objects associated with these musicians and composers: instruments, certainly, but mostly books—theoretical treatises, and, above all, musical scores, both manuscript and printed. It was primarily through this means that the music of one composer could

⁷⁶ Cortens, 'The Sacred Cantatas of Christoph Graupner', 4–5.

⁷⁷ Samantha Owens and Barbara M. Reul, 'An Introduction to German *Hofkapellen*', in Owens, Reul and Stockigt (eds.), *Music at German Courts*, 12. This volume provides a wealth of information about the nature of musical life at a number of different courts from across Germany during the eighteenth century. Many other recent studies, too numerous to list here, by Shelley Hogan, Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, Janice B. Stockigt and several others provide snapshots of various *Hofkapellen* in the early eighteenth century focusing on court employment records and the movement of musicians.

engage in a dialogue with that of others.⁷⁸ This was far from a haphazard business; rather, it frequently involved the systematic and deliberate acquisition and collecting of scores, such that it becomes possible to trace the development of the personal libraries belonging to composers, courts and musical organisations. As Samantha Owens has shown, John Sigismond Cousser (1660–1727)—who, like Agricola, was not only a composer but also a music director, performer, copyist and collector—developed extensive networks of contacts that enabled him to assemble his ‘collection of fine musick’, acquired through both purchase and travel.⁷⁹ Based on her analysis of Cousser’s ‘Commonplace Book’ and address book, alongside other sources such as letters from musical colleagues and sale catalogues, she argues that ‘key to Cousser’s success ... was the active effort he made in gathering diverse repertoire and networking with colleagues from across a geographical area that stretched the length and breadth of Europe’.⁸⁰ In discussing this musical exchange, Owens also points to how he clearly targeted particular repertoires and took copies of English pieces that were desired on the European continent to swap with colleagues.⁸¹ Throughout the eighteenth century, the musical score (both full scores and sets of parts) as a material object of intention took on a new significance, as copying, dissemination and printing proliferated at a new pace. In this sense, these materials are both the representations

⁷⁸ Cortens, ‘The Sacred Cantatas of Christoph Graupner’, 4–5. Individual studies examining musical exchange in the early modern period, including copying and collecting practices, from a variety of angles can be found in John Cunningham and Bryan White (eds.), *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020).

⁷⁹ Owens, *The Well-Travelled Musician*, 162–182.

⁸⁰ Owens, *The Well-Travelled Musician*, 182.

⁸¹ Owens, *The Well-Travelled Musician*, 176.

of composers and musicians in dialogue at a particular moment in history, but—through the subsequent copying and disseminations of their contents—are also themselves in textual dialogue with each other, as books and bookish objects.

Until quite recently, musicology had largely eschewed an engagement with book history as a discipline.⁸² Of course, there have long been discussions of books containing music notation in texts about the history of the book, but these are usually well-chosen examples serving a broader historical narrative, faithfully documenting production, transmission and reception, rather than attempting to engage with theoretical issues concerning the materiality of music.⁸³ On the one hand, this seems curious, given musicology's preoccupation with the idea and locus of text and work; on the other, it is unsurprising given the supposed tension between philology and its associated practices of textual criticism and editing—what is still, sometimes sneeringly, referred to as 'positivism'—and critical hermeneutics that became such a hallmark of the new musicology.⁸⁴

⁸² Even the study of the interaction between music and materials generally has only recently come to the fore: see the ongoing series 'Music and Material Culture' (Routledge: 2015–). Regarding the interactions between music and print culture, see Kate van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York/London: Garland, 2000), and Craig A. Monson and Roberta Montemorra Marvin (eds.), *Music in Print and Beyond: Hildegard von Bingen to The Beatles* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013). Stephen Rose, in *Musical Authorship from Schütz to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), points to how methods of book history can be used to gain deeper insights into the materiality of musical sources and how these shaped perceptions of composers and compositions (see p. 5).

⁸³ See, for example, the relevant chapters on music and music books in the seven volumes of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999–2019), as well as Rupert Ridgewell, 'Music and Print', in Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book*, 2nd ed., Vol. II, 727–742.

⁸⁴ Regarding anti-positivist attitudes in musicology that subsequently developed in the 1990s, and the ongoing need for reconciliation with scientific methodologies, see David R.M. Irving, 'The Continuing

It is well-known, of course, that literary studies experienced its own form of crisis in the later part of the twentieth century, where divisions between the 'new' literary criticism and philology seemed irreconcilable.⁸⁵ Here, too, concerns about the emphasis on the production of critical editions and the presentation of texts at the expense of critical interpretation were raised. Subsequent challenges to integrate historical interpretation into the act of textual criticism, however, benefited from analogous debates and innovations in bibliographic studies, which then developed into the discipline of book history, providing valuable new insights into the relationship between the physical object and interpretation.⁸⁶ As Donald McKenzie describes, 'the material forms of books, the non-verbal elements of typographic notations within them, the very disposition of space itself, have an expressive function in conveying meaning'.⁸⁷ The importance McKenzie places on the format and layout of sources stands in contrast to traditional methodologies of eighteenth-century

Necessity of Primary Archival Research: A Personal Reflection', in Kerry Murphy, Frederic Kiernan and Andrew Frampton (eds.), *Zelenka, Bach and the Eighteenth-Century German Baroque: Essays in Honour of Janice B. Stockigt*, *Musicology Australia* 41 (2019): 249–254.

⁸⁵ For more on this debate, see Jerome McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

⁸⁶ Regarding the challenge to reform textual criticism to integrate historical interpretation, see McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections*, 70. Although music editing too experienced reform, it has been slower to accept a true reconciliation of philology and criticism, perhaps because of the art form's more ephemeral nature and, thus, a certain 'distance' from materiality and text. Regarding developments in the history of the book, see Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

⁸⁷ Donald McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 17. McKenzie's essays were first given as lectures, and then published as *The Panizzi Lectures 1985: Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: The British Library, 1986).

musicology, particularly Bach studies, where the act of textual criticism (and the questing for an *Urtext*) has often been privileged over considerations of *mise-en-page*.

A notable exception to musicology's reluctance to engage with book history has been in the field of medieval and early modern studies, which in the last few decades has begun to strongly advocate for the historiographical advantages of interdisciplinary enquiry related to musical materials and other kinds of books.⁸⁸ Emma Dillon, for instance, discusses some of the points I have raised above with respect to manuscripts of the late Middle Ages, particularly BN fr. 146 (the 'Roman de Fauvel').⁸⁹ She proposes a model for understanding attitudes of this period towards the interaction between materiality and music-making, but one that, necessarily, is restricted to certain peculiarities of medieval notation, visual and graphic conventions,

⁸⁸ Richard Wistreich, 'Introduction: Musical Materials and Cultural Spaces', in *Musical Materials and Cultural Spaces*, *Renaissance Studies* 26 (2012): 1–12, at 4. Monumental studies of individual music printers in the Renaissance include Suzanne G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth Century Rome* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study, 1550–1559* (2 vols.) (London: Routledge, 1997), and Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). Notable collections investigating early modern European print cultures include Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Elisabeth Giselsbrecht and Grantley McDonald (eds.), *Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands* (London: Routledge, 2018), and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald, *Material Cultures of Print in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2021). Stephen Rose has focused on musical print and trade culture into seventeenth century, including, amongst other studies, 'Music Printing in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War', *Notes* 61 (2004): 323–349; 'Music, Print and Presentation in Saxony during the Seventeenth Century', *German History* 23 (2005): 1–19; 'The Mechanisms of the Musical Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130/1 (2005): 1–37; 'Protected Privileges: The Imperial and Saxon Privileges for Printed Music, 1550–1700', *Early Music History* 37 (2018): 247–313; and *Musical Authorship from Schütz to Bach*.

⁸⁹ Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the 'Roman de Fauvel'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 29–64.

and codicological aspects that are specific to fourteenth century manuscripts: as she herself comments, at this time 'the book enjoyed a status different from that of later periods'.⁹⁰ Several other studies have concentrated on the relationship between materiality and performance or particular cultural spaces.⁹¹

Studies of musical materials in the eighteenth century, on the other hand, largely deal with consumer culture. Michael North has examined how the Enlightenment in Germany resulted in the commercialisation of artistic culture, such that the boundaries between aristocrats, elites and the middle classes became blurred.⁹² For North, however, the huge variety of cultural forms he describes still had a fundamentally material basis in print culture. With regards to music, he focuses on the rise of the public concert, particularly in the later part of the eighteenth century, but also the burgeoning music publishing market, spearheaded by the Leipzig firm of Breitkopf. This is a point that has been further elaborated by other work on musical consumerism that specifically focuses on the expansion of middle-class society and amateur audiences, and its link to the proliferation of music printing.⁹³

⁹⁰ Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the 'Roman de Fauvel'*, 45.

⁹¹ See, for example, Kate van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), and *Musical Materials and Cultural Spaces*, *Renaissance Studies* 26 (2012): 1–157. Other studies concerning aspects of production and layout of Renaissance sources and their implications for performance, in line with McKenzie's observations, include Christian Thomas Leitmeir and Thomas Schmidt, *The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Mise-en-Page in Manuscripts and Printed Books Containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018) (see, for example, Sanna Raninen's study of the production and layout of printed folio choirbooks in this volume) and the Tudor Partbooks project led by Magnus Williamson and Julia Craig-McFeely.

⁹² Michael North, *'Material Delight and the Joy of Living': Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany*, trans. Pamela Selwyn (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁹³ Emily H. Green and Catherine Mayes, 'Introduction', in Emily H. Green and Catherine Mayes (eds.), *Consuming Music: Individuals, Institutions, Communities, 1730–1830* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester

However, as has been discussed in relation to non-musical books, in the eighteenth century there was ‘a complex interweaving of manuscript and print culture in an age that we usually associate with the fixity of print’.⁹⁴ For music, this was particularly acute, given the comparatively new business of commercial music publishing and trading on a wider scale, and to a greater variety of consumers, than ever before. If materiality ‘relates not only to the significance of physical forms, but also the social materiality (or ‘sociology’) of texts—that is, the social and cultural practices of manuscript and print and the contexts in which they were produced, circulated and consumed’⁹⁵—then surely it is also the value that was placed on the material object in a given period that becomes important. Indeed, the increasing value that some composers and musicians in the early to mid-eighteenth century attached to

Press, 2017), 1–10, at 6. These authors specifically draw attention to how this rise coincides with the second and third of Webster’s long eighteenth-century periods, and also the dominance of Austro-German music (and, thus, Austro-German printing and material consumerism with regards to music) in this period. See also Emily H. Green, ‘Music’s First Consumers: Publishers in the Late Eighteenth Century’, in the same volume, 13–28. Having said this, certain genres—particularly cantatas—actually experienced a relative decline in printing during the eighteenth century, and thus the circulation of copies in manuscript became more important. See Friedhelm Krummacher, *Die Überlieferung der Choralbearbeitungen in der frühen evangelischen Kantate: Untersuchungen zum Handschriftenrepertoire evangelischer Figuralmusik im späten 17. Und beginnenden 18. Jahrhundert* (= Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 10) (Berlin: Merseburger, 1965), and Axel Beer, ‘Composers and Publishers: Germany 1700–1830’, in Rudolf Rasch (ed.), *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography* (= Musical Life in Europe, 1600–1900: Circulation, Institutions, Representation: The Circulation of Music 1) (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 159–181.

⁹⁴ Stephen Colclough and Edmund G.C. King, ‘Readers, Books and Biography’, in Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, 157–171, at 165.

⁹⁵ James Daybell and Peter Hinds, ‘Introduction: Material Matters’, in James Daybell and Peter Hinds (eds.), *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730* (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2.

manuscript scores becomes startlingly clear in the manner of their construction and preservation, showing how they were repeatedly used, refined and then transmitted as part of a well-kept library.⁹⁶ In this period we also observe a fluid relationship between manuscript and print in the commercial activities of publishers such as Breitkopf, which had significant implications for the transmission of manuscript materials.⁹⁷ These are all features that can be observed in the vast number of manuscript and printed musical sources related to the Berlin court, of which many are connected to Agricola. They are evidence of an almost business-like enterprise of

⁹⁶ One famous example of this is the *Nachlass* of Johann Sebastian Bach—a library of sacred cantatas and other works that was carefully constructed, stored and curated for use by the composer, and then passed on to his heirs (when it was then split up). As Christoph Wolff comments, ‘As Bach had himself inherited music from his ancestors and placed great value on it, he could reasonably expect that his children would do the same for his own work and that it would, in fact, become the newest and largest section of his Old-Bach Archive. He may have had this thought in mind when he prepared fair, or “archival”, copies of his principal works, such as the unaccompanied violin pieces, *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, and the *St. Matthew Passion*, and when he made or arranged for duplicate copies of his works.’ See Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000), 456–462. The autograph score of the *St. Matthew Passion* is a particularly good example of the care that Bach took to perfect the physical appearance of such a score: at some point, the first thirteen folios of the manuscript were severely damaged, and were then painstakingly repaired by the composer with neatly glued-on strips of manuscript papers, such that the joins would be almost invisible were it not for differences in palaeography and paper type. Regarding the interaction between prints and the perfection of a text through manuscript additions, another example that comes from Bach is the *Handexemplar* of the Goldberg Variations, BWV 988, to which he not only inserted corrections but added a page of manuscript canons (BWV 1087) on the same theme. There are numerous other examples of the repair and refinement of the physical layout of scores as evidence of the aesthetic value of manuscripts: see, for example, Andrew Frampton, ‘Jan Dismas Zelenka’s *Missa Sancti Spiritus*, ZWV 4: A Critical Edition and Study of the Manuscript Sources’ (MMus Diss., University of Melbourne, 2015), Vol. II, 246–248.

⁹⁷ See, for example, George B. Stauffer (ed.), *J.S. Bach, the Breitkopfs and Eighteenth-Century Music Trade* (= Bach Perspectives 2) (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), and Frampton, ‘Jan Dismas Zelenka’s *Missa Sancti Spiritus*’, Vol. II, 249–275.

composing, copying, collecting and publishing that took place in Berlin at this time, but one that was deliberately multidimensional: these sources crossed private and public spheres from court to church and concert hall, with a range of functions from personal study to widespread commercial sale. In exploring their physical and social materialities, we also therefore learn more about the individuals behind their creation and the music they valued and were interested in.

In his article on Agricola's role as a composer of church music in Berlin, the musicologist Tobias Schwinger, who was heavily involved with the cataloguing of the recovered materials from the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, writes: 'A complete reconstruction of the music that has survived from Agricola's possession is a *desideratum* of source research, the undertaking of which seems all the more urgent following the recovery of the Sing-Akademie Archive. In addition to the Archive of the Sing-Akademie, the holdings of the Amalien-Bibliothek as well as the music manuscript sources in the Berlin State Library, which, it seems, can be traced back to the source collection of Georg Poelchau.'⁹⁸

It is, therefore, to the musical sources related to Agricola—the sources of his own works, including autographs, copies and prints, and the copies in his hand of other composers—that we must now turn. Although this study focuses on Agricola, it

⁹⁸ 'Eine vollständige Rekonstruktion der überlieferten Musikalien aus Agricolas Besitz ist ein Desiderat der Quellenforschung, dessen Beseitigung nach der Wiedererlangung des Archivs der Sing-Akademie umso dringlicher scheint. In den Blick zu nehmen wären neben dem Archiv der Sing-Akademie die Bestände der Amalien-Bibliothek sowie die von seiner Hand stammenden Quellen aus dem Mus. ms.-Bestand in der Berliner Staatsbibliothek, die, wie es scheint, überwiegend auf einen Quellenbesitz von Georg Poelchau zurückzuführen sind.' Schwinger 2012, 198, fn. 12.

is not (and should not be) exclusively about him.⁹⁹ In the next chapter of Part I, I will show how the nature of musical life in Berlin and Dresden created the kinds of conditions under which a culture of close musical exchange and evolution could flourish, and examine the major collections where the Agricola sources are found. From there, I will continue on in Chapter 3 to a reassessment of Agricola's handwriting and source chronology, following on from the work of Alfred Dürr (amongst others). Where the autograph manuscript tradition is particularly rich—ironically, the genre of sacred music in which Friedrich II so stifled Agricola's creativity, and in his role as a copyist—the compositional and transmission histories of selected sources will be examined in detail in Chapters 4 and 5, supported by critical editions in Part II. Finally, in Part III, I will present a thematic catalogue of Agricola's music as well as a descriptive catalogue of his copies of works by other composers. I fully echo Cortens' sentiments in making no pretence at an exhaustive treatment, but offer this investigation in the hope it will act as a foundation for future research.

In surveying this rich corpus of musical sources, we will of course gain a much greater understanding of Agricola's music and his role as a composer and copyist in Berlin, which has long been lacking. At the same time, however, we can also obtain deeper insights by viewing them not as isolated entities, but as case studies in the way music and musical materials were created, collected and exchanged in the middle of the eighteenth century.

⁹⁹ I am paraphrasing here a similar sentiment expressed in Cortens, 'The Sacred Cantatas of Christoph Graupner', 3–7.

CHAPTER 2

Music from a 'Golden Age': Dresden, Berlin and the Agricola Source Collections

It was Johann Sebastian Bach, writing to the Leipzig council in 1730, who commented that the musicians of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* were 'relieved of all concern for their living, free from chagrin and obliged each to master but a single instrument; it must be something choice and excellent to hear.'¹⁰⁰ At that time, the Dresden court musicians and composers enjoyed the patronage of the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, August II ('der Starke'), and were already cultivating both the so-called *vermischter Geschmack*, or 'mixed style', and the imported *stile galant*. To the north, at the Prussian court in Berlin, there had been no such luxurious musical life. So when the then Crown Prince Friedrich—later Friedrich II—visited Dresden in 1728 and was overawed by the music he heard there, he embarked on a mission to create his own Royal *Hofkapelle* to rival that of Dresden. It was not simply that the music and musicians of Dresden were known and celebrated in Berlin: they were also envied.

Although the music of eighteenth-century Berlin has remained relatively peripheral in traditional musicological narratives, for the reasons I discussed in Chapter 1, it is nonetheless curious that such narratives have still privileged it over

¹⁰⁰ 'Kurtzer, iedoch höchstnötiger Entwurff einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music' (Short but Necessary Draft for a Well-Appointed Church Music), in BDok I no. 22, trans. in Wolff, David and Mendel (eds.), *The New Bach Reader*, no. 151.

Dresden as a centre of ‘golden age’ Enlightenment music.¹⁰¹ There are, of course, many reasons why this is so, not least the importance that has been given to Berlin’s undoubtedly distinctive culture of music criticism and aesthetic discourse that developed after 1750, which was never present in the Saxon capital. It is not my intention here to explore the reasons for the historiographical marginalisation of Dresden’s role in the stylistic development of music in the eighteenth century, nor to give a full account of the highly complicated political, social and cultural relationships between the Saxon and Prussian courts. However, with the discovery and recovery in the past three decades of literally thousands of new sources relating to both cities, both musical and documentary, it has become imperative that we critically reassess our understanding of those relationships.

The sources themselves provide a fundamental window into undertaking such a task, as an explosion of recent archival research—far more than can be properly digested here—into eighteenth-century German towns and courts has amply shown. Of particular importance in the present study are three large music archives, now all located in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, which contain the majority of the manuscripts in Agricola’s hand. But in order to properly understand their significance, it is necessary to have some contextual appreciation of the separate musical cultures that developed in each city, and the debt that Berlin really owed to Dresden.

¹⁰¹ Although potentially problematic in its teleological implications, I use the term ‘golden age’ here in its loosest colloquial sense, as deployed by Stockigt in reference to Dresden (*Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 228) and Exner in reference to Berlin (‘The Forging of a Golden Age’, title page).

2.1. Musical Life at the Dresden Court in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century

Although Dresden had enjoyed a superlative and progressive musical life since at least the 1600s, which Daniel Hertz attributes primarily to the influence of Heinrich Schütz,¹⁰² in the early part of the eighteenth century it underwent an extraordinary process of renewal and revitalisation, one that reflected significant changes in the city's cultural and confessional climate. The opportunistic conversion to Catholicism of the Saxon Elector Friedrich August I in 1697, to pave the way for his election as King of Poland (after which he was known as August II, or 'the Strong'), resulted in the establishment of a Catholic court chapel in Dresden, despite Saxony's overwhelmingly Lutheran population. The subsequent closure of the Dresden opera in 1720, and the dismissal of all the Italian singers employed there, focused the court's musical attention on music for the chapel, and resulted in a great flowering of liturgical music in the decades that followed.

Central to this flourishing of sacred music was the patronage of the Electoral Saxon Prince, the future August III, and, in particular, his Habsburg wife, Maria Josepha, who arrived in Dresden in 1719 following her marriage. She brought Austrian piety to Saxony and, as the Bohemian Jesuits who staffed the royal chapel from 1710 commented in a letter to Rome, 'gave lustre to the royal chapel during Sung Mass and

¹⁰² Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003), 298. Schütz's influence, however, largely ceased when Elector Johann Georg II replaced him with the Italian composers Vincenzo Albrici (1631–1690/96) and (later) Giuseppe Peranda (c.1625–1675). See Mary Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Vespers ... [at which] the King's *Virtuosi* vied in creating delight and exhibiting skill through totally new and exceptionally elegant compositions'.¹⁰³ The majority of these new compositions—masses, psalm settings, oratorios, hymns, motets and others—were by the court's *Kapellmeister*, Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729), and his deputy, the Bohemian composer Jan Dismas Zelenka (1687–1745), who had originally joined the *Hofkapelle* around 1710 as a contrabassist. Working alongside them were other composers such as Tobias Butz (also Buz or Putz, c.1692–1760) and Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692–1753).

A strict hierarchy of composers ensured that the continuous and arduous tasks of composing, collecting, arranging and directing liturgical music for all Sundays and feast days were distributed according to the importance of the occasion and the kind of music that was required.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, there were clear distinctions between the types of sacred music heard in Dresden—following a tiered Viennese model in line with that elucidated in Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*—and, consequently, the different ensembles that performed them.¹⁰⁵ The Jesuits' *Diarium* records in detail the music that was heard

¹⁰³ 'Singulare verò illud est in Serenissima nostra...quod omnibus Dominicis et festis per annum Capellum regiam sub cantata Sacro, et decantatis Vesperis singulari sua, suaque Aulae pietate illustràrit. Ad hanc animandam ampliùsque et amplius inflammandam regii Virtuosi novissimis, et longè elegantissimis Sacrorum, Vesperarùmque compositionibus amabili simul, et artificiosà inter se aemulatione majoriùs festivitibus concertavère.' *Annuae Missonis Dresdensis ad annum 1723*, 17–18, Boh. 138, I-Rar, cited in Stockigt, 'The Vespers Psalms', 55.

¹⁰⁴ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 62.

¹⁰⁵ The 'A Capella' style was the simplest type, whilst 'Ordinary' music was used in services of moderate length and employed four-part choir and soloists with standard instrumentation and varied musical textures. 'Solemn' music was the most elaborate style, utilised on high feast days and characterised by complex and lengthy (usually multi-movement) settings that often employed brass and drums. According to Fux, the 'Stylus a Capella' could be divided into two subtypes: one in which the voices sang unaccompanied and the other in which the voices were accompanied by organ and other instruments.

in the royal chapel throughout the 1720s and 1730s, giving an unparalleled insight into its lavish musical activities.¹⁰⁶ Contemporary sources attest to the fame and splendour of the court's sacred music outside Dresden, describing the 'magnificent music of the royal musicians' that 'entrances the ears of those who hear it'.¹⁰⁷

One of the key reasons why the royal musicians—that is, the members of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*, referred to by the Jesuits as the *Virtuosi*—were so renowned is because they were expected (as J.S. Bach noted) to specialise in one instrument, rather than several. As a result, the disciplined orchestral players were capable of achieving a high degree of virtuosity and standard of playing. The *Hofkapelle* had its roots in the

Both A Capella and Ordinary music in Dresden was sung by the *Kapellknaben*, an ensemble that consisted of young Bohemian boys who were trained as vocalists but also required to perform on instruments; 'Solemn' music was performed by the royal musicians: that is, the *Hofkapelle*. Regarding the tiered Viennese model, see Johann Joseph Fux and Susan Wollenberg, "'Gradus ad Parnassum" (1725): Concluding Chapters', *Music Analysis* 11 (1992), 209–43, at 218. On the musical ensembles of the Dresden court and their responsibilities in the court chapel, see Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 66–78.

¹⁰⁶ *Diarium* (1710–38). 2 vols. [vol. 1] *Jhs Diarium seu Protocollum Missionis Societatis Jesu, À Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Polonarium Rege, et Sacr: Rom: Imperij Electore FRIDERICO AUGUSTO, Dresdae, in urbe sua Electorali, institutae. Scribi coeptum anno salutis humanae 1710, die 16 Januarij, quô Missioni huic, Autoritate Admodum Reverendi Patris Nostri Generalis, per R^{dum} Patrem Provinciale[m] Prov:^{ae} Bohemiae, constitutus est Superior P. Georgius Klein.* [vol. 2] 'Continuatio Diarij seu Protocolli a ... FREDERICO AUGUSTO Dresdae in urbe sua Electorali institutae Societatis JESU Missionis. Ab Anno 1721. usque ad Annum 1738, inclusive'. MS. Domstift und Bischöfliches Ordinariat, Bibliothek und Archiv, Bautzen. Excerpts published in *Zelenka-Studien II*, 315–375. For an excellent summary of the musical activities of the Dresden Catholic court chapel between 1719 and 1732, see Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 59–103; a more exhaustive account is provided in Wolfgang Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720–45: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire* (Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter/Carus, 1987).

¹⁰⁷ See J.C. Crell (Iccander), *Das auf dem höchsten Gipfel seiner Vollkommenheit prangende königliche Dresden* (Leipzig: 1723), and C.C. Schram, *Neues Europäisches historisches Reiselexicon* (Leipzig: 1744), both cited in Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden* (Dresden: Kunze, 1862), II, 39.

French *Hautboisten Bande* appointed by August II from 1694, reflecting his predilection for the French style; from 1717, however, which Stockigt calls ‘the real beginning’ of the *Hofkapelle*, the ensemble was composed of a culturally diverse mix of Italian, French and German musicians, as well as others from further afield.¹⁰⁸ These included, among many others, the French-trained violinist Jean-Baptiste Volumier (also Wolumier or Woulmyer, 1670–1728), who was responsible for introducing French performance techniques into the ensemble as concertmaster, the violinist Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755), and the flautist Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin (1693–1758).

The Electoral Crown Prince, however, favoured Italian stylistic conventions, and even hired an entire troupe of operatic musicians from Venice in 1717, headed by Antonio Lotti (1667–1740). Although, as mentioned above, the troupe was dismissed in 1720, Venetian influences persisted, and the *Hofkapelle* musicians became adept at performing in both the French and Italian styles. A major factor driving this stylistic fluidity was the court’s encouragement of professional development opportunities for its musicians through travel: Stockigt notes, for instance, how between 1714 and 1718 Pisendel travelled to France, Italy, Berlin and Vienna, presenting him with ‘outstanding opportunities to create networks, to develop his technique and style, and to assemble a music collection’. Stockigt draws upon the example of Pisendel’s time in Venice as the student of Antonio Vivaldi, which resulted in the transmission of a large number of sonatas and concertos by both Vivaldi and Albinoni to Dresden.¹⁰⁹ In a

¹⁰⁸ Janice B. Stockigt, ‘The Court of Saxony-Dresden’, in Owens, Reul and Stockigt (eds.), *Music at German Courts*, 17–49, at 23. For information on the musicians of the *Hofkapelle* from around 1717, see Table 2.1 in this chapter, 38–49, which is based on D-Dla 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K 11, No. 5, fols. 90ff.

¹⁰⁹ Stockigt, ‘The Court of Saxony Dresden’, 26–27.

similar vein, Zelenka had studied in Vienna, and was responsible for bringing copies of contrapuntal works from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the court, including much sacred music.¹¹⁰

It is difficult to overstate just how important the cultivation of these vast collections of repertoires were to the musical life of the Dresden court. The instrumental music collection alone, which has received particular attention through a recent research project by the Saxon State Library, numbers nearly 1800 items.¹¹¹ During the lifetimes of Heinichen, Zelenka and Ristori, much of the court's liturgical music was split across their own collections of repertoire, although the presence of common works in their personal libraries clearly shows the sharing and exchange of musical materials took place.¹¹² The gradual assimilation of these collections into the

¹¹⁰ These works, by Palestrina, Morales, Froberger, Fux and others, are found in the *Collectaneorum Musicorum Libri Quatuor*, a compendium of music in four parts that Zelenka assembled during his time in Vienna (D-DI Mus. 1-B-98); see ZDok I, 67–86. Recent source finds have shown that the *Collectaneorum* served as the basis for Dresden copies and performances of many of these works in the ensuing decades, which were subject to arrangement to best suit the requirements of the Dresden ensembles. See Andrew Frampton, 'Zelenka, Palestrina and the Art of Arrangement', in Kerry Murphy, Frederic Kiernan and Andrew Frampton (eds.), *Zelenka, Bach and the Eighteenth-Century Germany Baroque: Essays in Honour of Janice B. Stockigt*, *Musicology Australia* 41 (2019): 174–198.

¹¹¹ See Gerhard Poppe (ed.), *Schrank No: II: Das erhaltene Instrumentalmusikrepertoire der Dresdner Hofkapelle aus den ersten beiden Dritteln des 18. Jahrhunderts* (= Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 2) (Beeskow: Ortus, 2012).

¹¹² For example, the Palestrina motet *Diffusa est gratia* is transmitted in the Dresden *Hofkirche* archive via two sets of parts, one that seems to have originated with Heinichen (D-DI Mus. 997-D-44,2) and the with Zelenka (D-DI Mus. 997-D-44,1). See Wolfgang Horn, 'Der "antique Kirchen-Stylus" und die Musik Palestrinas. Bemerkungen zur Palestrina-Pflege und zur Komposition im "gebundenen Allabreve-Stil" am Dresdner Hof zur Zeit Heinichens und Zelenkas', in Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel (ed.), *Aufführungs- und Bearbeitungspraxis der Werke Palestrinas vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (= Kirchenmusikalische Studien 3), 55–79, at 60–61.

musical archive owned by the court itself was largely due to Maria Josepha, who ensured the acquisition of their musical estates. The resulting collection of music for the Catholic chapel was thematically catalogued in 1765 in three volumes, and bears witness to several extraordinary decades of musical activity.¹¹³

The deaths of Volumier (1728), Heinichen (1729) and August II himself (1733) brought significant changes to musical life at the court. The stylistic adaptability of the *Hofkapelle* was now fully realised in its cultivation, spearheaded by new concertmaster Pisendel, of a truly hybrid style of playing, the *vermischter Geschmack* (*stile misto*), which became more prevalent in the compositions of Zelenka and Ristori.¹¹⁴ However, perhaps contrary to expectations, Zelenka was not appointed *Kapellmeister* following Heinichen's death; that position was instead given to Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783),

¹¹³ *Catalogo (Thematico) [sic] della Musica di Chiesa (catholia [sic] in Dresda composta Da diversi Autori – seconda l'Alfabetto 1765*. Compiled under the supervision of Joannes [Johann] Georg Schürer, 3 vols. MS. D-B Mus. ms. Theor. Kat. 186. A comprehensive online database giving the contents of the catalogue can be found at Janice B. Stockigt, *Catalogue of the Music Collection of the Dresden Catholic Court Church 1765*, <http://hofkirchecatalogo1765.mcm.unimelb.edu.au> (accessed 20 November 2020).

¹¹⁴ The distinction, in stylistic terms, between the *Hofkapelle* under Volumier and Pisendel is famously noted by Quantz in his *Lebenslauf*, who observed: 'Through the French equal style of execution introduced by Volumier, the concertmaster at that time [1716], it already distinguished itself from many other orchestras; and later, under the direction of the following concertmaster, Mr Pisendel, it achieved, through the introduction of a mixed style, such refinement of performance that, in all my later travels, I heard none better' ('Durch die, von dem damaligen Concertmeister Volumier eingeführte französische egale Art des Vortrags, unterschied es sich bereits von vielen andern Orchestern: so wie es nachgehends, unter der Anführung des folgenden Concertmeisters Herrn Pisendel, durch Einführung eines vermischten Geschmacks, immer nach und nach zu solcher Feinigkeit der Ausführung gebracht worden; daß ich auf allen meinen künftigen Reisen, kein besser gehört habe'). See Johann Joachim Quantz, 'Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen', in Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge*, I (1755), 206–7, trans. in Edward R. Reilly, 'Introduction', in Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, Second edition, trans. Edward R. Reilly (London: Faber & Faber, 1985), xiii–xiv.

who arrived in Dresden from Vienna with his soprano wife Faustina in 1731. It is still often assumed that it was Hasse, with his deep Neapolitan connections, who introduced the *stile galant* to Dresden, but it was already present in embryonic form there, as some of Zelenka's compositions from the late 1720s show, and it is a mistake to assume that Zelenka resisted engagement with this style.¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, it was under Hasse and Pisendel's leadership that the *galant* and the *vermischter Geschmack* reached their full flowering in Dresden, in the church, the opera and the palace, supported by the lavish patronage of the now King August III and his Queen, Maria Josepha.

This was truly the golden age of the Dresden *Virtuosi*, the composers and performers who were, as the Dresden poet Kittel put it in a 1740 panegyric, 'world-renowned and great'.¹¹⁶ Certainly, with the renewal of the opera under Hasse, the Catholic court church lost its singular musical prestige, but the liturgical works of Zelenka, Hasse and Ristori in the 1730s and 1740s were no less splendid for it, and indeed benefited from the increased presence of outstanding Italian operatic singers. It was this prestigious and renowned culture of high-quality music that Friedrich II sought to replicate (and, one might speculate, surpass) in Berlin once he ascended the throne.

¹¹⁵ Daniel Hertz, in *Music in European Capitals*, sees Hasse's style as influencing Zelenka's music, pointing to the Lombard snaps and three-note slides found in the 'Christe eleison' of the *Missa Eucharistica*, ZWV 15 (1733), which he wryly suggests as Zelenka attempting to 'out-Hasse Hasse' (p. 331).

¹¹⁶ Johann Gottlob Kittel, *Denen Bey Ihro Königl. Majest. in Pohlen und Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen, Welt-gepriesenen Hof-Capelle Befindlichen VIRTUOSEN ... folgendes Lob-Gedichte Im Monath Junio 1740* (Dresden, 1740), D-HAu, K. 33 F (now Pon Ya 4004, FK). On the Kittel panegyric, see Stockigt, 'The Court of Saxony-Dresden', 32–34.

2.2. The Genesis of the Berlin *Hofkapelle*

The musical life of the Prussian court in Berlin during the first four decades of the eighteenth century was very different from that of Dresden. In the seventeenth century, as in Dresden, music had occupied an important place in the court life of the ruling Hohenzollern family, leading to the modernisation of the *Hofkapelle* by King Friedrich I (and until 1709, the court's concertmaster was none other than Volumier).¹¹⁷ Upon the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm I in 1713, however, the *Hofkapelle* was disbanded, and music was largely consigned to the military.¹¹⁸ However, the King's wife, Queen Sophia Dorothea, continued to support chamber music, as did many of her relatives, and it was primarily she who was responsible for fostering her children's musical education and interest in music—one of whom, of course, was Crown Prince Friedrich, the future Friedrich II.¹¹⁹

Although some Dresden court musicians, including Pisendel, had visited Berlin in 1715, it was the visit in January–February 1728 of Friedrich Wilhelm I and his son to Dresden, and August II's subsequent visit to Berlin in May of the same year, that were to prove decisive turning points for the sixteen-year-old Crown Prince. The

¹¹⁷ On Hohenzollern court life and music under Friedrich I and his wife, Sophie Charlotte, see Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 57–66.

¹¹⁸ For details, particularly regarding personnel, see Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 66–81.

¹¹⁹ Mary Oleskiewicz notes that Sophia Dorothea may have maintained a small *Hofkapelle*, but there is only one piece of surviving evidence for her *Hofstaat*, receipts from 1752–3 found in D-Bga, Brandenburg-Preußisches Hausarchiv, Rep. 46 N No. 20a. See Oleskiewicz, 'The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia', 81. Oleskiewicz, in her chapter, largely ignores the central role Sophie Dorothea and other family members played in developing Friedrich's predilection for music, which, as Exner notes, should not be underestimated; see Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 55–56.

historian Tim Blanning sees the Dresden visit as a literal and symbolic representation of the extreme contrasts in Friedrich's life, revealing to him 'just how narrow, parochial and philistine was the 'culture' to be found at home'.¹²⁰ For Blanning, the deeply difficult personal relationship between father and son lay at the heart of Friedrich's antipathy towards Prussian court life;¹²¹ however, there were also significant political differences between Saxony and Prussia that contributed to the clash of cultures Friedrich experienced on his visit.¹²² Crucially, this visit marked the beginning of the exchange of personnel between the Berlin and Dresden courts, specifically in the person of Quantz, who remained in Berlin for many months afterwards and returned to Berlin twice a year to give flute lessons to the Crown Prince (it was only in 1742 that he finally left the employ of August III and joined the Berlin *Hofkapelle* on a permanent basis).

The genesis of what would become Friedrich II's *Hofkapelle* was long and complicated, and began in 1732, several years prior to his father's death, when the Crown Prince received his first military command in Ruppin, followed by his acquisition of a palace in Rheinsberg. Away from his father, this freedom allowed him to build a sizeable group of musicians, both resident and visiting. These already

¹²⁰ Tim Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* (London: Penguin, 2016), 36. Irritatingly, Blanning here repeats the erroneous suggestion that the Crown Prince heard Hasse's *Cleofide* in Dresden, which would not have been possible. As Daniel Hertz notes in *Music in European Capitals* (p. 355), the opera Friedrich probably heard was in fact Ristori's *Calandro*.

¹²¹ Blanning, *Frederick the Great*, 34. As Blanning puts it, 'In the case of Friedrich William and Friedrich, the natural tensions of the latter's teenage years went way beyond what was normal to reach physical violence and climaxed with a near filicide. It was a sustained campaign to break Friedrich's will and turn him into a subservient instrument'.

¹²² See Blanning, *Frederick the Great*, 34–38, and Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 93–96.

included key figures of the future Berlin court *Hofkapelle* such as the Graun and Benda brothers, Schaffrath, Janitsch and Quantz, some of whom were ‘acquired’ from the Polish *Kapelle* after the death of August II in 1733. The fact that Friedrich deliberately favoured musicians who had strong links to Dresden, whether through employment (Quantz) or training (Johann Gottlieb Graun, who had studied with Pisendel) is evidence of his single-minded desire to replicate the high standard of playing there and ensure Dresden performance practices were transferred to his own *Hofkapelle*. The frequent movement of musicians between Dresden and Friedrich’s *Hofkapelle*, supported by regular visits to Ruppín and Rheinsberg of the most celebrated Dresden artists (such as Pisendel, Weiss and Buffardin) throughout the 1730s, also therefore encouraged the first real exchange of musical materials between the two cities.¹²³ Fortunately, a great deal of primary documentary evidence survives about how Friedrich constructed his *Hofkapelle*, which has been explored in detail by several recent studies.¹²⁴

The Rheinsberg musicians formed the core of the Royal *Hofkapelle* that Friedrich developed in Berlin following his ascension to the throne in 1740, and were

¹²³ See Oleskiewicz, ‘The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia’, 84–85. These pieces included chamber works, sacred music and concertos by both Berlin and Dresden composers, including Hasse, the Graun brothers, Quantz, Schaffrath and Benda.

¹²⁴ By far the most outstanding and most comprehensive recent study in English is Exner, ‘The Forging of a Golden Age’, which includes separate chapters dealing with the background to music in Berlin prior to Friedrich II’s reign and the influence of the Dresden court, Friedrich’s development of his *Hofkapelle* at Ruppín and Rheinsberg, and the manner in which musical life in Berlin developed following his ascension to the throne. Detailed discussion of pay records and correspondence pertaining to individual musicians allows for the reconstruction the membership of the *Hofkapelle* at various stages, and the tracing in some cases of the individual movements and careers of prominent figures—although, unfortunately, Agricola is not among them.

initially known as the 'erste Capelle'. One of Friedrich's key priorities, after the *Landestrauer* (mourning period) for his father was over,¹²⁵ was to establish an opera house in the city. For this purpose he recruited new musicians, including some who had already been working for him on a visiting basis, such as Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.¹²⁶ This second group became known as the '1741 *Kapelle*', with a third group of musicians—including Quantz—who arrived the following year being designated as the '1742 *Kapelle*'.¹²⁷ By 1745, the Berlin *Hofkapelle* in its entirety, under the direction of Kapellmeister Graun, comprised nearly forty members, including instrumentalists and singers, and was required to perform music for a dizzying and diverse array of events: court concerts of all kinds, royal ballet and the opera, including both *opera seria* at the *Hofoper* and, later, comic intermezzi at smaller theatres. Unlike Dresden, though, liturgical music had no official place at his court: as I discuss in Chapter 4, although Friedrich deliberately encouraged the view that he was a 'champion of Protestantism',

¹²⁵ The *Trauermusik* for King Friedrich Wilhelm I was composed by Carl Heinrich Graun and performed in June 1740. See Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 180.

¹²⁶ There is some debate about when C.P.E. Bach entered Friedrich's service, for although he states in his autobiography that 'in 1738 I ended my academic years and went to Berlin' ('...ich 1738 meine akademischen Jahre endigte und nach Berlin gang'), there is ambiguity about whether this date applies to the conclusions of his studies only, or also to his arrival in Berlin. The latter interpretation is not supported by the evidence of court records, which suggests that, although he may certainly have visited the King in Ruppín before this date, he only became a member of the *Hofkapelle* in 1741. This issue is discussed at great length in Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 152–161, although other recent scholarship, such as Oleskiewicz, 'The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia', 89, avoids engaging with it in detail. David Schulenberg, in *The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 59, is more circumspect than Exner about the date of C.P.E. Bach's appointment to the court, stating it could have been in 1740 or 1741.

¹²⁷ Oleskiewicz, 'The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia'; the full titles were 'die *Capell* so anno 1741 dazugekommen' and 'An die letzten *Capell Bediente* so anno 1742 dazugekommen'.

he held no religious belief.¹²⁸ Opera, therefore, was of particular importance to the city's musical identity and its relationship with Dresden.

Composers at the Dresden court such as Zelenka and Hasse enjoyed the support of music-loving patrons who were interested in but did not, by and large, interfere with their activities. Friedrich II, who was devoted to music and was active as a flute player, amateur composer and teacher himself, kept a very close—one might almost say obsessive—eye on the activities of his *Hofkapelle*, even going so far as to instruct some of his professional court musicians in ornamentation practices. As I discussed in Chapter 1 in relation to Agricola's biography, this sometimes created a stifling and unpleasant atmosphere for his employees. The King's meticulous control of musical activities at the court resulted in the creation of particularly specialised ensembles, such as the *Potsdam Musici*, a handpicked group of musicians that played in the highly exclusive chamber music concerts (overseen by Quantz) in the King's private apartments, where the King himself would play flute. But there were also 'breakaway' groups, music academies that operated outside the court and often involved *Hofkapelle* members such as Agricola, where virtuosos and amateurs would perform together.¹²⁹ These public concerts for the middle classes and aristocracy, and the mixing of different professional classes of musicians, are of great importance in our understanding of the functions played by some of the sources we will examine below. Further, despite existing outside the court, I consider them fundamental to the

¹²⁸ Blanning, *Frederick the Great*, 350–351.

¹²⁹ Mary Oleskiewicz, 'Chamber Music and Piano Music', in *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Catalogue* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 108–10.

historical differentiation of the nature of Berlin's musical life in the eighteenth century from that of Dresden.

