

# Luise Gottsched, Lute-playing Heroine of her Age

Tim Crawford

*Luise Adelgunde Victoria Gottsched (1713–1762; fig. 1) is most famous today for her literary achievements as poet, playwright and translator. She was also a highly accomplished musician, a player of the lute and the harpsichord, winning the respect of a wide circle of musical acquaintances, both amateur and professional. This contribution examines a central aspect of the life of this extraordinary woman, her devotion to her favourite instrument, the lute. She collected music for the instrument wherever she could find it, and seems to have thus uniquely preserved a great part of the repertory from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century that has come down to us today. Shortly after her marriage in 1735, her husband, Johann Christoph Gottsched, arranged for her to take composition lessons from one of Johann Sebastian Bach's favourite pupils, the organist and lute-player Johann Ludwig Krebs, whose two surviving lute concertos almost certainly come from her collection. Among the several music manuscripts that can be shown to be written in Luise's hand is one that opens with late copies (?1735–1738) of eight early pieces by Silvius Leopold Weiss (from c.1710–1714), followed by over 50 unascribed chorale-settings for the lute in various styles, including eleven by Adam Falckenhagen, which appeared in print in 1746. The especially intimate genre of the lute chorale has been little studied, but, to judge from the number of examples in sources that can be associated with Leipzig, it formed a significant element of the domestic musical scene in the city. Luise's chorale book closes with an anonymous chorale-setting for lute of an apparently unique type, which may be ascribed with a high degree of certainty to Krebs, who otherwise seems to have devoted himself to his duties as organist in Zwickau from 1737.*

Luise Adelgunde Victoria Gottsched (1713–1762) was the daughter of an eminent Danzig physician, Johann Georg Kulmus (1680–1731), who ensured she received an education unusual for a girl in its breadth and depth.<sup>1</sup> Her mother, Katharina Dorothea, née Schwenck (??–1734), in particular, encouraged the study of French and English, languages in which Luise became fluent and remarkably widely read, and introduced her to theological and philosophical debate at an early age. She also took a keen interest in the sciences, especially astronomy. The Kulmus household was full of music. Johann Georg had learned the lute in his youth, while Katharina Dorothea played the harpsichord and the 'Cyther'<sup>2</sup>, and together they held regular musical evenings with 'Herr D. Kade' playing the lute and 'Secretär Klein' the violin.<sup>3</sup> A harpsichord teacher, Daniel Magnus Gronau (c. 1700–1747), was hired for her in Danzig by her parents, but when she found her father's old lute in a cupboard, with only a few strings, she became determined to learn to play it. The only teacher the family could find over a few months just taught her the names of the strings, the notes and a few chords, but couldn't actually play any pieces for her. She admired Dr Kade's playing, however, and he

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1 Katherine R. Goodman, 'Luise Kulmus's Danzig', in Gabriele Ball, Helga Brandes and Katherine R. Goodman, eds., *Diskurse der Aufklärung. Luise Adelgunde Victorie und Johann Christoph Gottsched* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006). I would like to express my thanks for the advice and help given me by Prof. Goodman over many years in my investigation of Luise Gottsched and her lute music. A further, more recent, source of information which has proved invaluable, especially for the English translations from original German texts (provided in full on an associated web-site), is Andrew Talle's *Beyond Bach. Music and Everyday Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), especially Chapter 6 (pages 111–141), which is devoted to the Gottscheds. I am grateful to Prof. Talle for allowing me to quote freely from his book and the translations therein. In the present article, where not indicated otherwise, all translations were made by me with the aid of online translation resources; needless to say, any remaining errors are entirely my responsibility.

A useful summary of Luise's life and literary significance, with a summary list of her publications, is given in Kord 1998.

2 Probably some form of the instrument that was known as the 'Hamburger cithrinchen', or its bigger version, the 'Thuringian cither'.

3 Their musical guests have been identified as Dr David Kade (dates unknown), who was a physician like Luise's father, and Jacob Theodor Klein (1685–1759), one of the most eminent scientists in Germany, Danzig's City Secretary from 1713, and a member of the leading academies of Europe, including London's Royal Society (Goodman, *Luise's Danzig*, pp. 26–29).





LEONORICA ADELGUNDA VICTORIA  
GOTTSCHEDE,  
Jo. Georgii KULMUS M.D. Gedan.  
Archiatr. quond. Regii Filia.  
Nata D. XI. Apr. 1713. Denata D. XXVI. Jun. 1762.  
E. G. Haussmann P. R. P. effig. pinx. J. M. Bernigeroth sculpsit 1757.

Fig. 1: Luise Adelgunde Victoria Gottsched, née Kulmus, engraving by Johann Martin Bernigeroth, 1757, after Elias Gottlob Haussmann; this state published 1762. British Museum Prints & Drawings.



lent her a few easy pieces to copy.<sup>4</sup> She persevered on her own without a teacher until, by the time of her marriage in 1735, she could already play ‘the hardest Weiss pieces readily at sight’.<sup>5</sup>

In 1729 the assistant professor of poetry at Leipzig University, Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766; fig. 2), visited the Kulmus family on his way back from his parental home, Königsberg. He became infatuated with the sixteen-year-old Luise Kulmus, and determined to make this – for him – ideal representative of enlightened womankind his wife. After hearing her play he sent her a poem in effect declaring his love by praising her hands as they made music; its second stanza reads:

You seem to conjure, not to play,  
Whenever you take up the lute;  
One’s veins and marrow must obey,  
When harpsichord is your pursuit.  
Oh richness of new fantasies!  
How quick, how skillful, full and fine,  
The colors that your fugues entwine.  
You seem to play them all with ease!  
Because, as one can see and hear,  
Divine force is your puppeteer.<sup>6</sup>

Luise’s father died in 1731, and within three years her mother, too, passed away. By this time, in 1734, Danzig was under a state of seige and bombardment by Russian troops during the War of the Polish Succession. It was not until May 1735 that Luise was able to marry Gottsched (by now full professor of poetry and rhetoric). During the interval Gottsched carried on a remarkable courtship by correspondence, sending her from Leipzig letters, books, poems and even music, including harpsichord pieces by Johann Sebastian Bach and some lute pieces by Johann Christian Weyrauch (1694–1771), which she found ‘as difficult as they are beautiful. When I have played them ten times I still feel like a beginner. Among the works of these two great masters, everything pleases me more than their caprices; these are unfathomably difficult.’<sup>7</sup> This has been read by some modern scholars as a negative aesthetic judgement on Bach’s music in general. But, as Talle points out, the word ‘Caprice’ could merely refer to those movements



Fig. 2: Johann Christoph Gottsched, engraving by Johann Martin Bernigeroth, 1757, after Johann Friedrich Reiffstein. British Museum Prints & Drawings.

4 These may have been copied into the ‘Lautenbuch für die Anfänger, im Futterale’ in the list of her music library published after her death (see below).

5 *die schwersten weisichen Stücke fertig, ja fast vom Blatte wegspielte* (J. C. Gottsched, *Ehrenmahl*).

6 Translation by Andrew Talle (from *Beyond Bach*, p. 114). German original text (from Gottsched 1968–1987, 1:26–30): *Zu zaubern scheint ihr, nicht zu spielen, | So bald man eure Laute spürt: | Ja Mark und Adern könnens fühlen, | Wenn ihr den Flügel kaum berührt. | O Reichthum neuer Fantasien! | Wie schnell, wie fertig, voll und schön, | Hört man die bunten Fugen gehn! | Wie wenig dürft ihr euch bemühen! | Weil, wie man deutlich hört und sieht, | Was Höhers Nerv und Finger zieht.*

7 Letter dated 9 January 1732. Translation by Andrew Talle (from *Beyond Bach*, p. 117). German original text (from Gottsched 1722–1766, 1:167): *Es ist mit meinem Claviere ein vierwöchentlicher Stillstand gemacht: so bald ich es anrühren werde, soll das überschickte Stück zu Ihrem Andenken ertönen.*

in improvisatory style, such as toccatas or fantasias like, for example, the Chromatic Fantasia BWV 903, whose highly virtuosic style would indeed be daunting to a dilettante player.<sup>8</sup> (Unfortunately, we have no original music by Weyrauch, only two lute tablature arrangements of Bach works in his hand;<sup>9</sup> these suggest that his technical ability on the lute was outstanding, but tell us nothing about his own music.) What Luise's comments do imply is a good deal of admiration for these two 'great masters', whose music – apart from the 'caprices' – in fact pleased her.

Later in the same year (15 October 1732) she thanked Gottsched for sending something more appealing, a *Sinfonia* by Hasse (plausibly identified by Andrew Talle as an arrangement of the overture to the opera *Cleofide*, which had been premiered to huge acclaim in Dresden on 13 September 1731).

In Leipzig, the couple moved into a house called 'Der Goldene Bär' (The Golden Bear), which was owned by Gottsched's publisher, Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf (1695–1777). Luise's appetite for music was undiminished, and indeed was encouraged by her husband. Those who visited the Gottsched home in Leipzig at this time were frequently impressed by her musical skills and her modesty. A young Englishman on the Grand Tour wrote in his travel diary in November 1736:

*Mr Gottsched lately married a wife of great accomplishments. ... She is between 20, & 30, speaks French admirably well, understands Italian, & English ... She plays delightfully on the harpsichord; we heard her perform some of the hardest compositions of Mr. Handel with great dexterity. With all these accomplishments the lady is neither vain nor assuming; and seems to set no extraordinary value on herself on this acc[oun]t. Her misfortune is that she is very sickly.<sup>10</sup>*

Fifteen months later, on 12 May 1738, the Swiss theologian Gabriel Hürner noted in his diary:

This evening I saw everything that is beautiful to me about Leipzig. Herr Gottsched arranged a concert for me in his home and invited guests. Herr Coste, a master's student, and two other students were present, and played. ... Frau Gottsched tries to speak French but cannot produce a single word, or in any case not a single complete phrase. She is very timid and worries at every moment that she will make a mistake. ... After drinking coffee, we went to music, and this lasted, together with an evening meal of various dishes, until 10 p.m. Frau Gottsched cannot play everything effortlessly; she wants to perform only the pieces she already knows. She played for a long time at the harpsichord, but this was nothing compared to her performance on the lute; there I was enraptured. She noticed my astonishment and this inspired her to play more. She is admirable with the lute, and even more beautiful than Mademoiselle Ritter. I could not admire her enough. Herr Gottsched loves to show off his wife.<sup>11</sup>

As the young Englishman's comment suggests, Luise was dogged by ill-health throughout her life. Eventually this forced her to give up her musical pursuits a few years before her untimely death in 1762. As a memorial

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8 Talle, *Beyond Bach*, p. 119. As it happens, the earliest surviving copy of BWV 903 may be the one made by Johann Ludwig Krebs's father, Johann Tobias Krebs (1690–1762), himself a former Bach pupil.

See: [https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource\\_source\\_00001793](https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001793) (3.9.2021)

9 See Schulze 1979.

10 Talle, *Beyond Bach*, p. 134 (quoting from GB-Lbl Add. MS 15768, pp. 65–66).

11 Talle, *Beyond Bach*, pp. 135–6. German original text (from Otto 2010, 123–124): *Diesen abend hab ich alles gesehen, was schön für mich ist zu Leipzig. H. Gottsched stellte für Mich ein concerto an und lud dazu ein. H. Coste einen magister und noch 2 Studenten warteten etwas auf, und spielten. [...] Frau Gottsched will sich meliren französisch zu sprechen, und kan kein wort her vorbringen, auf das wenigste keinen ganzen spruch; sie ist sehr timid und fürchtet alle augenblick zu fehlen. [...] Nachdeme man den caffè getrunken gieng man zur music und die währte mit dem ambigu, das man uns gabe bis um 10. fr. Gottsched spielt nicht alles weg. sie will nur ihre eigene stuke haben. sie mieche lang auf dem Clavier; allein das war noch nichts gegen die lauten; da war ich entzückt. Sie merkte meine verwunderung und dieses zündete sie an mehr zu thun. Sie ist admirabl mit der lauten, und noch schöner als die Jungfr. Ritter. ich konte sie nicht genug admiriren. H. Gottsched liebt sehr seine frau sehen zu lassen.* Despite the impression given here that Luise's spoken French was far from fluent, probably because of her shyness and tendency to self-criticism (cf. her reluctance to play pieces she did not know well on the harpsichord) there is ample evidence that her written French was excellent. [AS: In fn. 260, Otto gives a possible identification of 'Jungfr. Ritter' as sister of Johann Jakob Richter, a physician in Bern and like Hürner member of the Bern society 'Die schöne Welt'. It's the first known evidence for lute playing in Bern in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.]



to his recently-deceased wife, J. C. Gottsched published a collection of her shorter poems, the *Kleinere Gedichten* (1763), to which a number of poems dedicated to her memory by acquaintances and friends were appended, together with an obituary (hereinafter referred to as the *Leben*) of his own in which we learn much of what we know about her life and achievements.<sup>12</sup> Although obviously a subjective account, and clearly coloured with a fair amount of self-congratulation, it has been cited as unusual for this period in the unusual depth of detail given to a woman's biography.<sup>13</sup>

From the *Leben*, and from some letters she wrote at the time, we learn that in the years following her marriage Luise was not satisfied with merely performing on the lute and harpsichord, but also wanted to try her hand at composition. This is how J. C. Gottsched tells the story:

As in other realms, she endeavored here too to step beyond the bounds of a woman's common path. Figured bass [*Generalbaß*] she had already mastered in Danzig, but the art of setting music, or composing, was not yet in her grasp. Given her great aptitude and musical proclivity, there remained only this final step to take. Her husband chose a teacher for her from among the many in Leipzig who understood music: one of the most skillful students of Kapellmeister Bach, Herr Krebs, who has since become quite famous. In a short time, she understood enough of this art to still her desire. She composed not only an entire so-called suite, which she presented to her husband as a birthday gift, but also set one of his texts as a cantata commemorating their anniversary.<sup>14</sup>

### Luise's composition teacher, Johann Ludwig Krebs

Johann Ludwig Krebs (1713–1780) was indeed one of Johann Sebastian Bach's most distinguished pupils. He studied at the Thomasschule from 1726 to 1735; in his final year his teacher provided a testimonial letter praising Krebs's distinction on keyboard instruments and on the violin and lute as well as in composition.<sup>15</sup> A substantial amount of keyboard and chamber music by Krebs has survived, and it displays a complete assimilation of Bach's training in harmony and counterpoint with an admixture of more up-to-date *galant* elements.<sup>16</sup> Although not stated explicitly in J. C. Gottsched's account, it seems more-or-less certain that Bach himself recommended this outstanding pupil who was already working for him as a part-time assistant and playing harpsichord in the *Collegium Musicum* while studying law and philosophy at Leipzig University.<sup>17</sup>

The composition lessons began soon after November 1736, and came to an end the following May, when Krebs took up a post as organist at St. Mary's church in Zwickau. Of the 'so-called suite' (for harpsichord? or for lute?), there seems to be no trace today. Luise's cantata for solo voice and basso continuo, a setting of a text by her husband celebrating their union, *Seyd begrüßt ihr schönen Stunden*, was published by her husband in

12 Gottsched *Ehrenmaale*.

13 Goodman 2006.

14 Talle, *Beyond Bach*, p. 125. German original text (from Gottsched *Leben*, \*\*4v–\*\*5): *Wo die Wohlselige noch immer die Musik zur Abwechselung ihrer Nebenstunden zu brauchen pflegte: so bemühte sie sich auch darinnen die gemeine Bahn des Frauenzimmers in etwas zu überschreiten. Den Generalbaß hatte sie auf dem Claviere schon in Danzig gelernet: allein die musikalische Setzkunst, oder das Componiren, hatte sie noch nicht begriffen. Bey ihrer großen Fähigkeit und Neigung zu dieser Kunst, hatte sie als nur noch einen Schritt zu thun: und hier wählte ihr Gatte, von denen damals hier befindlichen Musikverständigen, einen der geschicktesten Lehrlinge des Capellmeisters Bach, Herrn Krebsen: der nachmals sehr berühmt geworden. In kurzem begriff sie so viel davon, als zu Stillung ihrer Begierde nöthig schien. Sie setzte nicht nur eine sogenannte ganze Suite, womit sie zur Erkennlichkeit, ihren Gatten einmal an seinem Jahrtage anband; sondern brachte auch eine Cantate von seiner Arbeit in Noten, die auf ihrer beyder glückliche Verbindung verfertigt war.* Gottsched prints the Cantata later in the book (pp. 178–192); see fn. 18.

15 See 'Bach's testimonial on behalf of Krebs', in: Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. Christoph Wolff, eds., *The New Bach Reader. A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, New York and London: Norton, 1998, 170 (no. 177).

16 Cf the advertisement for a new set of sonatas by Krebs, published in a Leipzig musical periodical several years later: 'Mr. K is already well enough known to enthusiasts through his many musical works that we do not need to go into great detail about his skill. We always find a good, pleasing melody in him, and as much correct and thorough harmony as one can expect from a pupil of the blessed Bach.' (*Herr K ist durch vielerlei musikalische Arbeiten, denen Liebhabern schon zu seinem Vortheile bekannt genug, dass wir nicht nöthig haben, uns über seine Geschicklichkeit weitläufig auszubreiten. Wir finden bei ihm immer eine gute gefällige Melodie, und in der Harmonie so viel richtiges und gründliches als man von einem Schüler des seeligen Bachs erwarten kann.*); from Hiller 1760, 16<sup>tes</sup> Stück, 6 February 1760, p. 128.

17 Hugh J. McLean, 'Krebs family', in: *Grove Music Online*.

the same volume as the *Leben*.<sup>18</sup> (See Example 1.) The extent to which Krebs helped her in this work cannot be judged today, since the original manuscript seems to be lost, and, in any case, there are no surviving secular vocal works by him which might provide points of comparison. It is, however, generally competent and effective, although perhaps not fully in accord with J. C. Gottsched's strictures concerning the setting of cantata texts in his *Critische Dichtkunst* (first edition 1730; second edition, probably revised with Luise's direct intervention in its musical aspects, 1737<sup>19</sup>).

Luise's cantata may in fact have been performed again, in December 1750. J. C. Gottsched wrote to one of his influential friends, Friedrich Heinrich von Seckendorf (1673–1763), the retired commander of the Bavarian army, that he had visited the Duchess of Courland (who presided over a distinguished salon in Leipzig):

in order to hand over to her the cantata which was sent to your Excellency by my wife, which was performed musically the same evening. There was a large gathering to listen to it, including Privy Counciller Hofmann, Court Counciller Bastineller, and others. The music was also very well done, and would have been worthy of being heard by both Royal Highnesses.<sup>20</sup>

When Krebs in 1740 published the first of his series of four *Pieces* for keyboard, itself a set of six preludes that his title-page describes as 'easy, and in today's taste', he dedicated them *Dir, Theure Heldin dieser Zeit, Frau Gottsched* (To you, priceless heroine of this age, Mrs Gottsched).<sup>21</sup> (See Example 2, p. 230.)

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Cantate.

*Aria.*

Seyd gegrüßt ihr schönen

Stunden! Seyd gegrüßt, ihr schönen

Stunden! ihr schönen Stunden! seyde gegrüßt! ihr schönen

Stun-

Example 1: L. A. V. Gottsched, cantata, *Seyd gegrüßt ihr schönen Stunden*, text by J. C. Gottsched, *Gottsched Ehrenmahl*, p. 178.

18 Luise Gottsched, *Kleine Gedichten*, pp. 178–192. Katherine Goodman has suggested that the cantata's composition may even have predated the lessons with Krebs, or may have been intended for the Gottsched couple's first or second wedding anniversary in May 1736 or 1737. (Goodman 2009; I am grateful to Prof. Goodman for sending me the draft text of her unpublished talk.) The cantata has recently been published in a modern edition by Gudrun Agethen and others (Gottsched 2022).

19 Talle, *Beyond Bach*, pp. 129–130; see also Goodman 2009.

20 Johann Christoph Gottsched to Seckendorf, 31 December 1750; Döring 2006, p. 62. Original German text: *um derselben diejenige Cantata zu übergeben, die E. Hochgeb. Excellence von meiner Freundinn unterthänigst übersandt worden und welche denselben Abend musicalisch aufgeföhret wurde. Es war eine starke Versammlung dieselbe anzuhören, darunter auch H. Cammerr[at] Hofmann, H. Hofr[at] Bastineller, u. a. m. waren. Die Musik war auch sehr gut gerathen, und wäre schon werth, von beiden Königl. Hoheiten gehört zu werden.*

21 Johann Ludwig Krebs, *Erste Piece, bestehend in sechs leichten, und nach dem heutigen gusto, wohl-eingerichteten PREAMBULIS*, Zwickau, 1740.



# Erste Piece,

Bestehend

In sechs leichten, und nach dem heutigen gusto,  
Wohl-eingerichteten

## P R Æ A M B U L I S,

Denen

Siebhabern der edlen Music,

Besonders des Claviers,

Dur Gemüths-Ergözung,

Und

Angenehmen Zeit-Vertreib,

Componiret, und öffentlich heraus gegeben

Von

Johann Ludwig Krebs,

Organist bey der Haupt-Kirche zu St. Marien in Zwickau.

Anno M DCC XL.

Sie,  
Ihre Selb in dieser Zeit,  
Frau Hofschied,  
Sey diß Blat geweyht.

Wiltbrenne darum nicht, Heroisch-grosser Geist,  
Wenn sich ein edler Trieb aus engen Schranken reißt,  
Und Deiner Seltenheit, die Preis und Danck verdienet,  
Ein schlecht-gesetztes Lied zu widmen sich erkühnet.

Du weißt ja noch die Zeit, da Dir mein Saiten-Spiel,  
Wie? oder sag ich recht, mir Deine Kunst gefiel,  
Die den, der Dein Gehör zu unterweisen dachte,  
So bald Du nur gespielt, zu einem Schüler machte.

! nimm Dir die Gedult, und schau, was ich gelernt;  
Was ich noch nicht erreicht, was ich nicht ausgekernet,  
Das überfüllst Du bald, wenn Du die Saiten rührest,  
Und den noch niedern Geist zu höhern Stufen führest.

Gefühn ich mich zu viel? vielleicht, daß mir die Welt,  
Die meine Demuth sieh, den Fehl zu gute hält,  
Die, wenn Dich Kunst und Wiß hinauf zum Sternen treibet,  
Dir doch den ersten Preis im Spielen schuldig bleibet.

Sier übersteigt Dein Lob den Phoebus dieser Zeit,  
Dem Du Dein Saiten-Spiel, sowie Dich selbst, geweyht;  
O! daß ich Dich und Ihn noch ein mal in der Nähe,  
Wie vormals oft geschah, beyssammen sitzen sähe!

Sier hat Natur und Kunst ein Meister-Stück gemacht,  
Dir aber, edler Geist, die Palmen zugedacht.  
Wohlan! so siege denn, wenn ich, und andre weichen,  
Die Kunst, so hoch sie steigt, sieht nirgend Deines gleichen.



Example 2: Krebs 1740

a) title-page

b) dedicatory poem

Although Krebs was hired by Gottsched as Luise's composition teacher, his known skill as a lute-player suggests at least the possibility that he may have provided her with music for her favourite instrument. The only lute music by Krebs that has come down to us is a pair of concertos, in F major and C major, neither apparently in his autograph, whose sources have strong Leipzig connections and quite possibly came from her collection. Neither of them is especially virtuosic, but they are both full-scale concertos demanding a secure technique, and it is tempting to suppose that they were written for – or donated to – Luise by the composer, although there is no external evidence to support such a claim.

Luise's music library in fact contained many concertos, at least eight for harpsichord and eighteen for lute. Although Krebs's name does not appear in the auction catalogues published in 1767, a few years after the deaths of Luise and her husband,<sup>22</sup> a pair of lute concertos by him (almost certainly these ones) was advertised in a 1770 Breitkopf catalogue, and they appear again in the 1836 auction catalogue of Breitkopf und Hartel's surplus stock together with five by Kohaut, one of which, in E major, demands a great deal of virtuosity.<sup>23</sup> The Krebs F major concerto survives in the Berlin source in two copies: one complete set of parts for lute (in tablature), two violins, viola and cello; and a further copy of the lute part alone, containing many differences in detail suggesting that this is a later revision. This second lute part (D-B Mus. ms. 12021) shows clear evidence that it was used in Leipzig, in a circle closely connected with the Breitkopf publishing house. Cadenzas have been added to all three movements by the copyist (apparently not Krebs himself, although this needs further investigation), and further amendments or corrections were made in the hands of Johann Kropfgans (1708–1771), who moved to Leipzig after the death of his Dresden employer, Count Brühl, in 1763, and a Breitkopf copyist. (See Examples 3a and b, p. 232–234.)

The intervention of Kropfgans in the second copy of the F major lute part does not provide concrete proof that the two concertos were from Luise Gottsched's library, or that they were composed for her, but it is suggestive. Circumstantial evidence of a long-standing connection between her and Kropfgans comes from the existence of a letter she wrote in 1739 to an influential aristocratic friend at the Prussian court, Count Ernst Christoph von Manteuffel (1676–1749, fig. 3, p. 235), including a testimonial for a gifted female musician:

Now allow me to beg a favor of your Excellence. I ask not for myself, but rather on behalf of an art that has climbed so high it need not work for bread. There is a woman here who plays an excellent lute. I have never heard Weiss perform, but she outplays all masters that I know. The jealousy of others has robbed her of all hope for finding work in Dresden, where she has been to this point been in service of a certain princely person. She would consider herself very lucky if she could find employment either with the queen or the crown princess. If I could entertain the hope that your Excellence take up her cause by speaking with Herr Reinbeck,<sup>24</sup> I would be beholden to you for the rest of my life. This woman is strong not only in music; she also draws very artfully, knits very beautifully, and knows everything that belongs to serving a high aristocrat. She desires nothing more than to stand among the

22 J. C. Gottsched *Catalogus*, pp. 235–236; L. A. V. Gottsched *Catalogus*, 'Musicalia' (lots 115–136), pp. 8–9.

23 Breitkopf 1770; Breitkopf & Härtel 1836. In the 1836 sale catalogue, the two Krebs concertos (comprising 23 *Bogen* – i.e. folded four-page sheets) are in the same lot (1433) as a set of five lute concertos by Karl von Kohaut (34 *Bogen*); the physical description of the two sets very closely matches the number of *Bogen* in the surviving source (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, D-B, Kohaut: Mus. ms. 11834/1, 3, 5, 7, 9; Krebs: Mus. ms. 12019/1, 2; Mus. ms. 12020; Mus. ms. 12021) as long as the late copy (c1800) of the Krebs C major concerto (Mus. ms. 12019/1) in the same set is included.

The two Krebs concertos have been published in reliable performing editions by Ruggero Chiesa (Chiesa 1971), including both versions of the lute part of the F major concerto. The late date of 1770 given for the two concertos in the thematic catalogue of Krebs's works, Friedrich 2009, seems to derive entirely from the date of their earliest appearance in the 1770 Breitkopf catalogue. In her doctoral dissertation of 1959 on Krebs (Horstman 1959), Jean Horstman devotes an entire chapter to the two concertos, including a detailed stylistic analysis, and includes the score of a movement from the F major concerto in an appendix.

Kohaut's E major concerto (D-B Mus. ms. 11834/3) is published in Koczirz 1942, pp. 70–91; the B flat major concerto from the same source (D-B Mus. ms. 11834/7) appears in a companion volume, Schnürl et al 1967, pp. 83–107.

24 Johann Gustav Reinbeck (1683–1741), Lutheran theologian and confessor to the Prussian royal family.



2 Concerto.  
Allegro.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a lute concerto. The title is "Concerto. Allegro." and the page is numbered "2". The notation is written on ten staves. It includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "p", "f", "s", "tutti", and "solo". There are also some handwritten annotations and corrections, such as "pi. 4" and "solo a", and a large section of the score is crossed out with diagonal lines. The paper appears aged and slightly yellowed.