It was in this intense environment that the twenty-one-year-old Agricola found himself immersed in 1741. Over the next thirty-three years, as a member of the *Hofkapelle* and then *Hofkomponist*, he engaged with an extraordinary variety of music and musical styles, through study, performance, copying and composition. And although the evidence he left behind of this engagement—his own compositions, and the scores he copied and used—by no means presents the full picture of his involvement in Berlin musical life, a collective view of these sources for the first time enables us to see just how varied his activities were and their possible relationships to the activities of his colleagues. The majority of the surviving musical sources relating to Agricola are still located in Berlin, where they are split between three major collections held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (D-B): the collection of the old Royal Library (the *Königliche Bibliothek*), the collection of Princess Anna Amalia (the *Amalien-Bibliothek*), and the Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin.

2.3. The Berlin *Königliche Bibliothek* Music Collection

In its broadest sense, the history of the *Königliche Bibliothek* (Royal Library) music collection is synonymous with the history of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin itself, which need not concern us here. Although the music department of the *Königliche Bibliothek* was not established until the early nineteenth century, we do know that Friedrich II possessed a sizeable musical library for himself; however, it is difficult to determine

exactly what happened to it after his death.¹³⁰ The department itself has its origins in its acquisition of the collections of individuals such as Georg Poelchau (1773–1836), who was a member of the Berlin Sing-Akademie and owned over two thousand autographs and manuscript copies of works by Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven and many others. As a result, our interest here should lie not so much in the Königliche Bibliothek, but in the private music libraries of these collectors, and the manner in which they acquired these items.

The Agricola manuscripts of the old Königliche Bibliothek today held in D-B—that is, manuscripts that do not belong to one of the discrete collections discussed below that have been acquired by the library since 1900—number over one hundred and fifty. Of these, just under half are of works by Agricola, whilst the remainder are works by other composers in his hand; the majority of these are works by Johann Sebastian or Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, with other items by Handel, Hasse, Quantz, Schütz and Telemann. At first, it might seem that very few came from Friedrich's private collection, given the high number of sacred works in the collection (which he was not interested in) and instrumental pieces that do not feature 'his' instrument, the flute (including organ works that would have been used as part of church services). However, this is not evidence that they were not in the possession of the Royal Family:

¹³⁰ Exner ('The Forging of a Golden Age', 165) speculates that some of it may turn up in the Singakademie Archive, discussed below; this is quite possible, but not enough scholarly work has been done on the sources to state this with any degree of certainty.

it has already been shown that King Friedrich III, in 1806, gifted Carl Friedrich Zelter a number of works by Handel, Palestrina and others from the Royal Collection.¹³¹

Many of these manuscripts were certainly collected by Poelchau, possibly from the auctioning of part of Agricola's estate, and their provenance is linked to several of the manuscripts in the Singakademie collection (see below). Of particular importance here are five convoluted autograph volumes, Mus.ms.autogr. Agricola, J.F. 1–5. These contain a variety of pieces, by Agricola and others, although not all are in his hand, and were probably compiled by Poelchau himself, as the contents pages on the front endpapers attest; originally, they would have been separate manuscripts. Beyond this, it is difficult to make further generalisations about the nature of the Agricola sources in the Königliche Bibliothek.

2.4. The Amalien-Bibliothek

Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia (1723–1787) was Friedrich II's sister, and, like him, was deeply musical.¹³² She was an accomplished keyboard player, organist, violinist

¹³¹ Zelter recorded this in his papers, which were subsequently gathered together into a biography by his grandson, Wilhelm Rintel, who noted: '*Nur zwei Ereignisse traten als Lichtpunkte aus diesem dunkelten aller Lebensjahre: Zelters ernennung zum Assessor und Ehrenmitgliede der Akademie der Künste und mechanischen Wissenschaften vom 12. Juni und die Gewährung einer unterm 6. August an den König brieflich gerichteten Bitte, der Singakademie die im Nachlasse Friedrich Wilhelms II. befindlichen, im Marmorpalais bei Potsdam aufbewahrten musikalischen Werke von Händel, Leo, Palästrina, und Durante zu schenken. Diese musikalischen Schätze wurden am 17. August in Potsdam überliefert und zu Wasser nach Berlin geschafft.*' Quoted in Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 45.

¹³² On the biography of Anna Amalia, see Blechschmidt, 21–23, and Tobias Debuch, *Anna Amalia von Preussen (1723–1787): Prinzessin und Musikerin* (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2001).

and flautist, and also a composer, and devoted herself seriously to the study and patronage of music throughout her adult life. In 1758, she engaged Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–1783), who had studied with J.S. Bach in Leipzig at the same time as Agricola, as her theory and composition teacher.¹³³ Unfortunately, despite the plethora of documents relating to Anna Amalia's life and her musical interests that survive in the archives, no direct evidence has emerged about what these lessons were actually like.¹³⁴ Indeed, the most important witnesses to her musical interests—and, indeed, the most valuable legacy of her cultivation of a diverse musical repertoire in Berlin—are the over six hundred musical scores from her personal library, which she carefully collected and curated, no doubt with help from Kirnberger. Her complete personal library, which encompassed a huge variety of subjects, numbered almost three thousand books.¹³⁵

The only serious scholarly study of so-called Amalien-Bibliothek, that is, the music collection of the library, remains the 1965 catalogue by Eva Blechschmidt (Wutta), which contains a lengthy prefatory essay detailing the fate of the collection

¹³³ After studying with Bach, Kirnberger spent a decade in Poland working for various noblemen. On his return to Germany in 1751, he apparently spent time studying the violin in Dresden with Johann Georg Fickler (d. 1779), before moving to Berlin. See the biographical sketch in Marpurg, 85–86.

¹³⁴ Blechschmidt, 17. One imagines that the theoretical component of the lessons, at least, resembled much of what Kirnberger later wrote down in his treatise *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (Berlin: 1771), which was dedicated to Anna Amalia. This work was created with input from Kirnberger's fellow Berlin theorists who were themselves the author of other treatises, including Agricola; however, as has been noted elsewhere, its principles reflect what for the time was a notably conservative style, with an emphasis on the contrapuntal style of J.S. Bach. See Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, repr. and ed. Gregor Herzfeld (Kassel: Bärenreiter/dtv, 2004).

¹³⁵ Three handwritten catalogues from the eighteenth century record the contents of the original collection, the oldest of which is located in the Brandenburg Landeshauptarchiv. See Blechschmidt, 14.

after the Princess' death in 1787.¹³⁶ The library was bequeathed by the Princess to the Joachimsthalsches Gymnasium, and during its time there two new catalogues of the music collection were produced, almost a century apart. One, from 1800–1802, was by Carl Friedrich Zelter, about whom more shall be said below;¹³⁷ the other, more comprehensive catalogue, was by Robert Eitner, who, according to Blechschmidt, was actually responsible for bringing the attention of researchers to the collection, although some of his assignment of scribes was based on Zelter's catalogue.¹³⁸

Possibly due in part to Eitner's raising of the collection's profile, the relocation of the Joachimsthalsches Gymnasium to Templin in 1910 prompted the Königliche Bibliothek to emphatically advocate on research grounds that the music collection should remain in Berlin, and it was formally transferred to the Königliche Bibliothek in May 1914.¹³⁹ At the time Blechschmidt published her study, the collection was divided between East and West Germany, with some items held at the Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen as well as what was then the Deutscher Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Since 1990, the entire collection has formed part of the music holdings at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, where it joins the

¹³⁶ 'Das Schicksal der Amalien-Bibliothek von 1787 bis und die Gegenwart', in Blechschmidt, 24–34.

¹³⁷ D-B Mus.ms.theor.Kat.76. According to Blechschmidt, Zelter only catalogued the musical scores in the collection, not any of the theoretical writings or books on music that were contained in the library.

¹³⁸ 'Durch Eitners Katalog der Amalien-Bibliothek wurde die Fachwelt auf die Amalien-Bibliothek hingewiesen'. Blechschmidt, 31. Eitner's catalogue appeared across two issues of the *Beilagen zu den Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte* (No. 15, 1883, and No. 16, 1884).

¹³⁹ The negotiations between the Joachimsthal Gymnasium and the Königliche Bibliothek seem to have been drawn out and rather complex, and the director of the Gymnasium apparently later regretted allowing the music collection to be given to Berlin. See Blechschmidt, 31–33.

two other major eighteenth-century Berlin manuscript collections discussed in this chapter.

The Amalien-Bibliothek collection contains music spanning the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, but the overwhelming majority is of music by eighteenth-century German composers who were associated with or known to the Berlin court in some capacity. Bach and his sons are strongly represented, as are Handel and Telemann. Given Kirnberger's association with the Princess, it is hardly surprising a great many of his works feature heavily, as do compositions by the Graun brothers, Schaffrath and, to a lesser extent, Marpurg, Quantz and Agricola.

The collection contains thirty-one sources related to Agricola. As **Table 2.1** shows, the majority of the sources are copies of works by J.S. Bach and his sons, Carl Philipp Emanuel and (in one instance only) Wilhelm Friedemann. Of these, all are either sacred works of moderate length (cantatas or short masses) or instrumental works, mostly concertos.

Table 2.1: Musical sources of works by and/or in the hand of Johann Friedrich Agricola in the Amalien-Bibliothek Collection (now in D-B)¹⁴⁰

Shelfmark	Composer	Work(s)	Genre/Occasion
Am.B 6–7	Bach, Johann Sebastian	<i>St Matthew Passion</i> , BWV 244 (selections)	Passion for Good Friday

¹⁴⁰ Not included in this list are copies ascribed to Agricola but now known to be in the hand of Johann Gottfried Siebe (see Chapter 3 below), namely AmB. 51a, 60, 81, 91, 176 and 225.

Am.B 22	Bach, Johann Sebastian	<i>Nimm von uns Herr du treuer Gott</i> , BWV 101	Cantata for the 10 th Sunday after Trinity
Am.B 33–35	Bach, Johann Sebastian	<i>Gott soll allein mein Herze haben</i> , BWV 169 [Movts. 1, 3 and 5 only]; <i>Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust</i> [Movts. 3 and 5 only]; <i>Wer sich selbst erhöht, der soll erniedriget werden</i> , BWV 47	Cantatas for the 18 th , 6 th and 17 th Sundays after Trinity
Am.B 37–38	Bach, Johann Sebastian	<i>Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht mit deinem Knecht</i> , BWV 105 [Movts 1 and 5 only]; <i>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</i> , BWV 38 [Movts. 1 and 5 only]; <i>Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein</i> [Movt. 1 only]	Cantatas for the 9 th , 21 st and 2 nd Sundays after Trinity
Am.B 58	Bach, Johann Sebastian	<i>Die Kunst der Fuge</i> , BWV 1080 [selections]	Instrumental (Keyboard)
Am.B 62	Bach, Johann Sebastian	Concerto for Harpsichord and Strings in D minor, BWV 1052	Instrumental (Concerto)
Am.B 63	Bach, Johann Sebastian	Concerto for Harpsichord and Strings in E major, BWV 1053	Instrumental (Concerto)
Am.B 67	Bach, Johann Sebastian	Concerto for Three Harpsichords in D minor, BWV 1063	Instrumental (Concerto)
Am.B 68	Bach, Johann Sebastian	Concerto for Four Harpsichords in C major	Instrumental (Concerto)
Am.B 69	Bach, Johann Sebastian	Concerto for Four Harpsichords in A minor	Instrumental (Concerto)

Am.B 73	Bach, Johann Sebastian	<i>Musikalisches Opfer</i> (selections)	Instrumental
Am.B 97	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Concerto for Harpsichord and Strings in A major, Wq. 19	Instrumental (Concerto)
Am.B 100	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Concerto for Two Harpsichords in F major, Wq. 46	Instrumental (Concerto)
Am.B 215	Graun, Carl Heinrich; Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel; Agricola, Johann Friedrich	Three songs for voice and keyboard, published as <i>Drey verschiedene Versuche eines einfachen Gesanges für den Haxameter</i> (George Ludewig Winter: Berlin, 1760) ¹⁴¹	Songs
Am.B 297	Bononcini, Giovanni	Nine duets for voice and continuo	Vocal
Am.B 381	Caldara, Antonio	Mass in C major	Sacred (Mass)
Am.B 404	Agricola, Johann Friedrich	Counterpoint studies (on German chorales)	Sacred vocal
Am.B 477	Various	<i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Erstes–Viertes Vierteljahr), 1762–1763 (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter), containing Agricola's Sonata in F major	Vocal; keyboard
Am.B 529	Various	French organ works	Instrumental (Organ)
Am.B 532	Fux, Johann Joseph	<i>Missa Canonica</i>	Sacred (Mass)
Am.B 536– 537	Bach, Johann Sebastian	Sanctus in D major, BWV 238; Sanctus in C major, BWV 237	Sacred (Mass)

¹⁴¹ Blechschmidt incorrectly identifies Agricola as the composer of the Graun song *Edler Jüngling*. See the discussion of the *Drey verschiedene Versuche* below.

Am.B 538– 540	Bach, Johann Sebastian	<i>Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal in das Reich Gottes das eingehen, BWV 146; Ich geh und suche mit Verlangen, BWV 49; Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir, BWV 29</i>	Cantatas for the 3 rd Sunday after Easter, 21 st Sunday after Trinity and Council Inauguration
Am.B 542	Bach, Johann Sebastian	<i>Geist und Seele wird verwirret, BWV 35</i>	Cantata for the 12 th Sunday after Trinity
Am.B 553	Bach, Johann Sebastian	Concerto for Two Harpsichords in C major, BWV 1061; Concerto for Two Harpsichords in C minor, BWV 1060; <i>Die Kunst der Fuge, BWV 1080/17 (sketch, incomplete)</i>	Instrumental (Concertos/ Keyboard)
Am.B 554	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Symphony in E minor, Wq 177	
Am.B 556– 557	Bach, Wilhelm Friedemann	<i>Es ist eine Stimme eines Predigers, BR-WFB F16 [Movt. 3 only]; Zerbecht, zerreisst, ihr schnöden Bande, BR-WFB F27; Laß dein Wehen in mir spielen, BR-WFB F28</i>	Cantata for the Feast of St. John the Baptist; Sacred songs
Am.B 590	Agricola, Johann Friedrich	Magnificat in A major	Sacred (Magnificat)

There are two obvious differences between the corpus of Agricola sources in this collection and the two other Berlin archives discussed here. Firstly, there are no materials whatsoever from operas or other stage works. Secondly, although the number of total sources is vastly smaller than either of the two other collections, there are only four sources of works by Agricola himself, and just two of these—both of which are in manuscript—are exclusively of one or more pieces by him. The most important of these is certainly the autograph of the Magnificat in A major (Am.B 590), but it seems hardly surprising that the other (Am.B 404) is a set of counterpoint studies on German chorales, given Kirnberger's special interest in and emphasis on contrapuntal training. Likewise, this probably explains the high number of works by Kirnberger's teacher, Johann Sebastian Bach, in the collection, whose music Kirnberger prized for its 'most daring' counterpoint, and which he considered 'to be most highly recommended to all composers as the best models for conscientious study'.¹⁴² The particular nature of these Bach sources will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Whether these manuscripts made their way into Princess Amalia's collection during Agricola's lifetime is difficult to say, although it seems likely that Kirnberger, as a close colleague of Agricola, probably acquired many of these from Agricola's estate after his death.¹⁴³ The number of copyists in the collection is large, and several have yet to be identified. But it is notable that Agricola, Kirnberger and Schaffrath are responsible for far more copies than any of the other named copyists in the and most of the anonymous ones; those anonymous copyists, such as J.S. Bach I and J.S. Bach III,

¹⁴² BDok III, no. 767; trans. in Wolff, David and Mendel (eds.), *The New Bach Reader*, nos. 361 – 362.

¹⁴³ Regarding the dating and provenance of the copies of vocal works by J.S. Bach in the Amalien-Bibliothek, see Chapter 5.

whose hands also feature prominently in the collection are also undoubtedly Berlin copyists. In this collection, therefore, we see less evidence of the transmission of score copies from outside Berlin, and strong evidence of consistent work by local copyists to produce their own scores.

2.5. The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin

Of the three major Berlin collections in which Agricola sources are found, the Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin (hereafter Berlin Singakademie) undoubtedly has the most chequered history. In many ways, it is also the most significant collection of materials for discussion in the present study, because it has only recently again become accessible to scholarship, following its disappearance after the end of the Second World War. As a result, it did not form part of the major studies undertaken by Alfred Dürr¹⁴⁴ and Eva Blechschmidt¹⁴⁵, and thus its contents demand careful examination in relation to the other source collections that were already known. In order to understand the particular nature of the Agricola sources found in this collection, and personal and material connections that radiate from them, we need to look briefly at the early years of the Singakademie itself, and its place in Berlin's musical life at the turn of the nineteenth century.

The Berlin Singakademie was founded in 1791 by Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736–1800), who constitutes, in multiple ways, a vital direct link between the

¹⁴⁴ Dürr Chr, 44–65.

¹⁴⁵ See Blechschmidt, and her later study (as Eva Renate Wutta), *Quellen der Bach-Tradition in der Berliner Amalien-Bibliothek* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1989).

world of J.S. Bach and the so-called 'Bach revival' of the nineteenth century. Carl Fasch was the son of Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758), the long-serving *Hofkapellmeister* of the court of Anhalt-Zerbst. The elder Fasch enjoyed close connections with several other important musical centres in Germany during the early eighteenth century, and indeed his works were disseminated to a large number of courts and churches in the early eighteenth century.¹⁴⁶ In Darmstadt, for instance, he had lessons with Christoph Graupner and the concertmaster Gottfried Grünewald, and also wrote his own occasional music for the court.¹⁴⁷ Fasch also had deep connections to Leipzig, where he had been a *Thomaner* under the Kantor Johann Kuhnau, and—like Graupner—auditioned to be his successor in 1722, a position he was ultimately offered but subsequently turned down, due to just having been appointed *Kapellmeister* in Zerbst. As is well known, of course, the *Thomaskantorat* ultimately went to the then-*Kapellmeister* at the court of Anhalt-Köthen, Johann Sebastian Bach, and recent research has shown not only that Bach and Fasch knew each other's music, but that Köthen and Zerbst exchanged musical and human resources, with Fasch providing occasional music for Köthen following J.S. Bach's move to Leipzig.¹⁴⁸ Residence in Leipzig also

¹⁴⁶ See *Das Wirken des Anhalt-Zerbster Hofkapellmeisters Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758) für auswärtige Hofkapellen* (= Fasch-Studien 8), ed. Internationale Fasch-Gesellschaft e. V. [Konstanze Musketa] (Dessau: Anhaltische Verlagsgesellschaft, 2001).

¹⁴⁷ Barbara M. Reul, 'The Court of Anhalt-Zerbst', in Owens, Stockigt and Reul (eds.), *Music at German Courts*, 265. Fasch wrote both the text and the music for a sacred cantata, *Die Gerechten müssen sich freuen*, in honour of Princess Hedwig Friederike's birthday in 1722. See Barbara M. Reul, 'Johann Friedrich Faschs in Darmstadt überlieferte Geburtstagskantaten für Fürsten Hedwig Friederike von Anhalt-Zerbst', in *Das Wirken des Anhalt-Zerbster Hofkapellmeisters Johann Friedrich Fasch*, 191–210.

¹⁴⁸ See Barbara M. Reul, 'Sharing Resources: J.S. Fasch, J.S. Bach and Princely Funeral Music at the Courts of Anhalt-Zerbst and Anhalt-Köthen', in Kerry Murphy, Frederic Kiernan and Andrew Frampton (eds.), *Zelenka, Bach and the Eighteenth-Century German Baroque: Essays in Honour of Janice B. Stockigt*, *Musicology*

facilitated Fasch's close relationship with the Dresden court: he had known Heinichen and Pisendel since his time as a student there. The latter's systematic development of a large library of instrumental music, as typically required for a senior musical court figure, is a key reason why so many sources for Fasch's instrumental music are now held in Dresden, and these are testament to an ongoing practice of exchange of musical materials between Fasch and Pisendel.¹⁴⁹

It was against this backdrop of rich networks—both personal and material—that the young Carl Fasch received his musical education, an important moment of which was his visit with his father to Dresden in 1755, the last year of Pisendel's life, as related in Zelter's biography:

The elder Fasch, who had noted his son's progress with pleasure, decided to take him on a trip to Dresden. The wondrousness of the Dresden orchestra and the beauty of the music that was performed there pervaded all of Germany at that time. [Fasch] took his son to the Catholic Church, where a large mass was given by Zelenka. ... When the mass was over, [Fasch] asked: How did he [Carl] like the music and the service? and

Australia 41 (2019): 106–120. Reul suggests that Fasch may have attended the obsequies of Köthen's Prince Leopold in 1729, at which Bach's *Trauermusik* (*Klagt, Kinder, klagt es aller Welt*, BWV 1143/244a) was performed, and that this may have influenced the funeral music Fasch was required to compose for Zerbst and, later, Köthen itself.

¹⁴⁹ Shelley Hogan, 'Johann Friedrich Fasch's Sonata for Two Violins, "Pasetel" and Basso in the Context of the Dresden Court', in *Fasch: Vater und Sohn* (= Fasch-Studien 11), ed. Stadt Zerbst/Anhalt in collaboration with the Internationale Fasch-Gesellschaft e.V. [Barbara M. Reul, in collaboration with Antje Deicke, Konstanze Musketa and Bert Siegmund] (Beeskow: Ortus, 2011), 147–169, at 147–148.

noticed, since he received no answer, that the young man was swimming in tears and could not speak a word because he was so moved.¹⁵⁰

It has been proposed that this trip to Dresden may account for the presence of Carl Fasch's early instrumental compositions in the instrumental music collection of the Dresden court, which may have been given to Pisendel as a kind of artistic letter of recommendation.¹⁵¹ In any event, Fasch *files* clearly profited from his father's established connections in Dresden, and was exposed to the music of Zelenka, Pisendel and others as a result.

Carl Fasch came to Berlin in early 1756 on the recommendation of Franz Benda, where he was appointed second harpsichordist in the *Hofkapelle*, and subsequently

¹⁵⁰ 'Der alte Fasch, der die Fortschritte seines Sohnes mit Vergnügen bemerkte, entschloß sich nun mit demselben eine Reise nach Dresden zu machen. Der Wunderruf der Dresdner Kapelle und die Schönheit der Musiken, die daselbst aufgeführt wurden, erfüllten dazumal ganz Deutschland. Der Vater führte seinen Sohn in die katholische Kirche, woselbst eine große Messe von Zelenka gegeben wurde. ... Als die Messe geendigt war, fragte der Vater: wie ihm die Musik und der Gottesdienst gefallen habe? und bemerkte, da er keine Antwort erhielt, daß der junge Mensch in Thränen schwamm, und vor Rührung kein Wort sprechen konnte.' Karl Friedrich Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1801), 11–12. Zelter goes on to claim that Carl Fasch asked to attend mass every day, but his father, 'a zealous and religious Lutheran' (*ein eifriger und religiöser Lutheraner*) refused his request out of fear that he might convert to Catholicism as Hasse had done, which Fasch 'abhorred' (*verabschente*). This rather oversimplifies matters and possibly paints Fasch in an unfairly negative light: although Fasch came from a staunchly Lutheran background, and heavily identified with Lutheran pietism, his professional life embraced a multi-confessional landscape, and he composed multiple mass settings specifically for the Dresden court. See *Fasch und die Konfessionen* (= Fasch-Studien 14), ed. Stadt Zerbst/Anhalt in collaboration with the Internationale Fasch-Gesellschaft e.V. [Barbara M. Reul and Konstanze Musketa] (Beeskow: Ortus, 2017).

¹⁵¹ Steffen Voss, 'Eine Jugendsinfonie von Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch', in *Fasch: Vater und Sohn*, 171–182, at 172.

first harpsichordist following C.P.E. Bach's move to Hamburg in 1767.¹⁵² Here he would certainly have come to know Agricola, too, and indeed he replaced Agricola as the conductor of the *Hofoper* after the latter's death. But it was through his devotion to the study and performance of choral music that he had his most lasting impact.¹⁵³ What began, in the late 1780s, as a series of informal private meetings between Fasch and his pupils had grown by 1791—the date of the organisation's official founding—into a sizeable group of semi-professional singers, which, in 1793, moved into the Marstall building in Berlin that also housed the academy of arts and sciences; thus, by association, this singing organisation became known as the Sing-Akademie. Records of rehearsals and performances show that although much of the group's repertoire consisted of Italian vocal music, the Bach motets *Komm, Jesu, komm* (BWV 229), *Fürchte dich nicht* (BWV 228) and *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied* (BWV 225) were rehearsed very early in the group's history, in 1794 and 1795.¹⁵⁴ Nonetheless, despite Fasch's direct link to Bach through his father, this music was already considered a historical curio, and was performed as such.

Although Carl Fasch established the Singakademie's Archive, it was his pupil and successor, Carl Friedrich Zelter, who embarked on a programme of systematically collecting a diverse range of musical scores to expand the collection, thus bringing it

¹⁵² See Brian Clark, 'Keeping it in the Family', 25–48, and Christoph Henzel, 'Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch als Hofmusiker', 72–80, in *Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736–1800) und das Berliner Musikleben seiner Zeit* (= Fasch-Studien 7), ed. Internationale Fasch-Gesellschaft e.V. [Konstanze Musketa] (Dessau: Anhaltische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999). I thank Konstanze Musketa and Barbara M. Reul for their assistance with these articles.

¹⁵³ Although Carl Fasch was certainly an important pedagogue and composer, he burned most of his compositions written prior to 1783, making it difficult to evaluate his legacy in this regard.

¹⁵⁴ BDok III, no. 986.

more or less to its present state.¹⁵⁵ The reasons for Zelter's drive in developing the Archive's holdings were not limited simply to providing repertoire for performance or his own personal study, although these were certainly important factors. Rather, as Axel Fischer comments:

[Zelter] manifestly followed a greater, almost encyclopaedic drive. Only this aspect of his activity can adequately explain the broad character of the collection as a comprehensive library of all available repertoire ranging over almost all musical genres. As a result, the archive became one of the supporting pillars of his concept of education, which was based on regarding the Sing-Akademie's influence as part of a universal artistic, pedagogical and academic programme of education.¹⁵⁶

The 'encyclopaedic' nature of the Archive, and Zelter's personal commitment in the procurement and serious study of a hugely diverse range of music, marks it out as a highly distinct and significant cultural treasure. Zelter's own performance markings and comments, often in pencil or red ink, are frequently found in the scores, including in works which were probably never actually used for performance after they went into the Archive.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Axel Fischer, 'The diversity and range of genres in the Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin', in Axel Fischer and Matthias Kornemann (eds.), *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Catalogue* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 27–34, at 27.

¹⁵⁶ Fischer, 'The diversity and range of genres in the Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin', 34.

¹⁵⁷ Fischer, 'The diversity and range of genres in the Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin', 33–34. Ascertaining whether or not a source was used for performance is, of course, something of an arbitrary business, made more difficult in this case by two factors: firstly, a great many of the sources that Zelter collected were almost certainly used in performance by others prior to their assimilation into the Archive, and so material evidence typically associated with a performance score is not always a reliable indicator;

The Archive is comprised of over five thousand sources of music spanning the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries, although a significant proportion is, unsurprisingly, eighteenth-century German music.¹⁵⁸ Despite the fastidiousness of Zelter's collecting, it seems to only have been after his death that a proper catalogue of the Archive was produced, by Poelchau on commission from the Singakademie around 1835.¹⁵⁹ This, the so-called 'Zelter-Katalog', used a complicated classification system that divided the Archive into broad categories, denoted by letters prefaced by a 'Z', which were then subdivided into specific genre subclasses, with each individual source also being given a running number.¹⁶⁰

One of the downsides of the almost single-handed nature of the Archive's assembling by Zelter is that, in the absence of other external records, it becomes very difficult to trace the provenance of many of the materials.¹⁶¹ This is a particular

secondly, given Zelter's (and therefore the Singakademie's) interest in 'historical' music for concerts, it is dangerous to assert that a particular work would have been considered unsuitable on the grounds of its unfashionability (stylistic or otherwise).

¹⁵⁸ Fischer, 'The diversity and range of genres in the Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin', 28–29. As noted there, this figure refers to the number of individual shelfmarks (what Fischer calls 'signatures'), not separate pieces of music in the Archive (yet to be calculated).

¹⁵⁹ Georg Poelchau (n.d.), *Catalog musikalisch-literarischer und practischer Werke aus dem Nachlasse des Königl. Professors Dr. Zelter*, D-B N. Mus. ms. theor. 30.

¹⁶⁰ This system is fully explained and critiqued in Fischer, 'The diversity and range of genres in the Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin', 30–32. The vast majority of the holdings were classified into classes C and D—that is, vocal and instrumental works, respectively.

¹⁶¹ Christoph Wolff, 'Recovered in Kiev: Bach et al. A Preliminary Report on the Music Collection of the Berlin Sing-Akademie', *Notes*, second series, 58 (2001): 259–271, at 260. Studies that focus on the provenance of particular portions of the collection include, amongst others, Wolfram Enßlin (EnßlinSA) on the Bach sources, and Nigel Springthorpe on the Klipfel collection, a study which draws on similar methodologies to the present thesis. See Nigel Springthorpe, 'Porcelain, Music and Frederick the Great: a

problem given the huge diversity of repertoire and Zelter's lack of commentary on the subject. As Henzel notes:

The music archive can simply be described as a gathering together of various partial collections from various sources. Because of this, it is unnecessary to search further for Zelter's intention with every acquisition in the collection. For a considerable amount of the music was certainly either opportunistic purchases or gifts which were offered to Zelter or the Sing-Akademie by friends such as Georg Poelchau and Johann Samuel Carl Possin, patrons such as Sara Levy, née Itzig, or by notable members such as Friedrich Nicolai, Carl Wilhelm Klipfel and Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab, precluding a planned collection in any sense. This may explain the fact that several copies exist of a few works, or that some are incomplete and that Zelter sometimes criticised the quality of some compositions.¹⁶²

Henzel also observes that the profile and transmission of the Singakademie Archive is very similar to the music collection of the Königliche Bibliothek.¹⁶³ This is something that is certainly seen when comparing the manuscripts of Agricola's own works in both collections (see **Table 2.2** for the corpus of Singakademie sources for Agricola's works). In some ways, they could almost be of two halves: both contain substantial quantities of both sacred music and stage works, often with no distinctive

Survey of the Klipfel Collection in the Sing-Akademie, Berlin', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 46 (2015), 1-45.

¹⁶² Christoph Henzel, 'Oratorios, Masses, Sacred and Secular Cantatas, Arias and Lieder', in Fisher and Kornemann (eds.), *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin*, 65-73, at 65.

¹⁶³ Henzel, 'Oratorios, Masses, Sacred and Secular Cantatas, Arias and Lieder', 66.

characteristics, such as dating, instrumentation or text, that would suggest why a particular source has ended up in one or the other. This indicates that around the turn of the nineteenth century some of these sources were either located in another, possibly private collection that was then later dispersed between two other collections (perhaps those of Zelter and Poelchau) or even that some works may have swapped from Poelchau to Zelter (or vice versa). As I note in the catalogue in Volume III, Singakademie manuscripts bear the markings of Poelchau's ownership. In terms of the variety and nature of the materials it presents for both Agricola's own works (see below) and his manuscript copies, the Singakademie collection is arguably the most important corpus of sources yet discovered.

Table 2.2: Works by Johann Friedrich Agricola in the Archive of the Berlin Singakademie (now in D-B)

Shelfmark	Work	Genre/Occasion	Autograph?	Comments
SA 44	<i>Die Auferstehung des Erlösers</i>	Oratorio (Easter)	Y	With original parts (non-autograph) and text booklet
SA 45	<i>Vom Throns des Ewgen</i>	Cantata (Easter) ¹⁶⁴		
SA 181	<i>Uns ist ein Kind geboren</i>	Cantata (Christmas Day)	Y	Formerly thought to be by Johann Heinrich Rolle

¹⁶⁴ In the source as well as all current literature, this work is currently attributed to an anonymous composer; see the discussion in Chapter 4.

SA 182	<i>Kündlich groß, ist das gottseilige Geheimniß</i>	Cantata (Christmas Day)	Y	With original parts and text booklet
SA 183	<i>Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut</i>	Cantata (Funeral)	Y	With original parts and text booklet
SA 184	<i>Gelobet sei Gott und der Vater</i>	Cantata (Cantate Sunday)	Y	
SA 185	<i>Ein schnelles Brausen beweget die Lüfte</i>	Cantata (Whitsun)	Y	With original parts and text booklet
SA 186	<i>Ein schnelles Brausen beweget die Lüfte</i>	Cantata (Whitsun)	N	Incomplete set of parts
SA 4557 (6)	<i>Gia la note s'avvicina</i>	Cantata (Secular)	N	
SA 181	Recitatives for Rolle's <i>Uns ist ein Kind geboren</i>	Cantata (Christmas Day)	Y	Copy of cantata by Johann Heinrich Rolle, with new recitatives by Agricola
SA 694	Recitatives for Rolle's <i>Unsre Seele harret auf den Herrn</i>	Cantata (7 th Sunday after Trinity)	N	Copy of cantata by Rolle, with new recitatives by Agricola ¹⁶⁵
SA 1220	<i>Triumph dem Vater des Volks</i> (‘Triumph-Lied’)	Festive occasional work (Secular)	Y	With original parts and text sheet
SA 4557 (28)	Sei Canzonette	Canzonetta	N	Printed in Leipzig, 1756

¹⁶⁵ See Schwinger, 208–209.

SA 4557 (53)	'Les Rois d'Egypte & de Syrie'	Canzonetta	N	Printed in Leipzig, 1757
SA 4565 (30)	'Das Erdbeben'	Lied	N	Printed in Berlin, 1761
SA 2 (3)	'Muß ich dich den verlieren'	Lied	N	Printed in Berlin, 1760
SA 1333	'Disse il ver parlò per gioco' from <i>Achille in Sciro</i>	Opera	N	Aria movement
SA 1006 (1)	'Se un core annodi' and 'Ecco felici amanti' from <i>Achille in Sciro</i>	Opera	N	Two choruses
SA 1379	'In questo fausto giorno', 'Si varia in ciel talora', 'Alme incaute che torbide' and 'Chi mai vide altrove ancora' from <i>Achille in Sciro</i>	Opera	N	Four soprano arias
SA 1544	'Viva questa bella coppia', 'Ah di tue lodi al suono', 'Lungi fuggite', 'Se un core annodi' and 'Ecco felici amanti' from <i>Achille in Sciro</i>	Opera	N	Five choruses (arranged)
SA 1596 (7)	'Si varia in ciel talora' from <i>Achille in Sciro</i>	Opera	N	Two soprano arias
SA 1596 (8)	'Alme incaute che torbide' from <i>Achille in Sciro</i>	Opera	N	Soprano aria

SA 1366	'Alme incaute che torbide' and 'Si varia in ciel talora' <i>from Achille in Sciro</i>	Opera	N	Two soprano arias
SA 1006 (2)	'Se il precede noi tormenti' and 'Non mai cosi ridente' <i>from Amor e Psiche</i>	Opera	N	Two choruses
SA 1530	'O nume che reggi' from <i>Amore e Psiche</i>	Opera	N	Chorus
SA 1528	'Quegli che vittima' from <i>Amore e Psiche</i>	Opera	N	Chorus
SA 940	<i>Cleofide</i>	Opera	N	
SA 941	<i>Cleofide</i>	Opera	N	
SA 1009 (5)	Sinfonia from <i>Cleofide</i>	Opera	N	
SA 1902	Sinfonia from <i>Cleofide</i>	Opera	N	
SA 1563	'Allegro di molto' from from <i>I Greci in Tauride</i>	Opera	N	Falsely ascribed to Johann Adolf Hasse
SA 1564	'Non è già mortali' from <i>I</i> <i>Greci in Tauride</i>	Opera	N	
SA 1565	'Prendete o Sommi Dei' from <i>I Greci in Tauride</i>	Opera	N	
SA 942	<i>Il Filosofo convinto in amore</i>	Opera	N	Missing <i>secco</i> recitatives
SA 943	<i>Il Filosofo convinto in amore</i>	Opera	N	
SA 944	'Se mi spinge' from <i>Oreste e</i> <i>Pilade</i>	Opera	N	

SA 945 (1)	'Chi fia questi', 'Uomo è questi', 'Ahi! quali grida' and 'Dunque solo' from <i>Oreste e Pilade</i>	Opera	N	Two choruses and two recitatives
SA 946	'Arrestatevi', Recitative from <i>Oreste e Pilade</i>	Opera	N	
SA 947	'Ah si crudel tenore' from <i>Oreste e Pilade</i>	Opera	N	
SA 948	'Se lieta nel seno' from <i>Oreste e Pilade</i>	Opera	N	
SA 1101, f. 43 & 75	Two insert arias for Hasse's <i>Leucippo</i>	Opera	N	Commissioned for a 1765 Berlin production of <i>Leucippo</i>
SA 1102 (part)	Two insert arias for Hasse's <i>Leucippo</i>	Opera	N	As for SA 1101
SA 1104, f. 66ff & f. 107ff	'Non dispetto non riguardo' and 'In tua man stà vite e morte', insert arias for Hasse's <i>Lucio Papirio</i>	Opera	N	Commissioned for a 1766 Berlin production of <i>Lucio Papirio</i>
SA 1221	<i>Il tempio d'Amore</i>	Serenata	N	

2.6. Operas, Lieder and Instrumental Works: Selected Highlights of Agricola's *Oeuvre*

By far the most comprehensive list of Agricola's works to date is found in Wucherpfennig's 1922 dissertation.¹⁶⁶ In large part, this is due to the fact that he had access to the Singakademie sources, which were not available to later authors, although given their presence in his dissertation it is surprising that some works (e.g. the *Triumph-Lied*, discussed below) are entirely missing from later worklists. It is, of course, impossible to survey all of Agricola's works in a study such as this, and notes on individual works and sources are reserved for the catalogue presented in Volume 3. Nonetheless, in order to understand the background to these sources, it is helpful to have an overview of the major genres Agricola contributed to and some particular highlights of the collections.

It seems hardly surprising that Agricola should have viewed his future prospects as a composer in Berlin as dependent upon opera, given the Prussian court's secular nature and the popularity of the genre in Dresden. The first opera written specifically for, and presented by, Berlin was Graun's *Rodelinda, Regina de'Longobardi* (GWV B:I:6), which premiered on 12 December 1741.¹⁶⁷ This 'debut' of Friedrich II's new music-loving regime in the winter *Lustbarkeiten* season took place a whole year

¹⁶⁶ Wucherpfennig, 93–104. Wucherpfennig lists Agricola's works, including his critical writings, in chronological order, with a section at the end for those works (several) which he is unable to date.

¹⁶⁷ Henzel, GraunWV (I), 227. Exner ('The Forging of a Golden Age', 187) gives the date of the premiere as 13 December, and notes there were two repeat performances on 20 and 22 December. The date of 13 December is supported by Anton Bathasar König, *Versuch einer historischen Schilderung* (Berlin: 1792–1799), as quoted in Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 188.

after it should have, most probably owing to the *Landestrauer* (State Mourning) observed for Friedrich William I and the absence of both Friedrich II and Graun from Berlin. *Rodelinda*, however, was premiered on a makeshift stage in the palace, as Friedrich's envisaged opera house was not yet ready. Thus, the first truly public opera to be staged for Berlin was another Graun work, *Cesare e Cleopatra* (GWV B:I:7), which premiered in the new opera house on Unter den Linden on 7 December 1742. (It was in this performance that Agricola's future wife, Benedetta Molteni, made her Berlin debut.) As became frequent practice, an opera from Dresden also featured in the carnival season—in this case, Hasse's *La Clemenza di Tito* (also known as *Tito Vespasiano*), on 11 January 1743. Indeed, it seems that Friedrich kept a very close eye on the latest operatic productions in Dresden. As Exner notes, 'the frequent...staging of Hasse's operas in Berlin might at first seem unusual, because Hasse...was the Saxon *Kapellmeister* and therefore was working for Friedrich's political adversary. ... [But] with Friedrich's kingship, Dresden's musical influence was transformed...from emulation to artistic rivalry.'¹⁶⁸ The production schedule of court opera in Dresden was often closely reflected in that of Berlin's, and as Exner comments, 'Similarity does suggest a degree of imitation, but it should also perhaps be taken as a sign of spectacular confidence on Friedrich's part.'¹⁶⁹ Although, as I have already mentioned, Dresden and Berlin enjoyed a close musical relationship at this time, it was Berlin that clearly benefited most from Dresden's prestige in the genre of *opera seria*: both the sources and court performance records show there was a regular flow northwards of

¹⁶⁸ Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 202.

¹⁶⁹ Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 202–203.

new works, by Hasse and others, that were then promptly given their Berlin premieres. However, some original Berlin commissions also found their way to Dresden, including one important work by Agricola.

Agricola's *Lebenslauf* credits his appointment as *Hofkomponist* in 1751 as resting almost solely on the success of one work, the comic intermezzo *Il filosofo convinto in amore*.¹⁷⁰ This work, with a libretto by Carlo Goldoni, premiered to great acclaim in the autumn of 1750 at the little *Stadtschloß* theatre in Potsdam, which five years previously had been built specifically for the performances of intermezzi. The two roles of Lesbina (a young girl) and Anselmo (the philosopher) were sung by the soprano Maria (Rosa) Ruvinetti Bon, and the buffo-bass Domenico Cricchi respectively, both of whom had first performed there two years previously in Pergolesi's *La serva padrona*.¹⁷¹

The intermezzo is presented in three acts, and the plot broadly follows the expected formula for such works. The serious Anselmo, a deep-thinking philosopher, catches the eye of the cheeky young Lesbina. Anselmo claims to have no time or interest in the trivialities of love, so she slips into various disguises (including a student and a noblewoman) in an attempt to ensnare him for financial gain. What follows, of course, is a series of typically farcical misunderstandings and arguments, before a happy ending is reached and the two lovers are united. Both characters are shown to undergo emotional transformation: Anselmo is revealed as a lonely man

¹⁷⁰ 'This *Scherzspiel* [comic play], and some other serious arias, which had also been sung before His Majesty the King, made their writer happy to step into the Royal Prussian Service in May 1751' ('Dieses Scherzspiel, und einige andere ernsthafte Arien, welche gleichfals vor Sr. Majestät dem Könige waren gesungen worden, verschaffeten ihrem Verfasser das Glück in May des 1751 Jahres in Königliche Preußische Dienste zu treten').

¹⁷¹ Oleskiewicz, *The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia*, 200.

who ultimately learns not to be afraid of his feelings, whilst the calculating Lesbina is shown to gradually fall deeply in love with Anselmo, and so she too learns the true meaning of love. A charming moment is the final menuet (**Figure 2.1**), where the two lovers are united and call on various instruments to play as they express their contentment and joy: as they name them, each instrument then has a little solo, before the 'ballano', which is punctuated by the happy singing of the lovers.

Il filosofo was a great success, receiving a large number of performances, and copies of libretti printed for performances in several different German cities are testament to its wide distribution. The work also survives in a number of score copies in various states of completeness, some of which seem to be more closely linked to the now-missing autograph than others. Of particular note, because of their provenance, are two copies in the Singakademie collection. The first, SA 942 (**Figure 2.2**), is a bound volume in a beautiful marbled green half-leather binding, which presents the work in full score but without *secco* recitatives, although *accompagnato* recitatives are present. Space has been left for these missing *secco* passages in the score, showing they were intended to be filled in later but never done so. As a result, there are several places where the music suddenly begins or cuts off due to its dovetailing in and out of *secco* passages (for example, on fol. 72v, which suddenly begins on the word 'ascolta', where strings are introduced into the long recitative 'Facciam dunque così'; the preceding fols. 68r–72v are blank). The copy seems to be mostly the work of a single scribe, although there are some slight variations in some clef and letter forms that may suggest the occasional presence of an additional scribe. The second copy of the work in Berlin is SA 943, the scribe of which RISM names as the Berlin horn player Christian Mengis (or Menges) (fl. 1745–1766), whom Henzel has already identified as a prolific

Graun copyist.¹⁷² The watermarks, of a crowned monogram 'FR' and a crowned double-headed eagle with sceptre and sword, also position this copy as contemporaneous with the Prussian court around 1750. This copy does contain all the recitatives, but it is in short (vocal) rather than full score, and therefore suggests that it was probably copied directly from the original full score.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the beginning of the final menuet. The title at the top is "Tempo di Menuet". The score is arranged in a system with ten staves. The instruments listed on the left are: Oboe, Flauto, Corni, Fagotti, Violino 1, Violino 2, Viola, and Cello/Bass. The vocal line (Soprano) is written on a staff with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics for the vocal line are: "Non tutta giubilo per il contento." and "nelle mie viscere la gioia isento". The music is written in a single system with a common time signature of 3/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and notes.