Example 3a: Johann Ludwig Krebs, concerto for lute in F, first movement (D-B Mus. ms. 12021, pp. 2-3). Copy of lute part with amendments in the hands of Johann Kropfgans (second page, line 10, replacing



3

ra | er | pr | pr | br | ar | da | a a | br | ar | da | a a |

4 Tutti 4 a a a a 4 a a a a

a r | se | sa | ra | e | b | a | b | e | r | r | x | b | a | e |

4 solo 4 a a 4 a

a a a | r r a | r e | m | p | a | r a | r e | r | e | a | r a |

4 a a a a 4 a a

r ar | a a | a a a a | r e | r r | h h h | an

4 a 4 a 4 a

a a | ra | pra | ra | n | e | r | e | ra | h | n |

4 a 4 a a

r r | r a | a | r | e | r | e | e | r | a | r | e | r |

4 a 4 a 4 a 4 a 4 a 4 a 4 a 4 a 4 a

r a | a | a | r | r | r | e | r | r | e | a | a |

4 a 4 a a a 4 4 4 4 a a a a 4 a

r r | r r | r r | r r | a a | r r | r r | r r | a a | a a |

4 a 4 a a a a a r 4 a a r

r r | r r | r r | r r | a a | r r | r r | r r | a a | a a |

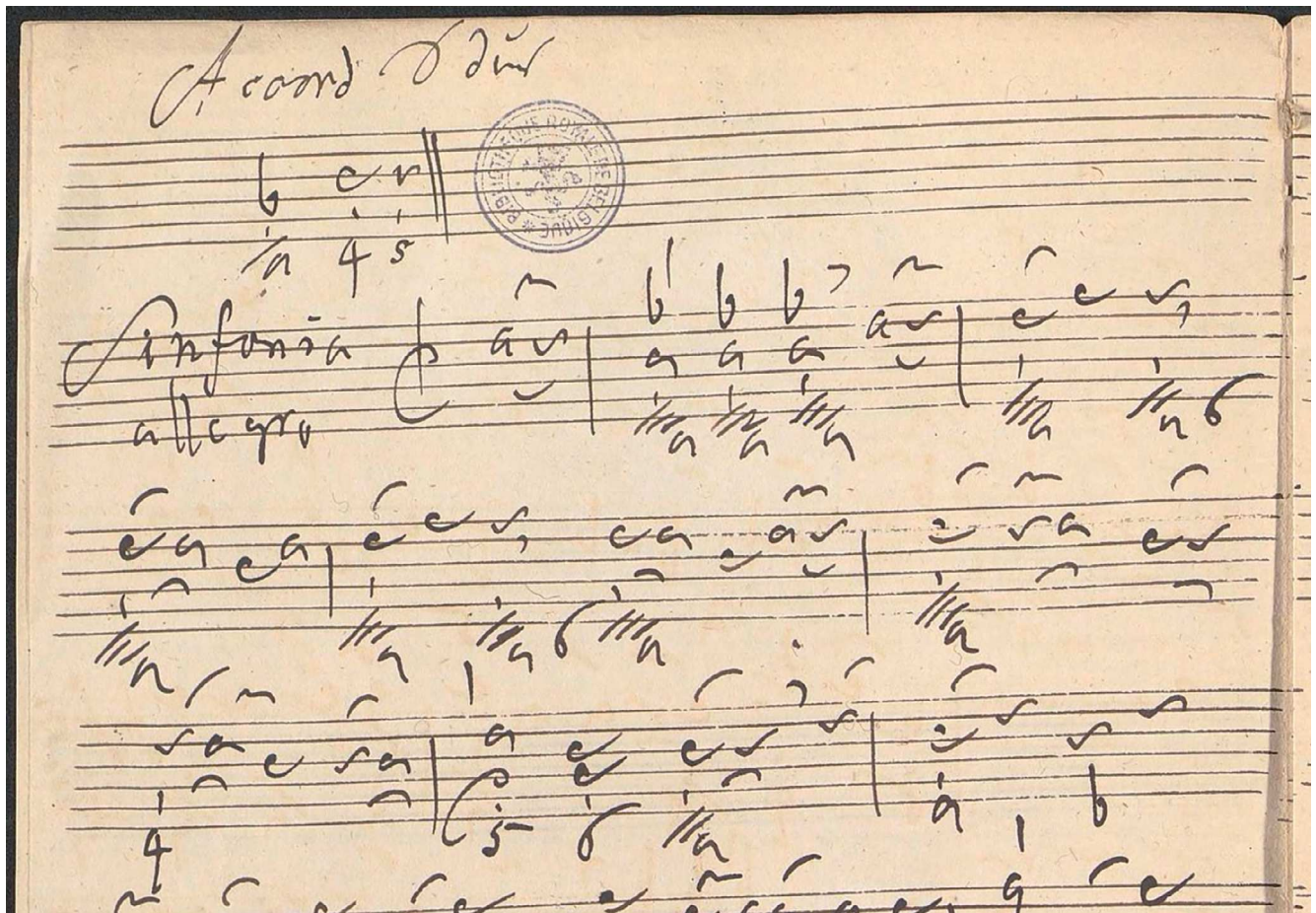
4 a a a a a a

Tutti subito.

x 7 4

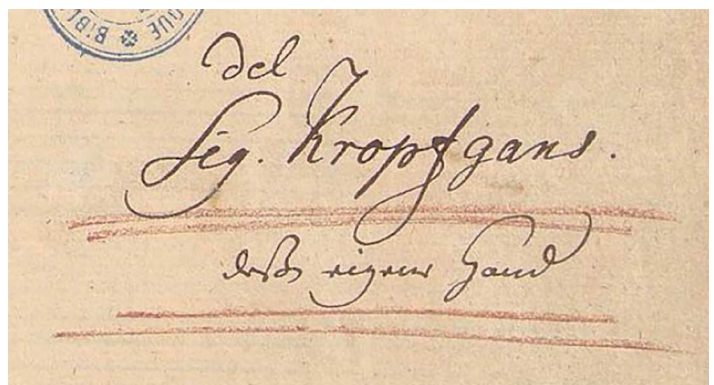
cancelled passage in first page, line 9), and a Breitkopf copyist (second page, line 6, first measure, cf. Examples 8b and 17a),





ladies-in-waiting to such a princess. This would reduce the payment that she would otherwise require. She is prepared to come to Berlin and show herself if only she could entertain the hope that the journey would not be undertaken in vain.<sup>25</sup>

As Gudrun Agethen has pointed out, this can refer only to Luise's exact contemporary, the sister of Johann Kropfgans, Johanna Eleonora (born 1710), who had already been praised in print as an exceptional lutenist some years before.<sup>26</sup> Her elder brother Johann at this time (November 1739) was employed in Dresden as



Ex. 3 b: B-Bc 4088, fasc. 13, *Trio a Liuto Concertato*. Detail of the title-page: in »dessen eigene Hand«. Therefore the tablature is an autograph of Johann Kropfgans. Above tablature of f. 2r.

25 Talle, *Beyond Bach*, pp. 62–63 (November 25, 1739). Original German text: *Nun erlauben Eure Hochreichsgräfliche Excellenz mir noch daß ich mit einer Betteley kommen darf. Sie ist zwar nicht für mich; sondern für eine Kunst die zu hoch gestiegen ist, daß sie nicht nach Brodt gehen müßte. Es hält sich hier ein gewisses Frauenzimmer auf die eine excellente Laute spielt, Weisen habe ich nicht gehört; aber die andern Meister so ich kenne, übertrifft sie alle. Der Neid hat sie in Dresden aller Hoffnung beraubt, wo sie bisher in den Diensten einer gewissen Fürstl. Person die ihre Hoffstatt eingezogen hat, gewesen ist. Sie würde sich glücklich schätzen, wenn sie in Berlin, entweder bey der Königin, oder bey der Kronprinzessinn Hobeit unterkommen könnte. Dörfte ich mir die Hoffnung machen, daß Eure Excellenz das Glücke dieser Person durch die Vorsprache des H. Reinbecks befördern wollten: So würde ich Denenselben lebenslang verbunden seyn. Sie ist aber nicht nur in der Music stark; sondern sie zeichnet recht artig, sie sticket sehr schön, und weis alles was zur Bedienung einer hohen Standesperson gehört, wie sie denn nichts mehr wünscht als zugleich unter dem Kammerfrauenzimmer einer solchen Prinzessinn zu stehen; welches auch die gage so man ihr sonst geben müste sehr erleichtern würde. Sie ist bereit nach Berlin zu kommen und sich selbst zu zeigen, wenn sie nur einige Hoffnung hätte, daß die Reise nicht ganz umsonst seyn möchte. Herren Reinbeck wird es ein Wort kosten diese Person glücklich zu machen; oder doch ihr Schicksal zu erfahren: Und habe lieber meine Zuflucht zu Eurer Excellenz nehmen als ihn selbst mit einem Schreiben beschweren wollen: Weil ich nicht zweifele, daß, wenn ich die Vorsprache eines so großen Heiligen vor mir habe, meine Bitte bey ihm nicht statt haben sollte.*

26 See Walther 1732, pp. 346–347. See also Agethen 2019, p. 25. I am extremely grateful to Ms Agethen for providing me with a copy of her thesis.



part of the glittering musical establishment of the Saxon first minister, Count Heinrich von Brühl (1700–1763, see fig. 4, p. 236).

Unfortunately, the hoped-for Berlin appointment did not follow, and nothing more is known of Johanna Eleanor Kropfgans's life.

### Lutenists in Luise's life

Famously, Johann Kropfgans, together with his one-time teacher, the great Silvius Leopold Weiss (1687–1750), and Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710–1784), visited Johann Sebastian Bach's house in Leipzig for four weeks in the summer of 1739. Bach's nephew, Johann Elias Bach (1705–1755), reported that this resulted in performances of 'etwas extra feines von Music'<sup>27</sup> – perhaps this included some of the friendly competition in improvisation between the two great virtuosos mentioned many years later by J. F. Reichardt.<sup>28</sup> It is possible, though this cannot be proved from the surviving evidence, that these meetings directly gave rise to Bach's suite for violin and harpsichord BWV 1025, the keyboard part of which is an adapted transcription of the tablature of Weiss's solo sonata in A major, no. 47.<sup>29</sup>

From the letter Luise wrote to Count Manteuffel in November 1739, we know that she did not hear Weiss play on this occasion. But this does not mean that during this time she did not meet Kropfgans, who was a less exalted musical figure of her own generation, and thus more approachable than Weiss, the most highly-paid musician in the Dresden royal orchestra, who was of similar age to her parents. Kropfgans eventually settled in Leipzig some time after 1763, although Luise herself had died in the previous year. The present state of research does not enable us to date the amendments and corrections to the Krebs F major concerto made in Kropfgans's hand, but it is possible that they were requested or supervised by Luise herself – assuming, that is, that the concertos formed part of her library, which their Breitkopf provenance might suggest.

Kropfgans certainly provided a lot of music that found its way into Breitkopf's catalogues, possibly including arrangements of music from *Singspiele* by Johann Adam Hiller, who was a contemporary member



Fig. 3: Count Ernst Christoph von Manteuffel (1676-1749), Sinold von Schütz, *Die Europäische Fama, welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der vornehmsten Höfe entdeckt*, Leipzig, 1702–1735, Part 239, frontispiece. British Museum Prints & Drawings.

27 Bach *Dokumente*, ii, p. 366.

28 'Whoever knows the difficulty of playing harmonic modulations and good counterpoint on the lute will be astounded and scarcely believe when eyewitnesses assure us that the great Dresden lutenist Weiss competed in playing fantasias and fugues with Sebastian Bach, who was also great as a harpsichordist and organist.' (English translation from Smith 1977, p. 14.) Original German text: *Wer die Schwierigkeiten der Laute für harmonische Ausweichungen und gut ausgeführte Sätze kennt, der muß erstaunen und kann es kaum glauben, wenn Augen- und Ohrenzeugen versichern, daß der große Dresdner Lautenist Weisse mit Sebastian Bach, der auch als Clavier- und Orgelspieler groß war, in die Wette phantasiert und Fugensätze ausgeführt hat.* (Reichardt 1805, p. 281).

29 Wolff 1993; K.-E. Schröder 1995. See also Hofmann 2006 and Weiss *SW*, vol. 8, pp. 286–287.





Fig. 4: Count Heinrich von Brühl (1700–1763), engraving by Jean-Joseph Balechoux (1760), after Louis de Sylvestre. British Museum Prints & Drawings.

music she could not find in Leipzig; amongst these, a few concern an active desire to enlarge her collection of lute music.<sup>32</sup> For example, in 1748 she tried to obtain music by the Munich court lutenist, Wolff Jakob Lauffensteiner (1676–1754), from a correspondent in Paris, Friedrich Melchior Grimm (1723–1817), who put her in touch with a lady in Frankfurt.<sup>33</sup>

30 A lost set of three engraved sonatas ('Oeuvre I', published in Nuremberg) for lute by Kropfgans is advertised in Breitkopf 1760, p. 29, with a further 30 solo sonatas (five sets, each described as a 'Raccolta' of six sonatas) as well as 20 trios for lute with other instruments in the following year: Breitkopf 1761. A further six solo sonatas, six duets for two lutes, 12 trios and a single quartet for lute with other instruments appear in Breitkopf 1770. In the Breitkopf & Härtel 1836, as well as a number of works for lute (one concerto, one trio and three solos), collections of arias arranged for the instrument from four of Hiller's operettas are listed, one of which (from *Der Aerndtekrantz*, first performed in 1772) is ascribed to 'J. C. B.', possibly Johann Christian Beyer (see footnote 51). According to Gerber 1790, cols. 759–760, Kropfgans himself made such arrangements for his instrument.

31 Although a selection of Luise's letters was published as early as 1771 (Runckel 1771), this was highly edited and far from complete, and contains minimal information concerning Luise's musical interests. The full correspondence, together with that of her husband, is in the course of publication in a 25-volume scholarly edition, Gottsched *Briefe*; 16 volumes have so far appeared, covering the years 1722–March 1751. The manuscript copybooks in which Luise herself recorded the full contents of most of the correspondence to the end of 1744 are preserved in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Mscr.Dresd.M.166, Bände 1–8, and may be viewed online at: <https://katalog.slub-dresden.de/id/0-169768694X> (23.7.2022). (For Luise's copy of a letter from Adam Falckenhagen, see Example 11, below.)

32 See Agethen 2019, pp. 24 ff.

33 Grimm 1998, pp. 70 and 95 (25.4.1748).

of Brühl's musical establishment.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, Kropfgans may have taken the 1739 Leipzig visit as an opportunity to promote the interests of his sister, which would have found a sympathetic audience in Luise.

Luise Gottsched was a voluminous correspondent throughout her life. After her marriage she acted as her husband's secretary as well as maintaining a steady stream of letters on her own behalf, for the most part carefully preserved in both the original and her handwritten copies.<sup>31</sup> They were addressed to the large intellectual community active in the Enlightenment as it emerged in Germany during her life. Among these were professional philosophers and writers on many of the political and religious controversies of the age, as well as dramatists, poets and composers who were often dilettantes, not in today's pejorative sense, but highly skilled creative people whose personal circumstances allowed them the leisure time to pursue their enthusiasms to a more or less 'professional' level.

Occasionally, Luise's letters include requests to obtain works of literature or

Grimm himself (fig. 5, p. 237), who had earlier studied with Johann Christoph Gottsched at the University of Leipzig, was an important figure in the musical life of Paris, and played a significant role in the acceptance of German musicians and composers in the city, most famously, in a later period, of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, both as a child prodigy in the 1760s and again in 1778. He is best remembered as a cultural critic, above all of music in the age of the *Querelle des Bouffons*, in which he decisively took the side of Italian opera. His *Correspondance littéraire*, an originally-private series of newsletters containing reviews of plays, operas, musical performances and all manner of intellectual gossip, covering the years 1753 to 1790, was published only after his retirement to his native Germany during the French Revolution, and in full only after his death, containing, as it did, much material too sensitive for publication while he was in Paris.