Figure 2.1. D-Bsa SA 942, *Il filosofo convinto in amore*, fol. 79v (beginning of the final menuet).

¹⁷² Most of these are instrumental works.

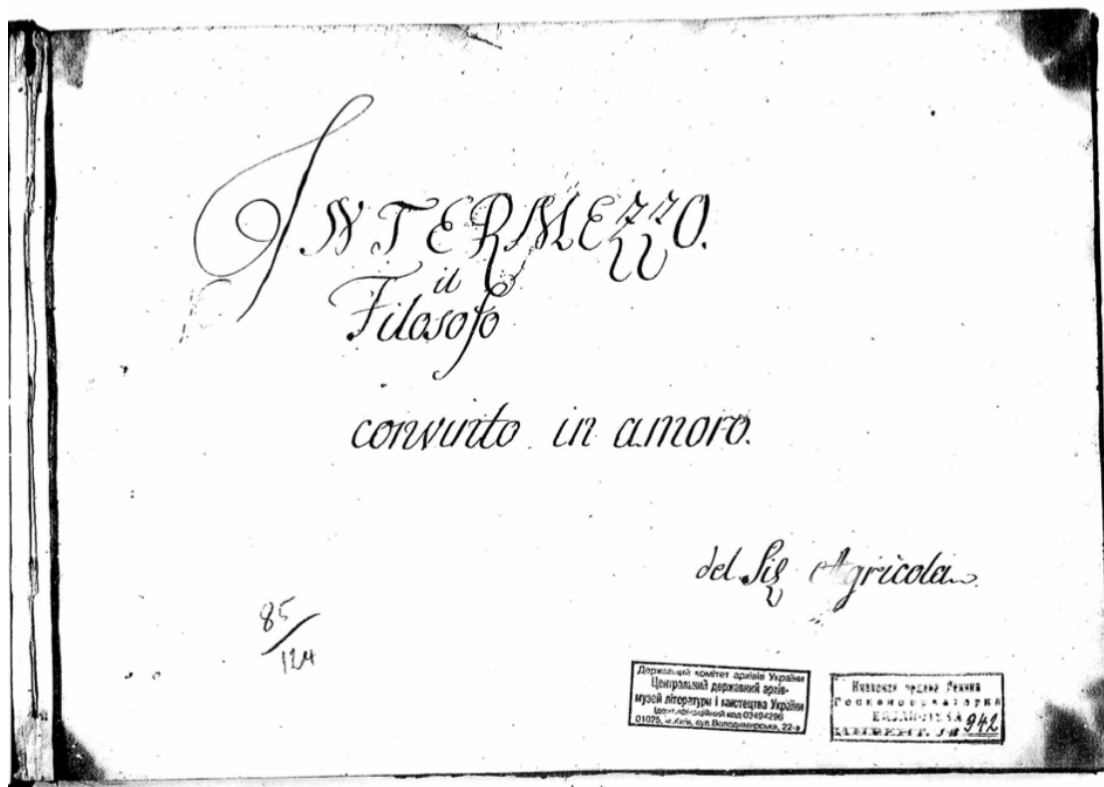


Figure 2.2. D-Bsa SA 942, *Il filosofo convinto in amore*, title page

A further important copy of this work is found in Dresden, under the shelfmark D-DI Mus. 3062-F-1 (Figure 2.3). This is a full score copy bound in brown leather with gold lettering on the spine. The court catalogue number 'B921' on the reverse of the flyleaf, together with the stamp of the Royal Private Music Collection on the following folio, reveals that this source was in the collection of Princess Maria Antonia, wife of Friedrich August I, the last Elector of Saxony, a fact supported by a corresponding entry in the catalogue of her music collection produced in the 1780s.¹⁷³ This score seems to have been specially made by Berlin copyists as a presentation copy for Maria

¹⁷³ CATALOGO della MUSICA, e de' Libretti di S.A.R. MARIA ANTONIA, D-DI Bibl.Arch.III.Hb,Vol.787.g,3, 122.

Antonia, most likely connected to the performance in Dresden of the opera on 10 August 1762, for which a printed libretto also survives.¹⁷⁴

152 *Tempo di Minuetto.*

Oboe. Col Violin.

Flauti. Col Violin.

Corni.

Fagotti. Col Bass.

Violino 1.

Violino 2.

Viola. Col B.

Lesbina. Gallano

Anselmo.

Basso.

Figure 2.3. D-DI Mus. 3062-F-1, *Il filosofo convinto in amore*, opening page of final scene

A manuscript of *Il filosofo* was also offered for sale by Breitkopf and Härtel in its 1770 non-thematic catalogue, where it is listed alongside intermezzi by Hasse and Pergolesi,

¹⁷⁴ D-DI MT.1406. The libretto reveals that in this performance, Lesbina was sung by Nicolina Rosa, and Anselmo by Leopoldo Burgioni. There is an old cataloguing note in pencil on the verso of the second flyleaf of D-DI Mus. 3062-F-1 that reads 'Libretto: Lit.Ital.A 536,18'; however, this may not be the same copy of the libretto as MT.1406, which contains the marking in pencil 'Litt. T 2659'.

for the sum of 2 thaler.¹⁷⁵ However, the work does not appear in earlier Breitkopf catalogues from 1761 and 1764; moreover, the 1770 manuscript seems to have been a short score reduction for voices and keyboard, as it is listed under 'Arien, Cantaten und Opern aufs Clavier'. This suggests that Breitkopf either obtained a copy of a short score and made a fresh sale copy from that, or that it opportunistically acquired a short score already in circulation, possibly SA 943, and offered it for sale.¹⁷⁶

Agricola would have had ample opportunity to acquire skill in the setting of dramatic texts as a result of his own travels to Dresden, his studies with Quantz and, of course, the major role Dresden works played in Berlin's operatic life in the 1740s.¹⁷⁷ The direct influence of Dresden's operatic style is found in *Cleofide*, Agricola's first *opera seria*, which was written for the Berlin carnival season of 1754. Its title harks back to Hasse's hugely successful 1731 work of the same name, which deviated from Metastasio's original libretto by focusing more on the eponymous female character,

¹⁷⁵ *Verzeichniß Musicalischer Werke allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für alle Instrumente, welche nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden; in ihre gehörige Classen ordentlich eingetheilet; welche in richtigen Abschriften bey Bernh. Christoph Breitkopf u. Sohn, in Leipzig, um beystehende Preise in Louisd'or à 5 Thlr. zu bekommen sind. Dritte Ausgabe.* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1770), 22.

¹⁷⁶ The latter scenario would have been more unusual—albeit not unheard of—for Breitkopf, which normally retained acquired manuscripts as house manuscripts (*Stammhandschriften*) and then made new copies of them to sell. Regarding Breitkopf's trade practices, see Yoshitake Kobayashi, 'On the Identification of Breitkopf's Manuscripts', in George B. Stauffer (ed.), *J.S. Bach, the Breitkopfs, and Eighteenth-Century Music Trade* (= Bach Perspectives 2) (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 107–121, especially at 109–110. For another example of an apparent exception to this practice, see Frampton, 'Jan Dismas Zelenka's Missa Sancti Spiritus', Vol. II, 272.

¹⁷⁷ It is highly desirable that future research on this topic should produce an in-depth study of Agricola's operatic style and *oeuvre*, situated in the context of works by his contemporaries in both Berlin and Dresden and his own critical writings.

thus giving Faustina Hasse the opportunity for a starring role.¹⁷⁸ Likewise, it is tempting to assume that perhaps Agricola chose to do the same to afford his wife Benedetta the same opportunity in this attempt, on the King's orders, to create a 'Berlin version' of *Cleofide*, despite the fact that Graun had already composed a setting of the original Metastasio libretto.¹⁷⁹

In some ways, Agricola's offering suffers in comparison to both the Hasse and Graun, and indeed contemporary reports suggest that the Berlin public regarded it as rather poor taste to set the same text that Hasse had, which may account for the work's lukewarm reception.¹⁸⁰ Little has been written about Agricola's *Cleofide*; the most detailed discussion comes from Wucherpfennig, who praises some aspects of Agricola's composition (calling the recitatives 'very impressive...which in their little way betray a dramatically skilled musician'),¹⁸¹ whilst dismissing others (of Act III, he says simply it 'offers nothing worth mentioning').¹⁸² Nonetheless, the sources show that the work was not only circulated in several complete manuscript copies from the second half of the eighteenth century (notably D-B Mus.ms. 383 and D-DS Mus.ms.10¹⁸³), but also as part of collections of arias and instrumental sinfonias. In

¹⁷⁸ For its revival in 1736, where the music was almost entirely different, Hasse reverted to Metastasio's original title of *Alessandro nell'Indie*. For a concise discussion of Hasse's *Cleofide*, see Hertz, *Music in European Capitals*, 321–327.

¹⁷⁹ Carl Heinrich Graun, *Alessandro e Poro*, GraunWV B:I:10.

¹⁸⁰ Louis Schneider, *Geschichte der Oper und des Königlichen Opernhauses in Berlin* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1852), 143.

¹⁸¹ 'Jedoch sind Agricola sehr eindrucksvolle Recitative gelungen, die in ihrer nerwigen Art den dramatisch befähigten Musiker veriaten'. Wucherpfennig, 81.

¹⁸² 'Der III.Akt bietet nichts Erwähnenwertes'. Wucherpfennig, 82.

¹⁸³ D-DS Mus.ms.10 was owned by Caroline, the Landgravine of Hesse-Darmstadt (1721–1774), showing the work made its way out of Berlin during Agricola's lifetime.

particular, the Sinfonia itself, which Wucherpfennig calls (rather unflatteringly) ‘useful, and showing in its syncopated rhythms and passages a Neapolitan character’ feature in a number of isolated score copies or collections of instrumental material. For example, the copy by the Berlin scribe Johann Samuel Carl Possin (1753–1821), D-Bsa SA 1009 (5) is comprised of individual string orchestral parts for the Sinfonia (marked ‘ad. No. 29’), each copied on the verso of a single leaf (fols. 23 – 26v in the source);¹⁸⁴ on the recto of each, also in Possin’s hand, are the parts for the aria ‘Mi paventi il figlio’ from Graun’s *Britannico* (**Figures 2.4** and **2.5**). One can easily imagine that the two were therefore performed out of context in a chamber concert of some sort, either at court or one of the Berlin music academy events. For this source, at least, we can hypothesise a clear and simple line of transmission: Zelter probably acquired the manuscript directly from his friend Possin.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ The source D-Bsa SA 1009 also contains an apparently unrelated full score, not in Possin’s hand, of Graun’s *Britannico*.

¹⁸⁵ Regarding Zelter and Possin, see Henzel 2003, 57–60 and 87–95.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the first violin part. At the top, the title "Violino Primo" is written in a cursive hand. To the right of the title, the number "23" is written. The music is written on multiple staves, with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as "piano" and "poco piano". The paper appears aged and slightly worn.

Figure 2.4. D-Bsa SA 1009, fol. 23r, 'Violino Primo' part for the aria 'Mi paventi il figlio' from Graun's *Britannico*, in the hand of Johann Samuel Carl Possin

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a violin part. At the top left, it is titled "Sinfonia [2]" and "Allegro à son finale". To the right, it is labeled "Violino Primo". The notation consists of 15 staves of music, featuring various rhythmic patterns, rests, and dynamic markings such as "tutti" and "Forte". The handwriting is in an older style, and the paper shows signs of age and wear.

Figure 2.5. D-Bsa SA 1009, fol. 23v, 'Violino Primo' part for the Sinfonia from Agricola's *Cleofide*, in the hand of Johann Samuel Carl Possin

It is also through these kinds of sources that we have access to later Agricola *opera seria* that were formerly thought lost or which only survive in fragmentary form. These include the late work *Oreste e Pilade*, which—aside from the Sinfonia, found in one manuscript from the Königliche Bibliothek¹⁸⁶—only survives in fragments of performing materials, all mostly in the same hand (the copyist identified by Blechschmidt as J.A. Hasse VI). These fragments may have been part of the original performance parts that were then divided. For *Amor e Psiche*, which likewise exists only in fragments, we again find some sources that transmit particular sections alongside excerpts from similar, but unrelated, works. One such example is D-Bsa SA 1006, which contains excerpts from four different operas: two choruses from Agricola's *Amor e Psiche* are placed alongside two choruses from Agricola's *Achille in Sciro*, a chorus by Graun that functioned as an insert to Hasse's opera *Arminio*, and another chorus by an anonymous composer. Plainly, there was some kind of need to bring various opera choruses together for a performance, for all are performing materials in the hand of the Berlin court copyist Johann Gottfried Siebe (c.1718–1776, see Chapter 3). Despite their disparate origins, they thus form an entirely unified source in a material sense, and thus impart valuable information about the function of these scores, quite apart from their value in transmitting fragments of music that do not survive elsewhere. The key point here is that the materiality of these sources—collections of short pieces removed from their original large-scale works and made suitable for concerts, contained within a single volume—created its own kind of textual tradition, by which operatic works by different composers—and, in some cases,

¹⁸⁶ D-B Mus.ms. 8236.

from Dresden and Berlin—lay side by side, and an aesthetic synthesis, both in stylistic and material senses, was achieved.

Nearly all of Agricola's surviving lieder and secular compositions have come down to us as prints, rather than as manuscripts. The majority are found in several anthologies containing strophic songs by several composers who comprise the so-called 'First Berlin Song School', especially C.P.E. Bach (who was by far the most prolific), Marpurg, Agricola, Quantz, Kirnberger and Nichelmann. The proliferation of these anthologies reflects an important part of musical and intellectual culture in mid-century Berlin: critical discussions about, and new explorations of, the appropriate relationship between text and music, discussions that occurred both in print (such as in Marpurg's journals) and in salons and clubs.¹⁸⁷ The predominant aesthetic of the lieder that were composed in large numbers at this time is one that emphasises the importance of poetry and direct engagement with the dramatic and narrative aspects of a text; musically, melody was considered of prime importance, and it was felt by many (notably Agricola's fellow *Montagsklub* member Christian Gottfried Krause) that the keyboard parts of these works should be simple and uncomplicated, something that was not always adhered to. The stylistic shifts and experiments seen in Berlin lieder of the 1750s and 1760s reflects an intricate, two-way relationship between critical discourse and composition that continually shifted.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Schulenberg, *The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 139.

¹⁸⁸ Notably, C.P.E. Bach's keyboard parts are more independent and complex than those found in lieder by Graun, Quantz and Agricola. For more on the aesthetics of the First Berlin Song School, particularly regarding the history of the genre, views on word-painting and stylistic experiments—albeit mostly with regards to the lieder of C.P.E. Bach—see Schulenberg, *The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 142–167.

Unsurprisingly, the success of these anthologies was also closely tied to the growing market for undemanding, domestic music that could be purchased and enjoyed by the middle classes, and thus careful attention was also paid to the appearance of the printed page in these volumes. Many are in a fairly large oblong format, printed using moveable type, and feature highly contrasting *Fraktur* and (for German-language lieder) *Kurrentschrift*-style typefaces. Subsequent strophes of the lied are usually printed directly below the music, thus meaning most works are confined to one or, at the most, two pages, eliminating the need for page turns. For these sources, McKenzie's notion of the way the physical layout and spatial elements convey function and meaning in printed books is particularly relevant: all these aspects of the format are highly typical of music designed to be attractive to and used by amateur music-lovers and students in a private setting. The visual format, therefore, became an integral part of the broader stylistic aesthetic of these pieces.

Many of Agricola's German lieder are found in collections compiled and edited by Marpurg, and published by Breitkopf. They include the *Berlinische Oden und Lieder* (1756) and the *Geistliche, moralische und weltliche Oden* (1758), the latter of which was advertised in a 1759 newspaper where attention was drawn to variety of both poets and composers on display:

Berlin. | Lange hat verlegt: Geistliche, moralische und | weltliche Oden und Lieder
 von verschiedenen Dich= | tern und Componisten. 39 Folioseiten. Der Druck | ist bey
 dem jungen Breitkopf in Leipzig bewerkstelli= | get worden. Unter den Liedern sind
 die geistlichen | und moralischen meistens von Gellerten, Klopstocken | Kramern,
 denen einige scherzende aus den Erwei= | terungen und von andern Verfassern

beygefügt sind, | wie auch ein paar kurze Oden aus dem Horaz. | Die Nahmen der Componisten sind: Marpurg; | Kirnberger; Sack; Krause; Schale; Nichel= | mann, Fasch; Nackemann, Agricola und | Graun.¹⁸⁹

Although the aesthetic of the First Berlin Song School ostensibly discouraged complicated keyboard accompaniments, other related publications featured instrumental compositions alongside vocal works with more independent keyboard parts. One such example is the two-volume *Raccolta delle più nuove Composizioni di Clavicembalo*, published by Breitkopf in 1756 and 1757 respectively, again edited by Marpurg. Each volume is organised into twelve sections, or ‘Partitas’, in each of which are found either short works by two or three composers, usually dance movements, or else a single multi-movement longer work; for example, Partita IV of the first book contains the Sonata in D major, Wq. 62:13, by C.P.E. Bach.¹⁹⁰

The placement of markedly different genres and styles of music alongside each other reflects an awareness on the part of both Marpurg and Breitkopf that consumers of domestic music, the ‘amateurs’ of their target market, were desirous of greater stylistic plurality, as Breitkopf explains in the preface to the first volume: ‘...I give myself to believe that it would be a bad public service if I wanted to reduce my business to just one kind of composition. I know very well how different tastes are... There are some who do not delight in Italian or German music, and others do not

¹⁸⁹ *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, 10 May 1759, 496.

¹⁹⁰ Regarding the C.P.E. Bach sonatas in the two volumes, see Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *The Complete Works*, Series I, Vol. 5.1: *Miscellaneous Sources from Prints I*, and Vol. 5.2, *Miscellaneous Sources from Prints II*, ed. Darrell M. Berg (Los Altos, CA: Packard Humanities Institute, 2007).

approve of French singing. So to get the approval of both, I will not restrict myself to compositions of the same genre, character or of a single Maestro.’¹⁹¹ The inscription ‘Johann Fried: Marpurg’ is found on the front endpaper pastedown of the copy in the Singakademie collection, indicating it was once in the possession of Marpurg’s son, the violinist Johann Friedrich (1766–after 1802) and may have been inherited by him as his father’s personal copy.

Agricola’s contributions in the first volume of the *Raccolta* include a secular cantata in three movements for soprano voice and obbligato keyboard, *Gia la notte s’avvicina*, and, perhaps more importantly, a set of six songs, the *Sei Canzonette*, which constitutes largest surviving single collection of his songs. Two of the songs are in French, three in Italian, and the last is a setting in the original English of James Thomson’s poem *To the Nightingale* (‘O Nightingale, best poet of the grove’) (**Figure 2.6**).¹⁹² In the second is found a French song, ‘Les Roys d’Egypte et de Syrie’.

Discussions of aesthetic in lieder, and ways in which this could be further experimented with, nonetheless persisted. In the late 1750s, this led to a collaboration between Agricola, Carl Heinrich Graun and C.P.E. Bach to see, as their anonymous editor put it, ‘whether one might arrive perhaps a kind of song which would bear some

¹⁹¹ ‘Ma mi dò a credere, che sarebbe un server mal il public, se ridurr’ volessi la mia impresa ad un sol genere di composizione. Sò molto bene, quanto differenti sian’ I guesti... Ve ne sono alcuni che non si dilettauto, che della musica Italiana o Tedesca, ed altri non approvano, ch’ il canto Francese. Dunque per ottenere l’approvazione degli uni & degli altri, non mi ristringerò alle composizioni d’uno stesso genere, carattere o d’un sol Maestro.’ Johann Gottlieb Immanuel Breitkopf, ‘Avvertimento del Libraio’, *Raccolta delle più nuove Composizioni di Clavicembalo di differenti Maestri ed Autori*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1756), 3.

¹⁹² The *Sei Canzonette* have been recorded on the album *Funiculus Triplex: Rediscovered ‘Style Galant’ for Chamber and Church*, Ulrike Hofbauer (soprano)/L’Arcadia, Guild Records, 2018.

similarity to the one the ancient Greek rhapsodes used for the singing of epic poetry'.¹⁹³ The resulting publication, the *Drey verschiedene Versuche eines einfachen Gesanges für den Hexameter* (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1760), which is found in both the Amalien-Bibliothek and Singakademie collections, amongst others, declines to name the three composers, instead referring to them as 'die größte Meister der Kunst' ('the greatest masters of the art'). However, they, and their specific contributions, were identified in a newspaper announcement of publication.¹⁹⁴ From this we learn that Agricola contributed the third and final *Versuch* in the collection, a song entitled 'Muß ich dich denn verlieren'. Although it does not feature an elaborate obbligato keyboard part like C.P.E. Bach's song, it is a lengthy work with a form that is likewise entirely free and multi-sectional, quite unlike Agricola's other songs.¹⁹⁵ It is also interesting to note that Agricola here is described as one of 'die größte Meister', indicative of the top-tier status he held alongside C.P.E. Bach and Graun in Berlin musical society at this time.

A curiosity amongst Agricola's secular compositions is the so-called *Triumph-Lied*, or 'Triumph dem Vater des Volks' (**Figure 2.7**). This piece was written in 1763 to celebrate the end of the Seven Years' War, or more specifically, as the full title of the

¹⁹³ 'Nachricht', *Drey verschiedene Versuche eines einfachen Gesanges für den Hexameter* (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1760), 1. See the full text and translation in Christoph Wolff's introduction to Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *The Complete Works*, Series VI, Vol. 3: *Miscellaneous Songs*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Los Altos, CA: Packard Humanities Institute, 2014), xxv.

¹⁹⁴ 'Die Composition zum ersten Stücke ist von dem seeligen Capellmeister Graun, die zweyte von unserm Herrn C.P.E. Bach, und die dritte vom Herrn Agricola'. *Berlinische Nachrichten von gelehrten Sachsen*, 1 May 1760.

¹⁹⁵ This is an observation Christoph Wolff also makes about the C.P.E. Bach song; see the introduction to Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *The Complete Works*, VI/3, xiv.

piece puts it, 'der glorrichen Wiederkunst Sr. Majestät unsers allergnädigsten Königs' (the glorious return of His Majesty, our most gracious King').¹⁹⁶ It is a single-movement work (although it is described in the catalogue of the Singakademie Archive as a 'cantata') with a military character for chorus and orchestra, which here consists of a heavy contingent of brass instruments — three trumpets and two horns in E-flat — as well as timpani, two oboes and bassoon. The original orchestral parts, in the hands of two, possibly three, copyists and preserved alongside the full autograph score, do not indicate strings were used, although this does not necessarily preclude the possibility that strings doubled the winds. The source is also accompanied by no less the forty-three copies of the single-sheet text print (**Figure 2.8**).

56
Affettuoso.
 O Nightingale, best poet of the grove, that plaintive strain can never be - long to thee, Blest in re full possession
 of thy love: O lend that strain, sweet Nightingale to me. O lend that strain, sweet Nightingale to me.

VI.

O Nightingale, best poet of the grove,
 That plaintive strain can never belong to thee,
 Blest in re full possession of thy love:
 O lend that strain, sweet Nightingale, to me.

'Tis mine, alas! to mourn my wretched fate:
 I love a maid who all my bosom charms,
 Yet lose my days without this lovely mate:
 Inhuman fortune keeps her from my arms.

You, happy birds! by nature's simple laws
 Lead your soft lives, fulfill'd by nature's fare;
 You dwell wherever roving fancy draws,
 And love and song is all your pleasing care:

But we, vain slaves of int'rest and of pride,
 Dare not be blest lest envious tongues should blame:
 And hence, in vain, I languish for my bride;
 O mourn with me, sweet bird, my hapless flame.

I L F I N E.

Figure 2.6. Johann Friedrich Agricola, 'O Nightingale, best poet of the grove', No. 6 from *Sei Canzonette*, in *Raccolta delle più nuove Composizioni di Clavicembalo*, Vol. 1 (Berlin: Breitkopf, 1756), 56 (D-Gs 4 MUS V, 3300:1756).

¹⁹⁶ D-Bsa SA 1220, fol. 20r (Textdruck).

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, slightly stained paper. At the top right, the title "Agricola, Triumph-Lied" is written in cursive. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system consists of ten staves: three for woodwinds (Flute 1 & 2, Clarinet), two for strings (Violin 1 & 2), and five for voices (Soprano, Contralto, Tenore, Basso, and Bassetti). The second system continues the notation for the woodwinds and strings. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, notes, rests, and dynamic markings. At the bottom center, there is a rectangular stamp with the text "BIBLIOTEKA" and "№ 1110".

Figure 2.7. D-Bsa SA 1220, fol. 1r, opening to the autograph score of Agricola, *Triumph-Lied*

20

Triumph-Lied
bey der glorreichen Wiederkunft
Sr. Majestät
unsers allergnädigsten Königs.

Triumph! dem Vater des Volks,
Triumph! dem glücklichen Kaiser;
Er hat die Tugend der Tapferkeit gelehrt,
Triumph! dem Sieger! Triumph!
Er flucht, und Frieden zu geben,
Den Er dem milden Feinde gewährt.

Er theil den Siegern zum Heil,
Für die Er königlich danket:
Er theil im Ruh der feindlichen Krieg!
Er theil vom Reichthum gelehrt,
Gefelcket vom Reich und Kaiser:
Und theil sein Volk glücklich und heil.

Verlin,
bey George Ludewig Sinter,
1768.

KONIGLICHES KUNSTWERK-AMT
KUNSTWERK-AMT
KUNSTWERK-AMT 1220

Figure 2.8. D-Bsa SA 1220, fol. 20r, printed text sheet for Agricola, *Triumph-Lied*

Another outlier in this category is Agricola's only known free-standing keyboard work, a Sonata in F major, although here too it exhibits a strong attachment to publications of vocal music. The complete work was published in Georg Winter's *Musikalisches Mancherley* (Berlin, 1762–1763), an anthology of lieder and keyboard music in four parts containing works by Agricola, Wilhelm Friedemann and C.P.E. Bach, Carl Fasch and Kirnberger. It also survives in a copy from around the turn of the nineteenth century, kept in Berlin (D-B Mus. MS 385/1), where it is partnered with a piano reduction, from the same period, of the overture from *Achille in Sciro*.¹⁹⁷ The first movement of the sonata is further transmitted in a source now kept at the Bach-Archiv Leipzig (Rara Ib. 136), in which it is labelled 'Fantasia', without a composer attribution. In this source, it is found on the outer pages (that is. fols. 1r and 2v) of a bifolium that also contains the C.P.E. Bach keyboard work *La Böhmer*, Wq. 117:26, here likewise labelled as a Fantasia (but noted as *di C F E Bach*).¹⁹⁸ The bifolium is contained in a wrapper with a title in a different hand that refers to a 'Fantasie F dur de C. F. E. Bach'; whether the scribe of the MS knew that Agricola was the composer is uncertain (and, if it had been copied from the *Musikalisches Mancherley*, it would seem surprising that Agricola's name was not mentioned), but the scribe of the wrapper clearly did not.

There is, however, one major genre to which Agricola contributed that I have not yet mentioned: sacred music. Despite the secular nature of the Berlin court and

¹⁹⁷ D-B Mus. MS 385/2.

¹⁹⁸ Although *La Böhmer* was not first published in the *Musikalisches Mancherley*, other similar character pieces by C.P.E. Bach were published there. The piece was later used by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart as the basis for the third movement of his Piano Concerto in D major, K. 40. See CPEB-CW I/8.1, *Miscellaneous Keyboard Works II* (Peter Wollny, 2006), xiv–xviii.

Friedrich II's own lack of interest in religion, there are more surviving manuscripts of sacred music—both autograph and copied—in Agricola's hand than for any other genre. Through them, we can learn more about the compositional history of these pieces than any of his other works. These rich and fascinating sources thus merit special examination, and must have a chapter all their own. But in order to fully comprehend them, as well as all the other manuscripts in Agricola's hand, we must next turn to crucial questions relating to that most specialised yet fundamental of scientific endeavours in musicology: the study of palaeography and codicology, and the establishment of a reliable profile for Agricola's own handwriting.

CHAPTER 3

Palaeographic Puzzles: re-evaluating Johann Friedrich Agricola's

Schriftprofil and the chronology of the Berlin sources

In 1970, the eminent Bach scholar Alfred Dürr presented a study of the handwriting of two important scribes connected with Johann Sebastian Bach: one was Bach's son-in-law, Johann Christoph Altnikol (1720–1759), and the other his former pupil, Johann Friedrich Agricola.¹⁹⁹ Dürr's article was directly connected with his work at that time on his edition of the *St Matthew Passion*, BWV 244, for the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, which appeared in 1972.²⁰⁰ In the course of evaluating the early manuscript sources of BWV 244, he needed to undertake a detailed study of both these copyists (and as a consequence, his article gives particular prominence to the transmission of that work). Dürr was the first to attempt a systematic palaeographic evaluation of the Agricola manuscripts known at that time, although he by no means endeavoured to be comprehensive. Previous studies by Paul Kast,²⁰¹ Wolfgang Plath²⁰² and, in particular,

¹⁹⁹ Alfred Dürr, 'Zur Chronologie der Handschrift Johann Christoph Altnikols und Johann Friedrich Agricolas.' *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1970): 44–65 [Dürr Chr].

²⁰⁰ NBA II/5 (Alfred Dürr, 1972), and NBA II/5a (Alfred Dürr, 1972). The supplementary volume (NBA II/5a) presented the early version (BWV 244b) in facsimile only, with the corresponding KB for NBA II/5 (1974) covering both volumes. Andreas Glöckner later presented an edition of the early version for the NBA in 2004 (= NBA II/5b) taking account of more recent research.

²⁰¹ Paul Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek* (= Tübinger Bach-Studien, Heft 2, hereafter *TBS* 2/3) (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1958).

²⁰² Wolfgang Plath, 'Schreiberkatalog der Bach-Quellen der Amalienbibliothek (Ms.)', in Georg von Dadelsen, *Bemerkungen zur Handschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs, seiner Familie und seiner Kreises* (= Tübinger Bach-Studien, Heft 1) (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1957), 21.

Eva Renate Blechschmidt,²⁰³ had already dealt with some of these sources, but none attempted to assimilate a handwriting profile for Agricola (*Schriftprofil*) or establish any kind of proper chronology.

As Dürr acknowledged, however, many questions concerning aspects of the *Schriftprofil* remained unanswered, particularly in light of his limited access to source material. At that time, the archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin (see Chapter 2) was considered irrevocably lost following the upheaval of the Second World War.²⁰⁴ He was thus unable to evaluate several manuscripts relevant to his study that would have potentially clarified his findings. Perhaps as a result of this, Dürr also preferred to remain cautious in the attribution of Agricola as a scribe in some cases where he felt there was not enough evidence or it contradicted his chronology, sometimes in opposition to conclusions reached by other scholars.²⁰⁵ He acknowledged questionable handwriting that unmistakably came from Berlin copyists, but advocated that the Agricola attributions should be dropped unless new documents emerged.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ Eva Renate Blechschmidt, *Die Amalien-Bibliothek: Musikbibliothek der Prinzessin Anna Amalia von Preußen (1723–1787)* (= Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Band 8) (Berlin: Merseburger, 1965) [Blechschmidt], and (as Eva Renate Wutta), *Quellen der Bach-Tradition in der Berliner Amalien-Bibliothek* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1989).

²⁰⁴ Dürr Chr, 44. Dürr specifically refers here to the then-missing copy of the *St Matthew Passion*, SA 4658, although his hypothesis regarding its filiation and relationship to the other copies under discussion, Am.B 6/7 and Mus. ms. Bach P 26, has now been shown to be partially incorrect, due to more recent research that has shown the copyist of Am.B 6/7 was not Altnikol, but Johann Christoph Farlau. See NBA II/5b KB (Andreas Glöckner, 2004), 9–10, and Chapter 5 of this thesis.

²⁰⁵ See Kast, *TBS* 2/3, and Blechschmidt.

²⁰⁶ Dürr Chr, 61. 'Unverkennbar ist, daß der Schreiber dem Berliner Kreis angehört; die Identifizierung mit Agricola sollte jedoch bis zum Auftauchen neuer Belage fallen gelassen werden.'

Since that time, Dürr's article has remained the seminal study of Agricola's handwriting, virtually unchallenged by scholarship, owing in part to the dearth of additional sources that emerged in the decades following its publication. In 2001, however, the archive of the Berlin Singakademie was at last recovered in the Ukraine, and subsequently transferred to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, where it is now freely available to scholars.²⁰⁷ Its restitution makes available a very large collection of hitherto unstudied Agricola sources, comprising both autograph manuscripts and his copies of music by other composers. What significance do these materials, along with various others that have since resurfaced, have for our understanding of Agricola's *oeuvre*? Might these be the new sources that Dürr hoped would one day emerge and give further clarity to his observations? In this chapter, I give an overview of Dürr's important observations and present preliminary findings from my analyses of the sources that have come to light since 1970.

3.1. On the creation of the *Agricola Schriftprofil*

Dürr's partial inventory of Agricola manuscripts—which, as I have already mentioned, could not take into account the Singakademie sources—lists seven autographs (six from the Königliche Bibliothek and one from the Amalien-Bibliothek),

²⁰⁷ Details about the recovery of the Berlin Singakademie archive can be found in Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'Bach Is Back in Berlin: The Return of the Sing-Akademie Archive from Ukraine in the Context of Displaced Cultural Treasures and Restitution Politics', *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*, no. 8 (June 2003), 67–104. See also Axel Fischer and Matthias Kornemann, 'Myths and legends: The restitution of the Berlin Sing-Akademie Archive' in *SACat*, 13–17.

all of which are vocal works.²⁰⁸ In addition, he mentions numerous Bach copies from these two collections, as well as several manuscript copies of works by other composers such as Caldara, Telemann and Fux. Brief watermark descriptions are included for most of the entries. By first determining which of these manuscripts could be dated with absolute or relative certainty (as it turns out, comparatively few), Dürr then examined them for particular shared palaeographic and watermark characteristics, thus arriving at a broad chronology which he considered might 'form a reliable basis for future investigations'.²⁰⁹ This chronology, which is summarised in the appendices at the end of his article, falls into two distinct phases: the *Leipziger Zeit*, covering the period Agricola studied with J.S. Bach (1738–41), and the longer *Berliner Zeit* (1741–1774), which is subdivided into early and late periods. A further *Schriftprofil* is found in the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe's* copyist catalogue (= NBA IX/3), presented in 2007 by Yoshitake Kobayashi and Kirsten Beißwenger.²¹⁰ This catalogue, however, only describes the handwriting of Agricola from the years in which he was studying with J. S. Bach (that is, the *Leipziger Zeit*) and is thus really presented only as a *schriftprobe*. This is also reproduced as part of the entry for Agricola in the *Bach-Digital* online

²⁰⁸ The sources mentioned are D–B Mus. ms. autogr. Agricola 1–5 (containing three concert arias and four cantatas), and Am.B 590 (containing the Magnificat).

²⁰⁹ 'Ausgehend von diesen Erkenntnissen wurden die Handschriften Agricolas auf gleiche Merkmale hin – Schriftzüge und Wasserzeichen – untersucht; und im Zusammenspiel aller Indizien konnte eine Chronologie in großen Zügen aufgestellt werden, die eine verlässliche Basis für künftige Einzeluntersuchungen bilden dürfte.' Dürr Chr, 56.

²¹⁰ Yoshitake Kobayashi and Kirsten Beißwenger, *Die Kopisten Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Textband und Abbildungsband) (= NBA IX/3) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), No. 216a.

database.²¹¹ The lack of attention paid by Kobayashi and Beißwenger to Agricola's post-1741 handwriting is puzzling, given that the majority of Agricola's Bach copies date from his Berlin period and are, moreover, described in detail in the relevant *Kritische Berichte* of the NBA with reference to Dürr's chronology. For the purposes of the discussion below, the earlier observations on Agricola's handwriting by Kast, Plath and Blechschmidt are largely ignored, as they are considered to have been superseded by Dürr's study. This study has never been translated into English and merits a close analysis here, given its central importance in establishing the chronology of the Agricola manuscripts.

3.2. The Leipzig handwriting

According to Dürr, Agricola's Leipzig handwriting displays general characteristics of long, thin, vertical lines, a relatively wide script, and clefs that are generally wider than are found in later manuscripts (see **Figure 3.1** for a general example).²¹² He also points to a number of specific characteristics that can be used to identify Agricola's handwriting of this period, the most notable of which are the forms of the C-clef and bass clefs. In Agricola's earliest manuscripts, the C-clef initially displays a three-form profile (denoted by Dürr as Form a), and, more rarely, a modified three form that is compressed (*ingedrückt*) at the top (Dürr = Form a'). These forms are later modified to

²¹¹ 'Agricola, Johann Friedrich', *Bach-Digital*, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalPerson_agent_00000331 (accessed 2 September 2020).

²¹² Dürr Chr, 56.

what Dürr calls an ‘open’ C-clef with a jagged horizontal edge (Dürr = Form b).²¹³ As can be seen in **Figure 3.2**, this is a subtype of what is generally classified as a K-form C-clef. Dürr also describes two transitional K-forms where the jagged horizontal edge is not seen (such as in D-B Am.B 62). Both of these clefs feature four, or occasionally three, horizontal parallel lines (usually divided into sets of two) that are slightly slanted upwards. In one clef subtype (Dürr = Form c), one upper line then extends diagonally upwards, and one lower line extends diagonally or vertically downwards; both lines curve inwards at the tip.²¹⁴ In the other (Dürr = Form d), the curved tips are removed and the lower extended line may be altered (see below under the section concerning the Berlin handwriting).

By contrast, there are only two distinct bass clef forms evident in Agricola’s Leipzig manuscripts, one in which the two halves of the clef are bifurcated by a double vertical line, and one where the double vertical line is missing (**Figure 3.3a**).²¹⁵ Characteristic time signature forms are also observable, including the form of the ‘C’ (4/4) time signature, which displays a wide, rounded shape, with a rounded inverse cap (Dürr calls this a ‘hook in the form of a lying-C’²¹⁶) or vertical line at the top right,

²¹³ Dürr Chr, 57, 64.

²¹⁴ Dürr (p. 57) actually comments that only the upper line (the ‘vertical delimitation’, or right ‘boundary’ line) extends diagonally upwards, whilst the lower moves vertically downwards (‘...von den beiden rechten vertikalen Begrenzungslinien führt die obere schräg rechts aufwärts, die untere senkrecht abwärts...’). However, as the example from Am.B 62 shows (which Dürr lists in the *Leipziger Zeit* materials on p. 64), a more diagonal lower line is also sometimes seen. The most important aspect here is the elongation of both lines and the inwards curve at the tip of each.

²¹⁵ Kobayashi and Beißwenger do not incorporate the latter form into their *Schriftprobe* presented in NBA IX/3.

²¹⁶ ‘...rechts oben angesetzten Häkchen (in Form eines liegenden c)...’. Dürr Chr, 57.

and a prominent upwards curve at the opposite end (**Figure 3.3b**). This is gradually replaced during the 1740s by a 'C' that is narrower, more angular and has a distinctive thick top edge. Once again, transitional forms are seen. Other individual features of the Leipzig handwriting include:

- forms of crotchet rests, which end with a line curving upwards to the right, and quaver rests, which Dürr notes consist of a thick, short horizontal line that curves slightly downwards and a long, thin downstroke;
- the position of the downwards stem on minims, which initially is positioned to the left and then in the middle of the notehead;
- the trill sign, which ends with a German 'r'.²¹⁷



Figure 3.1: Example of Agricola's Leipzig handwriting (D-B Mus. ms. St. 76, p. 33, detail).

²¹⁷ Dürr Chr, 57.

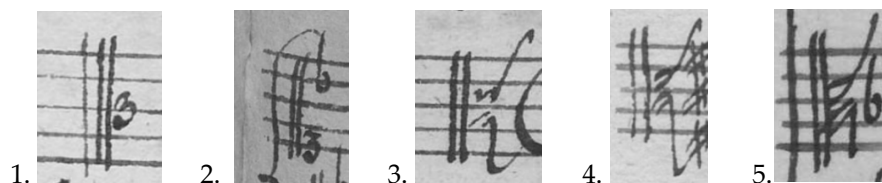


Figure 3.2: C-clef forms in Agricola's Leipzig manuscripts:

1. 3-form, Dürr Form a (D-B Mus.ms. P 400 c);
2. 3-form, Dürr Form a' (D-B Mus.ms. P 595);
3. 'Open' K-form, Dürr Form b (D-B Am.B 68);
4. K-form, Dürr Form c (D-B Mus. ms. St. 76);
5. K-form, Dürr Form d (D-B Am.B 62).

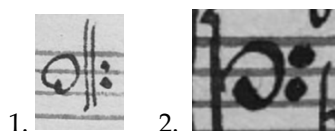


Figure 3.3a: Bass clef forms in Agricola's Leipzig manuscripts:

1. Early form (D-B Mus.ms. P 400 c);
2. Later form (D-B Am.B 62).

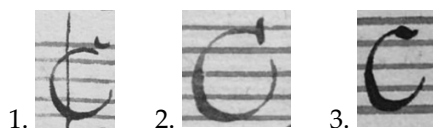


Figure 3.3b: C time signature forms in Agricola's Leipzig handwriting:

1. Early form with rounded cap/hook ('lying C') (D-B Mus.ms. P 400 c);
2. Early form with vertical line (D-B Mus.ms. St. 76);
3. Later form with angled thick edge (D-B Am.B 62).

Only once source that appears to come from the Leipzig period has surfaced since 1970, the MS D-Bsa SA 3605 (Agricola's copy of Twelve Symphonies by Andrea

Stefano Fiòre). This MS clearly displays a K-form C-clef (Dürr form b) and a watermark of a monogram 'CVC' (C mirror image), with a countermark of a lily with a single bulge. Dürr's analysis of Agricola's *Leipziger Zeit* handwriting thus remains stable and requires no further interrogation.

3.3. Problems of chronology in the Berlin handwriting

Although the general appearance of Agricola's Berlin handwriting is quite distinctive, there are particular difficulties related to determining its internal chronology. As it represents the majority of Agricola's working life, it naturally requires subdivision, but the observable changes in his handwriting are not chronologically linear. In its general appearance, Agricola's Berlin handwriting is marked by a narrower, denser script than the Leipzig handwriting. The treble clef is unchanged but becomes narrower, and the bass clef without the double central vertical line continues to be used. Quaver note rests are always of a '7-form' type, with a straight horizontal edge and a sharp, long downwards stroke that tapers off. Also observed are minims that consistently display downward-pointing stems that are located on the right-hand side of the notehead.²¹⁸ The trill sign (*tr*) is modified, whereby either the 'r' is replaced by a wavy line or is absent altogether. Letter forms, which Dürr does not discuss, also display a distinct profile: for example, Agricola's form of the upper-case letter V can

²¹⁸ Dürr, 'Zur Chronologie der Handschrift', 58. Transitional manuscripts still display minims where the stem is located under the middle of the notehead.

be easily recognised by an angled, elongated shape with a rounded upper right tip and either a loop at the bottom or (more rarely) a rounded lower half.²¹⁹

C-clef forms again demand special attention and provide one of two primary means of subdividing the Berlin handwriting. The earliest Berlin manuscripts feature the K-form subtype Forms c and d discussed above, although Form c is considered by Dürr as a true transitional form.²²⁰ A further K-form subtype (Dürr Form e, **Figure 3.4**) is also seen, in which the upper horizontal line(s) join and are slightly bent upwards, whilst the right edge of the lowest horizontal line is distinctively compressed, almost kinked (*fast geknickt*).²²¹ The majority of the Berlin manuscripts, however, utilise the earlier 3-form clef seen in Leipzig (Form a).²²² Dürr argues that this is the resumption of an earlier form that had previously been abandoned, as opposed to a clef that might have been continuously used alongside the K-form clefs, and—almost as an

²¹⁹ For more on general changes observed in some letter forms, see Andrew Frampton, 'A Copyist of Bach and Zelenka', *Understanding Bach* 11 (2016): 131–139, at 134–137.

²²⁰ See the note to Appendix I in Dürr Chr, 64, relating to the manuscripts D-B Am.B 62 and D-B Am.B 63.

²²¹ Dürr Chr, 58. Dürr links the chronology of the three Berlin K-forms to the movement of the position of the minim stem, noting that Form c is exclusively seen with the stem under the middle of the notehead, Form d straddling MSS in which the stem is under the middle and also on the right of the notehead (although he noted the former only occurs in D-B Am.B 31), whilst Form e is seen only in manuscripts in which the stem is on the right of the notehead. There is no reason to contradict this observation; however, as explained above, this does not prove that Form e is a direct successor to Form d. There is, nonetheless, a certain logic to the suggestion that Form e developed out of Form d, as some upper horizontal line joining and slight compression of the lowest horizontal line is occasionally seen in Form d clefs (e.g. in Am.B 62, fol. 1v).

²²² Dürr Chr, 58.

afterthought— conjectures that Form e could also represent a later ‘relapse’ (*Rückfall*) into the use of a K-form clef, although he offers no evidence for this.²²³



Figure 3.4: K-form C-clef, Dürr Form e, as seen in D-Bsa SA 181 (left) and D-Bsa SA 184 (right).

Another important feature that Dürr argues can help to date the Berlin manuscripts is Agricola’s use of German writing in the list of instrumentation at the start of a movement; that is, both the use of German terms for instruments (e.g. *Querflöte*, *Bratsche*) and of German scripts (including *Kurrentschrift*) that are distinctly different from the calligraphy associated with his writing in the Italian language (which also applies to Latin).²²⁴ An example is given in **Figure 3.5**. Again, however, this is not as straightforward or reliable a dating tool as it first appears, because some manuscripts displaying the earlier K-form C-clefs exhibit German writing, whilst other sources that are likely to date from 1760 or later—and display a 3-form C-clef—revert to Italian writing.²²⁵ As Dürr acknowledges, ‘with these characteristics there can be no

²²³ Dürr Chr, 58. “Darum läßt sich auch eine unmittelbare Aufeinanderfolge der Formen d und e nicht beweisen; e könnte auch einen späteren, unvermittelten “Rückfall” in die Schreibweise der Kastenform darstellen.”

²²⁴ Dürr Chr, 59.

²²⁵ The example Dürr gives is the autograph of the cantata *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Agricola, J. F. 4.

indisputable chronology within the Berlin manuscripts of Agricola, although a breakdown by groups is possible.²²⁶



Figure 3.5: Example of Agricola’s Berlin handwriting, with German instrumentation and script and 3-form C-clef (D-B Am.B 538, fol. 1, detail).

The question therefore becomes to what extent it is possible to refine Dürr’s observations in light of source material that has resurfaced since 1970, and whether it is possible to ascertain a more secure chronology for all the manuscript sources from the data they may provide. The overwhelming majority of relevant new materials are found in the Singakademie collection. Of Agricola’s own works in the Singakademie

²²⁶ Dürr Chr, 59. “Mit den untersuchten Merkmalen läßt sich daher innerhalb der Berliner Handschriften Agricolas noch keine unanfechtbare Chronologie, wohl aber eine Aufgliederung nach Gruppen geben.”

collection, only the cantatas and oratorios are autograph. Of the known autograph sources that are not mentioned by Dürr, only two are found outside the Singakademie: the autograph of the Easter cantata *Vom Thron des Ewgen* (discussed further in Chapter 4), GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313, and the part-autograph score of the opera *L'ippocondriaco*, F-Pn AB O-166. Similarly, only a handful of the manuscript copies in Agricola's hand are found outside Berlin, with the largest number (thirteen) held in B-Bc.

I inspected these new sources in detail for the key dating features observed by Dürr, in addition to any other notable characteristics. The results are shown in **Table 3.1**, which is modelled on Appendix 2 in Dürr's article. **Table 3.2** presents a similar summary for most of the manuscript copies, although the column detailing 'other features' has been omitted for practical reasons. A select number of sources located outside Berlin, including those in B-Bc, are not listed because they were not available for examination.

Table 3.1: Characteristic features of Agricola's Berlin handwriting in autograph manuscripts not found in Dürr Chr

Shelfmark	Work	Date	C-clef	Language (Instrumentation/ Text)	Other features	Watermark(s)
D-Bsa SA 44	<i>Die Auferstehung des Erlösers</i>	c.1758	3-form	German	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead	Crowned double-headed eagle on heart shield with 'Z', wings with shamrock stems, no countermark (Dürr Form d)
D-Bsa SA 181	<i>Uns ist ein Kind geboren</i>	Unknown	K-form, Dürr Form e	German	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead	Little curved 'F R' monogram, no countermark (Dürr Form c)
D-Bsa SA 182	<i>Kündlich groß ist das gottseilige Geheimniß</i>	1768 (probable)	K-form, Dürr Form e	German (but written in 'Italian' script)	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead; use of singular 't' for trill sign	(i) Small 'F R' monogram, no countermark (Dürr Form c) (ii) Fir tree on an ornamental base, no countermark

						<p>(iii) Coat of arms with year 1766 or 1768</p> <p>(iv) Curved 'F R' monogram, no countermark (Dürre Form c)</p>
D-Bsa SA 183	<i>Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut</i>	1757	3-form	German	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead	<p>(i) Eagle, on breastplate 'F', countermark 'GFS'</p> <p>(ii) Crowned double-headed eagle on heart shield with 'Z', wings with shamrock stems, no countermark (Dürre Form d)</p> <p>(iii) Crowned coat of arms with (sometimes without) 'M' between branches</p>

D-Bsa SA 184	<i>Gelobet sei Gott und der Vater</i>	Unknown	K-form, Dürr Form e	German	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead	Crowned double-headed eagle on heart shield with 'Z', wings with shamrock stems, no countermark (Dürr Form d)
D-Bsa SA 185	<i>Ein schnelles Brausen beweget die Lüfte</i>	1759 (probable) ²²⁷	3-form	German	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead; occasionally centre or (rarely) left	None
D-Bsa SA 567	<i>Gott hat den Hernn auferwecket</i> [<i>Wie freudig seh ich dir entgegen</i>] (formerly attributed to Telemann)	Unknown	3-form	German	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead	Unknown

²²⁷ See Schwinger 2012, 208.

D-Bsa SA 1220	<i>Triumph dem Vater des Volks</i> (‘Triumph-Lied’)	1763	3-form	Italian	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead	Letters (indistinct)
GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313	<i>Vom Thron des Ewgen</i>	Unknown	3-form	Italian instrumentation; German text	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead; use of singular ‘t’ for trill sign	‘GRISEL’; below (across the middle of the sheet): BERLIN CAMMERPAPIER; countermark: crowned coat of arms
F-Pn AB O-166	<i>L’ippocondriaco</i> (part- autograph)	1763? (First performance 1763)	K-form, Dürr Form e	Italian	Downward-pointing minim stems on RHS of notehead; use of singular ‘t’ for trill sign	Unknown

Table 3.2: Characteristic features of Agricola's Berlin handwriting in manuscript copies not found in Dürr Chr

Shelfmark	Composer	Work(s)	C-clef	Language (Instrumentation/Text/ Markings)	Watermark(s)
D-Bsa SA 2740	Anonymous/Stölzel, Gottfried Heinrich	Fourteen Sonatas	3-form	German (instrumentation); Italian (markings)	Crowned double-headed eagle, on heart shield 'Z'; flyleaf: crowned 'W'
D-Bsa SA 2582	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Harpsichord Concerto in E-flat major, H. 446, Wq. 35	3-form	Italian	Ridge lines
D-Bsa SA 2601	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Harpsichord Concerto in A minor, H. 430, Wq. 26	3-form	Italian	Ridge lines
D-Bsa SA 2615	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Harpsichord Concerto in B-flat major, H. 413, Wq. 10	3-form	Italian	Letters, 'IFS'
D-Bsa SA 2621	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Harpsichord Concerto in D minor, H. 420, Wq. 17	3-form	Italian	Letters, 'IFS'

D-Bsa SA 2623	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Harpsichord Concerto in E minor, H. 418, Wq. 15	3-form	Italian	Letters, 'IFS'
D-Bsa SA 2630	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Harpsichord Concerto in D major, H. 433, Wq. 27	3-form	Italian	Letters, 'ICS'
D-Bsa SA 4846	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Harpsichord Concerto in A minor, H. 424, Wq. 21	3-form	Italian	Letters, 'SH' or 'HS'
D-Bsa SA 4847	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Harpsichord Concerto in A major, H. 410, Wq. 7	3-form	Italian	Letters, 'SH' or 'HS'
D-Bsa SA 4851	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel	Harpsichord Concerto in E-flat major, H. 404, Wq. 2	3-form	Italian	Letters, 'SH' or 'HS'
D-GOI Mus. 2° 54c/3	Bach, Johann Sebastian	Credo in G major, BWV 232 ¹ /1 (early version)	3-form	Italian	None
D-Bsa SA 3262	Battiferri, Luigi	Two Fugues	K-form, Dürr Form e (possibly transitional)	Italian	Monogram 'FR'

D-Bsa SA 324	Fux, Johann Joseph (doubtful)	Mass in C major, KöF deest	K-form C-clef, Dürr Form e (?)	Italian	Little curved monogram 'FR'
D-Bsa SA 40	Gebel, Georg	<i>Fürwahr er trug unsre Krankheit</i>	3-form	Italian	Crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on wings, heart shield with 'Z'
D-Bsa SA 2769	Graun, Johann Gottlieb	Violin Concerto in G minor, GWV A:XIII:9	3-form	Italian	Crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on wings, heart shield with 'Z'
D-Bsa SA 2771	Graun, Johann Gottlieb	Violin Concerto in A major, GWV A:XIII:12	3-form	Italian	Crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on wings, heart shield with 'Z'
D-Bsa SA 2772	Graun, Johann Gottlieb	Violin Concerto in C major, GWV A:XIII:1	3-form	Italian	Not identified (not as for SA 2782 and SA 2771)
D-Bsa SA 2775	Graun, Johann Gottlieb	Concerto in C minor for violin and viola da gamba, GWV A:XIII:3 (arrangement)	N/A (Agricola = heading only)	Italian	Not identified (as for SA 2776?)

D-Bsa SA 2776	Graun, Johann Gottlieb	Viola da gamba Concerto in A minor, GWV A:XIII:14	N/A (Agricola = two entries on fol. 1r)	Italian	WANGEN in Schrifttafel
D-Bsa SA 2777	Graun, Johann Gottlieb	Viola da gamba Concerto in C major, GWV A:XIII:2	N/A (Agricola = two entries on fol. 1r)	Italian	Not identified (as for SA 2776?)
D-Bsa SA 2778	Graun, Johann Gottlieb	Viola da gamba Concerto in F major, GWV A:XIII:8	N/A (Agricola = two entries on fol. 2r)	Italian	Not identified (as for SA 2776?)
D-Bsa SA 2782	Graun, Johann Gottlieb	Violin Concerto in A major, GWV A:XIII:10	3-form	Italian	Crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on wings, heart shield with 'Z'
D-Bsa SA 330	Graun, Johann Gottlieb	Mass in E-flat major, GWV A:VI:1	N/A (Agricola = heading)	Italian	Crowned eagle with sceptre and sword; countermark: letters, not identified

D-Bsa SA 1644	Handel, George Frideric	<i>Messiah</i> , HWV 56	3-form	Italian	Lily with letters in <i>Schriftband</i> ; soaring eagle
D-Bsa SA 71	Handel, George Frideric	<i>Esther</i> , HWV 50b	3-form	Italian	Monogram 'FR'
D-Bsa SA 92	Hasse, Johann Adolf	<i>La caduta di Gerico</i>	K-form, Dürr Form e (?)	Italian	Crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on wings, heart shield with 'Z'
D-Bsa SA 100	Hasse, Johann Adolf	<i>I Pellegrini al sepolcro di Nostro Signore</i>	K-form, Dürr Form e	Italian	Crested eagle with clover-leaf stems on wings, heart shield with 'Z'; crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on wings, heart shield with 'Z'
D-Bsa SA 106	Hasse, Johann Adolf	<i>Le Virtù appiè della croce</i>	K-form, Dürr Form e; 3-form	Italian	Crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on wings, heart shield with 'Z'
D-Bsa SA 110	Hasse, Johann Adolf	<i>Il Cantico de' tre fanciulli</i>	K-form, Dürr Form e	Italian	Crowned coat of arms with Brandenburg staff (free

					endpaper); crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on wings, heart shield with 'Z' (main text); crowned eagle with sceptre and orb, 'FR' on breast shield, 'ICFHD' underneath (fol. 108)
D-Bsa SA 3287	Kirnberger, Johann Philipp	Contrapuntal Studies	3-form	German (untidy)	See RISM and EnßlinSA, 291–296
D-Bsa SA 3559	Telemann, Georg Philipp	21 Instrumental Pieces	3-form	Italian script	See the catalogue in Vol. 3 of this thesis
D-Bsa SA 522	Telemann, Georg Philipp	<i>Heut lebst du heut bekehre dich</i> , TVWV 1:790	3-form	German	Crowned Eagle (not identified further)
D-Bsa SA 541	Telemann, Georg Philipp	<i>Siehe ich verkündige euch große Freude</i> , TVWV 1:1334	3-form	German	Eagle (not identified further)

D-Bsa SA 565	Telemann, Georg Philipp	<i>Drei sind die da zeugen im Himmel,</i> TVWV 1:377		Italian (instrumentation and headings); German (text)	Crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on the wings, heart shield with 'Z'
D-Bsa SA 566	Telemann, Georg Philipp	<i>Belebende Lüfte nicht modernde Düfte,</i> TVWV 1:122	3-form	German	Eagle (not identified further)
D-Bsa SA 574	Telemann, Georg Philipp	<i>Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein,</i> TVWV 1:1568	3-form	Italian (instrumentation and headings); German (text)	Crowned double-headed eagle with clover-leaf stems on the wings, heart shield with 'Z'
D-Bsa SA 661	Telemann, Georg Philipp	<i>Komm Heiliger Geist Herre Gott,</i> TVWV 1:1001	3-form	German	partly not identified, 'C O F S' in Schrifttafel
D-Bsa SA 674	Telemann, Georg Philipp	<i>Auf Zion und laß in geheiligten Halen,</i> TVWV 1:109	N/A (Agricola = title page)	German	See RISM
D-Bsa SA 1650	Telemann, Georg Philipp	<i>Nach ausgelöschtem Feindschafts-Feuer,</i> TVWV 1:1147	K-form, Dürr Form e	Italian	Crowned coat of arms
D-Bsa SA 1651	Telemann, Georg Philipp	<i>Ertrage nur das Joch der Mängel,</i> TVWV 1:479	K-form, Dürr Form e	Italian	Crowned coat of arms

D-Bsa SA 687	Zelenka, Jan Dismas	<i>Missa Divi Xaverii</i> , ZWV 12	3-form	Italian	Not identified
GB-Ob MS Tenbury 749	Zelenka, Jan Dismas	<i>Missa Paschalis</i> , ZWV 7	3-form	Italian	Present but not identified
D-Bsa SA 2799	Various	Fourteen Concerti grossi	3-form	Italian	See the catalogue in Vol. 3 of this thesis
D-Bsa SA 3627	Various	Thirteen Sonatas	3-form	Italian	See the catalogue in Vol. 3 of this thesis

The data from these manuscripts clarifies some of Dürr's observations, but it also raises several questions. The use of downward-pointing minim stems on the right-hand side of the notehead, rather than the left or centre, is consistent in all the manuscripts, and thus entirely supports Dürr's evaluation of it as a key Berlin feature; its very consistency, of course, makes it ill-suited to determining internal chronology. The appearance of the watermark of a crowned double-headed eagle with heart shield 'Z', however, seems to be a common feature of many manuscripts from the early-mid 1750s to early 1760s.²²⁸ Given the dating of SA 182, it might have been replaced with the large 'FR' monogram paper type: the manuscript D–B Am.B 381, in which both watermarks are found, is perhaps a transitional source.²²⁹

Most unexpected is the sudden reappearance of a K-form clef. The third watermark in the autograph of SA 182 provides a solid *terminus post quem* for the composition of this work, thus establishing it as a very late cantata.²³⁰ Yet the manuscript clearly displays the use of the Form e K-form clef subtype (**Figure 3.6**), even though manuscripts with a significantly earlier date (e.g. SA 183, SA 185) use a 3-form clef (**Figure 3.7**). Here is strong evidence to support Dürr's conjectural theory that Form e represents a late resumption of the use of the K-form clef. The consistent use of the 3-form occurs as late as 1763, because it is seen in SA 1120, but there is no

²²⁸ Examples cited by Dürr include the cantata *Die mit Tränen säen*, D–B Mus. ms. autogr. Agricola, J. F. 3 (2); copies of vocal works by J.S. Bach, D–B Am.B 536–538; and a copy of the Telemann cantata TVWV 1:559, which has a composition date of 1762 (thus giving the copy its *terminus post quem*), D–B Mus. ms. 21728/5.

²²⁹ See Appendix 2 in Dürr Chr, 65.

²³⁰ The first performance most likely took place on Christmas Day 1768. This accords with the dating given in Schwinger 2012; according to him, there was also a repeat performance in 1771.

evidence currently available to link its use with a manuscript from 1764 or later; unfortunately, the dearth of sources that can be definitively dated to after this time means it is unlikely this question can be fully resolved.

It is entirely possible that, despite the lack of evidence, Agricola may not have abandoned the 3-form during this period, and that he switched between the two at will. However, the fact that the K-form clef does not appear in any of the late 1750s or early 1760s manuscripts—indicates there may have been a conscious reversal to the use of this clef only, for at least a period of time. This hypothesis is supported by a group of sources that transmit four oratorios by Hasse (SA 92, 100, 106 and 110). All of the sources display the Form e K-form clef, but have a watermark of the crowned double-headed eagle with heart shield 'Z', indicating that they are probably from the early-mid 1760s.

Figure 3.6: Johann Friedrich Agricola, *Kündlich groß, ist das gottseilige Geheimniß*, autograph. SA 182, fol. 10r (detail).



Figure 3.7: Johann Friedrich Agricola, *Ein schnelles Brausen beweget die Lüfte*, autograph. SA 185, fol. 1r (detail).

The watermark data also suggests there may be some kind of link between the late use of the K-form clef and the 'FR' monogram paper types (**Figure 3.8**). All but one of the sources in **Tables 3.1** and **3.2** (namely SA 71) that present this watermark also display the Form e K-form. With regards to the chronology of the cantatas, therefore, it may be reasonably assumed that both SA 181 and SA 184 postdate SA 1220. The presence of the double-headed eagle watermark in SA 184 means it may be earlier than SA 182, indicating once again that the use of this paper continued into at least the early 1760s.²³¹

²³¹ Cf. D-B Mus. ms. 21728/5.

Dürr's other dating feature, the use of German script, is shown to be less reliable with these new sources. German script for headings and instrumentation is found in most of the cantatas from the late 1750s, but SA 1220, which has a firm date, is another clear example of a post-1760 work with a 3-form clef that reverts back to Italian writing. But the sources show Agricola did not simply abandon the German writing, for both the later SA 181 and SA 184 display it. Especially confusing is SA 182, which unusually displays German instrument names but in an Italian script. Clearly, the writing language cannot be linked to changes in clef forms, and the apparently arbitrary way in which Agricola switches between the two suggests that this feature should be treated with extreme caution in determining chronology, and may actually be of very limited use.



Figure 3.8: SA 182, fol. 2, 'F R' monogram watermark.

3.4. Unmasking ‘pseudo-Agricola’: Johann Gottfried Siebe and the Agricola manuscripts

Another major problem when tracing the chronology of Agricola’s Berlin handwriting is dealing with manuscripts that are of questionable attribution, and how (if at all) these should affect the *Schriftprofil*. In particular, Dürr refers to a scribe whose handwriting, in its overall impression (*Gesamteindruck*), is ‘strikingly similar’ to Agricola, even though the individual palaeographic features are ‘almost entirely different’.²³² This scribe, dubbed ‘pseudo-Agricola’ in the literature, features prominently in both the Königliche Bibliothek and Amalien-Bibliothek collections, and is very often transmitted alongside confirmed Agricola manuscripts. As such, there has long been a question mark over whether this is indeed a separate hand, or whether this is an intermediate stage in Agricola’s handwriting that simply has not been accounted for. Dürr lists a total of nine uncertain manuscripts in his paper—six of which are of pieces by J.S. Bach—but even in this list he was being conservative.²³³ Blechschmidt, in both her 1965 catalogue and later 1989 study of the Amalien-Bibliothek (as Eva Wutta), makes a number of further Agricola attributions, some of which are rejected outright by Dürr.²³⁴ She also assigns (with a question mark) the

²³² Dürr Chr, 59–60. “Tatsächlich ist der Gesamteindruck demjenigen gesicherter Agricola-Handschriften auffallend ähnlich; doch weichen die einzelnen Zeichen fast durchweg ab...”

²³³ The manuscripts in question are Mus. ms. Bach P 256, Mus. ms. Bach P 258, Mus. ms. Bach P 262, Mus.ms. Bach P 1004, Am.B 51a, Am.B 60, Am.B 81, Am.B 176 and Am.B 225.

²³⁴ See also the list in Blechschmidt, 333.

hands of four different anonymous scribes to Agricola, all of which display the characteristics of 'pseudo-Agricola'.²³⁵

Overall, the preliminary impression one obtains of the pseudo-Agricola hand is that of an Agricola manuscript, but there are number of important details that are at odds with the features observed in his authentic manuscripts (see **Figure 3.9** for a general example). The treble clef bears a close likeness to Agricola's but fails to curve all the way around the G-line, giving an impression of untidiness that is not usually the case with Agricola's handwriting. The bass clef, too, is less neat than one would expect, with an upper curve that is distinctly more rounded and less symmetrical with the lower curve. In some manuscripts, such as Am.B 176, the treble and bass clefs are often positioned to the extreme left, such that they sometimes 'fall off' the stave. The most noticeable difference of all can be seen in the C-clefs, which are of types that is never found in authentic Agricola manuscripts. These resemble K-form clefs, particularly the Form e clef discussed above, but the shape and direction of the lines on the right side of the clef are not consistent with those seen in the Agricola manuscripts at any stage. Quaver rests are of a 'sickle-form', much more rounded than the classic 7-form rests associated with the Agricola Berlin sources, although downward-pointing minim stems are still always on the right-hand side of the notehead. There are also minor variations in letter forms and, overall, notation that is visually less compact than would be expected for Agricola's Berlin period.

²³⁵ The anonymous scribes are labelled as Johann Christoph Bach I, J. S. Bach XXXV, C. H. Graun II and J. A. Hasse II. See Wutta, *Quellen der Bach-Tradition in der Berliner Amalien-Bibliothek*, 78–83. for examples.

Concerto Sig^r G. S. Bach.

Tromba tu
 Flauto dolce col Violino 1.
 Oboe
 Violino
 Violino 1. ripieno
 Violino 2. ripieno
 Viola ripieno
 Violone ripieno
 Violoncello
 Cembalo

Figure 3.9: D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 256, fol. 1r (Johann Sebastian Bach: Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 in F major, BWV 1047, 1st movement), in the hand of Johann Gottfried Siebe ('pseudo-Agricola')

Christoph Henzel identifies this hand as Johann Gottfried Siebe (1718/19–1776), a scribe who worked for the Berlin opera and was an important copyist of Graun.²³⁶ Bernd Koska has subsequently undertaken a more detailed palaeographic investigation of Siebe's hand, with particular emphasis on his Bach copies.²³⁷ Koska discusses in detail the two main forms of the C-clef that are very characteristic of Siebe's manuscripts: one contains three horizontal lines pointing upwards to the right (referred to by Koska as '3auf'), and the other has two strokes that point downwards ('2ab').²³⁸

The relationship between Agricola and Siebe is not yet fully understood, and the similarities between their hands merit special attention. The Berlin Singakademie collection contains a large number of sources in Siebe's hand, helping to shed more light on the 'pseudo-Agricola' question. A straightforward example can be seen in SA 1528, a copy of the chorus 'Quegli che vittima' from the third act of Agricola's opera *Amore e Psiche*. The manuscript consists of both a short score and four choral parts, both in the hand of the same copyist. All the features of Siebe's notation are here: sickle-shaped quaver rests and conspicuous C-clef forms being the most notable. The V-form is much more like Agricola's, with a pointed rather than rounded apex, but the handwriting is broad, and lacks the neatness usually associated with Agricola's script.

²³⁶ Henzel 2003, 74, and Henzel 2009, 80–100. For more on Siebe's activities as a copyist in relation to Agricola, see Chapter 5.

²³⁷ Bernd Koska, 'Die Berliner Notenkopisten Johann Gottfried Siebe und Johann Nicolaus Schober und ihre Bach-Abschriften', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (2017): 149–184.

²³⁸ Koska notes that the '3auf' form was that associated with Wutta's identification of the copyist J. Christoph Bach I, and the '2ab' form with the copyist J.A. Hasse II. See Koska, 'Die Berliner Notenkopisten', 154.

The fact that this is not Agricola's handwriting is also confirmed by details of the musical text. This is a dialogue chorus in which the scoring alternates between full and partial choir, indicated by markings in the text such as 'tutto il Coro' and 'a destra una parte del Coro'. At the beginning of the final stanza, Siebe has written 'Tutti, quanti?' ('Everyone?'), indicating his uncertainty over the marking that should be placed here, which obviously cannot have been the case if Agricola was copying his own music.

Of particular interest are manuscripts that display the hands of both Agricola and Siebe. One of these is SA 3559, a large hardcover volume containing a total of twenty-one instrumental pieces by Telemann. This manuscript was probably associated with the Berlin *Hofkapelle* and created specifically as an anthology of works from which performing parts could then be produced (see the discussion in Chapter 5).²³⁹ It displays the work of three scribes, one of whom is Agricola, and is comprised of distinctly separate gatherings (one for each piece) that were later bound into the volume. The contents of the volume, with corresponding scribe and watermark data, is summarised in **Table 3.3**.

²³⁹ Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch, 'The Georg Philipp Telemann Collection', in Fischer and Kornemann (eds.), *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin*, 60.

Table 3.3: Contents of D-Bsa SA 3559, 21 instrumental pieces by Telemann

Work	TWV	Title given in MS	Folios	Scribe	Watermarks
Quatuor in D major	43:D3	<i>1. Quatuor. par Mr Telemann.</i>	1–5	Agricola	Lily; countermark: letters?
Concerto in E-flat major	43:Es1	<u>CONCERTO del Sigl</u> <i>Melante</i>	6–10	Anonymous Berlin copyist	Crowned double- headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Sonata in A major	43:A4	<i>Sonata del Sigl / Melante.</i>	11–16	Anonymous Berlin copyist	Crowned double- headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Sonata in E major	43:E2	<u>Sonata del Sigl / Melante</u>	17–22	Anonymous Berlin copyist	Crowned double- headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Concerto in A minor	43:a5	<u>Concerto del Sigl / Melante.</u>	23–28	Anonymous Berlin copyist	Crowned double- headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Sonata in F minor	44:32	SONATA / Dell Sigl / <i>Teleman.</i>	29–36	Anonymous Berlin copyist	Crowned double- headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Sonata in A major	44:A deest	SONATA. / Dell Sigl / <i>Teleman.</i>	37–44	Anonymous Berlin copyist	Crowned double- headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Sonata in B-flat major	44:34	SONATA. / Dell Sigl / <i>Teleman.</i>	45–53	Anonymous Berlin copyist	Crowned double- headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'

Sonata in E minor	44:5	SONATA. / Dell Sigl / Teleman.	54–61	Anonymous Berlin copyist	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Concerto in A major	53:A2	Concerto dal S ^z Telemann. Musique de Table.	62–80	Agricola (title) Siebe	Not identified (as for TWV 53:F1?)
Concerto in F major	53:F1	Concerto dal S ^z Telemann. Musique de Table.	81–90	Agricola (title) Siebe	Crowned branches; BERLIN CAMMERPAPIER; countermark: GRIESEL
Quartet in G minor	43:g1	Quatuor dal S ^z Telemann. Sonata 2. M.	91–96	Agricola	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Quartet in D major	43:D1	Quatuor dal S ^z Telemann. Concerto 2. M.	97–102	Agricola	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Quartet in G major	43:G1	Quatuor. dal S ^z Telemann. Concerto. 1. M.	103–108	Agricola	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Quartet in A major	43:A1	Quatuor dal S ^z Telemann. Sonata. 1. M.	109–113	Agricola	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'

Quartet in E minor [incomplete]	43:e1	<i>Preludio del 5 Quadro dal Sr Telemann, ded: al Sr de M:</i>	114	Agricola	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Quartet in B minor [incomplete]	43:h1	<i>Preludio del 6 Quadro</i>	115	Agricola	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Quartet in D minor	43:d1	<i>Quatuor del Sr Telemann. Musique de Table</i>	116–125	Agricola	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Quartet in E minor	43:e2	<i>Quatuor del Sr Telemann. Musique de Table</i>	126–132	Agricola	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Quartet in G major	43:G2	<i>Quatuor dal Sr Telemann. Mus: de Table.</i>	133–138	Agricola (title) Siebe	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Sonata in G major	43:G6	<i>Sonata del Sigl. Telemann.</i>	139–142	Copyist Berlin ⁷ (?) (RISM)	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'

We may clearly identify Agricola as the scribe of the first piece (fols. 1–5, see **Figure 3.10**). The compactness of the notation, the characteristic letter forms (note especially the uppercase V- and T-forms, the lower-case d-form and the characteristic double long 's' in 'basso') and especially the 3-form C-clef, the C time signature with the thick upper curve, and the 7-form quaver rests, all clearly point to the later Berlin Agricola. The paper is of a large upright format, 36 x 23 cm – sufficiently large that it had to be

partially folded along its edge to fit in the volume—with a lily watermark (the countermark has not been identified). Folios 6–28, by contrast, bear no resemblance to Agricola’s hand (**Figure 3.11**). The use of ‘Melante’, Telemann’s pseudonym, also separates these four pieces from the rest of the volume. This paper displays two different watermarks: a crowned double-headed eagle, and a heart shield with ‘Z’. The same paper is also used for fols. 36–61, although each of these gatherings begin with a separate title page for the piece, rather than simply a heading, again with a consistent format and spelling. Nonetheless, it is quite straightforward to separate out the two scribes.



Figure 3.10: Telemann, Quartet in D major, TWV 43:D3, in the hand of Agricola. SA 3559, fol. 1r (detail).



Figure 3.11: Telemann, Sonata in A major, TWV 43:A4, in the hand of an unknown Berlin copyist, possibly Johann Gottlieb Morgenstern. SA 3559, fol. 11r (detail).²⁴⁰

It is with the Concerto in A major (fols. 62–80, see **Figure 3.12**) that the separation of scribal hands becomes more complex, with the emergence of a third hand, that of Siebe. The title is very likely Agricola's work, with his characteristic italic script and 'S' form, the use of 'dal' (as opposed to 'del' or 'dell'), and upper-case T and lower-case d forms all matching fol. 1 exactly. Although the general look of the writing and several individual letter forms in the instrumentation provide a close match, it is more likely to be Siebe: the script is somewhat sharper and less refined than on fol. 1, and the V-forms, although entirely correct in their basic features, are more inconsistent (compare the elegant form in 'Violono concert:' with the slanted form of 'Violoncello concert:', and the squeezed, fattened form of 'Violino 1'). Most obviously, although the

²⁴⁰ The attribution, which needs to be re-examined, is from Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch, 'The Georg Philipp Telemann Collection', 60. Morgenstern was a Dresden copyist with close ties to Berlin, and copied a number of works by Fasch, the two Grauns, Telemann and others. See Poppe (ed.), *Schranck No: II*, 198–199.

double long s appears to be almost identical in 'Basso', the B-form does not match, for it is more ornate than Agricola's consistent form (**Figure 3.13**).

The notation itself is highly characteristic of Siebe, with fatter noteheads and thicker stems that, when extending beyond the beam, do not taper off, unlike in Agricola's manuscripts. The C-time signature is too curved for Agricola, particularly at the top, and is indeed confined to the lower three lines of the stave as Dürr describes, although the treble clefs do exhibit a full curve around the G-line. The trill signs are also of interest, because they consistently display a small downwards squiggle (like a shorthand 'r') that is not found in Agricola manuscripts. Most significant is the C-clef, which is of the K-form '2ab' subtype identified by Koska, who also links it with the appearance of minim stems on the left-hand side of the notehead.

Concerto dal Sr Telemann. *Musique de Table* 62

largo

Flauto primo Concerto:
Flauto secondo Concerto:
Violino Concerto:
Violoncello Concerto:
 Violino 1.
 Violino 2.
 Viola
 Basso

Figure 3.12: Telemann, Concerto in A major, TWV 53:A2, in the hand of Agricola (heading) and Johann Gottfried Siebe (music). SA 3559, fol. 62r.



Figure 3.13: ‘Basso’, (left) detail from SA 3559, fol. 62r, and (right) detail from fols. 126r and 1r (in Agricola’s hand).

A similar situation occurs in Siebe’s copy of the Concerto in F major—incorrectly identified by RISM as being in Agricola’s hand²⁴¹—but with some changes (**Figure 3.14**). The V-forms are much more consistent, displaying a loop at the bottom, whilst the treble clef has become much neater and is virtually indistinguishable from Agricola’s (perhaps only the fact that the curve at the bottom of the clef touches, but never extends beyond, the staff is a giveaway). The ‘2ab’ K-form exhibits a sickle-shaped, rather than vertically drooping, lower boundary line. The trill sign, rather confusingly, sometimes accords with the t-squiggle form seen in the A minor concerto but is also displayed as an isolated t, as found in Agricola. All other features, though, remain the same as fols. 62–80, and the overall appearance of the notation is identical. Despite these minor differences, they are certainly not enough to securely assign the A minor concerto to one scribe and the F major to another, as RISM does, and once again concord with the observations of Dürr, Henzel and Koska on Siebe’s handwriting.

²⁴¹ Georg Philipp Telemann, *Concerto in F major*, TWV 53:F1 (SA 3559, 11), https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/singleHit.do?methodToCall=showHit&curPos=11&identifier=251_SOL_R_SERVER_520901809 (accessed 4 December 2017).

The image shows a detail of a handwritten musical score. At the top, the title reads "Concerto dal J. S. Telemann. Musique de Table." with "allegro." written below it. The score consists of six staves. The first staff is labeled "Violino 1" and contains a complex melodic line with many sixteenth notes. The second, third, and fourth staves are labeled "Violino 2", "Violino 3", and "Violino grosso" respectively, and contain simpler, more rhythmic accompaniment. The fifth staff is labeled "Viola" and the sixth "Contrabbasso". The notation is in a historical style, using a C-clef with a '3' above it for the first violin part. The paper shows signs of age, with some staining and a slightly uneven texture.

Figure 3.14: Telemann, Concerto in F major, TWV 53:F1, in the hands of Agricola (heading) and Siebe. SA 3559, fol. 81r (detail).

What makes SA 3559 particularly valuable as a comparative model, and evidence for refuting Kast and Blechschmidt's hypothesis of the handwriting as very late Agricola, is that the paper types of both the Siebe works and those clearly in Agricola's hand (excepting fols. 1–5) are the same. This indicates they were likely copied around the same time; moreover, the fact that Agricola appears to have written out the titles of the pseudo-Agricola copies suggests a very close collaboration between the two scribes. Furthermore, this information has consequences for the dating of the volume and, potentially, the Agricola *Schriftprofil*. The copies cannot have been made before 1757, because until this time Siebe was using the '3auf' C-clef form.²⁴² Koska asserts that the '2ab' C-clef form was in use from 1764 onwards, but notes the difficulties presented by the gap of seven years between the two main stages of the Siebe *Schriftprofil*.²⁴³ He

²⁴² Koska, 'Johann Gottfried Siebe', 155.

²⁴³ Koska, 'Johann Gottfried Siebe', 155.

hypothesises the existence of a 'middle' stage, 'in which the stem of the minims slipped from right to left; then the three upwards strokes of the C-clef are likely to have inclined more and more downward before finally they were reduced from three to two'.²⁴⁴ The fact that Siebe's copies here clearly display the '2ab' form means they must date from close to 1764. The watermark concordances with the Agricola copies, which match paper being used by Agricola at this time (see above), therefore indicate that they come from the last period in which Agricola was using the 3-form clef. However, as the '2auf' form is seen in manuscripts from after 1764, it is also possible that this is in fact evidence of Agricola's use of the 3-form clef beyond this date, and that he did not change to the K-form Form e until around 1766–1768 (c.f. SA 182). Thus, the establishment of a more secure chronology of the Siebe manuscripts in the future may actually help to shed further light on that of the Agricola sources.

As SA 3559 shows, Siebe was plainly involved in copying more than opera scores, and worked very closely with Agricola. Other Singakademie sources also attest to this collaboration, and shed further light on related manuscripts in other collections. One example is SA 2799, another compendium of instrumental pieces, in which is found a copy of the third movement of the fourth Brandenburg Concerto (BWV 1049) in the hand of Siebe, alongside other concertos copied at the same time by Agricola. This source also bears the same watermark as the Telemann copies discussed above. Siebe also copied the second, third and fifth concertos (BWV 1047, 1048, 1050), which

²⁴⁴ 'Es ist wohl von einer organischen Metamorphose auszugehen, bei der zunächst der Notenhals bei Halben von rechts nach links gerutscht ist; sodann dürften sich die drei aufwärts gerichteten Anstriche des C-Schlüssels immer mehr abwärts geneigt haben, bevor sie schließlich von drei auf zwei reduziert wurden.' Koska, 'Johann Gottfried Siebe', 155.

survive complete in the collection of the Königliche Bibliothek.²⁴⁵ However, they all contain markings and additions by Zelter that indicate they originally belonged to the Singakademie, not the Königliche Bibliothek; they also share the crowned doubled-headed eagle watermarks with both SA 2799 and SA 3559.²⁴⁶ They therefore must have originated, and once been located, together.²⁴⁷ What could account for the remarkable similarity in the handwriting of Agricola and Siebe, who were, after all, almost exact contemporaries? Is it possible that Siebe learned to copy from Agricola's models, or was somehow an assistant to Agricola in some way? The consistent manner of Agricola's interventions suggests this may have been so.²⁴⁸

Such questions, as with all those raised in this chapter, can only hope to be answered through further evaluation of new sources, especially those from the Berlin Singakademie. The availability once more of this remarkable collection, above all, finally allows us to obtain a more rounded picture of Agricola's *oeuvre*, and to refine aspects of the *Schriftprofil* for Agricola proposed by Dürr. thus leading to a better understanding of palaeographic, source and work chronologies. Moreover, this assists

²⁴⁵ D–B Mus. ms. Bach P 256 (BWV 1047), P 258 (BWV 1048) and P 262 (BWV 1050). These manuscripts were previously catalogued as being in an anonymous hand (see NBA VII/2 KB, pp. 59, 74, 88 & 106). They were presumably copied directly from the autograph, D–B Am.B 59.

²⁴⁶ The watermark for Mus. ms. Bach P 256 has not been identified, but the identical size of the paper to the other manuscripts, in addition to the palaeographic concordances, strongly indicate it is of the same paper type.

²⁴⁷ The Brandenburg Concerto sources now in the Königliche Bibliothek were probably transferred to that collection in 1854, along with most of the Singakademie's other manuscripts of works by Johann Sebastian Bach. The manuscript of BWV 1049 presumably remained in the Singakademie archive because it had already been bound into a compendium of other instrumental works. See Ulrich Leisinger, 'The Bach Collection', in SACat, 46–47.

²⁴⁸ I am very grateful to Bernd Koska for his advice on this point and for so generously sharing his research with me.

in the identification of other hands alongside Agricola's, which in turn will provide more information about Agricola's own work as a copyist, and his relationships with other Berlin musicians and copyists. Dürr, writing in 1970, hoped that his article would form a 'reliable basis for future investigations'; at last, with the recovery of these new sources, the investigations he pioneered half a century ago can continue with renewed impetus.

CHAPTER 4

Die Auferstehung von Agricola: Discoveries and Recoveries of Sacred Vocal Works from Berlin

The historiography of Lutheran vocal music in the middle of the eighteenth century is still largely dominated by the figure of Johann Sebastian Bach. Traditionally, this period has been viewed as one of ‘culmination and decline’, in which sacred music reached its zenith with Bach and then suffered a rapid decline in quality after his death, a thesis summarised by Friedhelm Krummacher.²⁴⁹ Indeed, Georg Feder, writing in 1975, opens his survey of music in this period with the assertion that ‘there is unanimity of opinion that Protestant church music after Bach declined in comparison to the achievements of earlier days. The essential truth of this statement cannot be doubted.’²⁵⁰ However, Feder does acknowledge the complexities inherent in his argument, conceding that church music did not deteriorate to an equal degree across Germany in the second half of the century, and that if comparisons are made between Bach’s successors and his contemporaries, rather than with Bach himself, the ‘decline’ appears much more gradual than is usually assumed to have been the case.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ Friedhelm Krummacher, ‘Kulmination und Verfall der protestantischen Kirchenmusik’, in Carl Dahlhaus (ed.), *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1985), 108–21.

²⁵⁰ Georg Feder, ‘Decline and Restoration’, in Friedrich Blume (ed.), *Protestant Church Music* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1975), 317–404, at 319.

²⁵¹ Feder, ‘Decline and Restoration’, 319–320.

Recent scholarship has attempted to more overtly address the difficulties and oversimplifications of the ‘culmination and decline’ model, not least the implicit assumption that the church composers of the generation immediately following Bach—including his own pupils—were merely ‘epigones’. Stephen Rose notes that whilst changed religious ideals (inspired by the Enlightenment) certainly precipitated a crisis of church music in the second half of the eighteenth century, ‘it is hard to assess these major changes in Lutheran music, mainly because most researchers and performers concentrate on J.S. Bach to the exclusion of his contemporaries and successors. Until there are more recordings and modern editions of the church music of [these composers], it is inevitable that Bach’s output will look like an isolated summit’.²⁵² Fortunately, a number of studies have now appeared that examine both the church music of individual figures from the Bach circle in detail and, crucially, Bach’s own music in the context of these works, providing new perspectives on stylistic change and continuity in the middle of the century. For composers of the post-Bach generation, these include Daniel Melamed’s study of Johann Friedrich Doles,²⁵³ and a recent collection of essays on Gottfried August Homilius.²⁵⁴ As a number of important figures from this generation were associated with the Prussian court in the 1750s, Berlin offers unique perspectives on the changing role and nature of Lutheran

²⁵² Stephen Rose, ‘Lutheran church music’, in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 127–167, at 127.

²⁵³ Daniel R. Melamed, ‘J.F. Doles’s Setting of a Picander Libretto and J.S. Bach’s Teaching of Vocal Composition’, *Journal of Musicology* 14 (1996): 453–474.