In a review in the *Correspondance littéraire* of Joseph Kohaut's comic opera, *Le Serrurier* (Paris, 1764), Grimm says:

This gentleman [Joseph] Kohaut (see fig. 6, p. 238) has an older brother who arrived in France with the count Kaunitz, and when he plays lute, he is a distinguished man. This one, who remained with us, also plays this instrument, but coldly and without enthusiasm: the talented one is in Vienna.<sup>34</sup>

The older brother in Vienna was Carl von Kohaut (1726–1784), who was among the musicians brought to Paris by Count Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711–1794), the Austrian State Chancellor, during his residence in the city from 1750 to January 1753. In a later review of a Joseph Kohaut comic opera, *Sophie ou le Mariage caché* (1768), Grimm makes this clearer:

The veritable Kohaut is the one that count Kaunitz took to Paris during his embassy in France, who did charming things and played the lute like an angel; he was the elder brother of this [Joseph]. Since then, as I have been assured, he left music and now he is employed in the Cabinet of the Ministry in Vienna.<sup>35</sup>

As well as confirming the identities of the two lute-playing brothers and their respective talents, this letter gives us a plausible *terminus ante quem* of 1768 for Carl Kohaut's lute works. Grimm also possibly offers a likely conduit for the number of works for lute with other instruments by Carl von Kohaut that found their way into the Breitkopf collection, and subsequently to the Brussels Royal Library and the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.



Fig. 5: Friedrich Melchior von Grimm (1723–1817), etching by Jacques Louis Constant Lecerf after Louis Carrogis dit Carmontelle (1769). British Museum Prints & Drawings.

34 *Ce M. Kohaut a un frère aîné qui est venu en France avec M. le comte de Kaunitz, et qui est un homme sublime quand il touche le luth. Celui qui nous est resté joue aussi de cet instrument, mais froidement et sans enthousiasme : l'homme de génie est à Vienne.* From Jules-Antoine Tachereau, ed., *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790* (Paris: Furne, 1829–1831), vol. IV, p. 150 (1 January 1765) (English translation by Jana Franková). Cited from Franková 2019. I am grateful to Dr Franková for providing me with a draft of this article before publication; also to Cornelia Demmer for sending me a copy of her MA thesis, *Karl Kohauts Kompositionen für die Laute im Kontext seiner Zeit* (University of Vienna, 2016), which has proved most useful in my research.

35 *Le véritable Kohaut est celui que M. le prince de Kaunitz mena à Paris lors de son ambassade en France, qui faisait des choses charmantes, et qui jouait du luth comme un ange ; c'était le frère aîné de celui-ci. Il a, à ce qu'on assure, quitté depuis la musique pour les affaires, et se trouve employé dans le cabinet du ministère de Vienne.* From Tachereau, *Correspondance littéraire*, vol. V., p. 445 (15 June 1768) (English translation by Jana Franková). Cited from Franková 2019.





Fig. 6: Louis Carrogis dit Carmontelle, *Mr [Joseph] de Kohault, musicien austrichien* (1764). Musée de Condé, Chantilly.

the pair of Cassations for lute, violin and basso by Haydn mentioned in a Breitkopf catalogue and which, in an earlier study (Crawford 1984), I was able to identify in the Brussels collection.

Krebs does not figure in the correspondence of Luise Gottsched, but one can assume that her direct contact with him in 1736–1737 already led to some such acquisitions of music, such as his two concertos mentioned above. When, in 1740, she met, played for, and heard Silvius Leopold Weiss himself play the lute (fig. 7, p. 239), it is clear she was star-struck – the experience left a lasting impression. Of his playing, in her contribution concerning the famous Dresden lutenist for her husband's *Handlexicon*, published in 1760, she states:

His touch was very soft; one heard it, and didn't know from whence the tones came. In playing fantasias he was incomparable; the piano and forte were completely in his grasp. In short, he was

36 Jochen Schlobach and Silvia Eichhorn-Jung, eds., *Friedrich Melchior Grimm, Briefe an Johann Christoph Gottsched. Im Anhang: Vier Briefe an Luise Gottsched*, Kleines Archiv des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Bd. 32 (St. Ingbert, 1998), p. 95. Cited in Agethen 2019, p. 24.

37 B-Br MS II 4086, fascicles 9–13.

38 Besides Kohaut himself (first mentioned in Breitkopf 1761), the lute composers [Johann Georg] Weichenberg(er), [Johann Melchior] Pichler and [?] Blohm are identified as from Vienna. Although not known to be a lute player, Joseph Haydn, and possibly others, could be added to this list. ('Sigue. Bleditsch e Vienne' is ascribed as the composer of a seven-movement 'Galanterie à Liuto Solo' in B-Br MS II 4089, a manuscript which undoubtedly stemmed from Breitkopf. Facsimile: *Chamber music of the 18<sup>th</sup> century for lute, transverse flute, oboe, violin, cello & viola da gamba*. Brussel, Koninklijke Biblioteek, MS II 4089, Peer: Alamire, 1990.)

Carl Kohaut's name – as far as I can determine – is not mentioned in any of Luise Gottsched's correspondence, unlike that of the lutenist Paul Charles Durant (1712–1769), whose works figure among those in the Brussels library certainly from Breitkopf, often in the same context as Kohaut's. In 1748, Grimm sent Luise several lute works by Durant, stating that he (Grimm) was 'still enchanted by your lute playing'.<sup>36</sup> The Brussels collection includes a series of works for lute and other instruments by Durant, including a solo sonata in A minor, two copies of a Duetto for lute and violin in G major, and two concertos, one of which contains obligato parts for lute, harpsichord and cello.<sup>37</sup>

Grimm's connections would have provided a direct path to the latest music in Vienna during the 1750s, and it is striking that there are several references to the Austrian capital in the titles of lute items from the Gottsched auction catalogues.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the music by Durant and Carl Kohaut is copied largely in the same hand (not that of Luise Gottsched), and this is the same one that entered a small correction in the second copy of Krebs's F major concerto (see above).

This makes it likely that much of the lute music by Carl Kohaut and Durant owes its preservation today to the enthusiasm of Luise Gottsched. The same can probably be said for

lord of the instrument and could do everything he wanted with it. [...] He died in 1750, and the world lost in him the greatest lutenist that Europe has ever heard and admired.<sup>39</sup>

For his part, Weiss seems to have recognised Luise's talent as a lute-player. In September 1741, after meeting and playing together with Luise in the previous year, he wrote to her, enclosing some music specially composed for her to add to some he had sent some time before:

... some time ago I took the liberty of obliging [you] with a small Galanterie-Partie, of which (as Mons. Schuster later informed me) you already had one movement or another. In order to correct this error now, I wished to compose, for you alone, and herewith most obediently dedicate to you the enclosed [partita]. Despite the fact that it is just something simple, I must most obediently request that you not communicate it further, for as long as one has a thing for oneself, it is always beautiful and new, I will also keep it just for myself. Here and there I have added a fingering, which I would have done throughout if your already-achieved insight concerning fingering were not sufficiently known to me. It would be a further audacity to request an answer of just two lines as to the safe receipt of this my musical enclosure, yet I would nonetheless like to be thus assured of [your having received] it. My humble suggestion would be to honor Herr

Hoffmann with the duty of a secretary. Please give my most obedient respects to your husband ...<sup>40</sup>

Her husband's account in the *Leben* refers to this encounter in glowing terms, after mentioning the lack of a competent lute teacher in her home city of Danzig:



Fig. 7: Sylvius Leopold Weiss (1687–1750), frontispiece by Bartolomer Follin after Balthasar Denner, in: *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Dyck, 1765.

39 [Luise Gottsched], 'Weiß, (Sylvio Leopold)', in Gottsched *Handlexicon*, cols. 1644–5. English translation by Douglas Alton Smith from Legl 1998, 49–77. Original German text: *Sein Anschlag war sehr sanft; man hörte ihn, und wußte nicht, wo die Töne herkamen. Im Fantasieren war er unvergleichlich; das Piano und Forte hatte er vollkommen in seiner Gewalt. Kurz er war Herr seines Instruments, und konnte damit alles machen, was er wollte. [...] Er starb 1750, und die Welt verlor an ihm den größten Lautenisten, den Europa jemals gehört und bewundert hatte.*

40 Smith 1977, pp. 18–21; original German text, from Schulze 1968, p. 203: *[...] ich habe vor einiger Zeit mir die Ehre gegeben, mit einer kleinen Galanterie-Partie aufzuwarten, davon |: wie Mons: Schuster mir nachgehends gemeldet |: Sie aber schon ein und anders Stück zuvor gehabt, diesen Fehler nun auszubessern, habe ich beyfolgendes, Einzigt und allein vor Sie, machen und Ihnen hiermit gehorsamst wiedmen wallen, unerachtet es was schlechtes ist, so habe doch gehorsamst zu bitten, solches nicht weiter zu communiciren, dann so lange man eine Sache allein hat, so ist Sie immer schön und neu, ich meines Ortes werde es auch so halten, hin und her habe die Finger dazu gesetzt, welches ich durchgehends würde gethan haben, wann mir nicht Dero bereits erlangte Einsicht, die application betreffend, gnugsahn bekand wäre, wegen richtigen Empfanges dieser meiner musicalisäien Beylage, um eine nur in zwey Zeylen bestehende antwort zu bitten, wäre eine abermahlige Verwegenheit, und dodi möchte gern dessen vergewissert seyn, wäre also mean unmaafsgeblicher Vorschlag, denn Herrn Hoffmann mit der Charge eines Secretara zu beEhren. an denn Herrn Gemahl bitte meinen gehorsamsten Respect zu vermelden.*

As Schulze suggests, 'Herr Hoffmann' was undoubtedly the well-known lute-maker to the Dresden court, Johann Christian Hoffmann (1683–1750), who resided in Leipzig. In a subsequent article (Schulze 2017), he revised his earlier identification of 'Mons: Schouster' as a Dresden musician of the younger generation, Josef Schuster (1722–1784), in favour of the Leipzig book dealer and music publisher Jacob Schuster (ca. 1685–1751), who is known to have offered music by Falckenhagen for sale, and may have been the dedicatee of J. S. Bach's lute suite in G minor BWV 995 (entitled *Pièces pour la Luth à Monsieur Schouster par J. S. Bach* in the autograph manuscript from the Breitkopf collection now in the Brussels Bibliothèque royale, B-Br, Fétis 2910).



Nevertheless, her nature compensated for everything else: so that later, here in Leipzig, she played the most difficult Weissian pieces to perfection, almost at sight [literally ‘from the page’]; she even received the great master’s applause when he visited her in 1740, and partly played for her, and partly listened to her playing himself.<sup>41</sup>

### **Luise and the early *Lied***

As well as Krebs, a number of composers dedicated musical publications to Luise Gottsched. Amongst these were pioneers in the early history of the *Lied*, following the success of song-books largely compiled by setting words to pre-existing melodies originating as instrumental music. The most famous of these forerunners is a series of editions of the hugely popular *Singende Muse an der Pleisse* (1736–1745), compiled by Johann Sigismund Scholze (1705–1750) under the pseudonym ‘Sperontes’.<sup>42</sup> (See Example 4.)



Example 4: Sperontes, *Singende Muse an die Pleisse*, Leipzig, 1736-1745, frontispiece.

It was in direct response to such settings of poetry to what was thought to be inappropriate music (often, furthermore, hard to sing owing to its instrumental origins) that in 1737, very soon after the first edition of the *Singende Muse*, one of Luise’s correspondents, the Braunschweig composer and amateur poet, Johann Friedrich Graefe (1711–1787), an active member of a poetry circle in his city led by Johann Christoph

41 J. C. Gottsched, *Leben*, f. \*5(b)v. Original German text: *Gleichwohl ersetzte ihr Naturell alles übrige: so daß sie nachmals hier in Leipzig, die schwersten weisichen Stücke fertig, ja fast vom Blatte weg spielte; auch selbst dieses großen Meisters Beyfall erhielt, als er sie 1740 besuchte, und ihr theils vorspielte, theils sie selber spielen hörte.*

42 Spitta 1885 is a detailed study, which is still of value. The entire series of *Singende Muse* is published in Buhle 1909.





Example 5: Johann Friedrich Graefe, *Sammlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden*, vol. i, Halle, 1737, title-page.

Gottsched himself, brought out the first volume of a collection of *verschiedener und auserlesener Oden, zu welchen von den berühmtesten Meistern in der Music eigene Melodeyen verfertigt worden* (various and exquisite odes, to which the most famous masters of music have composed their own melodies).<sup>43</sup> (See Example 5, p. 241.)

This publication, soon expanded to four successive volumes, was squarely aimed at a readership of ladies with some musical attainment, usually on a keyboard instrument such as the clavichord or spinet – or a proper harpsichord in the case of those with the means to acquire something more expensive. All four volumes of Graefe's collection, each comprising 36 strophic *Oden* set for keyboard, carry dedications to well-known figures among the community of *Frauenzimmer*<sup>44</sup> in Leipzig and Braunschweig:

- Volume 1 (1737) is dedicated to Christiane Mariane von Ziegler (1695–1760), a highly-esteemed poet and musician who provided some cantata texts for J. S. Bach;
- volume 2 (1739) to Luise Gottsched herself;
- volume 3 (1741) to the sisters Johanna Constantia Henriette (1718–1785) von Manteuffel and

<sup>43</sup> Graefe 1737–1743.

<sup>44</sup> In modern German, the term *Frauenzimmer* is considered to be derogatory, but formerly it had the more neutral connotation of a female person, and from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century publications such as Corvinus 1715 were explicitly aimed at the communities of increasingly well-educated bourgeois ladies in cities such as Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg.



Mariana Luise von Manteuffel (1719–1778), daughters of Count Ernst Christoph von Manteuffel, one of J. C. Gottsched's most powerful patrons; and

- volume 4 (1743) to Rosina Elisabeth von Völcker (probably the sister of the Braunschweig-Lüneberg Cammer-Director, Anton Ulrich von Völcker).

The names of the poets, and the composers of the music for each song are given in a complete list at the end of Graefe's final volume, including several outstanding musicians in fashion at the time, such as Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch (1691–1765) and Johann Gottlieb Graun (1702/03–1771).

As her husband was keen to point out in the memorial biography for Luise Gottsched, she was also the dedicatee of the second volume of a similar collection by his former student, the music-theorist and critic, Laurenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof (1711–1778), whose association with Johann Sebastian Bach is well-known to music historians.<sup>45</sup> The dedication to Luise of the second volume (1741) of Mizler's *Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden, zum Nutzen und Vergnügen der Liebhaber des Claviers* is preceded by a note bearing a barely coded reference to her reputation as a lute player in a quotation from Quintilian, in which the word *Laute* is substituted for the Latin *lyra* in citing Socrates as an early amateur lute-player:

What shall I say, too, of the philosophers in general, whose founder, Socrates himself, was not ashamed, even in his old age, to learn to play on the lute?

*Was rede ich von Philosophen, deren Quelle selbst, der Socrates, kein Bedenken trug sich in seinem Alter auf der Laute unterrichten zu lassen.*<sup>46</sup> (See Example 6, p. 243.)