²⁵⁴ Gerhard Poppe and Uwe Wolf (eds.), *“ohne Widerrede unser größter Kirchenkomponist”: Annäherungen an Gottfried August Homilius* (= Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 7) (Beeskow: Ortus, 2017).

church music in the period immediately following the death of Bach, which I seek to explore here through the lens of Agricola's contributions to the genre.

One of the reasons Berlin makes a particularly interesting and distinctive case study is because its particular expression of Enlightenment culture was heavily influenced by the personal views of its ruler. The Prussian court under Friedrich II did not subscribe to a particular doctrine of Christianity and was, to all intents and purposes, secular.²⁵⁵ In this way, it could not have been more different from Dresden, its otherwise much-idealised counterpart to the south. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Saxon court was devoted to highly elaborate rituals of traditional Catholicism. These were first brought to Saxony by August II following his conversion to the Catholic faith in 1697, sustained by the Bohemian Jesuits employed to run the court chapel, and further cemented by the peculiarly Austrian brand of Habsburg piety that was brought to Dresden from Vienna in the person of Maria Josepha.²⁵⁶ For the Prussian King, however, the Christian religion, especially Catholicism, was the source of true barbarity, and had no place in his kingdom.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Regarding the intellectual and religious milieu of the Prussian court under Friedrich II, see, for example, Christopher M. Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (London: Penguin, 2007), Chapter 7; Theodor Schieder, *Frederick the Great*, ed. and trans. Sabina Berkeley and H.M. Scott (London: Routledge, 1999), Chapter 7; and Andrew Kloes, 'Dissembling Orthodoxy in the Age of the Enlightenment: Frederick the Great and his Confession of Faith', *Harvard Theological Review* 109 (2016): 102–128.

²⁵⁶ Some of the religious practices of Dresden court in the early eighteenth century were particularly elaborate and ritualistic for the period. Recent studies, however, have shown how diverse Catholic practices were at this time, particularly in relation to Enlightenment thinking; see, for example, Ritchie Robertson, 'The Catholic Enlightenment: Some Reflections on Recent Research', *German History* 34 (2016): 630–645.

²⁵⁷ Friedrich II explicitly refers to Christianity in these terms in a letter of 1753 to Francesco Algarotti, in which he discusses Graun's *Montezuma*, for which he himself wrote the libretto. Part of the attraction of

The significance for music-making of this fundamental difference in the confessional landscapes of the courts at Dresden and Berlin should not be underestimated. Although Dresden certainly had a well-developed musical life prior to August II's conversion to Catholicism, in many ways it was the closure of the Dresden opera and the court's dedication to developing a rich programme of liturgical music for its Catholic chapel that catalysed a renewed flourishing of the *Hofkapelle* and its associated ensembles. This renaissance was then ultimately enhanced by the returning influence of Italian opera from the late 1720s onwards. The issue for August II and his successors was that outside the court, most of their subjects were Lutheran, leading to confessional tensions that have been explored elsewhere.²⁵⁸

A different kind of tension existed between Friedrich II and his subjects in Prussia. Unlike his deeply pious father, Friedrich was a staunch secularist, one influenced by Enlightenment rationalism, particularly Voltaire, and was without any personal religious conviction whatsoever. The official policy of the Prussian state was one of religious tolerance, where, as Friedrich himself said, 'the official's only task is to make sure that no one [religion] interferes with another, for here everyone must be allowed to seek salvation in any way they choose'.²⁵⁹ Tolerance and freedom, however,

the subject matter seems to have been, as he put it, the opportunity to make 'a few telling remarks, even in music, against the barbarity of the Christian religion', and show that in a 'heretical country [i.e. Prussia; here he is speaking with irony] ... even the opera serves to reform customs and destroy superstitions'. See Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age', 215.

²⁵⁸ See, for example, Michael Maul, 'The Kyrie of Bach's B Minor Mass: Music for the 1733 Leipzig *Erbhuldigung?*', trans. Susanne Haring, *Musicology Australia* (2019): 135–142, in particular at 137.

²⁵⁹ This is a marginal comment from 22 June 1740, made by Friedrich in response to an enquiry from one of his officials regarding Protestant discrimination against Catholic schools. The comment is noted in

did not necessarily mean respect. In the King's opinion, as he wrote in a political testament published in 1752, all religions were 'more or less absurd'. He called Christianity 'an old metaphysical fiction, stuffed with contradictions and nonsense, born in the fevered imagination of the [Orient] and spread by its people to Europe, where it was embraced by fanatics, exploited by opportunists, and believed by imbeciles.'²⁶⁰ Unsurprisingly, these kinds of remarks were not well-received by Friedrich's subjects, even if such comments were not actually directed at them. For most ordinary people, the eighteenth century was still a confessional era, and as soon as Friedrich came to the throne in 1740 there were reports of 'amazement and dismay' at the King's contempt for piety and religion. Blanning suggests that 'he just could not resist turning toleration into derision', and seems to have walked a very fine line between the two on several occasions.²⁶¹

At this time, the majority of people in Prussia, as in Saxony, were Lutheran, notwithstanding the growing presence of a reformed minority. Despite the fact that his religious scepticism was hardly a secret, Friedrich was not above championing Protestantism in public for propagandistic purposes when it suited him, and was depicted by commentators both in and outside Prussia as the 'saviour of Protestantism

Georg Borchardt (ed.), *Die Randbemerkungen Friedrichs des Grossen* (Potsdam, n.d.), Vol. 1, 79, quoted in Tim Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* (London: Penguin, 2016), 370.

²⁶⁰ Quoted in T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660–1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 194.

²⁶¹ Blanning, *Frederick the Great*, 370. Blanning cites the example of a request from some conservative Lutherans to be permitted to continue singing their old hymns, rather than the new ones church authorities were attempting to impose on them, about which Friedrich noted, 'so far as the hymn book is concerned, anyone can sing "Now all the Forests are at Peace" or another other sort of stupid and fatuous nonsense'.

against the Catholic tyrants'.²⁶² Protestant pastors, too, who deeply influenced the formation of public opinion, encouraged this false image, which apparently even led to the suggestion on occasion that Friedrich was actually a devoted Christian.²⁶³

Regardless of the King's own disdain for religion, his ideological commitment to religious tolerance in Prussia was beyond question. Indeed, it was the very neutrality of his official position regarding religion that allowed a great diversity of religious views to flourish in Berlin in the mid to late-eighteenth century, including minorities that had been persecuted elsewhere in Europe. As the Duke de Nivernais, on his 1756 visit to Prussia, wrote: 'Prussia is the only country in the known world where several religions coexist without it being a problem, and it is also the country in the universe where there is least religion to be found.'²⁶⁴ It was this tolerance that led to the King's allocation of land and building materials explicitly for the building of a new Catholic church (St Hedwig's Cathedral) in the centre of Berlin, as large as the people wanted, right next to the Berlin Opera, and took a keen interest in its construction (no doubt for aesthetic purposes, as much as anything else). He wrote at the conclusion of its construction:

The church is going to be inaugurated in a few days' time ... If people are not now convinced by my toleration, they are difficult to please; no Lutheran or Calvinist church would ever be built at Bamberg, Würzburg or Salzburg ... or at anywhere else

²⁶² Blanning, *Frederick the Great*, 350–351.

²⁶³ Blanning, *Frederick the Great*, 362.

²⁶⁴ Duke de Nivernais, 'Portrait du roi de Prusse', *Oeuvres*, Vol. 6: *Mélanges de littérature, en vers et en prose* (Paris: 1796), 322, quoted in Blanning, *Frederick the Great*, 372.

for that matter. The rest of you, whatever you say, you are still driven by the hatreds of a burning fanaticism, and so you are just half-humans.²⁶⁵

No-one could deny the truth of Friedrich's words regarding the effects of Prussia's religious toleration. But the court itself, of course, did not have its own confessional identity. This necessarily impacted the manner in which religious music was composed and performed in Berlin. Unlike Dresden, the court had no need to engage its *Hofkapelle* to provide elaborate and virtuosic sacred music; the conditions that fostered such an intense environment for the continuous composition of new liturgical pieces, and the stylistic innovations in church music that accompanied them, were simply not there, despite the presence of a court chapel. As a result, we also see—at least in collections of music stemming from official court circles—far less transmission and copying of Dresden liturgical repertoire in Berlin than, say, opera. This did not mean, however, that sacred music was absent from Berlin, nor that the composers and musicians of the *Hofkapelle* resisted engaging with it, despite the court's official disinterest.

A crucial event in the development of sacred music in Berlin in the middle of the eighteenth century was the appointment, in January 1755, of Rudolf Dietrich Buchholtz (1719–1778) as Kantor of the Petrikerche, one of the oldest and most important Protestant churches in Berlin. As Tobias Schwinger notes, Buchholtz's tenure ushered in a new era in which the Petrikerche became a centre of church music in Berlin, and, moreover, one in which the compositions of the major Berlin court

²⁶⁵ Quoted in Blanning, *Frederick the Great*, 384.

composers—including Agricola—played an important role.²⁶⁶ In other words, there was an active cooperative engagement between Buchholtz and the composers of the court in which compositional duties for sacred music in the Petrikirche, although certainly led by Buchholtz, were shared out.

There is a tendency in the literature to suggest that Agricola had been relatively unengaged with sacred music prior to when he began composing it for Berlin, which plainly cannot have been the case. Studying under his teacher Johann Sebastian Bach, he would have been exposed to the weekly ritual of cantata performances in the Leipzig churches, and indeed likely played organ in some of them (as the *Lebenslauf* suggests; see Chapter 1).²⁶⁷ Nonetheless, from what we can tell, there is a conspicuous absence of sacred music in Agricola's own compositional output prior to the early-mid 1750s. It is difficult to ascertain exactly why this is the case, and why he suddenly started composing these works. According to most biographical profiles, this development was triggered by the great success of C.H. Graun's Passion cantata, *Der Tod Jesu*. This cantata was first performed in 1755, with Agricola as tenor (his wife, Benedetta, sang the soprano part). However, as Schwinger observes, a letter from Agricola to Telemann, also from 1755, refers to the fact that he had been promising to send Telemann samples of his pieces 'for more than two years', and notes that in these works he had been experimenting with the 'church style'.²⁶⁸ This indicates that

²⁶⁶ Schwinger 2012, 201.

²⁶⁷ Regarding Agricola's engagement with Bach's cantatas as a copyist and performer in Berlin, see Chapter 5.

²⁶⁸ 'Vielleicht kann ichs itzo mit desto mehr Dreistigkeit thun; zumal, da ich, doch im Vertrauen gesagt, zeither angefangen habe, auch in den Kirchenstyl zu pfuschen'. Johann Friedrich Agricola to Georg Philipp Telemann, quoted in Schwinger 2012, 201.

Agricola had already started to write sacred music between 1752 and 1755, although there is no composition that can be definitely dated prior to 1757 to support this idea.

4.1. Agricola's sacred works for multiple voices and orchestra

The breadth, diversity and quality of Agricola's output of sacred music has thus far been significantly underappreciated.²⁶⁹ Even Hermann Wucherpennig, who had access to the contents of the Berlin Singakademie collection, only names fourteen extant sacred works in his list of Agricola's compositions. As **Table 4.1** shows, the true number of authentic sacred works is around twenty-two, if parodies and possible split works are included, and there are probably some that have not yet been identified or no longer exist. In addition, there are eight pieces attributed to Agricola that are of doubtful authenticity. Not included here are the five sacred songs from the *Geistliche Oden* (1758), which are closely aligned, both stylistically and in their patterns of transmission, with the secular lieder discussed in Chapter 2.

²⁶⁹ Albert Schiffner, writing in 1840, noted rather disparagingly that Bach's pupil Agricola was known 'not so much for his church works as his somewhat Italianised operas' [Zu Sebastians berühmten Schülern gehört nicht so sehr durch seine trefflichen Kirchensachen, als noch mehr durch seine etwas italienisirenden Opern, der k. preuß. Capelldirector und Hofcomponist Agricola aus Dobitzschen bei Altenburg (l. 1720–1774), welcher auch gute theoretische und geschichtliche Werke schrieb...']. See BDok VI, A 17, 98.

Table 4.1: Sacred Works for Multiple Voices and Orchestra attributed to Johann**Friedrich Agricola**

AgWV	Work	Genre/Occasion	Original Source(s) ²⁷⁰	Librettist	Date
1	<i>Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem</i>	Cantata (Christmas Day)	D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Agricola, J. F. 5	Karl Wilhelm Ramler	First performance: 25 December 1757; repeated 25 Dec 1758
2	<i>Uns ist ein Kind geboren</i>	Cantata (Christmas Day)	D-Bsa SA 181	Unknown	Unknown
3	<i>Kündlich groß ist das gottseilige Geheimnis</i>	Cantata (Christmas Day)	D-Bsa SA 182	Unknown	1768
4	<i>Lobet den Herrn</i>	Cantata (New Year's Day)	D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Agricola, J. F. 3 (1)	Unknown	1750?
5	<i>Wie wollen wir des Höchsten Güte g'nugsam preisen</i>	Cantata (New Year's Day)	D-OLH Mus.arch.A. 1:2, in the hand of Carl Gottlieb Kästner	Unknown	Unknown
6	<i>Dankt mit Tränen, Gott wird euch</i>	Aria for Purification	US-BETm L [400] Beth ms	Unknown	First performance: 2 February 1769
7	<i>Die Auferstehung des Erlösers</i>	Oratorio (Easter Sunday)	D-Bsa SA 44	Christian Gottlieb Lieberkühn	First performance: 26 March 1758

²⁷⁰ All sources are autograph or part-autograph unless otherwise specified.

8	<i>Vom Thron des Ewigen</i>	Cantata (Easter Sunday)	GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313; D-Bsa SA 45	Unknown	Late 1750s– early 1760s
9	<i>Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu</i>	Oratorio (Easter Sunday)	D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Agricola, J. F. 4	Karl Wilhelm Ramler	22 March 1761?
10	<i>Wie freudig seh ich dir entgegen</i>	Cantata (Easter Sunday)	D-Bsa SA 567	Leonhard Cochius	Unknown; possibly never performed
11	<i>Die mit Tränen säen</i>	Cantata (Third Sunday after Easter, Jubilate)	D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Agricola, J. F. 3 (2)	Unknown	Unknown
12	<i>Gelobet sei Gott und der Vater</i>	Cantata (Fourth Sunday after Easter, Cantate)	D-Bsa SA 184	Unknown	Unknown
13a	<i>Die Sendung des heiligen Geistes durch den aufgefahnen Erlöser</i>	Cantata (Whit/Pentecost Sunday)	D-BNu Ec 1.3	Unknown	First performance: 29 May 1757; repeated 10 May 1761
13b	<i>Noch les' ich in betränten Blicken</i>	Cantata (Whit/Pentecost Sunday)	D-BNu Ec 1.2	Unknown	Probably as for <i>Die Sendung</i>

					<i>des heiligen Geistes</i>
14	<i>Ein schnelles Brausen beweget die Lüfte</i>	Cantata (Whit/Pentecost Sunday)	D-Bsa SA 185–186	Unknown	Probably 1759
15	<i>Singet fröhlich Gotte der unsre Stärke ist</i>	Cantata (Whit/Pentecost Sunday)	D-LEm Poel.mus.Ms.3; B- BC 711; D-HER Mus.E 1:3	Unknown	Unknown
16	Recitatives for Johann Heinrich Rolle, <i>Unsre Seele harret auf den Herrn</i>	Cantata (Seventh Sunday after Trinity; inauguration of Rev. D.W.A. Teller)	D-Bsa SA 694		First performance: 17 July 1768
25	<i>Waltet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut</i>	Funeral Cantata (on the death of Queen Sophia Dorothea)	D-Bsa SA 183	Christian Gottlieb Lieberkühn	First performance: 19 August 1757
26a	<i>Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt (Der 21. Psalm)</i>	Cantata (Celebration; Epiphany)	First edition print by Georg Ludwig Winter, 1759	Psalm 21, trans. Johann Andreas Cramer	First performance: 3 September 1758; repeated at Epiphany 1759?

26b	<i>Der Gottmensch jauchzt</i>	Cantata (Easter Sunday)	D-RAAd, no shelfmark	Unknown	Unknown
26c	<i>Nie zagt ein Christe</i>	Cantata (Third Sunday in Lent, Oculi)	US-CA bMS Mus 107	Unknown	Unknown
Anh. 2	<i>Der 91. Psalm</i>	Unknown	Not known; see Ledebur and Wucherpennig	Unknown	Unknown
Anh. 3	<i>Ave maris stella</i>	Latin Church Music	PL-KŁwnm A-215 (1)	N/A	Unknown
Anh. 8	<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	Latin Church Music	D-Mbs Mus. ms. 4988	N/A	Unknown
Anh. 10	<i>Eja plausus hilares</i>	Latin Church Music	PL-KŁwnm A-215 (2)	N/A	Unknown
Anh. 11	<i>Din hoejre Haand skal de nokfine defiender de</i>	Cantata ('Festo Gratiorum actionis')	DK-Ch R 133	Unknown	Unknown
Anh. 12	<i>Hymne an Gott</i>	Hymn, incomplete	CH-Zz Ms.Car XV 242 (22.) (Ms. 1072)	Unknown	Unknown
Anh. 14	Magnificat in D major	Latin Church Music	D-Mbs Mus. ms. 4989	N/A	Unknown

For the majority of the sources listed above, the materials are undated. Therefore, press reports on the music heard in the Petrikirche from the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachsen* (hereafter *Berlinische Nachrichten*) are helpful in determining dates of composition and first performance. These have been collated by Christoph

Henzel and provide valuable data from which the performances of several works can be inferred.²⁷¹ However, as the table above shows, the reports are by no means comprehensive and there are still many works for which the dating remains speculative, to a greater or lesser degree.

Although music for the major feasts of the church year—Christmastide, Easter and Whitsun—unsurprisingly dominate, it is interesting that there is no Passion music amongst these works, particularly in view of the fact that the congregation of the Berlin Petrikirche was predominantly Lutheran. But, as the reports in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* make clear, Agricola was only one part of a whole team of composers, including Carl Heinrich Graun and C.P.E. Bach, who contributed music to the Petrikirche, a phenomenon that was only really possible because of the church's unusual position in relation to the court's disinterest in religious music. Indeed, Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* became one of the most successful Passion oratorios of the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁷² The libretto, by Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725–1798) was written specifically for Graun, but had somehow been obtained by Telemann in Hamburg and was hurriedly set to music by him (TVWV 5:6) before the premiere of Graun's setting.

Ramler's libretto for *Der Tod Jesu* formed the second part of what he may have viewed as a cycle of three texts on the life of Jesus, the first and third parts being *Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem*, dealing with the Christmas story, and *Die*

²⁷¹ See Henzel 2003, 32–33, Henzel 2004 and Henzel 2005.

²⁷² The extraordinary number of copies made in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of the full score, both whole and in part, and even more of the performance parts, are testament to this fact. See the source listings in GraunWV, 493–505.

Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu, concerning the Resurrection and Ascension. Both of these texts were set by multiple composers, most famously Telemann (*Die Hirten bei der Krippe*, TVWV 1:797, 1759, and *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt*, TVWV 6:6, 1760) and C.P.E. Bach (*Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt*, Wq. 240, 1774).²⁷³ However, the most notable composer to have set both texts specifically for Berlin is Agricola. In the wake of Graun's success with *Der Tod Jesu*, and only a few months after the performance of *Wallet ihr Seelen*, Agricola composed his first dateable Christmas cantata, *Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem*, which was premiered on Christmas Day, 1757.²⁷⁴

Unlike many of Agricola's other cantatas, this work has long been known to scholars because the autograph (D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Agricola, J.F. 5) was in the possession of Poelchau, whose library was then acquired by the Königliche Bibliothek. It was also circulated in contemporary manuscript copies, and therefore possibly performed, outside Berlin during Agricola's lifetime: the manuscript D-Dl Mus. 3062-E-500, for instance, was previously owned by the Fürsten- und Landesschule Grimma in Saxony, before subsequently making its way to Dresden.²⁷⁵ *Die Hirten bei der Krippe* was repeated in the Petrikirche on Christmas Day the following year, but seemingly

²⁷³ See CPEB-CW IV/2: *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, ed. Ulrich Leisinger (2020), particularly the introduction at xi–xv.

²⁷⁴ *Berlinische Nachrichten*, 24 December 1757 and 18 April 1758. See Henzel 2004, 257.

²⁷⁵ This is evident from a stamp on the title page. The title page also makes mention of the Meißner Kantor and one-time Leipzig *Thomaner* Johann Gottfried Weiske (1745–1806), reading: [crossed out: 4] Nr. 5. | *Weihnachts-Musik* | von Agricola | [in another hand, erased:] o. Weiske. Whether this second hand mistakenly thought Weiske was the composer, or whether the score was owned and possibly performed by Weiske (and this information later removed because it was no longer relevant) is unclear.

with amendments, for the *Berlinische Nachrichten* noted that it was performed with 'some change and application to the present times'.²⁷⁶

Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu is a later composition, dating from around 1760. It is a much larger work than *Die Hirten bei der Krippe*, presented in two parts that explicitly deal with both the Resurrection and Ascension and utilising a double chorus in the concluding movement, 'Gott fährt auf mit Jauchzen'.²⁷⁷ Unlike *Die Hirten bei der Krippe*, however, it is only transmitted in a single source, the autograph manuscript (D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Agricola, J.F. 4). According to a note on the inside cover, the manuscript was formerly owned by a certain Herr von Gehler, who exchanged it (presumably with Poelchau) for copies of Bach's *Magnificat* and Jomelli's *Requiem*.²⁷⁸ The date of first performance is uncertain: the only relevant report in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* is from 22 March 1761, where it was noted that 'a completely new musical composition composed by Herr Agricola' was presented.²⁷⁹ Henzel suggests that this was *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, although it is now conceivable that this may have been another work (see below).²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ '...nach einiger Veränderung und Anwendung auf gegenwärtige Zeiten'. *Berlinische Nachrichten*, 23 December 1758, in Henzel 2004, 258. This may refer in some way to the Seven Years' War.

²⁷⁷ The use of a double chorus here is prescribed by Ramler in the text print of 1760, although C.P.E. Bach does not follow this instruction. See Ulrich Leisinger's introduction to CPEB-CW IV/2, xii. Leisinger also suggests (p. xi) that Ramler may have created the text specifically with a view towards having it set by both Agricola in Berlin and Telemann in Hamburg.

²⁷⁸ 'Eingetauscht von Herrn von Gehler gegen Bachs *Magnificat* | [et] Jomellis *Requiem*.' It is not clear whether the *Magnificat* referred to is that by Johann Sebastian or Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.

²⁷⁹ '...ein ganz neues Musickalisches Gedicht nach der Composition des Herrn Agricola.' *Berlinische Nachrichten*, 17 May 1761; see Henzel 2003, 33.

²⁸⁰ Ulrich Leisinger's assertion in his introduction to CPEB-CW IV/2 that 'a performance of Agricola's composition can first be confirmed for 1761' (p. xi, fn. 3) is therefore incorrect, as even Henzel, who had no knowledge of any plausible alternative, marked his suggestion as tentative.

The two Ramler cantatas were the best-known of Agricola's sacred works to twentieth-century scholars. In the case of *Die Hirten bei der Krippe*, this may be partly attributed to the fact that it is transmitted in multiple full-score copies, which most of the other sacred works are not, and in the case of *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, the unusual nature of its double chorus finale, which has attracted commentary. And, of course, the autographs of both works remained in the holdings of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin after the Second World War and were therefore available for examination. Other sacred works of equal stature were not so fortunate. Above all, it is the recovery of the archive of the Berlin Singakademie, which holds more Agricola cantata autographs than any other collection, that enables a significant reassessment of Agricola's sacred vocal works. It is these new sources in particular, therefore, that I will focus on in the rest of this chapter.

4.2. Music to Mourn a Queen: *Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut*

Agricola's only known piece of sacred ceremonial music, the funeral cantata *Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut* ('Flow, you souls, filled with melancholy') is transmitted uniquely in the Singakademie source D-Bsa SA 183. So far, we know almost nothing about its conception and performance beyond the information provided there.²⁸¹ The work was written in response to the death of Friedrich II's mother, Sophia Dorothea,

²⁸¹ Although Schwinger discusses the source D-Bsa SA 183, he is more concerned with using the work as an exemplar of general stylistic characteristics of Agricola's cantatas, and says little about the work's context. Wucherpennig, surprisingly, does not mention it at all, and although he was clearly aware of the contents of the Singakademie Archive, it is absent from his list of Agricola's works.

who died on 28 June 1757. Whilst certainly a *Trauerkantate*, it was not necessarily performed at her funeral. Instead, it was almost certainly intended as a commemorative mourning ode, or, as the cover of the printed text booklet (**Figure 4.1**) describes it, a *Musikalisches Trauergedicht* (rather in the manner of J.S. Bach's 1727 *Trauerode* for the Saxon Electress Christiane Eberhardine, *Laß, Fürstin, laß noch einen Strahl*, BWV 198).²⁸² The prominence given on the title page of the text booklet to the three men principally responsible for the work's production (Agricola, Buchholtz and Lieberkühn, the librettist) indicates that, as with Agricola's other sacred works, this was an endeavour that officially had nothing to do with the court; indeed, it is entirely conceivable to think that Friedrich II may not even have been present for this memorial to his mother.

The title page of the text booklet informs us that the work was performed at four o'clock in the afternoon on 19 August 1757 at the Petrikerche, under the direction of Buchholz.²⁸³ It is scored for an orchestra of two horns, two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons, two violins, viola and continuo, along with SATB choir and soprano and bass solos. It is notable that, as in so many of Agricola's cantatas, both the solo arias (no. 3, 'Jammert Wehmut, bange Töne', and no. 6, 'Erfüll ihr Auge mit Entzücken') are for soprano. These were undoubtedly written for Agricola's wife, and indeed a report in the following day's *Berlinische Nachrichten* noted the star quality of the performers

²⁸² BWV 198, of course, was later adapted into another work that was indeed performed as official funeral music for Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen, *Klagt, Kinder, klagt es aller Welt*, BWV 1143 (formerly BWV 244a).

²⁸³ 'Die Music wird den 19ten August um 4 Uhr Nachmittags in der Petrikerche veranstaltet | durch | Rudolph Dietrich Buchholz'. D-Bsa SA 183, fol. 52r.

at this event, 'where the famous Madam Agricola and various other great musicians could be heard with their voices and instruments'.²⁸⁴

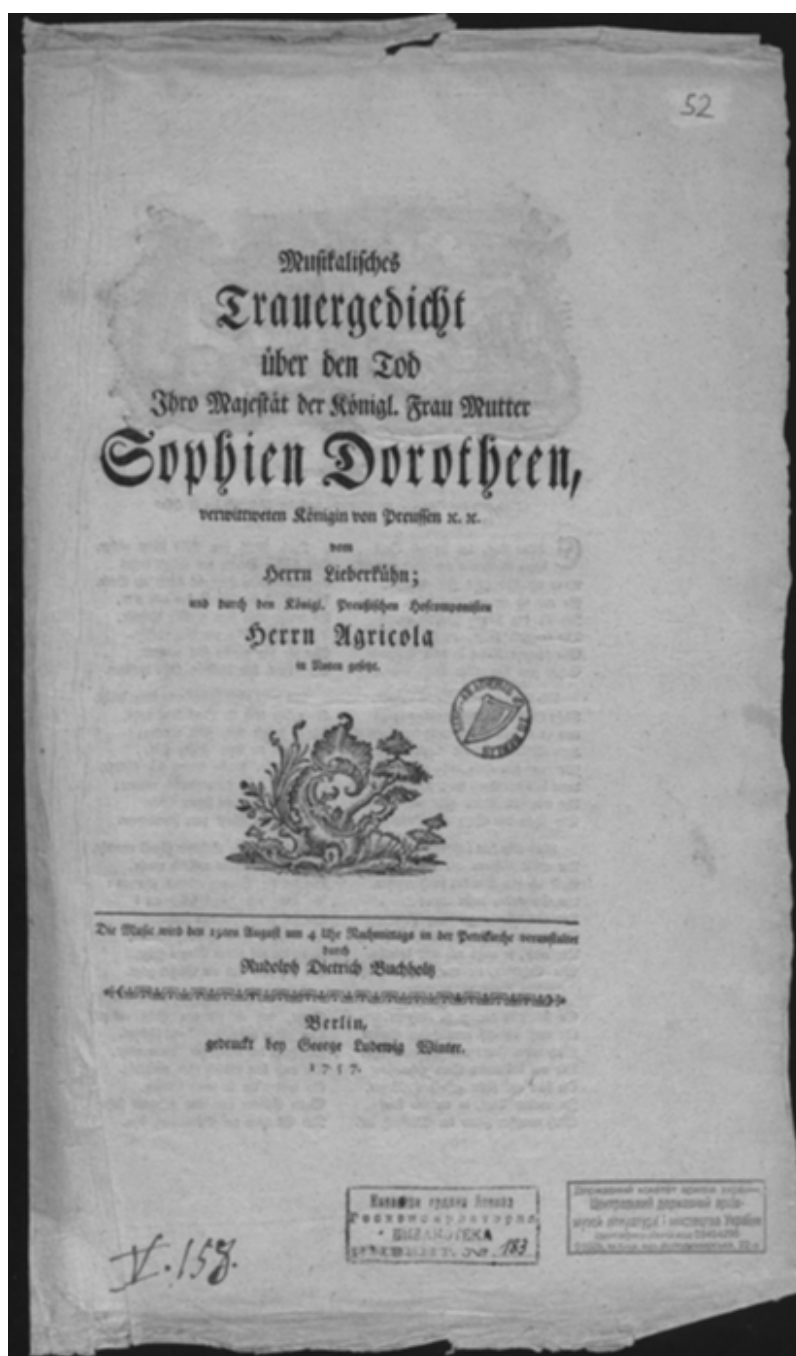


Figure 4.1. Title page of the printed text booklet for the original performance of Agricola's *Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut* (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1757). D-Bsa SA 183, fol. 52r.

²⁸⁴ *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachsen*, 20 August 1757, quoted in Henzel 2004, no. 445.

The source materials for *Wallet ihr Seelen* transmitted as SA 183 comprise an autograph full score (fols. 3r–22v), an incomplete score copy that is partially in short score (fols. 23r–34v), a number of vocal parts, likewise incomplete (fols. 35r–51v) and a copy of the original printed text booklet that was used at the performance (fols. 52–53v).²⁸⁵ The autograph score (**Figure 4.2**) is made up of a sequence of loose bifolia stacked on top of each other that are not sewn together or assembled in any kind of gathering structures. Aside from the modern foliation, the recto of the front folio in each bifolium is given a number in Agricola’s hand, carefully indicating the sequence of bifolia.

Unfortunately, this loose structure may be the reason behind the loss of part of the autograph manuscript that was once located between fols. 18v and 19r. It contained the beginning of no. 7, the chorus ‘Die Heiligen Gottes’, which is therefore now incomplete, although the fugue that follows in the second half of the movement (‘under hat ein Aufsehen’) is preserved entirely intact. The music cannot be reconstructed using any of the supplementary performing materials located in the source (see below), as none of them include this movement. Aside from the fact that fol. 19r clearly begins partway through the chorus (to which the reader’s attention is also drawn from a modern pencil marking on fol. 18v²⁸⁶), the disruption of Agricola’s careful numbering of the bifolia further betrays the presence of a missing section: fols. 17–18 comprise bifolium ‘8’, and on fol. 19r the faint trace of a ‘10’ is visible, indicating that bifolium

²⁸⁵ Fols. 1, 2, 54 and 55 are comprised of two wrappers that hold the material. The outer wrapper, in particular, is badly damaged, and bears Zelter’s markings on fol. 1r; on the inner wrapper (fol. 2r) is written, in Buchholz’s hand, *Trauer-Musik | bei | der Gedächtniß-Predigt | für | die Königin-Mutter | Majest. | Wallet ihr Seelen. | voll Schwermuth.*

²⁸⁶ The marking, in grey pencil, reads: *[Fehlt: Anfang des Chores: “Die Heiligen Gottes”.*

'9' is missing. Interestingly, whilst all Agricola's numbering up to this point is in very visible black ink, the numbers '10' and '11' on fols. 19r and 21r are very difficult to see, and one is led to wonder whether someone once attempted to erase them to disguise the fact that a section of the manuscript was missing.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, it is titled "[Agricola, Joh. Friedr.]" and numbered "3r". The score is arranged in several systems, each with multiple staves. The instruments listed on the left include: 1. Violon, 2. Violon, 1. Violon, 2. Violon, Basson, Cornet, Basson, Basson, Violon, and Violon. The notation includes various clefs, time signatures, and musical symbols. A harp emblem is visible in the upper right. The bottom of the page contains a handwritten note: "20/40 Jan 201 (nach Nr. 16) [Nicht bei Eitner, A. Ledebur 2, 7]".

Figure 4.2. Agricola, *Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut*, autograph score, first page. D-Bsa SA 183,

fol. 3r.

Whether this missing section consisted of just a single folio or a whole bifolium, however, is open to conjecture. The regular nature of the loose-bifolium structure for the rest of the autograph would suggest that the missing section, too, was likely a bifolium consisting of two leaves (four pages), all of which would have been filled. However, together with the three-page choral section preceding the fugue that does survive, with approximately 12 bars per page, that would put the entire setting of the words 'Die Heiligen Gottes sind in Gnaden und Barmherzigkeit' at around 85 bars, which seems a little excessive, particularly given the amount of repetition that already occurs in the 37-bar fragment that is extant. Another possibility is that the movement may have opened with some kind of orchestral introduction, but there is no repeating ritornello, as in the opening chorus, that gives a clue as to what this might have been like. For textual and musical reasons, it might be more realistic to suggest that, for some reason, the chorus was begun on a single leaf that was cut from a bifolium, so only around 24 bars are missing. This section would have principally been concerned with setting the words 'Die Heiligen Gottes', which only appear in the extant fragment once.

Aside from the incomplete state of the seventh movement, the rest of the autograph score is remarkably precise, with only minor errors that are mostly confined to isolated instances of missing or redundant rests, accidentals and articulation. There is very little evidence of sketching or sustained revision, and where Agricola has made small amendments that required erasures, these have been executed very neatly, such that only a close examination of the source betrays their presence. An instance of a revision for apparently stylistic, rather than corrective, reasons is found in no. 3 in the violin and viola parts. At bar 71, Agricola has altered what was originally a single

quaver followed by two crotchet rests, still visible behind the overwritten notation, in order to preserve the trembling portato figuration of the previous bar, which then continues into bar 72 (**Figure 4.3**). The original idea for bar 71 was then apparently transferred to bar 73 to conclude the instrumental phrase there, but here the notation has likewise been erased and replaced with a whole bar rest. Following directly from the portato figuration, this has the more dramatic effect of suddenly reducing the texture to soprano and continuo for a single bar, emphasising the fragility of the ‘Schluchzen’ (‘sobs’) and creating a greater contrast with the entrance of *forte* winds on a diminished chord a bar later (**Figure 4.4**).



Figure 4.3: Agricola, *Wallet ihr Seelen*, no. 3, bars 70–72 (violins, viola, soprano, continuo).

Autograph, D-Bsa SA 183, fol. 11v (detail).



Figure 4.4: Agricola, *Wallet ihr Seelen*, no. 3, bars 73–74 (all parts). Autograph, D-Bsa SA 183, fol. 11v (detail).

Agricola's musical sensitivity to the profoundly emotional nature of the cantata's subject matter is evident throughout the work. The libretto, by Christian Gottlieb Lieberkühn, falls into two distinct sections of four movements each, both concluding with a chorale. As Schwinger observes, there are contrasting themes to the two parts: the first deals exclusively with mourning and melancholy, whilst the second is more concerned with ideas of heavenly comfort.²⁸⁷ The choice to conclude the first part with the chorale 'Es ist genug' (to the text 'Den heißen Gram'), famously set by J.S. Bach in

²⁸⁷ Schwinger 2012, 214.

O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort, BWV 60, is surely symbolic on multiple levels; the chorale's famous tritone interval, and its eventual resolution at the final cadence, may be seen both as representing the transition from extreme pain (the 'heißen Gram') into something more consolatory—thus, from the first to the second part of the cantata—and the crossing over of the soul into the afterlife.²⁸⁸ This idea of transition from grief to comfort is expanded upon, both textually and musically, in the following recitative (no. 5) that opens Part Two, which is essentially a prayer for Friedrich II and reflects on the notion of tears of pain becoming tears of joy. The music moves from B-flat major, passing through other keys (notably G minor) hinted at via angst-ridden seventh chords (often in inversion) before finally coming to rest in E-flat major—that is, the relative major of the key, C minor, that opened the work—in preparation for the following stately, typically *galant* aria, accompanied by duetting horns, about eyes being 'filled with delight' by the 'spirit of life and tranquillity'.²⁸⁹

Schwinger gives a cursory overview of some stylistic aspects of this cantata, observing certain features that may be extrapolated to form a picture of Agricola's overall *Kirchenstyl*. For example, he notes the homophonic choral texture in the opening chorus, which is very characteristic of Agricola's first movements (often against a more polyphonic orchestral background), and the alternation between Tutti and Solo parts.²⁹⁰ The varied and detailed instrumental writing, dynamics and articulation present in the first aria is characteristic of Agricola, as indeed is the fact

²⁸⁸ See the discussion of this figure in relation to BWV 60 in Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J.S. Bach*, trans. Richard D.P. Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 634.

²⁸⁹ Schwinger (2012, 214) erroneously suggests that this recitative moves from D minor to E-flat major.

²⁹⁰ Schwinger 2012, 214.

that the aria is scored for soprano. Most of Agricola's cantatas feature at least one extended soprano aria, often featuring long melismas and coloratura. Unsurprisingly, as the husband of one of the court's star sopranos, he seems to have had a particular penchant for writing for the soprano voice, and these arias were clearly intended as vehicles for Benedetta Agricola, who is often singled out for mention as a soloist in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* reports.²⁹¹

Transmitted alongside the autograph are three sets of copied materials that were presumably used in the original performance. Easiest to identify is a small *querformat* MS booklet (fols. 38r–48v), consisting of three gatherings of two nested bifolia each, bound together. This contains nos. 2, 3 and 6, that is, all the movements for solo soprano, so it follows this was the part used by Benedetta Agricola. In a similar fashion, the single *querformat* leaf (fol. 50) containing no. 5 would have been used by the bass soloist. Fols. 35–37 and fol. 51 (all on the recto only) contain copied-out single Soprano, Alto, Tenor and Bass parts respectively for no. 4, the chorale 'Den heiße Gram'. Other performance materials transmitted in the Singakademie Archive indicate that the choir for cantatas such as these consisted of about eight singers.²⁹² It is not unreasonable to assume that these chorale parts were shared between two singers per part. Given that they do not transmit the choruses, they may also have been used by additional singers employed to bolster the chorales, but it is not clear why

²⁹¹ The use of female singers in Berlin churches would be a useful topic for further study, offering possible comparisons with practices elsewhere (for example, in Hamburg earlier in the century, as documented by Mattheson).

²⁹² Schwinger 2012, 213–214.

they do not contain the final chorale (no. 8), which could have easily fit on the verso of each part. In any case, the other choral parts are clearly missing.

The most peculiar of the copied materials is found on fols. 23–34, which Schwinger calls a *Direktionsstimme*: a short score version of the cantata with all vocal parts but only the continuo line and one obbligato or primary melodic instrumental line present. Although such *Direktionsstimme* are not uncommon in sets of performing parts from Berlin in this period, this copy is also puzzlingly incomplete, and the order of the sixth and fifth movements are reversed, such that the no. 6 aria begins on the same page (fol. 31r) as the conclusion of no. 4, with the no. 5 recitative being located on a separate bifolium (fols. 33–34) that is otherwise blank. The final chorus, as well as both chorales, are missing entirely.²⁹³

There are a few differences between the *Direktionsstimme* and the autograph that cast some doubt on the textual reliability of the former. In no. 3, an alternative reading is present for bar 74 (discussed in relation to the autograph above): a quaver rest followed by a cue sign indicates for the violinist to play the same figuration, *portato*, on a repeated *c'*, rather than a whole bar of rest. Certainly, this is a more 'conventional' reading, but it is clearly not present in either the autograph or the soprano part (fol. 42v), nor is there a suggestion that it was once there but has been erased. Perhaps the copyist presumed an error and attempted to correct it by following the logic of the previous few bars. Similarly, the text booklet is useful because it reveals that eight verses of the chorale *Erscheine Tag, der meinen Geist* were sung by the

²⁹³ One may conjecture that the chorales could have been conducted from memory, but that does not explain the absence of the final chorus. Schwinger (2012, 211) erroneously states that the second aria—that is, no. 6—is missing as well, when in fact it is located on fol. 31r.

congregation (to the melody 'Ich bin ja Herr in deiner Macht') before the cantata was performed, which is not indicated in the autograph.²⁹⁴

As Agricola's only known funeral work, *Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut* stands out as a work of special expressivity, which makes the loss of the opening to its final chorus all the more regrettable. Nonetheless, in these otherwise carefully preserved materials, we are afforded a glimpse into one specific and emotionally charged moment in Berlin's musical life, a musical commemoration for a highly respected and much-loved figure. Without them, above all the autograph score, Agricola's moving contribution to the mourning of Sophia Dorothea would be lost to history.²⁹⁵

4.3. *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers, Ein schnelles Brausen* and the process of revision

The preservation of original performing materials alongside autograph scores, as seen in SA 183, is particularly characteristic of the Agricola sources Singakademie collection, and is not a pattern of transmission found with his autographs in other collections, where the performance materials are no longer extant. This makes the Singakademie sources all the more valuable for studying the interaction between the composer (as seen in the autographs) and his copyists, and the manner in which alternative readings in the parts can hint at the process of revision. One of the most spectacular discoveries to emerge from the Singakademie archive is a very large source (D-Bsa SA 44) containing an almost complete set of performing materials for the Easter

²⁹⁴ 'Wird von der Gemeinde mitgesungen, nach der Mel. Ich bin ja Herr | in deiner Macht xc.'. D-Bsa SA 183, fol. 52v.

²⁹⁵ A critical edition of *Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut* is presented in Volume 2 of this thesis.

Day cantata *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers* ('The Resurrection of the Redeemer'). This piece is described by Wucherpennig as a 'cantata for soli and choir', although the title page of the original text booklet refers to it as 'Ein musikalisches Gedicht'. This may be what prompted the editors of the catalogue of the Singakademie to refer to it as an oratorio, in line with *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, but the distinction is negligible. According to the *Berlinische Nachrichten*, the work was performed on Easter Day, 26 March 1758.²⁹⁶

As with SA 183, the materials in SA 44 can be divided into three groups: the autograph score (fols. 1–38), the original performance parts (fols. 39–204), and a copy of the original printed text booklet (fols. 205–206). All are enclosed in an outside cover wrapper, now in poor condition. The autograph itself is very well-preserved, although the top fore edge corner of the first folio has been neatly cut off, probably because it contained Agricola's signature.²⁹⁷ The performing parts transmitted with the autograph are a very complex set of materials. They are the work of several different scribes, most completely unidentified, and show that revisions were made to the work which may hint at a possible revival performance. The layout of the parts is as follows:

²⁹⁶ *Berlinische Nachrichten*, 25 March 1758, in Henzel 2004, 258.

²⁹⁷ Agricola characteristically signed his autographs 'von J. F. Agricola' in the top right-hand corner of the recto containing the first page of music.

Table 4.2: Contents of the original performing materials for *Die Auferstehung des****Erlösers, D-Bsa SA 44, fols. 39–204***

Folio(s)	Part	Scribe	Comments
fols. 39r–46v	<i>Direktionsstimme</i>	Four unidentified scribes	Choral + recitative score for Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
fols. 47r–61v + one unnum. fol.	Solo soprano	Unidentified Scribe A? Johann Friedrich Agricola (8, partial)	Nos. 3, 4, 8 and 9 only
fols. 62r–62v	Canto	Unidentified Scribe A	No title page, missing Nos. 6 and 7
fols. 63r–63v	Canto	Unidentified Scribe B	No title page
fols. 64r–64v	Canto	Unidentified Scribe B	No title page
fols. 65r–65v	Canto	Copyist Anon. Sing-Akademie 46	No title page, missing Nos. 6 and 10
fols. 66r–66v	Canto	Unidentified Scribe A?	No title page, Nos. 6 and 7
fols. 67r–67v	Alto	Unidentified Scribe A	No title page, missing Nos. 6 and 7
fols. 68r–68v	Alto	Unidentified Scribe B	No title page
fols. 69r–69v	Alto	Unidentified Scribe B	No title page
fols. 70r–70v	Alto	Copyist Anon. Sing-Akademie 46	No title page, missing Nos. 6 and 10
fols. 71r–71v	Alto	Unidentified Scribe A (5) and C (7)?	No title page, Nos. 5 and 7
fols. 72r–72v	Tenore	Unidentified Scribe A	No title page, missing Nos. 6 and 7
fols. 73r–73v	Tenore	Unidentified Scribe B	No title page
fols. 74r–74v	Tenore	Copyist Anon. Sing-Akademie 46	No title page, missing Nos. 6 and 10
fols. 75r–75v	Tenore	Unidentified Scribe C?	No title page, No. 7 only
fols. 76r–76v	Basso	Unidentified Scribe A	No title page, missing Nos. 6 and 7
fols. 77r–77v	Basso	Unidentified Scribe B	No title page
fols. 78r–78v	Basso	Copyist Anon. Sing-Akademie 46	No title page, missing Nos. 6 and 10
fols. 79–79v	Basso	Unidentified Scribe A?	No title page, Nos. 6 and 7

fols. 80r–90v	Violino Primo	Unidentified Scribe A (1, 5, 6, 7) Unidentified Scribe D (2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10)	
fols. 91r–100v	Violino Primo	Unidentified Scribe A	
fols. 101r–110v	Violino Secondo	Unidentified Scribe A	
fols. 111r–120v	Violino Secondo	Unidentified Scribe E	
fols. 121r–130v	Viola	Unidentified Scribe A	
fols. 131r–142v	Violoncello	Unidentified Scribe E	
fols. 143r–152v	Violon	Unidentified Scribe A	
fols. 153r–156v	Flauto primo	Unidentified Scribe A	
fols. 157r–160v	Flauto secondo	Unidentified Scribe A	
fols. 161r–166v	Hautbois primo	Unidentified Scribe A	One gathering only
fols. 167r–172v	Hautbois Secundo	Unidentified Scribe A	One gathering only
fols. 173r–178v	Fagotti	Unidentified Scribe A?	
fols. 179r–182v	Cornu 1mo	Unidentified Scribe A	
fols. 183r–186v	Cornu 2do	Unidentified Scribe A	
fols. 187r–188v	Clarino 1mo	Unidentified Scribe A	Single bifolium, no title page ²⁹⁸
fols. 189r–190v	Clarino 2do	Unidentified Scribe A	Single bifolium, no title page
fols. 191r–192v	Clarino 3tio	Unidentified Scribe A	Single bifolium, no title page
fols. 193–194v	Timpano	Unidentified Scribe A	Single bifolium, no title page
fols. 195r–204v	Basso: für di Orgel	Copyist C.H. Graun IV	

²⁹⁸ Regarding the layout of the bifolia of the trumpet and timpani parts, see the discussion in footnote 6 in the Critical Report to the edition in Volume 2 of this thesis.

Despite the bewildering lack of consistency in terms of the movement presentation across the vocal parts, there is nonetheless an internal consistency between the vocal parts copied out by each scribe that hints at some kind of systematic process of delegation and/or revision in the copying of the parts. The various anomalies seen in the vocal parts may be summarised as follows:

- (i) The omission of the first chorale and the chorus 'Harfe, Töne darein' (No. 7) in all copies by Scribe A;
- (ii) The lack of both chorales in copies by Copyist Anon. Sing-Akademie 46;
- (iii) The presence of one extra part in the hand of Scribe B for soprano and alto only;
- (iv) The inclusion of an extra part for each voice that contains No. 7, and, in the cases of the soprano and bass parts, No. 6;
- (v) In addition, it can be seen that in the parts by Scribe B and Copyist Anon. Sing-Akademie 46, the order of Nos. 7 and 8 are reversed.

How could these anomalies be accounted for? It is hardly conceivable that there was ever a version of the work in which chorales were absent, which suggests that the singers using the parts by Copyist Anon. Sing-Akademie 46 either sang from one of the other parts present, or that they used separate chorale parts that are no longer extant.²⁹⁹ There is, likewise, no suggestion from the paper types, palaeography or other markings in the autograph score that 'Harfe, Töne darein' was a later addition, but the loose structure of the autograph makes it difficult to determine the order of

²⁹⁹ Another possibility, which merits further investigation, is that Agricola may have drawn on standard chorale harmonisations from printed hymnals of the time, in which case the hymnals themselves may have sometimes been used by the singers.

composition of the movements. Therefore, one might speculate No. 7 was added last, and that the copies by Scribe A preceded those by the other scribes.

Further clues that suggest a possible revision process are provided by the *querformat* solo soprano part (fols. 47–61, and an unnumbered folio). This part includes not only the solo vocal parts for the soprano recitative and aria, Nos. 8 and 9, but also those for the earlier aria and recitative, Nos. 3 and 4, which in the autograph are scored for solo tenor. Although they are in the same keys as in the autograph, here they are presented in soprano clef (**Figure 4.5**), clearly indicating that—according to this part at least—they were meant to be sung by the soprano. There is no indication in the autograph at all that this should be the case. Even taking into account Agricola's obvious preference for composing soprano solo arias (as vehicles for his wife Benedetta), the allocation of Nos. 3 and 4 to soprano unbalances the distribution of soloists across the work, and lessens the symbolic impact of No. 9 (see below). Furthermore, from a textual point of view, it is unusual to have an aria about the Virgin Mary sung by a female.³⁰⁰ Is this, perhaps, a vocal part from a revival performance later than 1758 in which Agricola sanctioned the use of the soprano, perhaps because a tenor—maybe even Agricola himself—was not available?

The most striking evidence regarding revision in the solo soprano part is found in No. 8 (fol. 53v) at the very beginning of the soprano recitative. In the autograph, this recitative begins with the words 'Erhabner Held' ('Sublime hero', **Figure 4.6**), but in the part this has been crossed out and changed to 'Erstandner Held' ('Risen hero',

³⁰⁰ A contrast can perhaps be drawn here with cantata arias that deliberately use soprano to invoke the feelings of Mary in the first person, one example being 'Erfüllet, ihr himmlischen göttlichen Flammen' from J.S. Bach, *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*, BWV 1.

Andante.
1. Viol.: *adagio*!

2. Viol.: *f: p:*

Bratsch.: *f: p:*

Posron.: *f: p:*

Gründl.: *Erhabener Held, das ist die uns erlösete!*

f: p:

Figure 4.6: Agricola, *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers*, no. 8, bars 1–2. Autograph, D-Bsa SA 44, fol. 29r (detail).

Recit: *adagio*.

~~Erhabener~~ Held, das ich dich nie vergesse,
Erhabener

f: p:

Figure 4.7: Agricola, *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers*, no. 8, bars 1–2. Solo soprano part, D-Bsa SA 44, fol. 53v (detail), in the hand of an unidentified scribe (Scribe A?), with autograph correction.

Other differences between the autograph and the parts may help to shed light on this matter. In No. 4, the recitative 'Der ewge Hohenpriester', the parts (**Figure 4.8**) exhibit an alternative version of bar 14 to the autograph (**Figure 4.9**).



Figure 4.8: Agricola, *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers*, no. 4, bars 14–15. Violin II, D-Bsa SA 44, fol. 104v (detail).

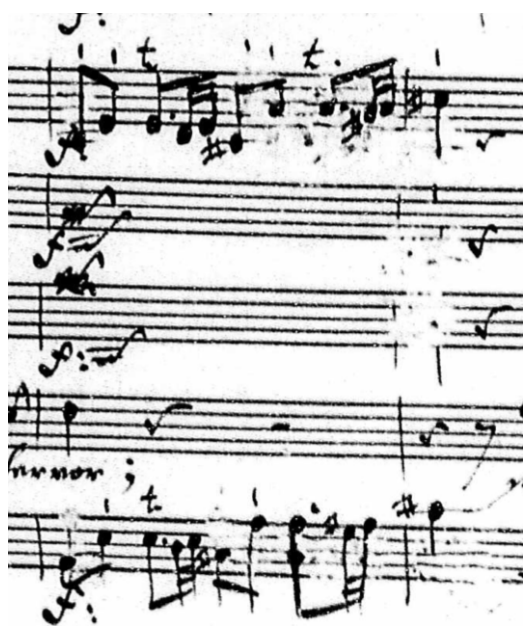


Figure 4.9: Agricola, *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers*, no. 4, bars 14–15. Autograph, D-Bsa SA 44, fol. 19r (detail).

Here, the autograph clearly shows evidence of erasures, which suggests it has been subject to revision. By matching the placement of the erasures to the readings in the parts, it becomes obvious that the parts present a rejected earlier version that was once

also present in the autograph, but subsequently erased and revised (interestingly, this revision was not carried over to an analogous passage in bar 20). This casts serious doubt on the idea that the autograph represents an earlier form of the work from either 1758 or before, and the parts a *Fassung letzter Hand*, because here quite clearly the reverse is true. It seems much more likely that the differences present between the autograph and the sets of parts are the result of a continuous dialogue between the two sets of materials, and thus between Agricola and his copyists, in the process of composition, copying and performance in the lead-up to the work's premiere in 1758.

Although the original manuscripts materials in SA 44 constitute the most important source for this work, it is also transmitted in one other source, D-OLH Mus.arch.A 1:1. This source likewise consists of a full score copy and a set of parts, although the latter is incomplete, transmitting only ten parts (vocal parts, strings and oboes). Both the full score and parts are in the hand of Carl Gottlieb Käßner (fl. 1790–1810) and certainly date from after Agricola's death. Curiously, the title of the work has been changed to *Der auferstandene Jesus*, and contains two extra chorales not found in the Berlin materials, inserted between Nos. 3 and 4. The first, 'Durch seiner Auferstehung Kraft', has been crossed out, and below it another chorale, 'Seid getrost und hoch erfreut', has been notated. Käßner most likely copied his score and parts from the autograph score in Berlin, as his manuscripts transmit both the tenor version of Nos. 3 and 4 and the original wording ('Erhabner Held') in No. 8. It is tempting to consider that Käßner was copying from a manuscript, no longer extant, of an early version of the work in which these features and extra chorales were present, which might explain some of the anomalies found in the SA 44 parts, but given that one of

the chorales is crossed out it seems more likely that Käßner was simply adapting this piece to his own needs.

There are many musical highlights in this beautiful cantata, but the jewel of *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers* is unquestionably the soprano aria (no. 9, 'Steigt Engel, steigt Freunde der Edeln hernieder'). This is a long, virtuosic movement that is grounded in an operatic *galant* style. It marks a return to the full festive orchestration of the opening chorus and the work's home key, featuring pairs of trumpets (the third trumpet is never used in solo passages) and horns in *solo-tutti* dialogue with each other, and the rest of the orchestra, which is itself in dialogue with the soprano. All the hallmarks of Agricola's coloratura soprano writing are on full display, with long melismatic lines featuring acrobatic triplets and arpeggios, often soaring to heights reserved especially for these passages. The deployment of these musical features is all the more appropriate here given the subject of the text, which asks the angels to lend their songs of splendour ('kommt, leiht uns die Psalmen eurer Pracht'). The operatic quality of the vocal writing—once again, clearly tailored for the talents of Agricola's wife, Benedetta—is also particularly evident from the pauses that are written into the music, allowing time for ornamentation and small cadenzas. This occurs not just at the end of long phrases but, most strikingly, in bars 67 and 198, halfway through the A section, at the beginning of a new phrase in the dominant that follows an orchestral ritornello. Here, on the word 'Engel', the soprano pauses, unaccompanied, on a high A, before dropping to the A an octave below; Agricola then notates a second pause on a rest, before both orchestra and soprano resume, in time (**Figure 4.10**). This brief but magical moment not only provides the soprano with the opportunity for elaborate embellishments but also word-paints the image of an angel descending to Earth, as

depicted in the full line of text ('Engel, Freunde der Edeln, die Jesus euch einst ähnlich macht, steigt hernieder'). The whole aria is imbued with a festive, radiant quality that serves as a fitting climax to the work before the final chorale.

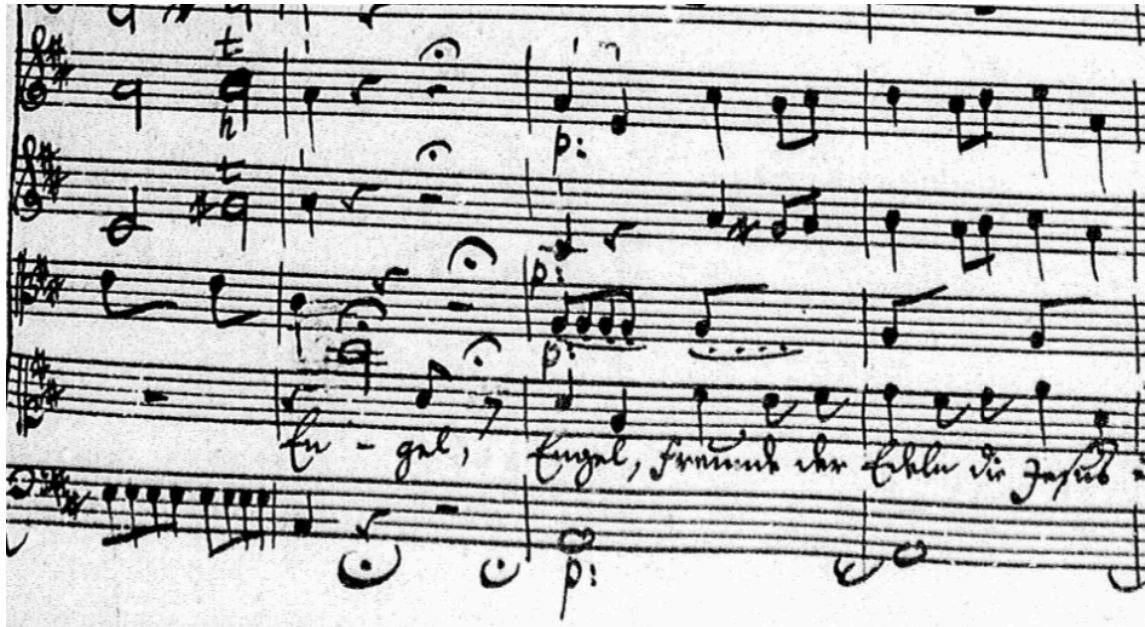


Figure 4.10: Agricola, *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers*, no. 9, bars 66–69. Autograph, D-Bsa SA 44, fol. 33r (detail).

The Whitsun cantata *Ein schnelles Brausen bewegt die Lüfte* ('A swift roar moves the air') also offers evidence of how a set of parts for a cantata such as this was created. It is transmitted in the Singakademie archive across two shelfmarks, D-Bsa SA 185 and SA 186. In reality, however, these are not two different sets of materials, but one, just as for SA 183 and SA 44, and as **Table 4.3** shows.

Table 4.3: Contents of the original source materials for *Ein schnelles Brausen****bewegte die Lüfte, D-Bsa SA 185 and 186***

Shelfmark	Folios	Contents	Scribe	Paper
SA 185	1r-40v	Complete autograph score	Johann Friedrich Agricola	
SA 185	41r-44r (44v blank)	Soprano, chorus	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 14	With wrapper
SA 185	45r-46v	Soprano, chorus (no chorales)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 185	47r-48v	Soprano, chorus (no chorales)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 185	49r-52v	Alto, chorus	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 14	With wrapper
SA 185	53r-54v	Alto, chorus (no chorales)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 185	55r-56v	Alto, chorus (no chorales)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 185	57r-59v	Tenor, chorus	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 14	Front folio of wrapper missing
SA 185	60r-61v	Tenor, chorus (no chorales)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 185	62r-63v	Tenor, chorus (no chorales)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 185	64r-66v	Bass, chorus	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 14	Front folio of wrapper missing
SA 185	67r-68v	Bass, chorus (no chorales)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 185	69r-70v	Bass, chorus (no chorales)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 185	71r-78v	Violin I	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 18	
SA 185	79r-86v	Violin I	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	87r-94v	Violin II	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	95r-102v	Violin II		
SA 185	103r-110v	Viola	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 18	
SA 185	111r-118v	Violoncello	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 18	

SA 185	119r-126v	Violoncello	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	127r (127v blank)	Flute I	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	128r (128v blank)	Flute II	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	129r-133v	Oboe I	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	134r-137v; 138r-138v	Oboe II	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	139r-144v	Bassoon	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	145r-146v	Trumpet I	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	147r-148v	Trumpet II	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	149r-150v	Trumpet III	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	151r-152v	Timpani	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	153r-153v	Alto trombone	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	154r-154v	Alto trombone	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	155r-156v	Tenor trombone	Unknown Berlin copyist	
SA 185	157r-158v	Tenor trombone	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 185	159r-159v	Bass trombone	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 185	160r-168v	Organ (figured)	Unknown Berlin Copyist	
SA 186	1r-16v	Solo soprano (Nos. 3 and 7)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 14	
SA 186	17r (17v blank)	Solo alto (No. 6)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 186	18r (18v blank)	Solo bass (No. 3)	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15	
SA 186	19r-26v	Choral score	Copyist Anon. Singakademie 14	

As with *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers*, the autograph score is preserved in its original state, consisting of 20 bifolia neatly stitched together. Unusually for Agricola, the date of composition appears to be recorded on the first page (fol. 1r); there is no logical alternative explanation for the prominent '59' in his hand in the top right-hand corner. No watermarks have been identified in the manuscript, but the use of *Kurrentschrift* and German titles for the instrumentation, in addition to 3-form C-clefs (see Chapter 3) support this dating. There is nothing in the press reports of the time to contradict this; indeed, the preview report for Whitsun of that year (3 June) refers to a piece of 'completely new and special music for the first holy day of Pentecost'.³⁰¹

Even for a festive work, the instrumentation for this cantata is unusually rich, with an expanded brass section of three trumpets as well as alto, tenor and bass trombones. The cantata is in twelve movements, consisting of a virtuosic opening chorus in D major (no. 1) that is immediately followed by an expressive choral *Andante* in the relative minor (no. 2), in which solo soprano and tenor and solo alto and bass are respectively paired as two sets of duet partners, alternating with each other and with *Tutti* choir. The autograph here is particularly revealing about the composition of the continuo group, as it contains specific instructions showing how the continuo instruments are to be divided according to which solo duet group is singing. These indicate that the continuo group consisted of organ, violoncello, violone and bassoon, and operated according to the general principles that also governed continuo playing in Dresden, whereby the violone and bassoon were not heard unless the bass was

³⁰¹ '...eine ganz neue und besondere Musick auf den ersten Heiligen Pfingst-Tag'. *Berlinische Nachrichten*, 31 May 1759, in Henzel 2004, 259.

singing (here, the violone is specifically marked not to play at all in the solo passages), the violoncello was only heard if the tenor was singing, and the organ remained constant throughout.³⁰²

Agricola's sense of the dramatic is never far away, and the second movement and the following chorale are separated by a short orchestral interlude (no. 3). It is only after the chorale (no. 4, appropriately for Whitsun, *Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*) that the first recitative (no. 5), sung by the bass, appears. This is followed by a lilting *galant* 6/8 E-minor aria ('Mein schmachtend Herz', no. 6) for soprano that unexpectedly features a driving B section, before another chorale (to the melody *Helft mir Gotts Güte preisen*, no. 7). An *accompagnato* recitative for alto (no. 8) precedes the second aria (no. 9), also for soprano, which, like the first, has a contrasting fast B section in duple time. Following another brief recitative (no. 10), for bass, Agricola presents a final chorus, in two sections—a majestic 3/2 opening, followed by an intricate fugue that again displays clear evidence of Dresden influences (see Chapter 5).

Table 4.3 shows that there seems to have been a clear hierarchy amongst the Berlin copyists tasked with producing the performing parts for such a work. For each choral part there is one complete copy in the hand of a 'head' copyist, in this case Copyist Anon. Singakademie 14, which contains all choral sections including the

³⁰² This is unsurprising, given the fact that many of the orchestral musicians for Petrikirche performances were drawn directly from the Berlin *Hofkapelle*, which—as discussed in Chapter 2—was closely modelled on that of Dresden. Regarding Dresden continuo practices, see Thomas Kohlhase, 'Anmerkungen zur Generalbaßpraxis der Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik der 1720er bis 1740er Jahre', in Thomas Kohlhase (ed.), *Zelenka-Studien I: Referate der Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745)*, Marburg, J.-G.-Herder-Institut, 16.-20. November 1991 (= Musik des Ostens 14) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993), 233–240. As in Dresden, the violone would doubtless have entered again in the choral *Tutti* sections, although this is not marked.

chorales. These parts are on a thin paper that exhibits a watermark of a striding (passant) stag, with no countermark, and all four have a wrapper. There are also two additional copies per choral part in the hand of Copyist Anon. Singakademie 15, but none of these contain chorales, which were presumably sung from other copies. The carefully preserved performance materials for both *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers* and *Ein schnelles Brausen* therefore provide important insights into the relationship between autograph score and parts for these works, but also Agricola's relationship with his copyists and the manner in which revisions were carried out.

4.4. Telemann, Rolle or Agricola? Two problematic cases of attribution

Preliminary studies of sources in the Singakademie collection associated with Agricola also raise intriguing new questions of attribution, potentially allowing us to reassess the extent of his sacred *oeuvre* beyond those works that bear his name. Several lists of Agricola's works refer to a mysterious piece known as *Einführungsmusik*, a sacred cantata that was composed for the inauguration of Dietrich Wilhelm Abraham Teller (1734–1804) as 'Königl. Oberconsistorialrat und Probst an die Petrikirche'.³⁰³ This piece is transmitted in the source D-Bsa SA 694 and turns out to be a work entitled *Unsre Seele harret auf den Herrn*, one almost identical with a cantata attributed to Johann Heinrich Rolle (WacR V:101) and transmitted in another Berlin manuscript, D-B Mus.ms. 18745. Only the three recitatives in SA 694 differ from those in Mus.ms. 18745: two are entirely different in musical content and text form each other, and the last is

³⁰³ Wucherpennig 1922, 102–103.

missing from the latter manuscript altogether. It is the recitatives in SA 694 that are in Agricola's hand, along with a witty note: 'Herr Copyist is asked to soil the score of the church piece as little as possible.'³⁰⁴

RISM suggests that either the entire work is by Agricola and misattributed to Rolle, or that Agricola decided to add new recitatives to Rolle's pre-existing cantata. It is the latter hypothesis that Schwinger favours, and which indeed seems the most likely, given the fact that the recitatives were clearly added separately and the rest of the score is not in Agricola's hand.³⁰⁵ The note to the copyist may also suggest that Agricola had obtained a precious copy of the score elsewhere for his collection, and so was particularly concerned that the copyist should not damage it (one is left to think perhaps he had fallen foul of his copyist colleagues in this respect too many times before!). Thus, it seems entirely reasonable to treat only the recitatives of this cantata as authentic, and consign the *Einführungsmusik* as a whole to the category of works of doubtful authenticity (see Volume 3 of this thesis).

Another Singakademie source that has attracted particular attention is D-Bsa SA 567, a full score manuscript in Agricola's hand of a cantata that is transmitted in an incomplete state. This is a setting of the Easter cantata text *Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket* by Leonhard Cochius, which was set by C.P.E. Bach in 1756 (Wq. 244).³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ 'Der Herr Kopist wird gebeten, die Partitur des Kirchenstücks so wenig als möglich zu beschmutzen.' See Schwinger 2012, 209–210, where a facsimile of this page is also presented.

³⁰⁵ Schwinger 2012, 209.

³⁰⁶ Regarding Cochius and the history of the text, see Peter Wollny, 'C.P.E. Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann und die Osterkantate "Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket" Wq 244', in *Er ist der Vater, wir sind die Bub'n: Essays in Honor of Christoph Wolff*, ed. Paul Corneilson and Peter Wollny (Ann Arbor: Steglein Publishing, 2010), 78–94, at 79–85.

SA 567 does not transmit Bach's setting, but one by another composer who is not identified in the source; in both the official Singakademie catalogue and RISM, however, the cantata is attributed to Telemann. This attribution is not made on the basis of any direct textual evidence or analysis of SA 567, but rather in association with a separate attribution made in 1942 by the musicologist Werner Menke. He identified a printed text booklet which revealed a cantata with this text was heard on two Sundays in 1756 in Hamburg churches, under the direction of Telemann.³⁰⁷ Menke, who was apparently not aware of C.P.E. Bach's setting of this text, thus assumed *Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket* was a lost cantata by Telemann, known only from its printed text, and it was subsequently incorporated into his thematic catalogue of Telemann's vocal works (the TVWV) under the number 1:651.³⁰⁸ The authors of the Singakademie catalogue thus suggested that SA 567 was a score copy by Agricola of the long-missing Telemann setting.

This attribution has recently been questioned in detail by Peter Wollny, who presents compelling evidence that the work is in fact by Agricola. Wollny compares C.P.E. Bach's setting with the that of the Hamburg text booklet, noting the significantly expanded but nonetheless similar structure of the latter to the former, and that there is certainly plausible evidence to suggest that Telemann could have composed a parallel setting with Bach, as he had in fact done with Graun in just the previous year with Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*.³⁰⁹ However, as Wollny observes, the fact that, unlike *Der*

³⁰⁷ Werner Menke, *Das Vokalwerke Georg Philipp Telemanns: Überlieferung und Zeitfolge* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1942), 25–28, 70.

³⁰⁸ Wollny, 'C.P.E. Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann und die Osterkantate', 87.

³⁰⁹ Wollny, 'C.P.E. Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann und die Osterkantate', 87.

Tod Jesu, there are no references whatsoever in either the Berlin press or literary writings to a cantata by Telemann on a Berlin text—a subject that would normally have created great interest—is cause for suspicion.³¹⁰

Table 4.4: Comparison of the structure of SA 567 with the Hamburg libretto of

Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket

SA 567	Hamburg libretto
-	Chorus: Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket
-	Chorale: Jesus, der mein Heiland, lebt
Recitative (Bass): So wird mein Heiland nun erhöht	Recitative: So wird mein Heiland nun erhöht
Aria (Soprano): Des Todes Macht hält dich vergebens	Aria: Dir sing ich froh, erstandner Fürst des Lebens
-	Chorale: Weil du vom Tod erstanden bist
Recitative – Arioso – Recitative (Tenor, Soprano): Auch ich soll, Jesus, mit der leben	Recitative: So sei nun, Seele, sei erfreut
Aria (Soprano): Wie freudig seh ich dir entgegen (Version 1, with orchestra) Aria (Soprano): Wie freudig seh ich dir entgegen (Version 2, with organ and violin only)	Aria: Wie freudig seh ich dir entgegen
-	Chorale: So fahr ich hin zu Jesu Christ

³¹⁰ 'Doch gerade hier tut sich ein Problem auf. Sollte man nicht meinen, dass eine Telemannsche Vertonung einer repräsentativen Berliner Kantatendichtung in den Kreisen der Berliner Musiker und Musikliebhaber auf lebhaftes Interesse gestoßen wäre? Und wäre nicht zu erwarten, dass sich dieses Interesse in noch heute nachweisbaren Abschriften niedergeschlagen hätte?' Wollny, 'C.P.E. Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann und die Osterkantate', 87.

As **Table 4.4** shows, SA 567 presents the cantata in four movements, with the last given in two versions. In this work, as Wollny notes, we see features typical of Agricola's style, and of his autograph scores. Both solo arias are coloratura, operatic-style movements scored for soprano, entirely fitting with the characteristics of solo arias observed in Agricola's other cantatas. The work also features opulent scoring, making use of three trumpets, timpani and two horns, along with an elaborate obbligato organ part (**Figure 4.11**), a feature atypical of Telemann but something that Agricola exhibits a preference for in his own cantatas (e.g. *Kündlich groß*) and his copies of cantatas by other composers (see Chapter 5).³¹¹

Most importantly, the source exhibits significant revisions and reworkings that are typical of an autograph, not a fair copy of another work. From a detailed analysis of the physical structure of the source, Wollny has established that the score was originally composed of separate fascicles that later had to be pieced together by the Singakademie, and ascertained from this evidence that at least one layer of the score is missing, including much of the first aria. However, he also contends—reasonably, in my view—that the score is actually unfinished, as evidenced by its several blank pages, and the two versions of the aria 'Wie freudig seh ich dir entgegen'. Wollny suggests that the opening chorus may never have actually been composed, and—based on its 'IFS' watermark (see Chapters 3 and 5)—that this is a torso of a very late unfinished work (possibly even the year of Agricola's death, 1774).³¹² If so, this is

³¹¹ Wollny, 'C.P.E. Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann und die Osterkantate', 88–89.

³¹² Wollny, 'C.P.E. Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann und die Osterkantate', 89.

remarkable evidence not only of an additional sacred work that can be justly authenticated, but one that can be dated to Agricola's last years.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for an aria. The title "Aria" is written at the top left. Below it, the instruments and voices are listed: Flute (Flöte), Violino 1, Violino 2, Viola, Bassi, Soprano, and Organo concertato. The score is written in a single system with multiple staves. The time signature is common time (C). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The tempo marking "andante" is written below the organ part. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs. A circular stamp is visible on the right side of the page.

Figure 4.11. Agricola, *Gott hat den Herrn Auferwecket*, no. 4 (first version), bars 1–7. Autograph, D-Bsa SA 567.

4.5. A new discovery: *Vom Thron des Ewgen*

For an archive containing over five thousand individual sources of music, it is hardly surprising there are a number of works in the Singakademie collection that are labelled as anonymous. As the identification of *Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket* has shown, it is sometimes possible to recover a work that has been misattributed, but identifications of anonymous works are more challenging. The difficulties are compounded by the fact that, as we have seen, several of the Singakademie sources are unique to the collection, and therefore other libraries do not possess copies that can aid attribution. However, just occasionally it does become possible to make a definitive identification that sheds new light on one or multiple sources—sometimes in a most startling manner.

Of the sacred works Agricola composed for Easter Day, only *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* and *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers*—the latter considered lost for much of the twentieth century—were recognised by Wucherpfennig and most subsequent researchers as authentic Agricola works. *Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket* can now be added to this list, although it may never have been performed. A further Easter cantata, *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* ('The Godman rejoices') is mentioned in MGG's worklist, although there it is erroneously identified as a Passover (rather than Paschal) composition.³¹³ However, this piece is known only from a full score copy and a set of

³¹³ Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Agricola, Johann Friedrich', *MGG Online* (accessed 4 January 2021). This cantata has recently been recorded, along with *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers* and another work, *Frohlocket und Preiset den Göttlichen Held*, by the Dresden composer Gottfried August Homilius (1714–1785). See

manuscript parts dating from the late eighteenth century, located in the Ratzeburg Domarchiv.³¹⁴ It is a parody of, or less likely a parody model for, the cantata *Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt*, and may be inauthentic (see below). Of course, it has always been entirely plausible that Agricola wrote more sacred cantatas for the Petrikirche, but in the absence of any kind of stylistic or documentary evidence, their existence has necessarily remained speculative.

Located right next to the source materials for *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers* in the sequence of Singakademie signatures, bearing the shelfmark D-Bsa SA 45, is a source for an anonymous Easter cantata entitled *Vom Thron des Ewgen* ('From the Throne of Eternity').³¹⁵ The source consists of twenty-five manuscript parts for SATB choir and orchestra; the solo vocal parts are missing. On the cover wrapper, Zelter's student (and successor as director of the Singakademie) Carl Friedrich Rungenhagen (1778–1851) has noted the work as anonymous, followed by a title from Zelter which reads *Auferstehung | alle Stimmen ohne | die Solostimmen | u. | ohne Partitur* ('Resurrection [music], all parts, without the solo parts and without full score'). Below this, Rungenhagen has written *die Part. | findet sich hiebey unter } No 1330* ('the full score can be found under No 1330'). This indicates that a full score did once exist for this

Johann Friedrich Agricola & Gottfried August Homilius, *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers: Easter Cantatas*, Kölner Akademie/Michael Alexander Willens, Cpo, 2020.

³¹⁴ The attribution to Agricola comes from the title page, which reads *Festo Paschatos | del | Agricola*. RISM dates both the full score copy and manuscript parts as from between 1790 and 1799, but this dating probably requires further refinement. See RISM, Agricola, Johann Friedrich: *Der Gottmensch jauchzt*, <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=450005615&View=rism> (accessed 4 January 2021).

³¹⁵ Unfortunately, I was unable to examine SA 45 in person, and it has not been digitised, so the information here is reliant on that given in RISM. See RISM, *Anonymus: Vom Thron des Ewgen*, <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=469004500&View=rism> (accessed 4 January 2021).

work, but it is not clear what 'No 1330' refers to in the obsolete cataloguing system that Rungenhagen was using. In any case, it cannot have provided useful information about the composer's identity, and it had presumably gone missing by the time Poelchau came to catalogue the Singakademie collection: there is no record of it being given a Zelter-Catalogue (ZC) number like SA 45 (which was given the ZC number 303), and it does not appear in Poelchau's inventory. As a result, the work is transmitted in the Singakademie archive solely via the set of parts. Nothing else whatever about the provenance of this work was known and, aside from catalogue entries, it has received almost no attention in the scholarly literature.³¹⁶

In the course of my archival research for this thesis, I came across the manuscript of a completely unknown composition by Agricola in the large collection of music formerly belonging to St. Michael's College, Tenbury, now held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Bearing the shelfmark GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313, it is one of two Agricola sources in the Tenbury Collection, the other being a copy of Zelenka's *Missa Paschalis*, ZWV 7, which I identified in 2016 (see Chapter 5). Neither of these sources appear on RISM and have only been formally described as part of the Collection's catalogue, much of which is now out of date.³¹⁷

³¹⁶ Rather ironically, the source is listed by Schwinger (2012, 217) in a table of Singakademie manuscripts in the hand of Copyist Anon. Sing-Akademie 18 (see note 204 below).

³¹⁷ Edmund H. Fellowes, *The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury* (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1934). The catalogue was updated with additions and corrections by Watkins Shaw in 1981, and has recently been published online, incorporating some further updates, by the Bodleian Libraries. See 'Music Manuscripts from the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury Wells', Bodleian Archives and Manuscripts, <https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/4976>, accessed 10 December 2020. Regarding MS Tenbury 1313, see https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/150495.

The wrapper of MS Tenbury 1313, which was clearly added in England, reads: *Music | for | Good Friday | and | Easter Day | composed by | Johann Frederic | Agricola | – | Full Score | the | Original MS (Figure 4.12)*. It holds the autograph score for a vocal work, characteristically headed by Agricola himself, in the manner of his other cantatas, *Auf den 1. heil: Ostertag. von J.F. Agricola (Figure 4.13)*; there is no indication that the source ever actually contained corresponding music written for Good Friday. On examining this manuscript, it became clear that in instrumentation and musical content, this work exactly matches the Berlin source SA 45. The composer of *Vom Thron des Ewgen* can thus be identified unquestionably as Agricola, and this source as the long-missing full score for this work, a find made doubly valuable by the fact that it is the original autograph.

There are several pieces of evidence that attest to the close relationship between the Tenbury autograph and the Berlin parts. The parts are in the hands of three anonymous Berlin copyists, J. Theile I, Anon. Sing-Akademie 18, and another Berlin copyist that has not yet been profiled.³¹⁸ Copyist Anon. Sing-Akademie 18 is found in three other sets of original performing materials for Agricola cantatas: SA 183, SA 185 and SA 694.³¹⁹ Copyist J. Theile I does not appear in any of these, but is found alongside Agricola's own hand in SA 92 (a copy of Hasse's *La caduta di Gerico*), as well as SA 2615, a set of materials comprising a full score and performing parts for the C.P.E. Bach

³¹⁸ RISM notes this hand as 'Copyist of Berlin'; in reality, this is a designation that is applied to several different anonymous copyists assumed to be from Berlin that have not been profiled.

³¹⁹ Schwinger 2012, 217. This copyist's hand is also found in Singakademie sources for music by other composers that was performed at the Petrikerche, including SA 121 (Gottfried August Homilius, *Nun ihr meine Augenlider*, HoWV I.9), SA 244 (C.P.E. Bach, *Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket*, Wq. 244) and SA 275 (Johann Ludwig Bach, *Kommet es ist alles bereit*).

Keyboard Concerto in B-flat major, Wq. 10.³²⁰ In all these cases, the transmitted materials constitute the original performance parts, and none of these hands are found in copies of Berlin parts for substantially later performances of such works (if they exist at all). It is, therefore, not at all unreasonable to surmise that the Berlin parts are contemporaneous to the autograph score and constitute the original performing material for the work.

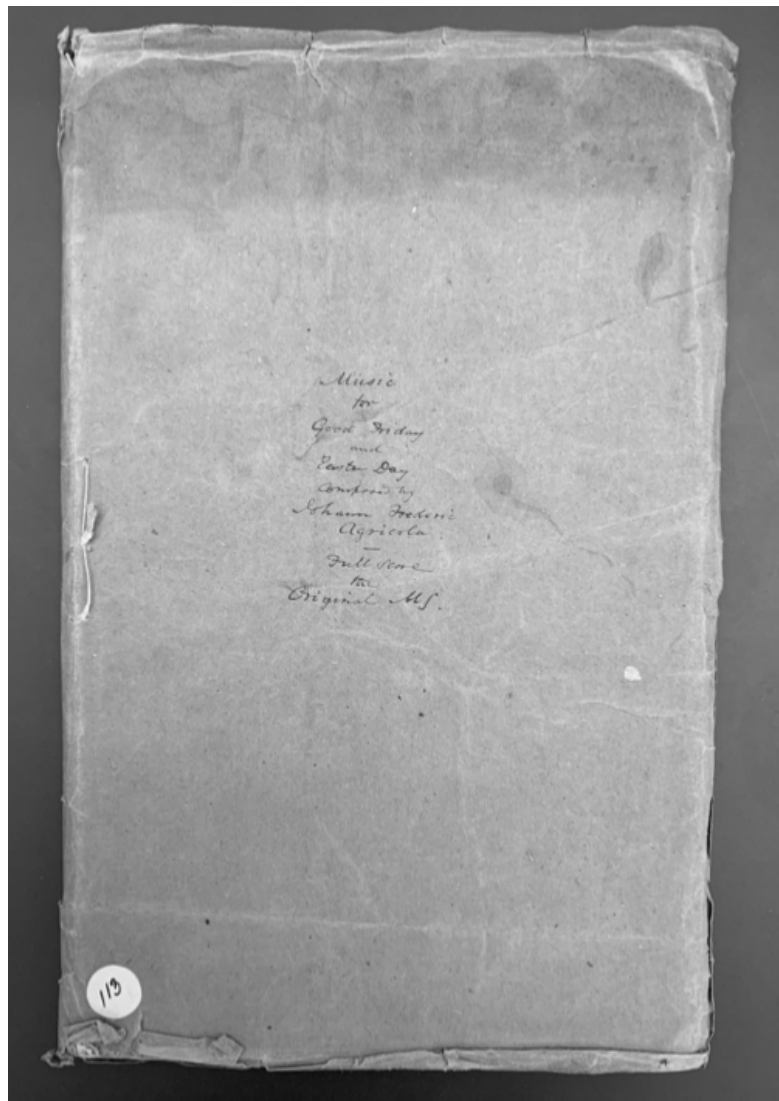


Figure 4.12. Agricola, *Vom Thron des Ewgen*, autograph, title wrapper, GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313.

³²⁰ In this source, Agricola has copied the full score and J. Theile I has copied the performing parts, hinting at a copying hierarchy that will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

The image shows a page of a handwritten musical score. At the top, there is a title in German: "Agricultura 1. Suite in der Tag." followed by the name "von J. S. Agricola". The score is arranged in staves for various instruments: Tromba 1, Tromba 2, Timbali, 2 Corni, Flauto tr. 1, Flauto tr. 2, 2 Oboè, Violino 1, Violino 2, Viola, and Organo. The notation includes clefs, time signatures, and musical notes. The paper is aged and yellowed, with some creases and discoloration. The score is written in a historical style, likely from the 17th or 18th century.

Figure 4.13. Agricola, *Vom Thron des Ewgen*, no. 1, bars 1–6. Autograph, GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313.

The physical attributes of the paper used in SA 45 also support this hypothesis. Most of the Berlin parts in the sources named above are written on paper measuring approximately 35–37 x 21–22 cm; this is entirely consistent with SA 45, the leaves of

which measure 37 x 22 cm exactly. There are two visible watermarks: (1) a large crowned monogram FR, with a countermark of a six-pointed star; and (2) a double-lined R, with the countermark 'ICM' in a *schrifttafel*. Both of these are Berlin watermarks found in copyist manuscripts from the 1750s and 1760s. (1) appears in several Singakademie sources, all for works by Berlin School composers, including SA 1379, which contains copies of arias from Agricola's *Achille in Scirio*.³²¹ (2) is less common, although the 'ICM' mark appears very frequently in other combinations, and is found in a more eclectic array of sources. Again, though, these are all authentic Berlin materials that definitively or conjecturally date to no later than 1765.³²²

Two watermarks are also visible in MS Tenbury 1313: the name GRISEL, and below that, extending across the middle of the sheet, BERLIN | CAMMERPAPPIER (**Figure 4.14**, see also reference watermark **Figure 4.15**), with a countermark consisting of a crowned coat of arms (**Figure 4.16**, see also reference watermark **Figure 4.17**). Neither of these watermarks have been previously identified in a manuscript in Agricola's hand. However, they are found in sixteen different Berlin manuscripts contemporaneous with Agricola, the majority of which are in the Berlin Singakademie archive or the Königliche Bibliothek, mostly of pieces by J.S. Bach, the Graun brothers and Telemann.

³²¹ The FR monogram itself occurs extremely frequently in Berlin manuscripts of this period, but with other countermarks (or sometimes without one), and in several different variations; the six-pointed star is often found with a 'W' countermark. Another common, closely-related variation is the FR monogram with an eight-pointed star.

³²² These sources include, amongst others, a Berlin copy of J.S. Bach's Peasant Cantata *Mer hahn en neue Oberkeet*, BWV 212, in the hand of Johann Friedrich Hering, D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 168, which contains annotations by Zelter, thus indicating its former ownership by the Singakademie and the close connection between that archive and the Königliche Bibliothek. See NBA I/39 KB, 113ff.