Although it cannot be pursued in detail here, these early *Lied* collections (including the *Singende Muse*) show some evidence that the lute was sometimes used as an alternative to a keyboard instrument for accompanying the voice. Several lute sources contain intabulations of items from the Sperontes editions – although since these sometimes lack titles it cannot always be determined whether they represent versions of the song accompaniments or of the instrumental pieces from which they are said to derive. So far, I have been able to identify only a single lute arrangement from the four volumes published by Graefe, Hurlebusch's setting of J. C. Gottsched's *Harter Himmel*.<sup>47</sup>

Two decades later, in 1760, Johann Gottlieb Immanuel Breitkopf used his recently-developed tablature typeface to present lute arrangements of a selection of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's *Oden* (see fig. 8, p. 244) set by various *Berliner Tonkünstler* that he had published for keyboard a year before (*Berliner Tonkünstler* 1759);<sup>48</sup> the arrangements were made by Johann Christian Beyer (1720–after 1771), a former pupil at the *Thomasschule* in 1733, who probably had received some musical instruction there from Johann Sebastian Bach.<sup>49</sup> (See Example 7, p. 244.)

The fact that a few of these intabulations also can be found in the 'Rosani' lute manuscript, which is of impeccable Breitkopf provenance,<sup>50</sup> without titles or texts and in some cases transposed differently,

45 Mizler, who was also a pupil of Bach, founded a Leipzig music periodical in 1736, the *Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek* (Mizler 1736), and in 1738 formed a 'Corresponding Society of Musical Sciences' (*Correspondirenden Societät der Musicalische Wissenschaft*) whose members eventually included Telemann, Handel, Graun, Leopold Mozart and others. Bach himself joined in 1747, presenting his Canonic Variations on 'Vom Himmel Hoch' for organ BWV 769 as the speculative 'scientific contribution' demanded by the rules of the Society; in the following year he contributed the *Musicalisches Opfer* BWV 1079.

46 Mizler 1741, un-numbered page preceding dedication.

47 D-Knu Ms. 5.P.177, ff. 17v–18, *Harter Himel* [sic] (arrangement of Graefe, *Oden* I, p. 4). Buhle's introduction to his edition of the *Singende Muse* (Buhle 1909) mentions – and gives an example from – a copy of the 1742 edition interleaved with manuscript pages giving lute tablature transcriptions of the music. This copy was from Spitta's collection, but sadly has not survived among the remnants of his library discovered in the University Library of Łódź in Poland in the 1980s. (See Wolff 1989.)

48 Beyer 1760. Two further Gellert settings from *Berliner Tonkünstler* 1759 arranged in tablature for lute (presumably also by Beyer) appeared in Hiller 1760, pp. 16 and 288, also published by Breitkopf using the same new tablature typeface.

49 See Koska 2018; I am grateful to Mr Koska for kindly sending me details of his findings concerning Beyer. The date of 1771 given here relates to the listing, in Breitkopf 1836, lot 1447, of a lute arrangement 'v. J. C. B.' of arias from Hiller's operetta, *Der Aerndtekrantz*, which was premiered in that year.

50 D-LEm Ms. III.11.64, formerly in the collection of Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804–1877), organist of St Peter's church in Leipzig, who was closely involved with the 1836 Breitkopf & Härtel sale and acquired much of his large collection from that source.  
<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id454516339> (7.8.2022).

Zweite Sammlung  
auserlesener moralischer

**Oden**

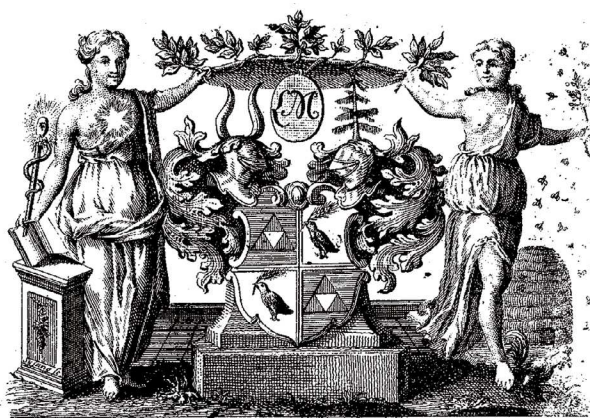
zum Nutzen und Vergnügen

**Der Liebhaber des Claviers**

componirt und herausgegeben

VON

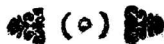
**Lorenz Mizlern, A. M.**



LEIPZIG, zu finden bey dem Verfasser in der Cathar-Strasse im Grafischen Hause.

\* \* \* \* \*  
**Quintilianus I. Buch XVI. Cap.**

**S**Er weiß nicht, daß man sich schon in den alten Zeiten nicht nur sehr eifrig auf die Musik beflissen, sondern auch viele Hochachtung vor sie gehabt, so daß man Musikverständige zugleich auch vor Poeten und Philosophen hielte. Niemand kan zweifeln, daß berühmte und weiße Männer sich auf die Musik gelegt. Was rede ich von Philosophen, deren Quelle selbst, der Socrates, kein Bedenken trug sich in seinem Alter auf der Laute unterrichten zu lassen. Man hat Nachricht daß die größten Helden so wohl auf besanteten als Blasinstrumenten gespielt, und daß das Kriegs-Heer der Lacedemonier durch gewisse Melodien angefeuret worden. Bey den Griechen war der Gebrauch, daß bey Gastmahlen nach dem Essen die Laute herumgegeben wurde; Als einstens Themistocles seine Unwissenheit darauf bekennet, ist er, wie Cicero sagt, vor etwas ungelehrt gehalten worden.





Herrn Professor Gellerts  
**Oden, Lieder und Fabeln,**

nebst verschiedenen Französischen und Italiänischen Liedern,  
für die Laute übersetzt,

Und mit gehörigem Gebrauche der Finger bemerkt;

Sammt

einer Anweisung dieses Instrument auf eine leichte Art stimmen zu lernen,

auch

Zwoen Tabellen in welchen die meisten vorkommenden Stimmungen,

nach welcher die Stücke als Exempel der gegebenen Regeln eingerichtet sind,

und die bey der Laute vorkommenden Zeichen und Manieren, erklärt werden,

von

Johann Christian Beyer.



*Wilk. Rust.*

Leipzig,

gedruckt und verlegt von Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf. 1760.



Example 7: Johann Christian Beyer, arr., *Herrn Professor Gellerts Oden, Lieder und Fabeln, nebst verschiedenen Französischen und Italiänischen Liedern, für die Laute übersetzt ...*, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1760, title-page.

Fig. 8: Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769), engraving after Anton Graff (1736–1813). Wikimedia Commons.

suggests that at least they derive from Beyer's drafts, or, just as likely, that the manuscript is in Beyer's hand. If this is true (and as yet I have seen no concrete proof of this speculation), it would solve the mystery of the identity of the person who worked with Kropfgans on the amendments to the Krebs F major concerto's solo part mentioned above; this supposition is further strengthened by the fact that this manuscript is one of the main sources of music by Kropfgans.<sup>51</sup> This copyist

<sup>51</sup> The manuscript, which is entirely in the same hand, contains at least eight multi-movement works (typically of six movements) by Kropfgans. The other sources of his music that cannot be directly traced back to Breitkopf contain only isolated movements (e.g. D-Mbs 5362, which contains twelve pieces ascribed to Kropfgans, as well as a number of anonyma in similar style with no concordances).

2

Zweytes Lied.

*In der Vorlegung eines Manuscr.*

Das Kind greift nach den bunten Karten; Ein Haus zu bauen, fällt ihm ein. Es baut, und kann es kaum erwarten, Bis dieses Haus wird fertig seyn. Kann es kaum erwarten, Bis die fünf Häuser wieder fertig seyn.

Das Kartenhaus.

Das Kind greift nach den bunten Karten;  
Ein Haus zu bauen, fällt ihm ein.  
Es baut, und kann es kaum erwarten,  
Bis dieses Haus wird fertig seyn.

Nun steht der Bau. O welche Freude!  
Doch ach! ein ungeführer Stoß  
Erschüttert plötzlich das Gebäude,  
Und alle Bänder reissen los.

Die Mutter kann in Lomberspielen,  
Wenn sie den leeren Saß verspielt,  
Kaum so viel banges Schrecken fühlen,  
Als ihr bedürftiges Kind ige fühlt.

Doch wer wird gleich den Muth verlieren?  
Das Kind entschließt sich sehnsuchtsvoll,  
Ein neues Lußschloß anzuführen,  
Das dem zerstörten gleichen soll.

Die Sehnsucht muß den Schmerz besiegen;  
Das erste Haus steht wieder da.  
Wie lebhaft war des Kindes Vergnügen,  
Als es sein Haus von neuem sah!

Nun will ich mich wohl besser hüten,  
Damit mein Haus nicht mehr zerbricht.  
Tisch! ruft das Kind, laß dir gebieten,  
Und stehe fest, und wanke nicht!

Das Haus bleibt unerschüttert stehen,  
Das Kind hört auf sich zu erfreuen;  
Es wünscht, es wieder neu zu sehen,  
Und reißt es bald mit Willen ein.

Schilt nicht den Unbestand der Güter,  
Du siehst dein eigen Herz nicht ein;  
Veränderlich sind die Gemüther,  
So mußten auch die Dinge seyn.

Bey Gütern, die wir stets genießen,  
Wird das Vergnügen endlich matt;  
Und würden sie uns nicht entrisßen,  
Wo fänd ein neu Vergnügen statt?

*In der Vorlegung eines Manuscr.*

z.

Das Kind greift nach den bunten Karten; Ein Haus zu bauen, fällt ihm ein. Es baut, und kann es kaum erwarten, Bis dieses Haus wird fertig seyn. Kann es kaum erwarten, Bis die fünf Häuser wieder fertig seyn.

Example 8:

a), above: Johann Christian Beyer, arr., *Herrn Professor Gellerts Oden, Lieder und Fabeln, nebst verschiedenen Franzosischen und Italiänischen Liedern, für die Laute übersetzt ...*, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1760, song 2;

b), below: D-LEm Ms. III.11.64, the 'Rosani' manuscript, p. 13.

clearly worked closely with the Breitkopf enterprise, and is responsible for preserving many lute works of this period, almost all in unique copies.<sup>52</sup> (See Example 8.)

52 The following manuscripts (not an exhaustive list), all probably stemming from Breitkopf, contain multi-movement works in tablature, sometimes with accompanying parts in normal notation, copied by this scribe:  
B-Bc Ms II 4086 (7 by Kohaut, 2 by Falckenhagen, 5 by Durant),  
B-Bc Ms II 4088 (2 by Haydn, 1 by Neruda, 11 by Kropfgans),  
B-Bc Ms II 4089 (1 by Corigniani, 3 by Blohm, 1 by Pichler, 1 by Bleditsch),  
D-B 11834 (4 concertos by Kohaut, 1 concerto by [Pfeiffer]),  
D-LEm Ms. III.11.64 (8 by Kropfgans, 1 by Falckenhagen, 7 by [Beyer], 1 arrangement of a Hasse aria, 2 anonymous).  
The provenance and scribes of the Brussels sources are discussed in Meyer 1996; the hand in question can be more-or-less conclusively identified with the copyists listed by Meyer as: Brk1, Brk4, Brk5 and ?Brk.



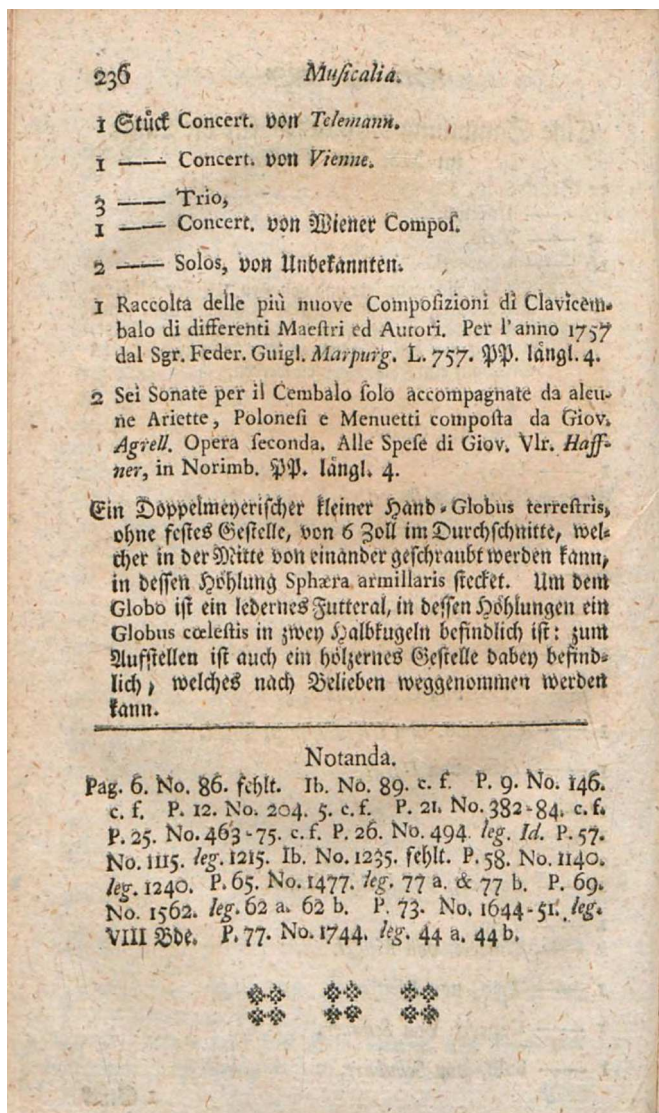
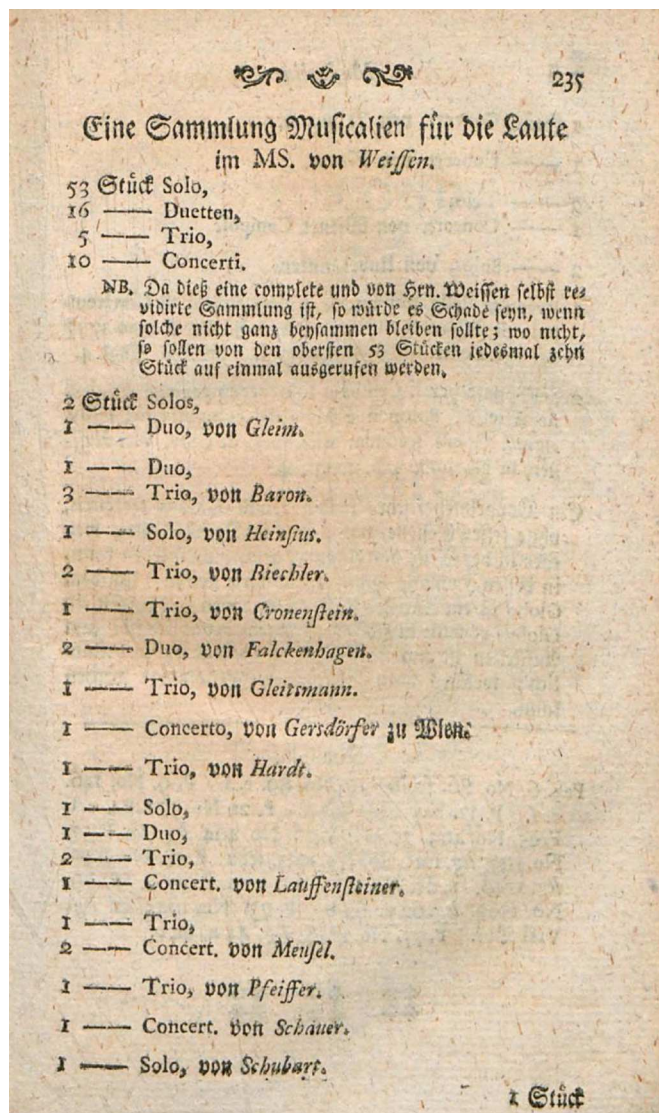


Fig. 9: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–1794), etching by Jakob Mangot, 1787/1793. www.portraitindex.de

### Luise's music library

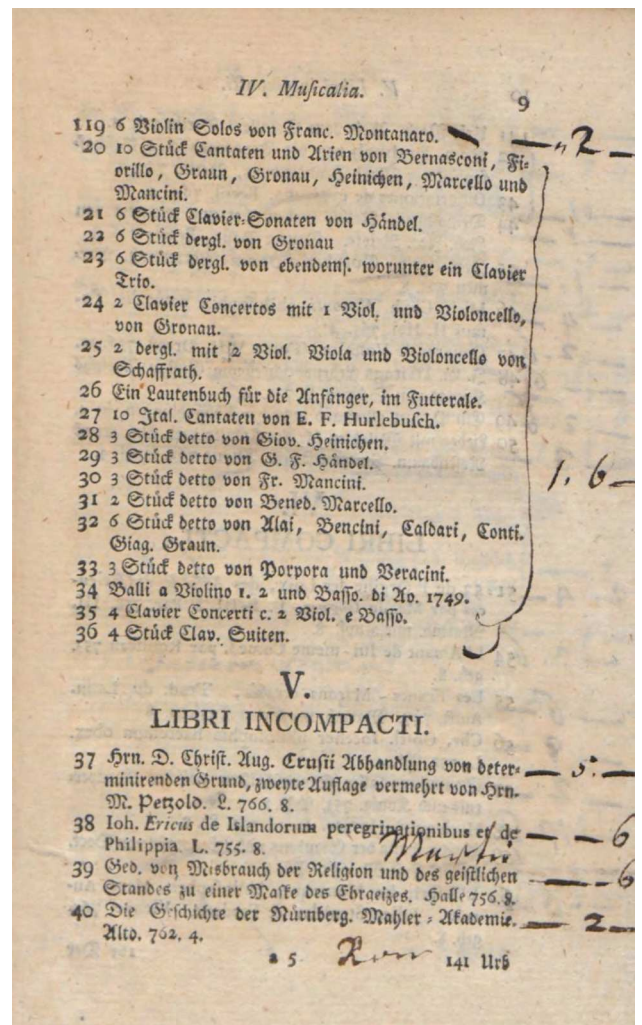
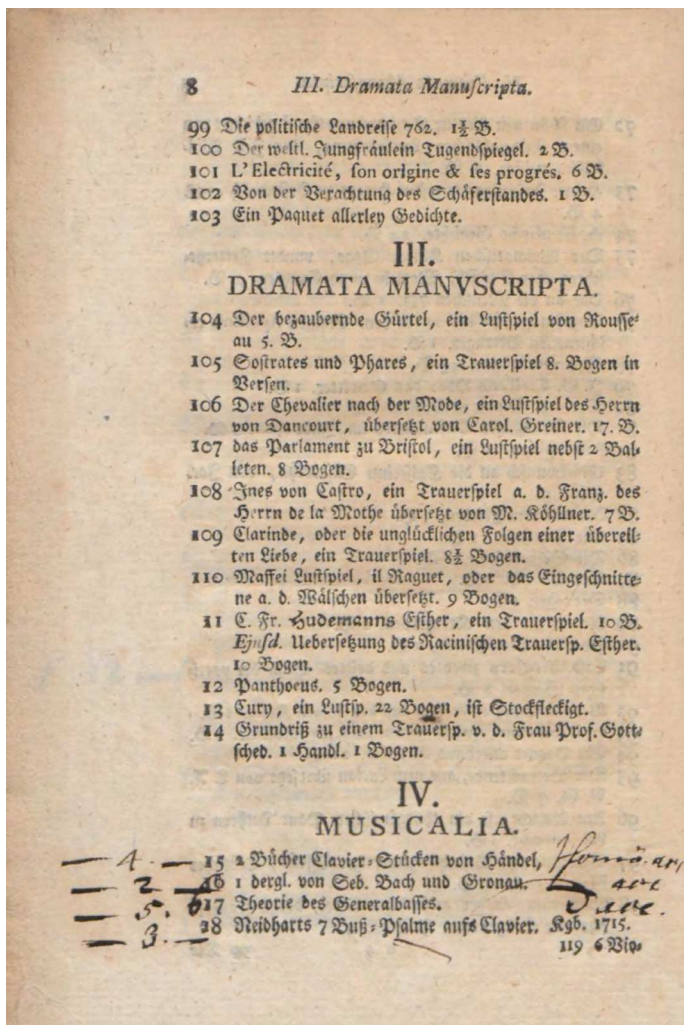
Luise Gottsched assembled a significant collection of music, mostly for her own two instruments, lute and harpsichord, but also containing a number of works for other instruments and the voice. Some of this she may have brought with her to Leipzig on her marriage in 1735, including the keyboard works by J. S. Bach that she found so demanding. We know from J. C. Gottsched's biography that she copied out much of this music for her own use, presumably sometimes from printed collections borrowed for the purpose from others. In Leipzig she had ample opportunity to extend her musical library; as tenants of the Breitkopf family, the Gottscheds would have known about the latest music as it became available in print, and – at a somewhat later date – would have been in a good position to take advantage of the growing store of manuscript scores and instrumental parts collected by Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–1794), son of their original

landlord Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf (1695–1777), who took over the Breitkopf business in 1745, which offered copies written to order from paying customers.



Example 9a: Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Catalogus* 1767, pp. 235–236.





Example 9b: Luise Adelgunde Victoria Gottsched, *Catalogus* 1767, annex, pp. 8–9.

After Luise’s death a sale of her books was held in 1763, which did not include any music. Many music items were, however, included in the sale of her husband’s library on his death in 1767, and it seems certain these came from her collection, as her husband left no evidence of being a practical musician; a separate sale in the same year included an annex devoted to her personal library.<sup>53</sup> (See Example 9, a & b.)

It is possible that much of Luise’s music – or copies thereof – auctioned in these sales passed more or less directly into the Breitkopf collection, as many items in the successive catalogues published later by the firm, especially those for lute, can be firmly identified with items from her library. In fact, it seems highly likely, given the evidence displayed in various published catalogues of printed music and manuscript copies issued by Breitkopf between 1761 and 1770, that, for lute music at least, Luise’s collection of this specialist material was already inextricably confused with the publisher’s separate acquisitions from other sources, so that a precise listing of what belonged to her can never be arrived at with certainty. While we know nothing of the way in which these materials were kept in the house shared by the Gottscheds with Breitkopf’s enterprise, *Der Goldene Bär*, this is hardly surprising.

### Weiss’s music owned by LAVG

An example of the complexity of this problem is the large collections of lute music by Silvius Leopold Weiss mentioned in various sources. Luise herself refers to the difficulty of assembling a complete collection of Weiss’s works in her entry on the composer in the 1760 *Handlexicon*.<sup>54</sup> None of these can

53 The contents and cultural context of the Gottscheds’ libraries (largely based on these catalogues) is discussed in detail in Ball 2006.

54 Gottsched *Handlexicon* 1760, col. 1645.





Fig. 10: Friedrich Wilhelm Raschke (1706–1761), engraving by Johann Martin Bernigeroth, 1761. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

wholly be identified with the existing large collection of his works now in the Dresden library.<sup>55</sup> Until 1929 this was in the collection of Werner Wolffheim (1877–1930), and it possibly had been acquired by him from Moys castle, near Görlitz in Silesia, the seat of Friedrich Wilhelm Raschke (1706–1761, see fig. 10, p. 248), a member of the Saxon War Council during the Seven Years War.<sup>56</sup>

Close examination of the Dresden ex-Wolffheim collection shows that it must have been compiled (certainly at least partly during Weiss's lifetime, and with a certain amount of intervention from the composer before his death in 1750) from multiple sources.<sup>57</sup> Although some of the paper-types used in this collection are also found in Breitkopf sources,<sup>58</sup> there is nothing to suggest that any of the copyists had any such association. It does not correspond with a description as 'a complete collection corrected by Mr Weiss' (see next item).

The 53 solos, 16 duets, 5 trios and 10 concertos listed in the 1767 sale of Johann Christoph Gottsched's library (J. C. Gottsched *Catalogus*, pp. 235–236, ex. 9a, p. 246) are described as 'a complete collection corrected by Mr Weiss himself. For this reason, it would be a shame not to keep it together, but if not the 53 solos will be sold in separate bundles of ten.'

*NB. Da diess eine complete und von Hrn. Weissen selbst revidirte Sammlung ist, so würde es Schade seyn, wenn solche nicht ganz beysammen bleiben sollte; wo nicht, so sollen von obersten 53 Stücken jedesmal zehn Stück auf einmal ausgerufen werden.*

No later trace has survived of this either as a complete collection or as any individual set of ten pieces, though it is possible that some of the remainder formed part of the next item.

In the 1769 thematic catalogue (Brook 1966, cols 369–375) Breitkopf advertised no fewer than 66 'Partite del Sgr. S. L. Weiss' for solo lute; six of these are described as 'Partite grandi', the remaining 60 were smaller, although often – to judge from surviving examples (35 out of the 66 listed) – they tend to be significantly longer than those by other composers or, indeed, for other instruments.<sup>59</sup>

The consequence is that it is impossible to distinguish the respective intentions of Luise, her husband and J. G. I. Breitkopf in how the collection of Weiss's music was to be handled, though we can surmise that after 1767 much of it was simply absorbed into the materials forming the basis of Breitkopf's commercial music-copying enterprise. We cannot even be sure that any of it was in fact dispersed at the sales in 1767, since all the composers of lute music named in the catalogues figure in later Breitkopf catalogues. However, it is possible that manuscript copies were retained by Breitkopf and just the originals from Luise's library sold on this occasion.<sup>60</sup>

55 D-Dl Ms. Mus. 2841-V-1, a set of five volumes containing 34 sonatas (suites) for solo lute with a sixth volume of 'Weissische Partien' (lute parts for eight ensemble works). The solo works are published in facsimile in Weiss 1977; the entire collection is printed in facsimile and transcription in Weiss *SW*, vols. 5–8.

56 See Burguete 2003 for the suggestion that the Dresden manuscript was acquired by Werner Wolffheim at the auction sale of the contents of Raschke's former home, Schloss Moys in Silesia (now Ujazd, Poland). Raschke had previously been proposed as compiler of the collection by Wolfgang Reich, editor of the 1977 facsimile edition (Weiss 1977, 'Quellenkundliche Bemerkungen zur Dresdner Lautentabulatur Mus. 2841-V-1', p. III).

57 See Crawford 2006.

58 See Weiss *SW*, vol. 9.1, pp. XIV–XV, 'Papiersorten der Dresdner Weiß-Handschrift', and XXIV–XXV, 'Paper-types in the Dresden Weiss Manuscript'.

59 One of the Weiss incipits (Brook 1966, col. 375, no. 58) corresponds with Luise's copy of Lauffensteiner's G minor concerto for lute, two violins and basso (B-Br Ms II 4089, fascicle 14). Luise's ascription to Lauffensteiner seems the more likely, given her acquaintance with Weiss and her attempt to acquire music by Lauffensteiner from Grimm (see above, p. 230); the many errors in ascription in the Breitkopf catalogue were acknowledged as a problem by J. G. I. Breitkopf himself (see Brook 1966, pp. xiv–xv).

60 Anecdotal verbal evidence of the existence of boxes of lute music manuscripts in the Breitkopf & Härtel Archive before World War II

### Luise's first music teacher

We know from J. C. Gottsched's *Leben* that Luise copied out music for her own use. Her musical hand is distinctive, both in tablature and conventional notation, and the format she adopted is fairly consistent, sometimes using red ink for dynamic markings and ornamental rules. The only music manuscript not for lute in her hand that I am aware of is a copy of a work by her music teacher in Danzig, Daniel Magnus Gronau

(c1700–1747), who was active as an organist in the city from 1717.<sup>61</sup> This *Concerto per cembalo solo* in A minor<sup>62</sup> seems to be all that survives by him other than organ music.<sup>63</sup> (See Example 10a, right, and 10b on p. 250.)

Luise owned several works by Gronau, according to the catalogue of the sale of her library in 1767:<sup>64</sup> a book of 'Clavier-Stücken von Seb. Bach und Gronau' (lot 116); '10 Stück Cantaten und Arien von Bernasconi, Fiorillo, Graun, Gronau, Heinichen, Marcello und Mancini' (lot 120); '6 Stück dergl. [i.e. Clavier-Sonaten] von Gronau' (lot 122); '6 Stück dergl. [i.e. Clavier-Sonaten] von ebendems. worunter ein Clavier Trio.' (lot 123); '2 Clavier Concertos mit 1. Viol. und Violoncello, von Gronau' (lot 125).

A piece of Gronau's chamber music made a positive impression on the lutenist Adam Falckenhagen (fig. 11, p. 251) when he heard Luise take the harpsichord part in a performance in Leipzig. On 25 October 1738 he wrote to her:

Your Excellency must not take it amiss that I am writing the present lines, and that I am taking the liberty of sending you a concerto of my modest composition. Should Your Excellency wish to do me some favour, I would like to ask you to send me the trio which you played in Leipzig when I was there. It is by your master from Danzig, whose name has slipped my mind, [the name 'Gronau' is inserted here in Luise's copy] which is why I wish to know the style and taste of his composition; it consists of clav: violino et basso, if Your Highness should still possess another by the same master. I should like to ask for that; as well I would offer a lute concerto in exchange. I will leave here tomorrow for Bayreuth and will remain there this winter, as I would like to receive the requested score with the first postage, I will send it in the best and easiest way, which I will do with most obedient recommendation to your husband.<sup>65</sup> (See Example 11, p. 253.)

### VI. Sonate per il Cembalo Solo da diverfi Compositori.

#### Raccolta II.

The image shows six staves of musical notation, each labeled with a composer's name: I. da Gronau, II. da Heinichen, III. da Jaenichen, IV. da Kuntz, V. da Petzold, and VI. da Saxer. The notation is in a single system, with each staff containing a single melodic line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and ornaments, such as a trill (tr) in the fourth staff.