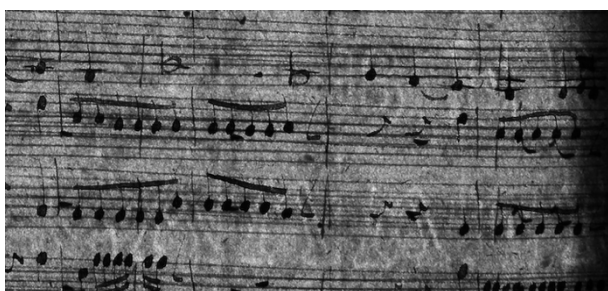
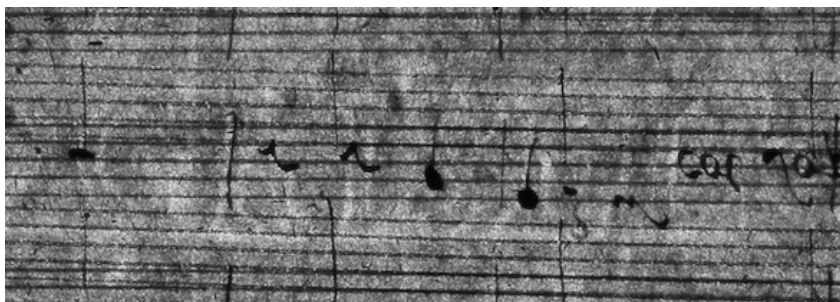


Figure 4.14. Watermarks in GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313: (top) p. 91, 'GRISEL'; (bottom left and right) pp. 91 & 90, 'BERLIN | CAMMERPAPPIER'. The lower watermark extends across the sheet, although the first 'P' is lost in the gutter of the MS. Images courtesy of Andrew Honey, Bodleian Library, Oxford

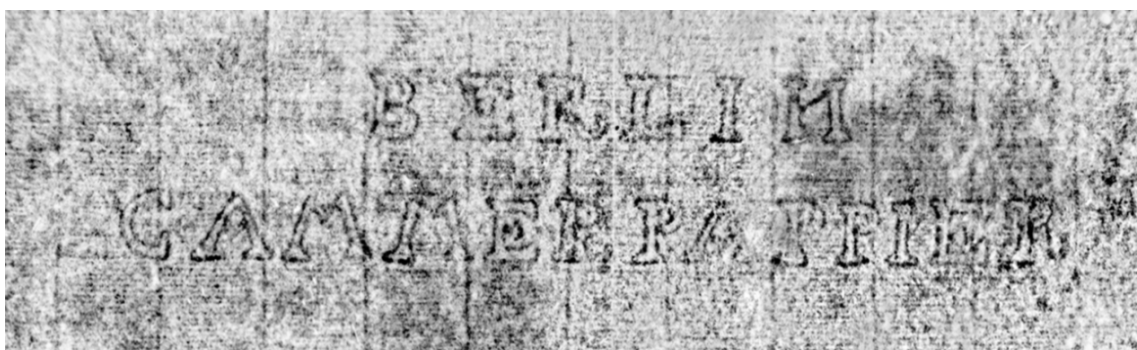
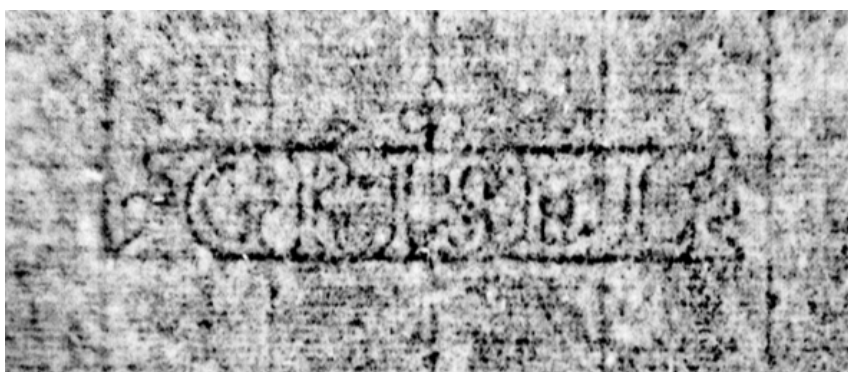


Figure 4.15. Reference watermarks for Figure 4.15, D-Bsa SA 3262, fols. 24r & 25v. Images courtesy of Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem (<https://wasserzeichen-online.de>)

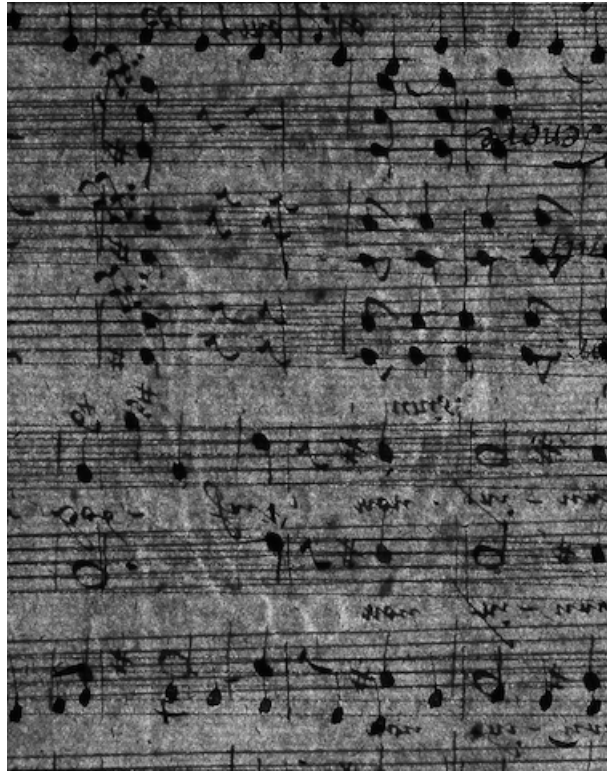


Figure 4.16. Countermark in GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313, p. 91: small crowned coat of arms (*kleines Wappen*). Image courtesy of Andrew Honey, Bodleian Library, Oxford



Figure 4.17. Reference countermark for Figure 4.16, D-Bsa SA 3262, fol. 24r. Image courtesy of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem (<https://wasserzeichen-online.de>)

The history of the two individual sources after their use in the first performance is less clearly defined. It seems safe to assume that neither Zelter nor Rungenhagen ever sighted the autograph, because otherwise they would have known the identity of the work's composer (the possibility that they did see it and for some reason rejected the authorship of the work is, surely, too fanciful to consider). This suggests that the autograph must have been separated from the parts at an early stage, possibly at the end of the eighteenth century or at the start of the nineteenth century. Exactly where Rungenhagen obtained his information that the full score was kept separately, implying that it was still in Berlin at the time, is unclear.

According to the Tenbury Collection catalogue, the autograph score of *Vom Thron des Ewgen* formerly belonged to Joseph Warren (1804–1881), an extremely rich and voracious collector of music with a huge library, the best parts of which were purchased by Ouseley in 1872 after Warren fell on hard times.³²³ Exactly how Warren obtained the manuscript is unknown: it may have been via auction, or through a third party who brought the manuscript to Britain, but it is unlikely that Warren acquired it through private means directly from Berlin. In the absence of other evidence, the history of the autograph between its disappearance from the Singakademie collection and its acquisition by Warren sometime in the mid-nineteenth century remains a mystery.

Compared to many of Agricola's other festive cantatas, *Vom Thron des Ewgen* stands out as an unusually lavish and expansive work. The autograph score is 104

³²³ Arthur Searle, 'Julian Marshall and the British Museum: Music Collecting in the Later Nineteenth Century', *British Library Journal* (1985): 67–87, at 73.

pages long, in contrast to the 76 pages (38 folios) of *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers*, with which it shares the same instrumentation. Although the work contains only eight movements, they are notable for their length and complexity, and several are subdivided into sections featuring complex tutti-solo choral writing, elaborate orchestral ritornelli and interludes and sharply contrasting shifts of tonality, meter and style (including Bachian influences). It is possible that this work could be the ‘completely new musical piece composed by Herr Agricola’ performed at Easter 1761, instead of *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*. However, it is just as likely – perhaps even more so, given the maturity of its style – to date from a later period in the 1760s.³²⁴ Intensive future work on both the Oxford and Berlin sources for this remarkable piece will hopefully shed more light on its genesis.

4.6. From Zorndorf to Århus: *Der König jauchzt* and problems of parody

Of all Agricola’s cantatas, the festive work *Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt* occupies a unique place in his output. It is the only one to have appeared in print during his lifetime and is by far the most widely disseminated of all the sacred works. The first edition of the full score was printed in Berlin in 1759 by Georg Ludewig Winter (**Figure 4.18**) and is today held in around 20 different libraries. Unlike most of his other cantatas, this piece has a complex history and seems to have been recast a number of times.

³²⁴ There are several years quoted in Henzel 2004 for which Easter music at the Petrikerche is unaccounted for by the *Berlinsiche Nachrichten* reports (e.g. 1762).

The text of *Der König jauchzt* is a free poetic translation (*poetische Uebersetzung*) by Johann Andreas Cramer (1723–1788) of Psalm 21. The title page of the first edition, in fact, refers to the work as *Der ein und zwanzigste Psalm*, as do several other catalogues and listings from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries.³²⁵ The cantata is in six movements, and contains no recitatives, reflecting the poetic structure of the text.

Some nineteenth-century listings of Agricola's works, such Ledebur's *Tonkünstler-Lexikon*, refer to a cantata written to celebrate the Prussian army's victory at the Battle of Zorndorf in August 1758, which was performed on 3 September of that year under Agricola's direction.³²⁶ Already, Carl Heinrich Graun's *Te Deum* had been performed in celebration of the Prussian victory in Prague the previous year, so it is hardly surprising that a similar liturgical commemorative work should have been called for in Zorndorf.³²⁷ In his own listing of Agricola's works, Wucherpennig noted that he was unable to locate the score.

By examining reports in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* about the victory celebrations, Christoph Henzel has shown that this fabled Zorndorf cantata and *Der König jauchzt* are actually one and the same (although the printed score makes no

³²⁵ The print is listed for sale as '21 Psalm' under 'Psalmen mit Instrumenten' in the 1761 Breitkopf non-thematic catalogue, where it is priced at 5 thaler. See *Verzeichniss Musicalischer Werke, allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für alle Instrumente, welche nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden, in ihre gehörige Classen ordentlich eingetheilet; welche in richtigen Abschriften bey Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf in Leipzig, um beystehende Preise zu bekommen sind in Louis d'ors à 5 Thlr, Erste Ausgabe, Leipzig, in der Michaelmesse 1761* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1761), 6.

³²⁶ Carl von Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexikon Berlin's von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin: Ludwig Rauh, 1861), 2.

³²⁷ Henzel 2003, 33.

reference to Zorndorf).³²⁸ It was noted that the 21st Psalm would be performed ‘vor der Danck-Predigt’; that is, before the thanksgiving sermon, and that it was heard thanks to ‘Mr. Agricola, who conducted this music, along with Madame Agricola, and various other members of the Royal Capelle’.³²⁹

The image shows a page of a musical score titled "Der ein und zwanzigste Psalm." The tempo is marked "Prächtigt lebhaft." The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for three trumpets, three oboes, two violins, strings, and a basso continuo. The score shows the first four bars of the piece.

Figure 4.18. Agricola, *Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt*, no. 1, bars 1–4. First edition (Berlin: Georg Ludewig Winter, 1759), 3 (F-Pn D-194)

³²⁸ Henzel 2003, 33; Henzel 2004, 258.

³²⁹ "...wie denn auch gemeldeter Herr Agricola, die diese Musik dirigierte, sich nebst der Me. Agricola, und verschiedenen anderen Gliedern der königl. Capelle, dabey hören liess." The reports in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* date from 31 August, 2 September and 5 September respectively. See Henzel 2004, 258.

Several features of the work and its genesis become clearer in light of this information. The impetus behind the printing of *Der König jauchzt* was surely a commemorative one, tied directly to the Zorndorf celebrations, in the same way that Graun's *Te Deum* had also been printed in 1757.³³⁰ This also explains the choice of text, which speaks of the victories of King David over his enemies and thus would have served as an obvious scriptural parallel for the Zorndorf celebrations. Agricola's use of a very lavish festive scoring, featuring instruments with both royal and military symbolism (three trumpets, timpani and two natural horns), also makes more sense in light of this specific occasion.

Most likely on account of the fact that it was printed, which itself resulted from a special occasion, the work has survived in more copies and versions than any of Agricola's other sacred works. There are no less than six manuscript copies of the full score itself, all in Germany, and two sets of parts, although one (in D-WFe) is incomplete. However, the influence of the musical content of the work extended beyond the making of straightforward copies. As mentioned above, a late eighteenth-century source in the Ratzeburg Domarchiv, D-RAd (without shelfmark), transmits a full score and a set of parts for an Easter cantata in five movements under the title of *Der Gottmensch jauchzt*, which the scribe has noted is an Easter work by Agricola. This work, however, reveals itself to be a parody of three movements from *Der König jauchzt*, with an added recitative (No. 2) and chorale (No. 5), as **Table 4.5** shows.

³³⁰ *Te Deum Laudamus, Posto in Musica dal Sign. Carlo Enrico Graun, Maestro di Capella di S. M. il Ré di Prussia* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1757).

Table 4.5. Parody comparison of the structure of *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* and *Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt*

<i>Der Gottmensch jauchzt</i>	<i>Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt</i>
1. Chorus: 'Der Gottmensch jauchzt'	1. Chorus: 'Der König jauchzt'
2. Recitative (S): 'Da wir in deinem Blute'	Not present
3. Quartet: 'Du schüttest ihn auf deinem Thron'	2. Quartet: 'Du schüttest ihn auf deinem Thron'
4. Aria (S): 'Er lebt, von deiner Huld beglückt'	3. Aria (S): 'Er lebt, von deiner Huld beglückt'
5. Chorale: 'Herr, dies sind die edlen Früchte'	Not present

A similar pattern is observed in another work attributed to Agricola, found in the hand of the same scribe and in the same archive, *Nie zagt ein Christe* (Table 4.6):

Table 4.6. Parody comparison of the structure of *Nie zagt ein Christe* and *Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt*

<i>Nie zagt ein Christe</i>	<i>Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt</i>
1. Chorus: 'Nie zagt ein Christe'	4. Chorus: 'Nie zagt dein König'
2. Recitative: 'Sind gleich der Feinde'	Not present
3. Duet: 'Herr, deine Rechte wird sie finden'	5. Quartet and Chorus: 'Herr, deine Rechte wird sie finden'
4. Aria: 'Gleine eines Feuer Ostern flammen'	Not present
5. Chorale: 'Ist Gott für mich so trete gleich alles wider mich'	Not present

Broadly speaking, these two works constitute the first and second halves of *Der König jauchzt*, but with added recitatives and chorales. The only other differences are seen in

Nie zagt ein Christe, which contains an additional aria that is not present in *Der König jauchzt*, and a chorale in place of the closing chorus of that work, No. 6, 'Auf laß Herr deine Stärke sehen'. Furthermore, the Quartet and Chorus movement (No. 2) of *Der König jauchzt* is found in reduced scoring in *Nie zagt ein Christe*, for duet only. Nonetheless, aside from these differences, the order and content of the movements in both these works closely match those found in *Der König jauchzt*.

The question then arises as to the exact nature of the model-parody relationship between *Der Gottmensch jauchzt*, *Nie zagt ein Christe* and *Der König jauchzt*, and which works can be regarded as authentic. Given the fact that it was issued in print bearing Agricola's name during his lifetime, and the solid documentary evidence surrounding its first performance, the authenticity of *Der König jauchzt* cannot be doubted. As such, three plausible scenarios may be considered:

1. *Der König jauchzt* is the original composition, and both *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* and *Nie zagt ein Christe* are authentic parody works, whereby Agricola split *Der König jauchzt* into two, reworked the libretti (perhaps with assistance) as needed to suit specific liturgical occasions, and added recitatives and chorales;
2. *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* and *Nie zagt ein Christe* are liturgical cantatas that pre-date August 1758, and *Der König jauchzt* is the parody, produced by the removal of the recitatives and chorales, the expansion of 'Herr, deine Rechte wird sie finden' into a more elaborate scoring and the composition of a new closing chorus;
3. *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* and *Nie zagt ein Christe* are parody works, produced through much the same process described above in (1), but are not by Agricola.

Unfortunately, the sources for *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* and *Nie zagt ein Christe* could not be examined in the preparation of this thesis, so any valuable clues they may hold as to the resolution of this issue cannot be considered here. Nonetheless, one may make some cautious judgements about the relative merits of the three scenarios above based on the evidence that is available.

Of the three, (2) seems the least likely. This is principally because of how closely the texts of *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* and *Nie zagt ein Christe* match Cramer's 'poetic translation' of Psalm 21. Even if Cramer was responsible for these texts, it seems extraordinary that he should have chosen Psalm 21 as inspiration for two Easter works, and, moreover, followed it so closely that when the Psalm itself was subsequently set for the Zorndorf celebrations, comparatively few textual changes were required. It is much more plausible to conceive that Cramer's paraphrase of Psalm 21 was produced first, and the text was altered afterwards to render it more suitable for other liturgical occasions.

An argument in favour of *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* and *Nie zagt ein Christe* as the models might point to the fact that there were only nine days between the victory at Zorndorf and the first performance of *Der König jauchzt*, so Agricola would have been under considerable time pressure to complete the cantata. From this perspective, it would have made perfect sense for him to draw on music that he had already composed, and simply delete irrelevant recitatives and chorales. In a similar vein, the expansion and elaboration of 'Herr, deine Rechte wird sie finden' from an already existing model might seem a more logical process than its reduction into a duet later on. However, it is entirely conceivable that Agricola was able to create *Der König jauchzt* from scratch in such a short space of time (and, indeed, that he may have

already sketched some of it previously in anticipation of such a commission), and the additional work required to insert new recitatives and chorales into *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* and *Nie zagt ein Christe* is not, in my view, a sufficient argument in itself against *Der König jauchzt* as the model. Indeed, the very fact that the setting of Psalm 21, without recitatives or chorales, was specific to the Zorndorf celebrations surely speaks to a logical desire on Agricola's part to repurpose the music into a more standard cantata format for use on other liturgical occasions.

If we accept *Der König jauchzt* as the model, the question of authenticity of the two parody cantatas becomes relevant. This is more difficult to fully address in the absence of a full examination of the sources. It is clear is that the two copies date from the second half of the eighteenth century, so must either be contemporary with Agricola or from soon after his death. Both scores contain 'del Agricola' in their headings, but this might indicate merely that much of the music is from a composition by Agricola (in other words, a shorthand for 'adapted from music by...'), not that the piece is Agricola's own work.

Another potential question mark regarding the authenticity of these two works is raised by the dubious assertion in the heading for *Nie zagt ein Christe* that it is for 'Dominica Oculi'; that is, the Third Sunday in Lent. Aside from the fact that some congregations (including, possibly, the Berlin Petrikirche) observed a *tempus clausum* during Lent and Advent, the single aria that is not present in *Der König jauchzt* refers specifically to 'Easter flames' ('Gleich eines Feuer Osters flammen'), four weeks early. This hardly seems like an error that Agricola would have made, but it may simply point to a mistake on the part of the scribe of *Nie zagt ein Christe*, rather than composer of the parody, so it is not a watertight argument against authenticity. Indeed, a further

possibility raised by this heading is that *Nie zagt ein Christe* is in fact the second half of a single authentic parody work (the first being *Der Gottmensch jauchzt*) that was then separated into two by the scribe, rather in the manner of the Whitsun cantata *Die Sendung des heiligen Geistes durch den aufgefahnen Erlöser* (see Nos. 14a and 14b of the AgWV in Volume 3 of this thesis). There is simply not enough evidence available to shed more light on these matters.

Two further parody works attributed to Agricola and based on *Der König jauchzt* have also been transmitted in manuscript copies, but here the question of authenticity appears much less contentious. These are the *Dixit Dominus* (D-Mbs Mus. ms. 4988) and the *Magnificat* in D major (D-Mbs Mus. ms. 4989). Both these sources comprise sets of vocal and orchestral parts only, in the hand of the copyist and composer Wilhelm Adolph, and date from 1768.³³¹ Tables 4.7 and 4.8 below once again compare the structure of these scores with *Der König jauchzt*.

Table 4.7. Parody comparison of the structure of the *Dixit Dominus* and *Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt*

<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	<i>Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt</i>
1. Chorus: 'Dixit Dominus'	6. Chorus: 'Auf laß, Herr, deine Stärke sehen'
2. Aria (S): 'Juravit Dominus, et non paenitebit'	3. Aria (S): 'Er lebt, von deiner Huld beglückt'

³³¹ See the RISM entries for these two MSS, under the IDs 450109468 and 450109469 respectively.

3. Quartet (?): 'De torrente in via bibet'	2. Quartet: 'Du schüttest ihn auf deinem Thron'
4. Chorus: 'Gloria Patri'	6. Chorus: 'Auf laß, Herr, deine Stärke sehen'

Table 4.8. Parody comparison of the structure of the *Magnificat* in D major and *Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt*

<i>Magnificat</i> in D major	<i>Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt</i>
1. Chorus: 'Magnificat anima mea'	1. Chorus: 'Der König jauchzt'
2. Chorus: 'Esurientes implevit bonis'	4. Chorus: 'Nie zagt dein König'
3. Chorus: 'Gloria Patri'	1. Chorus: 'Der König jauchzt'

Unlike *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* and *Nie zagt ein Christe*, here we observe a more significant restructuring and repurposing of musical material from *Der König jauchzt*. Particularly suspicious is the fact that the text is set over only three movements, which is unusual compared to other eighteenth century settings, along with the reuse of material from the opening choruses of both works for the final 'Gloria Patri' sections, with minor rhythmic amendments to fit the text underlay. This kind of cyclic device is not usually found in Agricola's compositions, and here the music is somewhat clumsily adapted. Although Latin-texted music might certainly have been heard in the Petrikirche from time to time—Agricola, after all, composed a *Magnificat* in A major—the brevity of both compositions and the nature of their transmission via a single scribe indicate that they are more likely to be parodies by another composer.

One further partial parody of *Der König jauchzt* is known, and it deserves special mention here because of its unusual nature. This is the cantata *Din hoejre Haand skal de nokfinde defiender de*, unusual because it is in Danish. The single source (DK-Ch R 133) is still held in Denmark, in the archive of the Moravian Church (Brødremenigheden) in Christiansfeld, and contains both a full score and an incomplete set of parts for this short, four-movement work.

The full score is in the hand of its original owner, Henrik Ernst Grosmann (sometimes 'Grossmann') (1732–1811). Grosmann was a cantor in Århus, in eastern Denmark. He owned a sizeable collection of manuscript copies of German sacred music, particularly works by Telemann, but also seems to have produced his own 'arrangement' cantatas, composed of individual movements from various sacred works by Berlin composers for performance in Århus.³³² According to a note on the manuscript, *Din hoejre Haand* was performed in the 'Århus Kirche' on 11 February 1762 for the *Taksigelsens Fest* (Thanksgiving Feast), hence the alternative title listed on RISM, 'Cantata Festo Gratiorem actionis'.

This source was not available for examination, but it is known that the first movement at least is a parody of No. 5 of *Der König jauchzt*, 'Herr, deine Rechte wird sie finden', albeit in a duet version (which again may speak to the authenticity of *Nie zagt ein Christe*). The title on the source reads *Cantata | Paa Taksigelsens Fest | Din hoejre Haand skal etc. | 2 Violiner | 2 Valdhorn | 1 Trompet | Viola | 4 Syngestemmer | og | Orgelværk | af | Johann Friedrich Agricola | kongel. preusicht Hofcomponist*, indicating that

³³² Greger Andersson, 'Magister H.E. Grosmanns musikalsamling i Århus: En Telemann-fyndgruva', *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* 22 (1994): 17–26, at 19–20. For a list of the Telemann copies, see the Appendix, 23–25.

Agricola is probably the sole composer represented in the work, although this is not certain. Along with No. 5 of *Der König jauchzt*, it may transmit material from other Agricola works, perhaps even some that are not known elsewhere. However, the cantata's brevity and unconventional structure (Duet—Aria—Chorus—Duet) makes it unlikely the parody is by Agricola himself. Nonetheless, it is testament to the fact that his sacred music certainly reached beyond the confines of Berlin.

Agricola's legacy as a church composer represents the most intact corpus of musical materials for his own works—including the largest number of autographs—that have come down to us. Of the collections in which they are held today, by far the most important is the Berlin Singakademie archive: the preservation of original autograph scores, performance parts and text booklets allows us to understand how these materials interacted, and also speaks to the value that was placed on them, even for those works that only ever served as occasional pieces. They are also significant, however, as representative examples of the post-Bach Lutheran cantata, and raise complex questions about the validity of the 'culmination and decline' model.

In the section of his dissertation that deals with Agricola's cantatas, Wucherpfennig comments:

... I consider his sacred creations to be superior to the secular; as in the song, so in the large forms. I also believe that Agricola would certainly have achieved much more in the genre of the cantata if the King had not, as already mentioned, been so hostile to

this art form. The master was, after all, his court composer and the incentive to give his best in the fields preferred by his royal lord was too great.³³³

This may well be true; however, it is clear that the sacred music composed for the Petrikirche by Agricola and his contemporaries at the Prussian court did not attempt to match that of Bach in either style or quantity. Whilst the particular disinterest and disdain the King showed for religious music certainly precluded the court composers from devoting themselves to church music more fully, had they wished to, it should also be remembered that they were cooperating with Buchholz in the sharing out of compositional duties—unlike, say, Homilius, who was required to produce many more cantatas as part of his employment as Kantor at the Dresden Kreuzkirche. As Stephen Rose also notes with respect to C.P.E. Bach, many of these composers often produced new compositions only for high feast days because their compositional priorities were not liturgical.³³⁴

The weakening of church music's place in society during the second half of the eighteenth century was certainly an outcome of the crisis church music experienced as a result of the Enlightenment. Yet, as we have seen, sacred music in Berlin during the 1750s did not exactly fail to flourish on its own terms: the introduction of the *galant* style into liturgical composition, its synthesis with various Bachian elements and a

³³³ '...ich halte, wie im Lied, so auch in den grossen Formen, seine geistlichen Schöpfungen den weltlichen für überlegen. Ich glaube auch, dass Agricola auf dem Gebiete der Cantaten bestimmt noch viel mehr geleistet haben würde, wenn der König nicht, wie schon erwähnt, dieser Kunstgattung so feindlich gegenüber gestanden hätte. Der Meister war doch nun einmal sein Hofkomponist und der Anreiz auf dem von seinem königlichen Herrn bevorzugten Gebiete sein Bestes zu geben, war zu gross.' Wucherpfennig 1922, 80.

³³⁴ Rose, 'Lutheran Church Music', 148.

marked increase in the use of chorales (a feature advocated for by Doles, amongst others) are all indicative of a transitional moment in Lutheran church music, rather than simply a post-Bach decline. The stylistic hybridity and the new musical and poetic features observed in these works demand further study, in order to understand the complexities of how this transition occurred and its relationship to further changes in the genre of Lutheran music that occurred later in the century.

CHAPTER 5

Building a Musical Library: Agricola as Collector and Copyist

Of the manuscript sources that have come down to us in Agricola's hand, the majority are not for his own works, but his copies of pieces by other composers. I have referred to some of these copies in previous chapters in my discussions of the principal collections in which the sources are transmitted and his handwriting profile. Now, in this final chapter, I take a broad overview of Agricola's activities as a collector and copyist, highlighting representative and interesting examples that speak to the composers and genres with which he engaged. It is in these sources that we see most clearly how Agricola cultivated musical networks around him, by actively gathering works by an array of major seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers from Germany, Italy and Britain. In this way, he was able to build his own personal library of music for use in his activities in Berlin.

The study and reconstruction of musicians' personal libraries represents an important intersection between musicology and historical bibliography. Foremost among those studies particularly relevant here is Kirsten Beißwenger's pioneering study of Johann Sebastian Bach's library, which not only presents a catalogue (insofar as possible) of the reconstructed library, but also examines the nature and function of private music collections in the early eighteenth century, the development of the collection and the transmission of particular sources.³³⁵ Other important eighteenth-

³³⁵ Kirsten Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek* (= *Catalogus Musicus* 13) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992).

century personal music libraries that have received attention include that of C.P.E. Bach, greatly assisted by the recent appearance in facsimile of the 1790 *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*,³³⁶ and the Klipfel Collection, now in the Berlin Singakademie archive.³³⁷

Part B of Volume 3 of this thesis presents a comprehensive descriptive catalogue of all the manuscript copies of works by other composers that are wholly or partly in Agricola's hand. The catalogue incorporates over 140 individual sources for single works or collections by composers ranging from J.S. Bach and his sons, Buxtehude and Fux to Handel, Hasse, the Graun brothers, Schütz and Telemann. In addition to these manuscripts, the following items are also worthy of mention, due to their direct connection with Agricola:

1. D-Bsa SA 1060: a 1720 print of Handel's *Radamisto*, HWV 12, formerly in Agricola's possession and containing a note in his hand commenting on the London performances of this opera in 1720 and 1728,³³⁸
2. D-Bsa SA 2963: the autograph manuscript (full score), formerly in Agricola's possession, of a harpsichord concerto in G minor by Johann Friedrich Reichardt, DenR 7,³³⁹

³³⁶ CPEB-CW VIII/Supplement (Peter Wollny, 2014).

³³⁷ Springthorpe, *Porcelain, Music and Frederick the Great*, 1–45.

³³⁸ RISM ID: 469106000. According to RISM, Agricola's note names and assigns the arias to the singers involved in these performances.

³³⁹ RISM ID: 469296300.

3. D-Bsa SA 521: a manuscript formerly in Agricola's possession, in the hand of an anonymous Berlin copyist (identified by Blechschmidt as Copyist C. P. E. Bach III), of Telemann's cantata *Heut lebst du heut bekehre dich*, TVWV 1:790;³⁴⁰
4. D-Bsa SA 180: a full score manuscript of a Missa in G minor by Antonio Caldara, falsely attributed to Agricola;³⁴¹
5. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 46, a part-autograph full score manuscript for J.S. Bach's cantata *Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe*, BWV 22, incorporating an annotation in Agricola's hand on the first page;³⁴²
6. CZ-Pnm XIV G 246: a copy of the first edition of J.S. Bach's Goldberg Variations, BWV 988, containing handwritten annotations by Agricola.³⁴³

The tracing of other musical scores that were in Agricola's possession but that do not bear his imprint as a scribe is an activity that lies beyond this thesis, although necessary in order to properly achieve Schwinger's wish for a complete reconstruction of his library.³⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the core of that library was undoubtedly the works that Agricola himself copied for study and performance.

The surviving manuscript sources make clear that Agricola was copying and collecting music from early in his professional career, indeed, whilst he was still a

³⁴⁰ RISM ID: 469052100. This manuscript is likely closely related to Agricola's copy of the same work, D-Bsa SA 522; see the discussion below.

³⁴¹ RISM ID: 469018000.

³⁴² The annotation reads: 'NB. Dies ist das Probestück in Leipzig.' See BDok III, No. 631, 3–4.

³⁴³ Not listed in RISM. On Agricola's copy of the Goldberg Variations, see Gregory G. Butler, 'Neues zur Datierung der Goldberg-Varationen', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1988): 219–223.

³⁴⁴ Schwinger 2012, 180, fn. 12.

student. All of the known manuscripts in his *Leipziger Zeit* handwriting are copies, mostly of pieces by J.S. Bach (see below), and he continued copying music throughout his life in Berlin. However, the sources show that he did not work in isolation: we frequently find other Berlin hands alongside his, sometimes within the same manuscript or, very often, in larger composite manuscripts that may or may not have been constructed as such by the copyists themselves. And although making sense of all the individual sources requires further research beyond this introductory study, even a cursory examination of the materials makes it possible to speculate on the reasons for Agricola's creation of his library. Many copies, including those of keyboard works, were doubtless made primarily for teaching and performance, and some bear markings that attest to these purposes. Others appear to have acted as library master copies from which other Berlin copyists then produced individual performance parts when required; this is particularly the case for copies of instrumental works (chamber music and concertos), some of which are found in larger anthology volumes composed of multiple hands (see Section 5.2 below). However, Agricola also seems to have been actively concerned with the systematic collection of music in certain genres or, by specific composers, at particular times in his life. Some groups of copies (such as keyboard concertos by C.P.E. Bach and cantatas by J.S. Bach and Telemann) contain materials that can be dated to a single period, indicating a deliberate effort on Agricola's part to acquire particularly representative or valued examples for study or use in the future. Agricola also appears to have purposefully commissioned or acquired copies of specific works from his colleagues or students, some of which display evidence of his own collaboration with the scribe or amendments.

5.1. Hasse and Zelenka in Berlin: Agricola's copies of Dresden court music

In Chapter 2, I discussed the importance of Dresden in Berlin's musical life, and the close relationship between the musicians working at the two royal courts. Aside from the travel of musical personnel, this relationship manifested itself most clearly in the exchange of manuscript materials. At the Saxon court, compositions by the Graun brothers and Quantz, as Dresden 'alumni', were particularly desired.³⁴⁵ In Berlin, it was Hasse whose works were favoured above all, as shown by the plethora of source material, and it was in this manner that the Neapolitan-Dresden *galant* was brought to Berlin in notated form.

As noted in Chapter 1, we are informed in Agricola's *Lebenslauf* that he made a short trip to Dresden at Easter 1740, shortly before he moved to Berlin. During this visit, he apparently heard two Passions written by Johann Adolf Hasse and other music written for the Easter *triduum*.³⁴⁶ At least one of these Passion works was likely the oratorio *Le Virtù appiè della croce*, which was written for Dresden in 1737 and was possibly revised in 1740. Agricola may therefore have been present at the premiere of this revised version.³⁴⁷ The *Lebenslauf*, unfortunately, gives no information about the

³⁴⁵ Oleskiewicz, 'The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia', 101. See also the listings of the very large number of instrumental works by these composers kept in Dresden, in Poppe (ed.), *Schranck No: II*, 86–95 and 122–125.

³⁴⁶ 'Nachdem der Agricola drey und halb Jahr mit den nur gemeldete Beschäftigungen in Leipzig zugebracht, auch während dieser Zeit, bey einer nach Dresden angestellten kleinen Reise, daselbst zwey Passions=Oratoria, von Herr Hassens Arbeit, und die Osterfestmusiken mit angehört hatte, begab er sich im Herbste des 1741 Jahres nach Berlin.' *Lebenslauf*, in Marburg, 149–150.

³⁴⁷ Pages from volumes of the Dresden *Diarium* from the years 1739–1742, once thought lost, have now been recovered. These confirm that two different oratorios by Hasse were indeed performed on Good

professional acquaintances Agricola made as a result of his 1740 trip to Dresden. He would mostly likely have met Hasse on that occasion, but he may also have met Zelenka. This is the only time at which he could have done so, in Dresden at least; by the time Agricola returned, 11 years later, Zelenka was dead.

Agricola's second trip to Dresden, in 1751, is also recorded in the *Lebenslauf*. He was there in the winter, at Carnival Time, and attended the premiere of Hasse's opera *Ciro riconosciuto* on 20 January. It marked the end of the careers of two of Dresden's most famous opera singers: Faustina Hasse, and the castrato Felice Salimbeni, who died shortly afterwards.³⁴⁸ The *Lebenslauf* also informs us that 'Herr Agricola had the pleasure of being personally acquainted with Herr Hasse and his charming wife; and from dealing with Herr Pisendel he was able to take home many wonderful practical lessons and charming encouragements.'³⁴⁹

Some of the pieces that Agricola certainly encountered during his two visits to Dresden clearly left a lasting impression, because we find copies of them in his collection, in some cases made many years later. Some of these were likely made from original Dresden sources that he would have requested and loaned in order to

Friday ('15. 4. Hora 8. productum a D. Hasse oratorium') and Easter Saturday ('16. 4. Hora 4. oratorium ab Hasse Capellae Magistro distinctum ab hesterno productum.') of 1740. Unfortunately, however, no information about the 'Osterfestmusik' for the Easter *triduum* that year is given. See Gerhard Poppe, 'Ein weiterer Faszikel aus dem Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae wiederaufgefunden', in Peter Wollny (ed.), *Die Oberlausitz – eine Grenzregion der mitteldeutschen Barockmusik* (= Jahrbuch Ständige Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 2006) (Beeskow: Ortus, 2007), 193-204, at 200.

³⁴⁸ *Lebenslauf*, in Marburg, 151–152.

³⁴⁹ 'Herr Agricola hatte hier das Vergnügen die persönliche Bekanntschaft des Herrn Hasse und seiner berühmten Gemahlinn zu erhalten; und aus dem Umgange mit dem Herrn Concertmeister Pisendel konnte er viele herrliche praktische Lehren und reizende Aufmunterungen mit nach Hause nehmen.' *Lebenslauf*, in Marburg, 152; see also BDok III, No. 662, 76–77.

commission and/or make these copies. It can surely be no coincidence that it was Hasse's *Ciro riconosciuto* that Agricola chose to copy (D-B Mus.ms. 9556), nor that we find in his collection copies of four Hasse oratorios in full score, including three Passion works.³⁵⁰ Two are transmitted in the volume D-Bsa SA 100, which contains *I Pellegrini al sepolero* in Agricola's hand, and an incomplete copy of *La Deposizione dalla croce*, to which Agricola has appended written remarks.

The third Passion oratorio by Hasse in Agricola's collection is *Le Virtù appiè della croce* (D-Bsa SA 106). This copy is particularly interesting because it provides vivid evidence of Agricola's interaction with another copyist. The main part of the musical notation is in the hand of the anonymous Berlin copyist C.H. Graun IV. The title page (**Figure 5.1**), and the entirety of the text, is in the hand of Agricola, along with some isolated markings, mostly minor corrections and additions. For example, on fol. 17 (**Figure 5.2**), it is possible to see where the scribe has indicated 'più forte' and Agricola has transferred the marking across other staves; similarly, he has added the marking 'un poco lento' and the word 'sempre' to the right of the scribe's 'piano' marking (**Figure 5.3**). All four of the Hasse oratorios are on the same paper, with a watermark of a crowned double-headed eagle and heart shield with 'Z', and display Agricola's 'late' K-form Form e clef. This indicates that all the copies were made at the same time, probably in the early 1760s; moreover, the nature of the annotations in SA 106 suggest that Agricola commissioned a more junior scribe (C.H. Graun IV) to make the copy, which he then supervised and corrected.

³⁵⁰ The title page of Agricola's copy of *Ciro riconosciuto* perhaps hints at his connection to the work's premiere, as it explicitly specifies the occasion (*Il Giro ri- | conosciuto. | posto in Musica | dal Sig|r|e | Giovanni Adolfo Hasse, | nel Carnevale | 1751.*).



Figure 5.1: Hasse, *Le Virtù appiè della Croce* (excerpt). Title page the hand of Agricola, D-Bsa SA 106, fol. 17r.

Figure 5.2: Hasse, *Le Virtù appiè della Croce* (excerpt). Score copy in the hand of C.H. Graun IV and Agricola, D-Bsa SA 106, fol. 17r.



Figure 5.3: Hasse, *Le Virtù appiè della Croce* (excerpt). Score copy in the hand of C.H. Graun IV and Agricola, D-Bsa SA 106, fol. 17r (detail).

Two works by the Bohemian-born Dresden court composer Zelenka are transmitted in Agricola's hand in full score: the *Missa Divi Xaverii*, ZWV 12 (D-Bsa SA 687) (**Figure 5.4**) and the *Missa Paschalis*, ZWV 7 (GB-Ob MS Tenbury 749) (**Figure 5.5**). The copy of ZWV 7 was long thought to be in the hand of an unknown eighteenth-century English scribe, until I conclusively identified the hand as Agricola's.³⁵¹ Both these manuscripts share palaeographic concordances and are written on the same heavy paper, which is of a white colour and oblong format not found elsewhere in the Agricola sources. RISM asserts that no watermarks are found in SA 687, but thermographic imaging has shown the presences of watermarks in MS Tenbury 749.³⁵² However, the thickness of

³⁵¹ Frampton, 'A Copyist of Bach and Zelenka', 131–139.

³⁵² I am very grateful to Andrew Honey at the Bodleian Library, Oxford for this information.

the paper has so far prevented their identification, which would shed more light on the dating of both manuscripts. It is highly likely that the Oxford copy was brought to Britain alongside the other Tenbury source in Agricola's hand, the autograph of *Vom Thron des Ewgen* (GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313, see Chapter 4 above), and owned by Joseph Warren before it was bought by Ouseley. Aside from the fact that both SA 687 and MS Tenbury 749 share the same paper type, it is known that MS Tenbury 1313 came from the Singakademie collection, thus adding additional weight to the hypothesis that MS Tenbury 749, too, was once a Singakademie manuscript.³⁵³

Figure 5.4: Zelenka, *Missa Divi Xaverii*, ZWV 12, Kyrie eleison I, b. 1–7. Score copy in the hand of Agricola, D-Bsa SA 687, fol. 1r.

³⁵³ I first raised the hypothesis that MS Tenbury 749 was formerly a Singakademie MS in 2016, at which time I was not aware of *Vom Thron des Ewgen*; see Frampton, 'A Copyist of Bach and Zelenka', 139. MS Tenbury 749 also doubtless served as the model for a nineteenth-century parody anthem on sections of ZWV 7, 'O Sing Unto the Lord' (currently ZWV 221, falsely attributed to Zelenka), also located in the Tenbury collection (GB-Ob MS Tenbury 603).

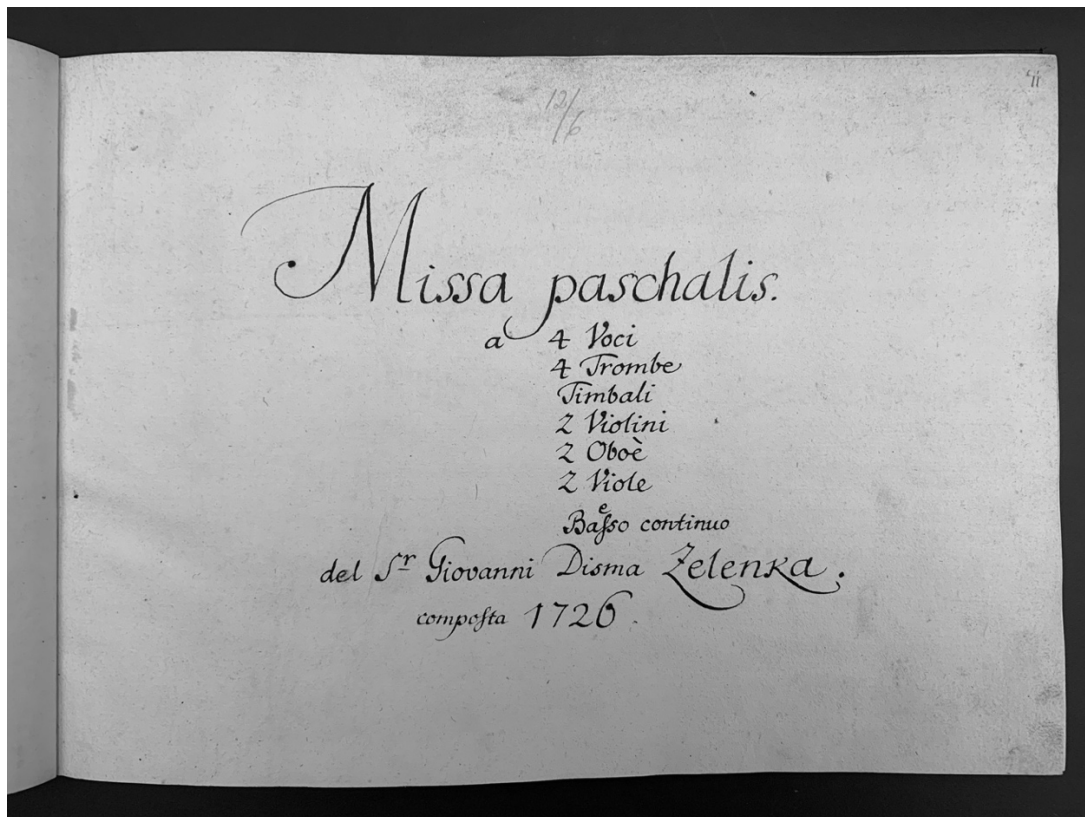


Figure 5.5: Zelenka, *Missa Paschalis*, ZWV 7. Title page from the score copy in the hand of Agricola, GB-Ob MS Tenbury 749, fol. iir.