Example 10a: entry in Breitkopf thematic catalogue, 1763 (Brook 1966, col. 125).

cannot, for obvious reasons, be verified today, as the archive was destroyed in an Allied bombing raid on 4 December 1943 (see Deaville 1986).

61 See Goodman 2006 for an account of Luise's early life in Danzig.

62 Dresden D-DI Mus. 4215-T-1 (online facsimile: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/104379/1> [23.7.2022]). The work ('da Gronau') is listed in Breitkopf's 1763 thematic catalogue as the first of a set of 'VI. Sonate per il Cembalo Solo da diversi Compositori' (Brook 1996 col. 125).

63 Gronau's contribution to the history of the organ has been seriously underestimated owing to the loss of most of his music for the instrument. However, recently a microfilm of one of his most significant works, a manuscript collection of c. 100 chorale melodies in various settings for the instrument, was discovered in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and forms the basis for the edition in Gronau 2015. In particular, the manuscript's altogether exceptionally detailed organ registration gives an insight into his musical taste and performance style.

64 See Example 9.

65 Gottsched Briefe, Vol 5, p. 289; original German text: *Ew. HochEdl. werden es nicht übel deuten daß ich mit gegenwärtigen Zeilen beschwerlich falle, und abgedeter maaßen mir die Freyheit nehme, mit einen Concert von meiner geringen Composition aufzuwarten. Solten Ew. HochEdl. mir einige Gefälligkeit belieben zuerweisen so wolte um das Trio welches Dieselben bey meiner Gegenwart in Leipzig gespielt haben gehorsamst ausbitten zu übersenden. Es ist solches von Ihren Meister aus Dantzig es ist der Nahme von selben mir entfallen, dahero wünsche den Stilum, und gusto seiner Composition kennen zulernen, es bestehet aus Clav: Violino et Basso, wann Ew: HochEdl. noch eines von selben Meister solten besitzen so wolte es mir gleichfals ausbitten ich würde mit einen Lauten=Concert dagegen aufwarten, ich gehe morgen von hier nach Bajreuth und werde diesen Winter daselbst verbleiben, als wäre mir es lieb wen ich die gebethene Musical.*



The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. The title at the top left reads "Concerto per il Cembalo del Sign. Gronau." in a cursive hand. Below the title, the tempo is marked "Allegro moderato." The music is written in a single system with two staves per system, likely representing the right and left hands of a harpsichord. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as "f" (forte). The piece concludes with a "Fine." marking. At the bottom center of the page, there is a small handwritten number "2".

Example 10b: Daniel Magnus Gronau, Concerto in A minor for solo harpsichord. Manuscript copy in the hand of Luise Gottsched (D-Dl Mus. 4215-T-1).





Fig. 11: Adam Falckenhagen, engraving by Johann Wilhelm Stör, c. 1739; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.

### Luise's chorale book

A lute manuscript known for many years as an important source of some pieces from Silvius Leopold Weiss's years in Italy (1710–1714) can now be shown to be in the hand of Luise Gottsched herself, and thus must consist of copies made some years later than their date of composition (see ex. 12, p. 252). Luise was born only a year before the end of the period Weiss spent in Rome in the service of Prince Aleksander Sobieski (1677–1714), son of the former Polish queen, Marie Casimire Sobieski (1641–1716). Now housed at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (F-Pn Rés. Vma ms. 1213),<sup>66</sup> the manuscript was bought from a Parisian book dealer some years after the death of its former owner, the eminent musicologist and collector, Mme Genevieve Thibault, Comtesse de Chambure (1902–1975); before her, it had passed through the collections of Henry Prunières

*mit ersten Postage könnte bekommen, ich will selbe auf das aller beste und eyligste übersenden, der ich nebst Gehorsamster Empfehlung an H. Gemahl verharre.*

Luise's own copy of the letter may be viewed online at: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/397244/453> (23.7.2022). (See Example 11, p. 253.)

66 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10020231q> (7.8.2022)



Fantasia D b.  
 Adagio.

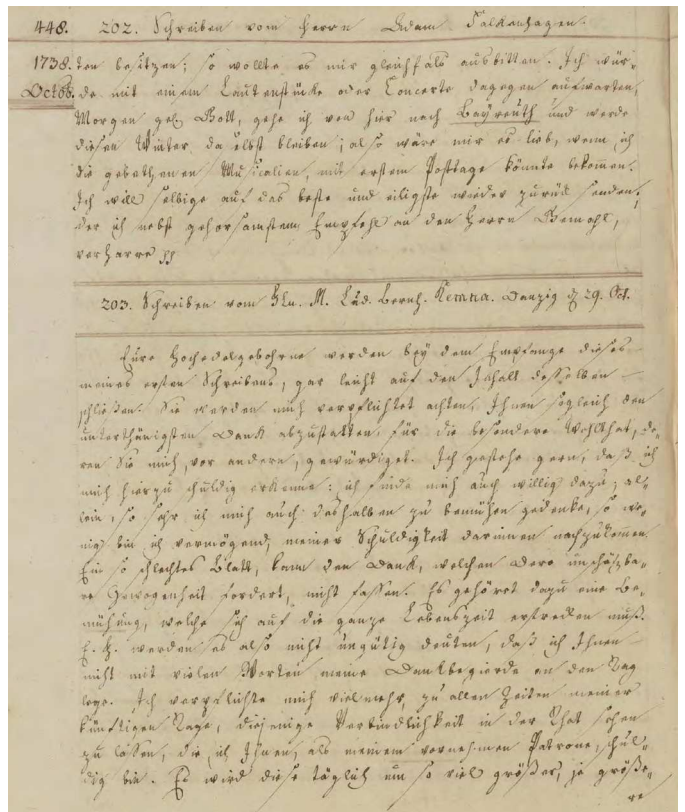
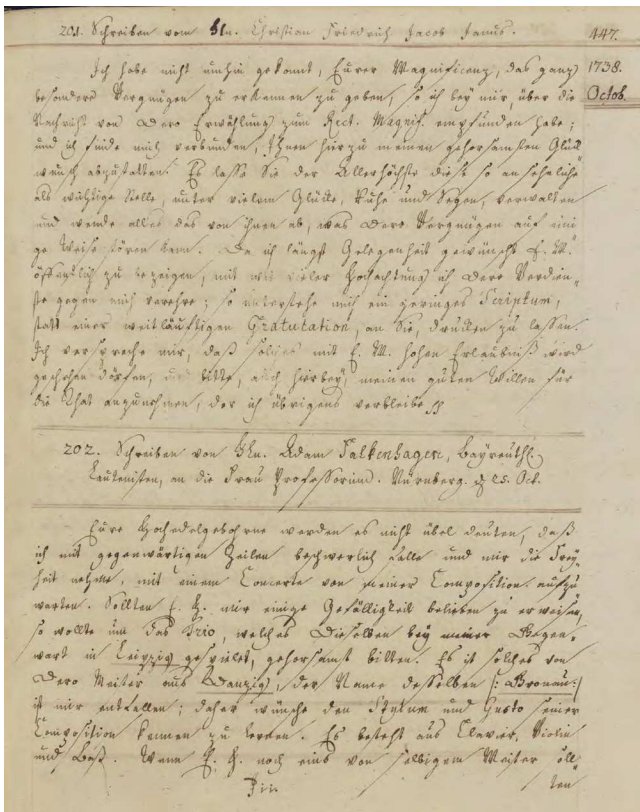
irresera  
 arana h  
 Presto.

22  
 23  
 24

AP

Example 12: F-Pn Rès. Vma. ms. 1213, p. 1, beginning of first Weiss *Fantasia*.





Example 11: Letter from Adam Falckenhausen, 25 October 1738, to Luise Gottsched, from her copybook (D-DI, Sammlung Gottsched, Mscr. Dresd. M. 166, Bd.4, pp. 447–448). The name ‘Gronau’ has been inserted four lines from the bottom of page 447.

(1886–1942), Jules Écorcheville (1872–1915) and the Polish musicologist Alexander Polinski (1845–1916).<sup>67</sup> On the outer cover is a handwritten label describing the contents for which this important Weiss source is best known: ‘Fantaisies et Preludes composées par Mr. Weiss à Rome’. In fact, the pieces corresponding to this description, eight in number,<sup>68</sup> occupy only the first 18 pages of the manuscript; the rest is taken up with music by other composers, in most cases anonymous. (See Example 12, p. 252.) Two of the Weiss fantasies (Weiss SW 75/3 and \*44) are also to be found in the Harrach MSS<sup>69</sup> with features that suggest they were copied from the same exemplar.<sup>70</sup>

After the eight Weiss pieces comes a three-movement work by Georg Gebel the younger (1709–1753): ff. 10v–12v, *Tomba composta del Sigre. Gebel* (movement titles: *Grave, Adagio, Lagrimoso*); this can also be found in another lute manuscript, D-Mbs 5362, ff. 51v–53v, *Tombeau de Mad. J. décédé a Leipsig le 17 7<sup>br</sup>*. [i.e. September] 1738 composé par Mr Gebel (movement titles: *Grave, Adagio, Les Soupirs*).<sup>71</sup>

The two staves left on f. 12v at the end of the final movement of Gebel’s *Tomba* and the following 19 pages (ff. 13r–22r) are occupied by a collection of 50 chorale settings for solo lute (see Appendix 1), the last of which concludes on the first stave of f. 22r, the remaining seven staves on that page being left empty. The

<sup>67</sup> See Joachimiak 2013.

<sup>68</sup> Folios 1v–2r, *Fantasia Db* [i.e. D minor] (Weiss SW 82.2); ff. 2v–3r, *Fantasia F#* [F major] (Weiss SW 75.3); *Fantasia C#* [C major] (Weiss SW \*44); ff. 4v–5r, *Capriccio* [G minor] (Weiss SW \*45); ff. 5v–6r, *Fantasia G#* [G major] (Weiss SW \*46); ff. 6v–7v, *Fantasia D#* [D major] (Weiss SW \*47); ff. 8v–9r, *Fuga D#* [D major] (Weiss SW \*48); ff. 9v–10r, *Preludio F#* [F major] (Weiss SW 75.1).

<sup>69</sup> A-RO I & II Harrach. Facsimile: Michael Freiermuth, Frank Legl and Markus Lutz (ed.), *Lautenmusik aus dem Schloss Rohrau. Werke von Silvius Leopold Weiss und anderen. Zwei Manuskripte für Barocklaute aus der Graf Harrach’schen Familiensammlung*, Frankfurt am Main: Deutsche Lautengesellschaft, 2010.

<sup>70</sup> This is unlikely to be have been a text supplied by Weiss himself, as Luise had not met him by 1738 (the date of the immediately-following piece in the MS).

<sup>71</sup> Legl 2010, pp. 102–106. <https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kDCoLxWqwM4VSMdAUw2hLx7IvtLmH8>, scroll to ‘München 5362 Band I Tabs’ and ‘München 5362 Band II Commentary’. ‘Madame J.’ can be certainly identified as Christiana Maria Jacobi, née Parinfski, (d. 17 September 1738), who was the wife of a prominent Saxon councillor.



chorale settings are identified by titles in red ink, and most give the impression that they are intended for domestic use, perhaps as accompaniments to singing. Some, however, incorporate one or more explicitly-labelled variations; whether these, too, were meant to serve as accompaniments to subsequent verses of the hymns (whose full texts are not provided at all) is not clear.

The last piece of music in the manuscript, copied (presumably to avoid page turns) on ff. 22v–23r, bears the title *Variat[ion] 2<sup>da</sup>*, implying that the blank staves on the previous page were meant to contain a simple setting and a first variation.

The manuscript concludes (ff. 23v–24r) with an alphabetic index, also in Luise Gottsched's hand, of the chorale settings, including some alternative titles of hymns which could be sung to the same tunes (a common feature in chorale collections of this period). From this it can be seen that the second movement of Gebel's *Tomba* incorporates a setting of the well-known and appropriate chorale melody *Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit* (What my God wants should always happen), the text of which has been characterised as 'an expression of unlimited trust in God, even when facing death'.<sup>72</sup> (See Example 13, below and p. 255.)

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. At the top left, the number '126' is written in red ink. The title 'Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit' is written in black ink. The music is arranged in two systems of staves. The first system consists of a vocal line (soprano) and a lute line. The second system consists of a vocal line (alto) and a lute line. The notation includes notes, rests, and various musical symbols. The lute line features a complex rhythmic pattern with many '4' time signatures. The word 'Accord.' is written at the end of the second system. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration.

Example 13a: B-Bc Ms. Littera S. No. 5620, no. 126, *Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit*.

The 52 chorale-settings in the manuscript can be classified into three basic categories:

1. simple settings;
2. settings with short free passages between the phrases (*Zwischenspiele*) which correspond to lines of the hymn-texts;
3. settings in which a chorale melody is incorporated as a kind of *cantus firmus* into an idiomatic polyphonic texture.

<sup>72</sup> See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Was\\_mein\\_Gott\\_will,\\_das\\_g%27scheh\\_allzeit](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Was_mein_Gott_will,_das_g%27scheh_allzeit) (23.7.2022).



21. Adagio.

Ex. 13b: F-Pn Rès. Vma. ms. 1213, p. 21, second movement, *Adagio*, of Georg Gebel, *Tomba*, beginning, quoting chorale 'Was mein Gott will' at the points marked 'piano'



The simple settings of type 1 are all anonymous, and comprise very straightforward harmonisations of the chorale tune (always in the uppermost voice) in three parts with occasional four- or five-part chords. In this respect they follow the pattern established in other lute manuscript collections of *Geistlicher Lieder* such as those by Scyurus<sup>73</sup> and Deckert.<sup>74</sup> A short sequence of nine similar chorale-settings for lute can be found at the beginning of one of the sources of Friedrich Wilhelm Rust's sonatas for violin and lute, which, although another source gives the date '1791', were probably composed as early as the 1760s.<sup>75</sup>

While the harmonisations generally seem to be competently done, there are frequent copying errors, especially in the rhythm signs. This sometimes renders them hard to realise without reference to other settings of the same hymn-tunes. They are not as sophisticated harmonically as the series of chorale-tunes with figured bass (each preceded by a prelude and a more complex treatment idiomatic to the organ) that Krebs published in 1744,<sup>76</sup> and it seems unlikely that they were provided by him.

Of the type 2 settings with *Zwischenspiele*, eleven are close copies of those published in Adam Falckenhagen's *Erstes Dutzend Erbauungs voller Geistlicher-Gesänge mit Variationen auf die Laute* (Falckenhagen 1746); in the print the *Zwischenspiele* are engraved in small notes, but they are not clearly distinguished in Luise's copy. While it is possible that a copy text was made available to her by Falckenhagen, with whom she exchanged other music (see above), at some time before the print was published, she may have used a copy of the print itself after it had been engraved, possibly even before it was published.<sup>77</sup> (See Example 14, a, below, and b, p. 257.) Some of Falckenhagen's settings are followed by variations.<sup>78</sup>

Example 14a: *Aus meines Hertzen Grunde* from Adam Falckenhagen, *Erste Dutzend*, Nürnberg: Haffner, 1746, no. II.