The copy of the *Missa Paschalis* transmits an early version of the work from 1726 that lacked a 'Benedictus' and second 'Osanna', which were subsequently added in a revision around 1731/2.³⁵⁴ Agricola therefore likely made his copy from the only other source to transmit the early version, a manuscript by the Dresden concertmaster Johann Georg Pisendel that was copied directly from the autograph in 1726, and is likewise now located in the Singakademie collection (D-Bsa SA 690) The *Lebenslauf* confirms that Agricola met Pisendel and '[took home] many wonderful practical lessons and charming encouragements'; it seems he also took home copies of these two

³⁵⁴ On the revision of ZWV 7, see Andrew Frampton, 'A Critical Edition of Jan Dismas Zelenka's *Missa Paschalis*, ZWV 7' (BMus(Hons) Diss., University of Melbourne, 2013), Vol II, 4-5.

Zelenka works, to which he was probably given access by Pisendel. I have previously suggested that MS Tenbury 749 dates from c.1751, based on the date of Agricola's trip to Dresden and palaeographic concordances.³⁵⁵ However, given the much wider range of manuscripts considered in relation to Agricola's *Schriftprofil* presented in Chapter 3 of this thesis, it is more difficult to securely attribute the two Zelenka MSS to c.1751 on this basis, as some of the palaeographic features are also seen in later manuscripts. It is likely that it was Agricola who took both the Pisendel copy of ZWV 7 and a Dresden copy in an unknown hand of ZWV 12 (D-Bsa SA 689) back to Berlin. As a result, it is conceivable that Agricola's own copies of the masses were made sometime later, not in Dresden. Nonetheless, the copies most likely date from the 1750s.

Whether Agricola's two Zelenka manuscripts were used for performance in Berlin is not clear, but corrections and additions in his hand in red ink at least suggest they were at least used for study. These include tutti/solo markings and the addition of the text for the final movement, 'Dona nobis pacem', below the text of the opening 'Kyrie', with which it shares identical music (**Figure 5.6**).

More strikingly, however, the fact that it has been established that Agricola knew Zelenka's music allows us to look for stylistic clues for engagement with it in his own compositions. For example, the first half of the final chorus of Agricola's Whitsun cantata *Ein schelles Brausen beweget die Lüfte* (**Figure 5.7**) is remarkably similar to the opening 'Kyrie' from the *Missa Paschalis*. Aside from the key (D major) and the 3/2 time signature, there are many similarities in the rhythmic and melodic profiles of the movement, from the homophonic, declamatory style of the vocal writing in minims,

³⁵⁵ Frampton, 'A Copyist of Bach and Zelenka', 138–139.

gradually working towards more intricate counterpoint featuring tied notes over barlines, and the two-bar phrase structure, to the rising arpeggiated figures in the violins (even, later on, with the same articulation) and identical rhythmic motifs in the brass and timpani. Given he had his own copy of the work, I suggest it is entirely possible that Agricola was influenced by the *Missa Paschalis* in the writing of this movement. The fugue that follows also presents contrapuntal writing that is reminiscent of Zelenka, in the rhythmic and melodic profiles of the subjects, the entries of the voices, and, crucially, the doubling practices in the basso continuo part, which are virtually identical to those used in Dresden.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the beginning of the Kyrie eleison I movement from Zelenka's *Missa Paschalis*. The score is written in 3/2 time and includes parts for Tromba 1-4, Timbali, Oboe, Violino 1-2, Viola 1-2, Soprano, Contralto, Tenore, and Basso/Basso continuo. The tempo is marked 'Larghetto'. The lyrics 'Kyrie eleison' are written below the vocal parts. The notation is in a cursive hand, typical of 18th-century manuscripts.

Figure 5.6: Zelenka, *Missa Paschalis*, ZWV 7, Kyrie eleison I, b. 1–5. Score copy in the hand of Agricola, GB-Ob MS Tenbury 749, fol. 1r.

Figure 5.7: Agricola, *Ein schnelles Brausen bewegt die Lüfte*, final chorus, b. 1–5. Autograph, D-Bsa SA 185, fol. 31r.

5.2. Collaborations and hierarchies: copying practices in Berlin sources

An interesting feature of many of the Agricola copies is that they show, in various ways, clear evidence of close and deliberate collaboration with other scribes. Broadly speaking, these collaborative sources can be classified into three different types. The first type is a single manuscript in which Agricola's hand is seen alongside that of one or more other scribes. We have already encountered a manuscript where this occurs, the copy of Hasse's oratorio *Le Virtù* (SA 106). Here, Agricola's role was to provide

additional markings, corrections and sometimes, as occurs in SA 106, some or all of the text (including the title page). These sources—others include two of the other Hasse copies (SA 92 and SA 110)—suggest that Agricola was working with a more junior copyist, overseeing the copyist's work and making refinements where necessary.³⁵⁶

The second type of collaborative source is that in which a composite manuscript displays evidence of Agricola's deliberate collaboration with other scribes across several pieces. In Chapter 3 I discussed the composite manuscript D-Bsa SA 3799, a large volume of twenty-one instrumental works by Telemann. It is the work of three main copyists: Agricola, Siebe and an anonymous scribe, along with a second scribe that RISM identifies as Copyist Berlin7 (see **Table 3.3** above for scribe and watermark information).

It is notable that despite the presence of different copyists, the majority of the manuscripts display an identical watermark, one that is particularly associated with Agricola's manuscript collection.³⁵⁷ Furthermore, if we discount the works in which Siebe's hand is found (and the outlier TWV 43:G6), there is an almost equal division of copies between Agricola (nine) and the anonymous scribe, who was possibly Morgenstern (eight). All the compositions are chamber pieces, mostly quartets for three solo instruments (strings and winds) and continuo. These works would have

³⁵⁶ Given the fact that Agricola is responsible for the entirety of the text in SA 106, it is inconceivable to think that he was not involved in the manuscript's creation (as opposed to simply making additions after it came into his possession).

³⁵⁷ See the RISM entries regarding D-Bsa SA 3559.

been highly prized in Berlin: one of their greatest advocates, after all, was Quantz, who considered them 'excellent and beautiful models for compositions of this type'.³⁵⁸

Given these facts, I suggest that it is less likely that SA 3559 is a composite MS that was compiled in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries through the assembling of various single manuscripts, where we might expect to see more variation in paper type, genre and scribe. Rather, its contents may have been deliberately planned between the scribes as a coherent set of chamber works for members of the Berlin *Hofkapelle*. There is an overall uniformity to the style of the titles given at the start of each work across the volume and a high degree of internal consistency between each scribe's manuscripts of their physical placement and palaeography.³⁵⁹ Whether or not the volume was actually bound at the same time as the creation of the manuscripts is another matter that cannot be as easily addressed, but it is also fairly inconsequential for my argument here. To be sure, there are plenty of composite manuscripts of instrumental works in the Singakademie collection, including of Telemann chamber music, but no others with the characteristics observed here. In other words, it is not the case that there are isolated sources for other Telemann quartets in the Singakademie collection that match the style of those in the volume but were not included. Regardless of whether the present binding was applied during Agricola's lifetime or not, these manuscripts appear to constitute a complete 'set'.

³⁵⁸ According to Steven Zohn, both Johann Adolf Scheibe and Quantz viewed Telemann's quartets as paradigmatic of the genre which, Quantz opined, was 'the true touchstone of a genuine contrapuntist'. See Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 233.

³⁵⁹ Although it is only the anonymous copyist that refers to Telemann as 'Melante', I consider this to be an insignificant difference, given that the same copyist then switches to 'Teleman'.

In Chapter 1, I referred to Donald McKenzie's notion of how the material forms of books are themselves expressive, conveying meaning beyond what is notated within them.³⁶⁰ McKenzie's focus is on printed books, not manuscripts, and I am not seeking to suggest here that—as he does with his printed examples—there are deeper text-critical meanings to be drawn from peculiarities in the layout of these particular sources. Nonetheless, in moving directly, as McKenzie states, 'from the most minute feature of the material form of the book to questions of authorial, literary and social context', I contend that we can get closer to the true function and value of SA 3599, conceived as an anthology of selected Telemann works for use by the *Hofkapelle*.³⁶¹ Given that the watermark is particularly associated with Agricola, I suggest it is not only possible but likely that he spearheaded the project, providing the paper and overseeing the activities of Siebe and the anonymous copyist, as well as making selected copies himself. This might account for the interaction between Agricola and Siebe observed in the latter's copies in the volume, where Agricola has provided the headings either in preparation for, or as a completion of, Siebe's copying.³⁶² It should also be remembered that these are scores, not parts, and would not have been used for

³⁶⁰ McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 17.

³⁶¹ McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 23.

³⁶² Although at least one—possibly two—of the works in Siebe's hand exhibit a watermark that differs from that seen in the rest of the volume (see the table above), I consider it unlikely that these manuscripts were added as an afterthought for several reasons: firstly, a third work in Siebe's hand, with unchanged palaeography, does display the crowned double-headed eagle watermark; secondly, the letters forms and spacing in Agricola's headings are very consistent with those seen in his own manuscripts in the volume; and thirdly, I have already shown in my discussion of GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313 that the GRIESEL / BERLIN | CAMMERPAPIER watermark was certainly used by Agricola and may be considered roughly contemporaneous to the crowned double-headed eagle.

performance.³⁶³ The fact that Agricola may have commissioned this set of manuscripts for his own collection not only shows how he could have then used them as a basis for the production of parts if desired, but also the value he placed on these works as a collection. As noted in Chapter 3, the volume is a large-format upright score, suggesting it was likely used as a master copy from which copyists could work (possibly more than one at a time). This is not, therefore, a composite source of disparate materials. Instead, in their act of anthologising, Agricola and the other scribes created a single text that has its own identity of unified materiality and completeness, separate from the identities of the individual works, which are not material-specific.³⁶⁴

The third type of collaborative source involves composite manuscripts where this kind of deliberate collaboration does not appear to occur; that is, composite volumes that were created through the collation of disparate manuscripts. Here, too, though, there may be evidence of intentionality on the part of the collator, perhaps Agricola himself. One example of this is the volume D-Bsa SA 2799, another large source that contains multiple concerti grossi by Handel, J.S. Bach, Quantz, C.H. Graun and Pisendel in various hands. In this source the diversity of paper types, sizes, inks and hands makes clear the sources were not intended to form a single volume; indeed, some manuscripts—such as that by Quantz of the Handel B-flat major concerto grosso

³⁶³ Compare the volume D-Bsa SA 3906, which contains instrumental parts for six Telemann quartets, some of which are found in SA 3559.

³⁶⁴ This is a notion expressed by Emma Dillon in relation to medieval manuscripts; see Dillon, *Medieval music-making and the Roman de Fauvel*.

HWV 313—were actually copied in Dresden and then brought to Berlin.³⁶⁵ However, it is intriguing to speculate—as RISM does—whether Agricola was responsible for bringing many of the manuscripts together (a further copy in the same volume of HWV 313 in his hand points to this), and that it may then have been later expanded by Zelter when it ended up in the Singakademie.³⁶⁶

5.3. Agricola and J.S. Bach

Of all Agricola's manuscript copies, the largest number are of works by his teacher, Johann Sebastian Bach. Unsurprisingly, the Bach copies have thus far been subject to more scrutiny than any other manuscripts in his hand; indeed, as I discussed in Chapter 3, it was primarily because of Bach scholarship that a *Schriftprofil* for Agricola was originally formulated by Alfred Dürr. Most have also received individual attention in the respective critical reports of the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* for the works concerned, but since Dürr's article there has been little consideration of them as a collective.

Agricola himself recognised the importance of his relationship with Bach, and seems to have placed particular value on actively collecting and promoting the compositions of his teacher. As he wrote in Bach's obituary:

³⁶⁵ This is evident from the watermarks: in the case of HWV 313, a watermark of a crowned Saxon coat of arms, with the countermark 'IGS'.

³⁶⁶ See RISM ID 469279900.

If ever a composer showed polyphony in its greatest strength, it was certainly our late lamented Bach. If ever a musician employed the most hidden secrets of harmony with the most skilled artistry, it was certainly our Bach. No one ever showed so many ingenious and unusual ideas as he in elaborate pieces such as ordinarily seem dry exercises in craftsmanship.³⁶⁷

In his theoretical writings and criticism, Agricola made a point of defending his teacher against attacks,³⁶⁸ and was an active commentator on the lives and music of several members of the Bach circle. He often published detailed stylistic analyses and criticism of Bach's work, particularly the keyboard and organ music.³⁶⁹ Topics included, among others, Bach's use of dotted notes in his keyboard movements, expressive elements in the organ chorale preludes, and the use of the four-part chorale settings as teaching material.³⁷⁰ Perhaps most importantly, though, it is from Agricola that we obtain important accounts of the features Bach desired and valued in keyboard instruments, including his opinions on particular organs (such as those of the

³⁶⁷ 'Hat jemals ein Componist die Vollstimmigkeit in ihre größten Stärke gezeigt; so war es gewiß unser seeliger Bach. Hat jemals ein Tonkünstler die verstecktesten Geheimnisse der Harmonie in die künstlichste Ausübung gebracht; so war es gewiß unser Bach. Keiner hat bey diesen sonst trocken scheinenden Kunststücken so viele Erfindungsvolle und fremde Gedanken angebracht, als eben er.' BDok III, No. 666, 87; trans. in David, Mendel and Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader*, No. 306, 305. It is interesting to note the nationalist rhetoric in Agricola's defence of Bach's compositions; further research on this aspect of Agricola's writings and whether nationalist rhetoric was encouraged by his role serving the Prussian court is desirable.

³⁶⁸ For example, see Agricola's defence of Bach against Finazzi, in BDok II, No. 620, 484–485, trans. in David, Mendel and Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader*, 357–358.

³⁶⁹ For example, BDok III, No. 797, 280, in which Agricola discusses Bach's organ works as a compositional model.

³⁷⁰ See BDok III, Nos. 757, 764 and 733 respectively.

Hamburg Katharinenkirche and the Leipzig Johanniskirche) and the Silbermann piano.³⁷¹ In the late eighteenth century, Agricola was already mentioned as a pupil of the ‘famous’ Johann Sebastian Bach, partly because Agricola’s own students were keen to note their connection to Bach through him in their testimonies.³⁷²

Despite the plethora of surviving documentary material concerning Agricola’s connection to Bach and his analyses of Bach’s works, there are very few known primary sources pertaining to his own copies of these pieces. General inferences can be made from some of the criticism, in the sense that Agricola must have had access to copies of the works under discussion, but many of these can no longer be traced. It is also clear that Agricola came into direct contact with sources for Bach works other than those known to have been in his collection, such D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 46 (see above). He was very well-connected to other members of Bach’s circle, and made a point of procuring particular sources he was interested in. In a 1792 letter to Breitkopf, Johann Gottfried Krebs relates somewhat bitterly how he loaned a number of manuscripts of organ works by J.S. Bach to Agricola, who seems to have been interested in publishing an edition of Bach’s organ works in the early 1770s. Unfortunately, as Krebs notes, Agricola died, and ‘was thereby deprived of the execution of his plan, and I was deprived of my belongings’.³⁷³ This edition seems to have never actually appeared. As

³⁷¹ These were originally published in Jakob Adlung’s *Musica mechanica organoedi* in 1768. See BDok III, Nos. 739–344, trans. in David, Mendel and Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader*, 364–367.

³⁷² See, for example, BDok III, Nos. 803, 811a, 830, 901, 904, 931, 950 and 969.

³⁷³ ‘Ich verschenkte und communicirte daher vieles: das Meiste aber theils von meinem seel: Vater, als auch von Sebastian Bach, bekam der H. Hof-Compositeur Agricola in Berlin, welcher mich darum bat, um nach und nach selbige dem Publico heftweise mitzuteilen. Er starb aber, und wurde dadurch um die Ausführung seines Plans, und ich um meine Sachen gebracht.’ BDok III, No. 976, 524.

the editors of the *Bach-Dokumente* note, the whereabouts of these sources and Agricola's plans for the edition are unknown.³⁷⁴

Given Agricola's focus on the instrumental music in his writings, it is hardly surprising that there are several copies of keyboard, organ and chamber works in his hand. Most of these date from the *Leipziger Zeit*, and include copies of the D minor Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue BWV 903, the Fantasia in C minor BWV 562/1, the Fugue in G minor BWV 542/2, various fugues and fuguettes (including early versions) from the second book of *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*, the organ chorale preludes BWV 665a and 666, the violin and obbligato harpsichord sonatas BWV 1014–1019, and the lute suite in C minor BWV 997. He also contributed to an early copy of Book I of *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* (D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 202) that was begun by Anna Magdalena Bach in the mid-1730s, continued by various other scribes and then concluded by Agricola during his stay in Leipzig.³⁷⁵ However, it is also striking that a significant proportion of the copies are of vocal works—pieces that he rarely discusses. These may be considered particularly interesting in light of Agricola's established interest in church music and his role as a composer for the Petrikirche, as I discussed in Chapter 4. Some are now key original sources in the case of works where the autograph has since disappeared (for example, the cantata *Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal in das Reich Gottes das eingehen*, BWV 146, and the early version in G major of the 'Credo in unum deum' from the *Symbolum Nicenum* of the Mass in B minor). The corpus of sources for Bach vocal works in Agricola's hand, all in full score, is summarised in **Table 5.1**.

³⁷⁴ BDok III, No. 976, 524. No more information is forthcoming about this edition.

³⁷⁵ Regarding this copy, see NBA V/6.1 KB (Alfred Dürr, 1989), 57–64, 160–163.

Table 5.1: Agricola's full score copies of vocal works by J.S. Bach

* = Autograph scores and original performing parts owned by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach

Shelfmark	Work(s) (in full score)	Watermark(s)
D-B Am.B 22	<i>Nimm von uns Herr du treuer Gott</i> , BWV 101	'DGS'
D-B Am.B 33–35	<i>Gott soll allein mein Herze haben</i> , BWV 169* <i>Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust</i> , BWV 170* <i>Wer sich selbst erhöhet, der soll erniedriget werden</i> , BWV 47*	BWV 169: Deer, heraldic left BWV 170/BWV 47: Letters in tablet, possibly 'IFS'
D-B Am.B 37–38	<i>Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht mit deinem Knecht</i> , BWV 105* <i>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</i> , BWV 38 <i>Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein</i> , BWV 2	BWV 105: Letters 'IFS', possibly 'IRSV' BWV 38/BWV 2: Letters 'IFS'
D-B Am.B 536–537	Sanctus in D major, BWV 238* Sanctus in C major, BWV 237*	Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z'
Am.B 538–540	<i>Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal in das Reich Gottes das eingehen</i> , BWV 146 <i>Ich geh und suche mit Verlangen</i> , BWV 49* <i>Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir</i> , BWV 29*	BWV 146: Crowned double-headed eagle, heart shield with 'Z' BWV 49/BWV 29: Not identifiable
D-B Am.B 542	<i>Geist und Seele wird verwirret</i> , BWV 35*	Walking deer
D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 26	<i>St Matthew Passion</i> , early version, BWV 244b	Letters 'IFS'
D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 480	<i>Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele</i> , BWV 180	None
D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Bach St 76	<i>O holder Tag, erwünschte Zeit</i> , BWV 210	See NBA IX/1, Weiß No. 72
D-GOI Mus. 2° 54c/3	Credo in G major, BWV 232 ^m /1 (early version)	None
N/A, lost	<i>Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit</i> , BWV 111	N/A

When viewed in this manner, several features of these sources become apparent. A large proportion of the copies are of works that Agricola would have had access to via Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, who inherited the original sources of these cantatas (autograph scores and performing parts), either directly or indirectly, from his father's estate.³⁷⁶ As a consequence, there are only a few works from the chorale cantata cycle (Leipzig *Jahrgang* II), which was divided between Anna Magdalena and Wilhelm Friedemann, and which Agricola may have accessed indirectly via other copyists.³⁷⁷

Given Agricola's status as a prominent Berlin organist, and his predilection for using obbligato organ in his own cantatas, it is hardly surprising that we see a particular focus on vocal works by Bach featuring obbligato organ. All six of the cantatas composed for the 1726–7 Leipzig cantata cycle (*Jahrgang* III) that call for concerted organ solos—BWV 146, 170, 35, 47, 169 and 49—appear in copies by Agricola.³⁷⁸ Laurence Dreyfus has pointed to the unusual and deliberate concentration of cantatas requiring concerted organ in Bach's output at this time, and contends that they may be linked to the composition of the organ trio sonatas, BWV 525–530, in 1727.³⁷⁹ Thus, the *Jahrgang* III 'set' forms the core of Agricola's collection of Bach

³⁷⁶ On the division of J.S. Bach's estate, see Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 457–461.

³⁷⁷ For example, the copy of BWV 2 may be related to another source of Berlin origin; see NBA I/16 KB, 86. BWV 38 was probably copied from a lost intermediate source for the original autograph score; see NBA I/25 KB, 174. A possible exception is the copy of BWV 101, which is only partly in Agricola's hand and may have been copied directly from the autograph or other copies in the possession of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach; see NBA I/19 KB, 167.

³⁷⁸ For a list of Bach cantatas featuring concerted organ parts, see Laurence Dreyfus, 'The Metaphorical Soloist: Concerted Organ Parts in Bach's Cantatas', *Early Music* 13 (1985): 237–247, at 239.

³⁷⁹ Dreyfus, 'The Metaphorical Soloist', 237–238. Interestingly, the trio sonatas are transmitted in a copy by Agricola.

cantatas. In addition, it is notable that all the Bach cantatas that call for obbligato organ in more than one movement (of which most are also in the *Jahrgang III* set) are transmitted in Agricola's hand, except for *Ich habe meine Zuversicht*, BWV 188.³⁸⁰ All of these except one (BWV 170) contain introductory sinfonias derived from concerto models.³⁸¹ Certain contrapuntal and *galant* idioms present in these solos are entirely in keeping with that seen in Agricola's own organ obbligati, and would have fitted well alongside the new compositions of the Petrikirche composers.³⁸²

Not all these works, however, are transmitted complete. The copies of both *Gott soll allein mein Herze haben*, BWV 169 (**Figure 5.8**), and *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust*, BWV 170, contain only those movements with organ obbligato. *Wer sich selbst erhöhet, der soll erniedriget werden*, BWV 47, is complete, despite the fact that only one movement features the organ, whilst the copy of *Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht mit deinem Knecht*, BWV 105, transmits only the opening chorus and the second aria. Only one of the chorale cantatas, *Nimm von uns Herr du treuer Gott*, BWV 101, is presented in its entirety, and even then the majority is in another hand, with Agricola's contribution

³⁸⁰ Agricola likely never had access to this work because the score may have gone to Wilhelm Friedmann Bach and was not widely copied in the second half of the eighteenth century. See NBA I/25 KB, 204ff.

³⁸¹ The wedding cantata *Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge*, BWV 120a, is not found here, but the movement that calls for organ obbligato (No. 4) is identical to the Sinfonia (No. 1) of BWV 29, which is transmitted in an Agricola copy. The concerto models are discussed in more detail in Dreyfus, 'The Metaphorical Soloist', 244.

³⁸² In 1788, C.P.E. Bach wrote of the organ trio sonatas that they were composed in 'such *galant* style that they still sound very good and never grow old'; however, in the 1790s, Johann Friedrich Reichardt bemoaned the fact that the Bach did not better exploit the capabilities of the organ in his obbligati, expressing disappointment at the similarly light *galant* textures that C.P.E. Bach praised. See Dreyfus, 'The Metaphorical Soloist', 237–238.

extending only to the opening chorus.³⁸³ It is not the case, as one might initially assume, that all these cantatas were once complete and various pages have simply been lost over the centuries; on the contrary, the sources show that Agricola made a deliberate choice to only copy out certain movements. In some copies, such as BWV 169 and 170, headings such as *Sinfonie vor einem Kirchenstück auf den 18. post Trin: von J. S. Bach* (BWV 169) and *aus einem Kirchenstück auf den 6. p. Trin: | vom Herrn Joh: Sebastian Bach. es fängt sich an: | Vergnügte Ruh [etc].* (BWV 170) make clear that these are individual excerpts designed to stand alone. In others, such as BWV 105, Agricola has carefully noted the absent movements in their correct places in the score (see **Figure 5.9**).

The copy of BWV 105 is also revealing because the obbligato horn part in the tenor aria ('Kann ich nur Jesum mir zum Freunde machen'), which in the autograph is notated above the first violin, is missing. It seems hardly likely that this was an accident. Robert Marshall has suggested that the copy was prepared from the lost original parts for the cantata, which were in C.P.E. Bach's possession, because the manuscript contains several performance markings that are not found in the autograph. If so, it is likely the horn obbligato part had already been separated from the set by the time Agricola made his copy.

³⁸³ The other copyist present in the source is J.G. Freudenberg. See NBA I/16 KB, 167.

Am. B. 33

Sinfonia vor einem Concert für die 18. post Trin: von J. S. Bach.

Flauto
Clarinetto
Violino
Violino
Braccio
Organ
Tromba

GYMNASIO
REGIO ACHIMENSE
LUCAS ABILE
STREB. PRIM. DE
AMALIA

Figure 5.8: J.S. Bach, *Gott soll allein mein Herze haben*, BWV 169, no. 1 (Sinfonia), b. 1–12. Score copy in the hand of Agricola, D-B Am.B 33, fol. 1r.

The image displays a page of handwritten musical notation. The top section features a vocal line with German lyrics: "weißt, nur dir ist kein Lohn - Diger nur dir ist kein Lohn =". Below this, there are several staves of instrumental accompaniment. At the bottom of the page, there are five staves labeled "Violino 1.", "Violino 2", "Viola", "Tenore", and "Basso cont:". To the left of these staves, there are three columns of text: "Ancitativo: alt.", "Arie", and "Accomp:". The lyrics for these parts are: "Mein Gott nur", "Doprau", "Wohl aber hung", "mir auf mich", "Wie ist das", "Bass:", and "Bass:".

Figure 5.9: J.S. Bach, *Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht mit deinem Knecht*, BWV 105, conclusion to no. 1

and opening to no. 5. Score copy in the hand of Agricola, D-B Am.B 37, fol. 6v.

Coro 1.

Organo

Flauto trav. 1

Flauto trav. 2

Oboè 1.

Oboè 2.

Violino 1.

Violino 2.

Viola

Soprano

Contralto

Tenore

Basso

Coro 2

Flauto trav. 1.

Flauto trav. 2

Oboè 1

Oboè 2

Violino 1.

Violino 2

Viola

Soprano

Contralto

Tenore

Basso

Basso continuo

Figure 5.10: J.S. Bach, *St Matthew Passion* (early version), BWV 244b, opening chorus, b. 1–3.

Score copy in the hand of Agricola, D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 26, fol. 1v.

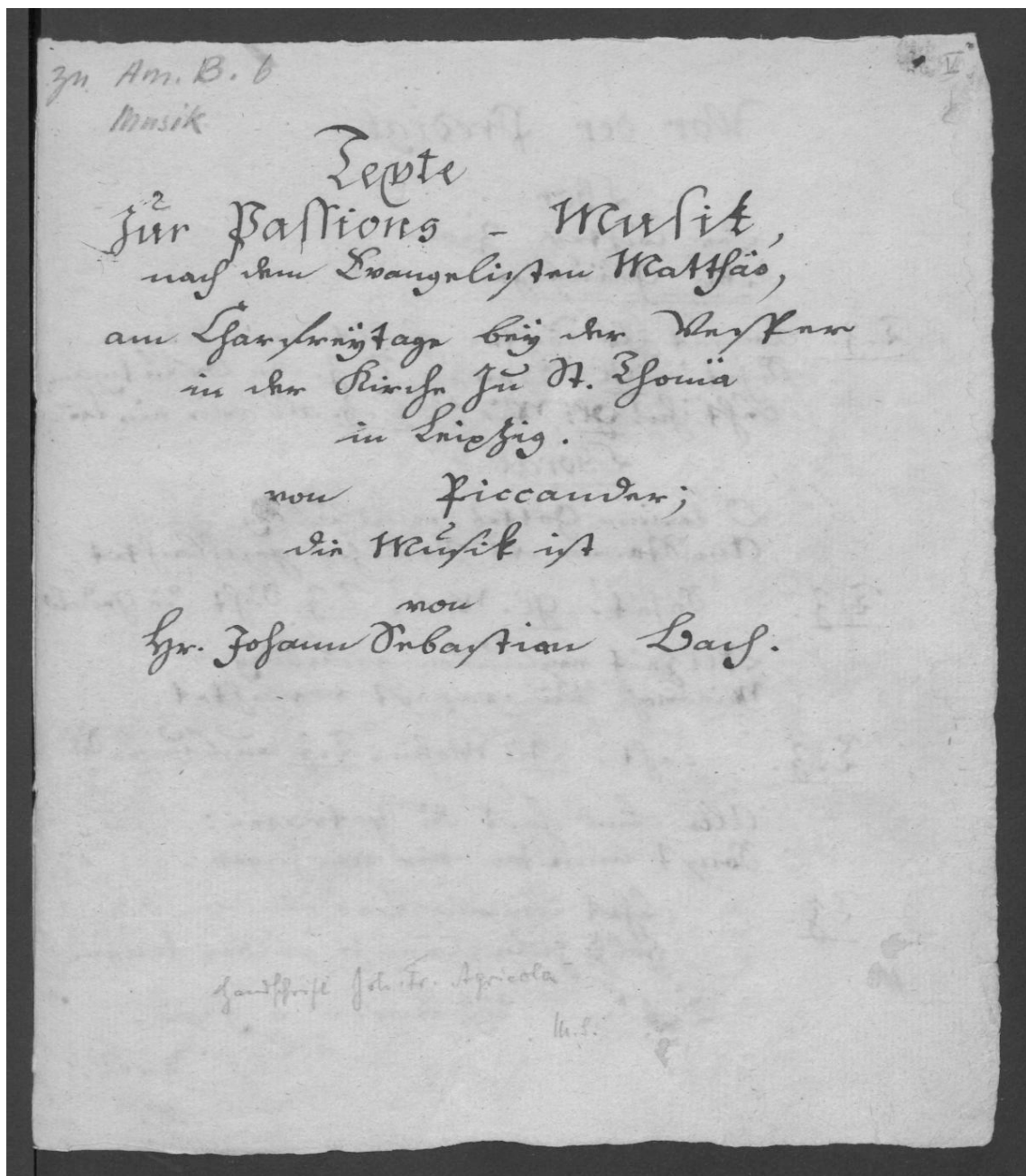


Figure 5.11: J.S. Bach, *St Matthew Passion* (early version), BWV 244b. Copy of the libretto in the hand of Agricola, after the score copy by J.C. Farlau, D-B Am.B 6, fol. Vr.

Although most of the copies of vocal works date from the Berlin period, sorting out their internal chronology is problematic. D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Bach St 76 stands as an outlier not only because the handwriting is characteristic of the Leipzig period, but because it is part-autograph, so clearly dates from Bach's lifetime. As I mentioned above, it is known that after Agricola's death his musical estate remained in Berlin but was separated across different collections. The earliest portion of the collection to have been separated seems to have gone to Kirnberger and the Amalien-Bibliothek, and it is notable that Agricola's copies of Bach vocal works are today found almost exclusively in that collection; there are none in the Berlin Singakademie, for example.

Agricola's score of the *St Matthew Passion*, D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 26, is an incomplete copy of the early version of the work, BWV 244b (244.1) (**Figure 5.10**).³⁸⁴ It has been established that the model for this copy must have been the source Am.B 6–7, the earliest surviving complete score copy of the early version, which itself was copied from a lost autograph score.³⁸⁵ Dürr identified the copyist of this manuscript as Bach's son-in-law Johann Christoph Altnikol, but subsequent research has shown that the copyist is in fact the Jena and Leipzig scribe Johann Christoph Farlau (c.1735–c.1770).³⁸⁶ Agricola certainly knew this copy because he appended a handwritten copy of the libretto of the work to the score (**Figure 5.11**) after it came into his possession from Farlau. Wollny suggests that this copy, along with a copy of the chorale prelude

³⁸⁴ The title page reads: *Passions-Musik | nach dem Evangelisten Mat- | thäus, | mit untermischeten Arien, Recitativen | und Chören. | am Charfreytage 173 | bey der Vesper | in der Kirche zu St. Thomas in Leipzig | aufgeführt. | in Musik gesetzt | von Hrn. Johann Sebastian Bach.* Transcr. in BDok II, No. 440, 339–340.

³⁸⁵ See the discussion in NBA II/5b KB (Andreas Glöckner, 2004), 9ff.

³⁸⁶ NBA II/5b KB, 9; Peter Wollny, 'Tennstedt, Leipzig, Naumberg, Halle – Neuerkenntnisse zur Bach-Überlieferung in Mitteldeutschland', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (2002): 29–60, at 36–47.

An Wasserflüssen Babylon by Johann Adam Reinken (D-Bhm H 9364) came into Agricola's possession after Farlau's death in approximately 1770.³⁸⁷ As a result, therefore, he dates P 26 to the very last years of Agricola's life, and from this extrapolates the use of the 'IFS' paper to this period also.³⁸⁸

This paper type is not found in any Agricola manuscripts except the Bach copies; in addition to those manuscripts listed above, it is also seen in his short score copy of *Die Kunst der Fuge*, BWV 1080 (Am.B 58) and his full score copy of the C.P.E. Bach Keyboard concerto in E minor, Wq 15 (D-Bsa SA 2623). The concerto is of no assistance in providing a useful *terminus post quem* for the copy, as it was composed in 1745.³⁸⁹ Following Wollny's dating, therefore, it would seem that Agricola's MS copies using this paper type, including the cantatas BWV 170, 47, 38 and 2, and possibly 105, are all linked and come from this very late period.

The palaeography in these manuscripts, however, is not uniform, and suggests a slightly more protracted genesis than the watermarks alone might indicate. As **Table 5.2** shows, although all exhibit a 3-form C-clef, there is variation in the use of German and Italian scripts for headings and instrumentation.

³⁸⁷ Wollny, 'Neuerkenntnisse zur Bach-Überlieferung', 47. We can therefore surmise that both Am.B 6–7 and P 26 were in Agricola's possession at the time of his death; however, P 26 somehow made its way back to C.P.E. Bach, for it is listed in the latter's *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* (Hamburg: Gottlieb Friedrich Schniebes, 1790, p. 81; repr. in CPEB-CW, Supplement) as *Eine Passion nach dem Matthäus, incomplet*. This, presumably, is why P 26 did not end up in the Amalien-Bibliothek, unlike most of the other copies.

³⁸⁸ Wollny, 'C.P.E. Bach, G.P. Telemann und die Osterkantate', 89. The editors of BDok II incorrectly suggested that the MS may date from 1739, on account of this being the only year that Agricola could have attended a Passion performance in Leipzig when he was studying there. See the commentary to BDok II, 340.

³⁸⁹ See the introduction to CPEB-CW III/Supp., Keyboard Concerto in E minor, Wq 15 (facsimile) (Elias N. Kulukundis, 2013), xi.

Table 5.2: Palaeographic features in Agricola manuscript copies displaying the 'IFS' watermark

MS	C-clef form	Heading/instrumentation script
D-B Am.B 34 (BWV 170)	3-form	German heading, Italian instrumentation/other headings
D-B Am.B 35 (BWV 47)	3-form	German
D-B Am.B 37 (BWV 105)	3-form	Italian
D-B Am.B 38 (BWV 38; BWV 2)	3-form	German
D-B Am.B 58 (BWV 1080)	3-form	Italian
D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 26 (BWV 244b)	3-form	Italian
D-Bsa SA 2623 (Wq 15)	3-form	Italian

In Chapter 3, I cautioned against the use of this characteristic as a reliable dating feature. Dürr correctly observed that some of the Bach copies in which German writing is found are from the late Berlin period, but did not make the distinction between different letter forms. In accordance with the autographs of Agricola cantatas from the Berlin Singakademie that can be definitively dated to the late 1750s and early 1760s, his assertion that the German writing was 'a temporary decision' on Agricola's part that 'at some point was abandoned or not consistently implemented' does not really make sense.³⁹⁰ Although the copies of BWV 146, BWV 49 and BWV 29 (Am.B 538–540) only utilise German script, they display a uniform palaeography that is distinct from

³⁹⁰ 'Offenbar entspringt also die erwähnte Deutschschreibung einem vorübergehenden Entschluß Agricolas, der irgendwann wieder aufgegeben oder aber nicht consequent verwirklicht wurde.' Dürr Chr, 59.

that seen in BWV 169 (Am.B 33), and the 'IFS' watermark manuscripts for BWV 170, BWV 47, BWV 38 and BWV 2 (Am.B 34–35, 38), thus reinforcing (in addition to the watermark data) their earlier dating. Although there seems to be little logic to Agricola's switching between German and Italian scripts in the 'IFS' manuscripts, I cautiously suggest that at least perhaps those in each group may be more closely related to each other.

All these aspects, however, shed only limited light on the question of what these copies—especially those that are incomplete—were actually used for. This was a question that stumped Dürr, and he frankly admitted that 'we have no answer at this time' as to why the *Matthew Passion* copy remained so incomplete, with not only missing movements but many numbers that are only sketched out, with seemingly no intention of completion (**Figure 5.12**).³⁹¹ This could never have been used for a performance of the work; at most, only performance of selections would have been possible.³⁹² Did Agricola copy out certain movements of these works for individual performance late in his life, perhaps even in a semi-concert, or at least only quasi-liturgical, setting? Or were the copies used merely for various study or teaching purposes, some perhaps instigated by C.P.E. Bach's move to Hamburg in 1768 when he would no longer have had access to his colleague's scores? Is it even possible that the Farlau copy of BWV 244 reached Agricola before the former's death?

³⁹¹ 'Warum aber mag Agricolas Kopie "incomplet" geblieben sein? Darauf wissen wir vorläufig keine Antwort zu geben.' Dürr Chr, 62. See also NBA II/5 KB (Alfred Dürr, 1974), 62–68, 81–85, 235–237.

³⁹² Some continue markings, ornamentation and corrections in red ink (in Agricola's hand) suggest this might have at least been considered at some point; see, for example, fol. 60v.

Fifty years on from Dürr's article, we still have no clear answers. What these copies do indicate, though, is that Agricola consciously procured certain works of his teacher to add to his sizeable personal library of music in Berlin, as he did music by other noted composers of his day. In this respect, as Beißwenger, Springthorpe and others have shown in their respective studies of personal music libraries, Agricola was following the practices of many of his contemporaries, systematically procuring music for both study and performance, and influences on his own compositions can also be observed. However, the manuscript copies in Agricola's hand also reveal how he was at the forefront of systematic and sophisticated copying operations in Berlin, and that he worked with other scribes to substantially add to the rich and varied repertoires that were studied and performed there. It is to be hoped that future research on this corpus of sources will uncover further evidence of these rich musical networks of which Agricola formed such a key part.

EPILOGUE

In February 2020, I was preparing to return to Germany to undertake a final stint of archival work for this thesis, following the temporary closure of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz in the second half of 2019 for the completion of its major renovation project. I scheduled my trip to coincide with the reopening of the Staatsbibliothek in the late spring, planning to consult materials in Berlin and elsewhere that I had not yet been able to examine, and check details in other sources that I had marked as needing further investigation.

As I began organising my research materials and archive requests, the novel coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) that causes COVID-19 disease was already making its presence felt in several countries around the world. In the following weeks, as the international situation rapidly deteriorated and borders began to close across Europe, it became clear that my planned travel could not go ahead. At the time of writing, over a year later, travel remains significantly impeded, and it was only shortly before the submission of the thesis that the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin announced it would be reopening. I was therefore unable to complete my archival work for this project and, as a result, there are sections of this thesis that are necessarily incomplete. This most significantly affects the two catalogues presented in Volume III, where musical incipits and key source data are missing from some entries. Other information has had to be sourced from secondary literature (most significantly RISM) without being independently verified or cross-checked. It is anticipated that future revision and

publication of the material in this thesis will be expanded to include the missing information once the sources become accessible again.

Restrictions on the accessibility of sources—not least because of the effects of a global crisis—are, of course, nothing new. Alfred Dürr, writing in 1970, was well aware that his conclusions about Agricola's handwriting and the chronology of the manuscripts were limited by the sources that were available to him: twenty-five years after the end of the Second World War, vast amounts of material that had been evacuated from Berlin in the early 1940s—including the archive of the Berlin Singakademie—had still not been recovered. It may seem obvious to state that source-based research is necessarily limited by the materials that are accessible at any one time, but this is a point worth reiterating in view of the cultural moment in which we now find ourselves.

Over the past decade, there has been an explosion in the online availability of high-quality digital scans of source material, via both library-specific databases and union catalogues such as RISM, *Bach-Digital* and the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM). Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the completion of this thesis would have been impossible without digitised sources. In the present moment, scholarship is experiencing both the collapse of geographical and historical distances and, paradoxically, the enforcement of them through restricted access to physical materials.³⁹³ These circumstances should now force us to consider how digital scholarship affect the materiality of these manuscripts, and the manner in which we interact with them.

³⁹³ Here I am paraphrasing Stephen Rose, 'Towards the digital future', *Early Music* 41 (2013): 129–130.

Theoretical issues of engagement with musical scores as material objects underpin much of what I discuss in the thesis, either implicitly or explicitly. In considering some of the historiographical issues surrounding Agricola's biography and the marginalisation of the *galant*, I demonstrated in Chapter 1 how traditional narratives of eighteenth-century music have thus far hindered a holistic understanding and appreciation of Agricola and his music. I also discussed how the application of models that speak to theories of musical networks in the eighteenth century, including those drawn from book history, allow us to view these sources not as isolated entities, but as case studies in the way music and musical materials were created, collected and exchanged in the middle of the eighteenth century.

In Chapter 2, I examined musical life at the courts of both Berlin and Dresden and the major collections where the Agricola sources are found, noting that the rediscovery of the Berlin Singakademie collection is particularly significant for Agricola scholarship. As I showed in Chapter 3, it has now allowed Dürr's theories to be tested and refined, particularly regarding the chronology of the C-clef forms in the later Berlin manuscripts and the limited usefulness of Agricola's Italian and German scripts. In conjunction with other recent studies on 'pseudo-Agricola', now unmasked as Johann Gottfried Siebe, I considered how Agricola and Siebe seem to have worked particularly closely, and I raised important questions about the working practises of Berlin copyists.

The Singakademie archive has particular implications for an evaluation of Agricola's sacred works, which have so far been significantly underappreciated, owing in part to the fact that nearly half of his works in this genre are only found in that collection. As I highlighted in Chapter 4, Agricola was an active contributor to a

rich repertoire of sacred music performed at the Petrikirche in Berlin, and the careful preservation of Agricola's autograph scores and original performing parts together—a feature unique to the Singakademie sources—allows us to interrogate his working methods and relationships with Berlin copyists. There is much further work to be conducted on these rich materials, especially stylistic analysis (including their stylistic relationship to sacred works by J.S. Bach, C.P.E. Bach and Telemann) and the identification of anonymous copyists.

Copying activities were further explored in Chapter 5, where I discussed some of the most important areas of Agricola's copying activities and the possible uses of some of these materials. I also drew attention to the varying characteristics of the manuscripts in which his hand is seen alongside other copyists, showing that some composite manuscripts may have been pre-planned as anthologies for use at the Berlin court and, thus, take on their own material identities. Agricola's copies of music by Johann Sebastian Bach are of particular interest, and whilst several mysteries surrounding their production and use in Berlin remain unsolved, in considering his copies of Bach's vocal works as a collective whole I drew attention to some important features that may help to answer these questions more definitively in the future.

Although this thesis has aspired to give a comprehensive and critical overview of the Agricola sources, it might seem that, in some ways, it has raised many more questions than it has provided answers. But it was not my intention to be exhaustive; rather, my aim has been to provide a solid foundation for future research. In addition to some of the areas I have outlined above where there is scope for further work, it is highly desirable that detailed investigations of records from the Prussian court archives should be undertaken, in order to further enrich our understanding of

Agricola's activities from a documentary perspective. It is hoped that, in time, this will lead to the realisation of Ellen Exner's wish for a critical biography of Johann Friedrich Agricola, one of the key musical figures of the Bach circle and the Prussian court, and a greater understanding of the extraordinary musical environment in which he operated.

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