It is not altogether surprising that Adam Falckenhagen composed a collection of chorale settings for his instrument, which were presumably intended to act as accompaniments in a domestic context (although this is nowhere stated in the publication). It is a parallel to many such published collections of settings which could be played on keyboard instruments such as harpsichord, clavichord, fortepiano (somewhat later) or – most obviously – organ. Although the latter was definitely associated with church music, chamber organs may have been found in some of the wealthier Leipzig households.<sup>79</sup>

73 PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40151, dated 1742, containing over 220 settings of Lutheran choral-tunes in the hand of Johann Michael Scyurus (or Sciuro, fl. 1724–1754) and mostly arranged by him from Freylinghausen 1715, or one of its many later editions. He was court lutenist to the prince of Anhalt-Cöthen from 1724 to 1754. (Breitkopf 1761 offered a single partita for lute solo by Scyurus.) My thanks are due to Arthur Ness for sending me, many years ago, the draft typescript of a study of this source, which was subsequently withdrawn from publication.

74 D-B Mus. ms. 40642, of similar date to the Scyurus collection, contains 35 chorale-settings by *Herr Deckert*, who remains unidentified at the time of writing.

75 PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40150. The nine chorale-settings are in the hand of Johann Michael Scyurus; as none of these is duplicated in PL-Kj 40151, it appears to be an adjunct to that source. The Rust works are in a later copying layer and a different hand; see Schlegel 1989 for details of the latter.

76 Krebs 1744.

77 The print is undated, and the date 1746 is that of the book's appearance in an advertisement in that year. (See Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1954.)

78 Two other chorales in Luise's collection not found in the Falckenhagen print, *Unsre müden Augenlieder* (pp. 23, 7<sup>th</sup> line to 24, 8<sup>th</sup> line) and *Befehl du deine Wege* (p. 33, 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> lines), have variations in similar style. If either of these are in fact by Falckenhagen, this may suggest that the copies predate the 1746 publication; the exemplars may have been provided by the composer, with whom Luise corresponded, in manuscript, these two perhaps forming the beginning of a second projected volume.

79 See Rose 2005.



Example 14b: *Aus meines Herzens Grunde*: Luise's copy in F-Pn Rés. Vma. ms. 1213, p. 30.

Falckenhagen came from a family steeped in the Lutheran faith. His grandfather had worked as an organist before becoming a pastor, and as a boy Adam studied 'literis und musicis' with an uncle, also a pastor, from the age of eight. The 1746 print is dedicated to the intensely religious Queen Sophia Magdalene of Denmark and Norway (1700–1770), a close relative of Falckenhagen's employer, Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1711–1763) and his spouse, Princess Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine of Prussia (1709–1758), the sister of Frederick the Great (see fig. 12, a & b, p. 258). All these high aristocrats were highly skilled musicians, Sophie Wilhelmina of Prussia being an expert lute-player and probably the immediate cause of Falckenhagen's employment at the Bayreuth court from 1732 until his death in 1754.<sup>80</sup>

Queen Sophia Magdalene was an adherent to the religious movement known as Pietism, and Falckenhagen's dedication refers to her love of music. Whether she was actually a lute-player herself is not certain, though the dedication of this collection of idiomatic music for the instrument, quite unsuitable for any other, to her makes this seem more than likely.

<sup>80</sup> See Domning 2018.





Fig. 12a: Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1711–1763), portrait attributed to Georg Lisiewski (1674–1750). Schloss Blankenburg.



Fig. 12b: Princess Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine of Prussia (1709–1758), portrait by Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702–1789). Bayreuth, Neues Schloss.

The 1746 *Erst Dutzend* uses the same system of ornament and technical signs in the tablature as Falckenhagen's other printed works, which were all published by another lutenist, Johann Ulrich Haffner, who ran a successful music-printing business in Nuremberg. In none of these prints is there a table explaining the signs, however, but a pair of manuscripts now in the Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum, doubtless originating in Bayreuth, each contain very similar versions of a table of these *Manieren*,<sup>81</sup> which can with a high degree of certainty be ascribed to Falckenhagen, although not in his autograph. (See Example 15, p. 259.) The same ornament system is also used in the arrangement of Bach's G minor suite, BWV 995, found in a tablature manuscript which came from the Breitkopf collection, and thus may even have once belonged to Luise Gottsched.<sup>82</sup> This further supports the eminent Bach scholar Hans-Joachim Schulze's conjecture that the Bach arrangement may have been by Falckenhagen himself,<sup>83</sup> though it is hard to see how this could be proved beyond any doubt.

The same ornament system is used in a significant manuscript collection of chorale settings for lute dated 1740 and now in the library of the Brussels Conservatoire.<sup>84</sup> This little-known collection, comprising 232 pages of tablature with settings of 164 numbered chorales (most of which are in fact duplicated in a different key) and ending with an alphabetical index, is in the same hand as a Leipzig manuscript for mandora,<sup>85</sup> which also contains versions of several of the chorales. The binding of the Brussels MS bears the initials 'A. F. L.' and a date, 1740. Although it is tempting to associate the initials with Falckenhagen ('Adam Falckenhagen Lipsiensis', perhaps?), he had left Leipzig a full eight years before this date.

Another feature in common between the Brussels chorale collection and the *Erste Dutzend* is that like them, the Brussels chorales all contain *Zwischenspiele*, albeit far less elaborate than Falckenhagen's printed ones. Those in the Brussels MS are mainly remarkable both for their idiomatic quality and for their high degree of consistency; with few exceptions the same cadence formulae are applied through the collection. There is little doubt that this set of chorale settings is intended to accompany the singing of the hymn-tunes, which would no doubt have been familiar to its owner, as were the words. The beautifully-copied collection must have been laboriously assembled by a professional at the request of a wealthy and pious owner. (See Example 16a, p. 260, above.)

The Leipzig mandora MS is best known for its preservation of a number of popular tunes from the Leipzig region, including several which found their way into J. S. Bach's *Bauernkantate*, BWV 212.<sup>86</sup> It contains a

81 D-Ngm Hs. 25461, 1 & 2. Andreas Schlegel has provided a comparative illustration of the *Manieren* signs from the first of these MSS and those given in a table in Beyer 1760 at: [https://accordsnouveaux.ch/images/Tabellen\\_Beyer\\_D-Ngm\\_Hs\\_25461-1.pdf](https://accordsnouveaux.ch/images/Tabellen_Beyer_D-Ngm_Hs_25461-1.pdf) (23.7.2022).

82 D-Lem Ms. III.11.3; facsimile edition, Schulze 1989; <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id454513682> (7.8.2022).

83 See Schulze 2017.

84 B-Bc Ms. Littera S. No. 5620 / F. A. VI. 60. The MS is briefly described in Wotquenne *Catalogue* and in Boetticher 1978, pp. 55–56.

85 D-Lem Ms. III.12.18; <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id454513488> (7.8.2022)

86 The survey of the MS in Sampson 2017 mentions the connections with Sperontes' *Singende Muse*, but fails to recognise those with BWV 212, which are explored briefly in Crawford 1999. In passing it might be mentioned that the unusual mandora tuning explicitly given in a diagram is close to that of the d minor lute, for which a few pieces in the MS are also written.



Example 15: Table of Manieren, from D-Ngm Hs. 25461, II, f. 4

series of 22 chorale-settings without *Zwischenspiele*, which are otherwise very close in style to those in the Brussels MS, and thus almost certainly set by the same composer. (See Example 16b, p. 260, below.)

The more elaborate chorale settings in Luise's collection (style 3) are more various in style and origin. The second movement of Gebel's *Tomba* embeds the phrases of a simple setting of the chorale *Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit* in a poignant, quasi-contrapuntal texture somewhat reminiscent of a funeral motet. Indeed, this word is used explicitly in the title of another work in a Leipzig lute manuscript definitely of Breitkopf provenance: *C. Dur Fantasia et Motetta sopra Chorale Nun sich der Tag geendet hat*,<sup>87</sup> as in the Gebel work the second movement embeds the chorale setting in a quasi-contrapuntal framework. (See Example 17, p. 262–263.)

The only other example of such a 'lute motet' with a close Leipzig connection that I am aware of is not explicitly labelled as such. This is a pair of consecutive pieces in the earliest layer of a lute manuscript apparently compiled over many years by a former pupil of J. S. Bach, Rudolf Straube (1717–1785), after he had taken up residence in London after 1754. On ff. 3v–4r of the 'Straube manuscript' in the British Library<sup>88</sup> are two untitled movements in B flat major which seem to belong together (although this is not stated explicitly in the MS); the second of these is a setting of *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* with *Zwischenspiele* very similar in nature to the ones by Falckenhagen. (See Example 18, p. 264, 266–267.) A setting in similar style of the chorale *Komm, heiliger Geist, Herr Gott*, also in Straube's hand, can be found near the end of the manuscript (ff. 38v–39r).

Straube's manuscript, whose detailed makeup is too complex to consider in this article, contains approximately 40 separate pieces in his own hand; of these, five are by Falckenhagen (none attributed to the composer), from his Op. 1 and Op. 2 collections. This further supports the notion that Straube (also,

87 D-Lem III.11.33: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id454516347> (7.8.2022)

88 GB-Lbl Add. MS 31698.





Example 16: *Aus meines Hertzens Grunde*

a) above: B-Bc Ms. Littera S. No. 5620, no. 1 (for a 13-course baroque lute);

b) below: D-LEm Ms. III.12.18 (for a 6-course mandora in tuning *dfeff*, f.ex. d' b f# d A E).

incidentally, the son of a Lutheran pastor, and himself a onetime student of theology) may have received some tuition on the lute by Falckenhagen, or a player in his circle. Straube entered the Thomasschule as a student in 1733, the year after Falckenhagen left Leipzig to take up his post at Bayreuth, and studied the organ with J. S. Bach, acting as one of his trusted music copyists; he enrolled at the university in Leipzig in 1740.<sup>89</sup> He dedicated his *Due Sonate* for solo lute of 1746 to the ‘Conoscitore della Musica anzi del Liuto’, Carl Heinrich von Dieskau (1706–1782)<sup>90</sup>, for whom Falckenhagen had formerly served as *Kammerdiener*.<sup>91</sup> Against the theory that he was a pupil of the older lutenist, it should be mentioned that Straube’s system of ornament-signs is not the same as Falckenhagen’s.

Having secured a post in 1747 as musician at the Köthen court, in 1754 (or soon thereafter), Straube travelled to England, like many other German musicians of his generation, where he made his mark as a teacher and performer on the lute and the harpsichord, as well as on the newly-introduced ‘guitar’, an instrument that became highly fashionable in Straube’s last three decades.<sup>92</sup>

Although no direct evidence exists of any contact between Straube and Luise Gottsched, his presence in Leipzig over several years as an expert lute-player trained by J. S. Bach would certainly suggest that she would have taken notice of him. In fact, she may have had music by Straube in her library: a single lot, of which sadly no trace remains today, in Breitkopf & Härtel 1836 comprised eight lute concertos ‘m[it] Quart[et]’: three by ‘Vienne’ (presumably meaning otherwise anonymous composers from Vienna), two by ‘Schauer’,<sup>93</sup> one by Telemann and two by ‘Straub’.<sup>94</sup>

The final piece on page 43 of Luise’s MS at first sight appears to be incomplete; it is entitled ‘Variatio 2<sup>do</sup>’, and seven empty staves have been left before it on the previous page (42), on which one must presume a simple setting and a first variation were meant to be copied. It is a highly unusual setting of the chorale *Ich bin ja, Herr, in deiner Macht*<sup>95</sup> in which the hymn-tune is buried within the texture as a tenor *cantus firmus*, in a way reminiscent of many organ chorale preludes, in which the tune could be further delineated by the use of contrasting registration. The structure of this lute piece is also very unusual: instead of the *Zwischenspiele* of Falckenhagen and Straube’s chorale settings, at the opening there is a highly idiomatic *ritornello* which recurs throughout the setting between the hymn-tune phrases, in a manner not unlike that of several cantata arias by composers such as J. S. Bach. (See Example 19, p. 269 below, and 270–273.)

The hymn (or *Geistliche Ode*), *Ich bin ja, Herr, in deiner Macht*, may have had a special significance for the Gottsched couple. It is listed in several hymn-books among those suitable for times of sickness and death.<sup>96</sup> We have heard that Luise Gottsched was recognised by the English visitor mentioned above even at this early time in her marriage as ‘sickly’, and she remained dogged by illness throughout her life. J. C. Gottsched had previously mentioned Simon Dach’s poem as an ideal example of the *Geistliche Ode* in his highly influential book on a theory of poetry first published in 1730,<sup>97</sup> in which he singled the poem out as a ‘*vollkommenes Meisterwerk*’. This, together with the musical style, clearly resembling that of J. S. Bach, yet with distinctly

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89 Schulze 1984, p. 120; Straube’s (unsuccessful) letter of application to the Zeitz council for a post as organist, dated 3 November 1739, signed ‘Rudolph Straube S. S. Theolog: Studios:’, is partially reproduced on p. 214.

90 Straube 1746, dedication.

91 Domning 2018.

92 See Clemens Harasim, ‘Straube, Rudolf’, in *MGG Online*.

93 Possibly the Dresden violinist Carl Anton Schauer, or the engraver Erasmo Schauer, who worked for Falckenhagen’s publisher, Johann Ulrich Haffner; see Legl 2010, pp. 84–85.

94 Breitkopf & Härtel 1836, lot 1435.

95 The chorale is identified as such in the manuscript index – the index entry seems to have been squeezed into its appropriate alphabetical place at some time after the index had been compiled; see Example 18. This is a different tune from that used by Bach in the well-known collection of his chorale settings (BWV 345); it is the one he is supposed to have harmonised with figured bass for Schemelli’s *Gesangbuch* (Schemelli 1735), p. 584 (BWV 464). The tune used here is the original one by Heinrich Albert, published in Albert 1648, no. 12.

96 For example, in Dretzel 1731, pp. 692 (Nuremberg) and 693 (Bayreuth), it appears in the category of *Kranken-Sterb- und Begräbnuß-Lieder* (Sickness, Death and Funeral Hymns).

97 Gottsched 1730, p. 334; the sections on musical settings of poetry are believed to have been extensively revised by Luise Gottsched in later editions, the first of which appeared in 1742.



*Adagio.*

The musical score is a single system with ten staves. It begins with the tempo marking 'Adagio.' and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values, rests, and dynamic markings such as '4', '4 fr.', and '4 po 4'. The music is written in a single system with ten staves.

Example 17: Anon., *C. Dur Fantasia et Motetta sopra Chorale Nun sich der Tag geendet hat*, second movement, *Adagio*, (D-Le III.11.33, f. 0), extract: a) facsimile; b) transcription

Adagio

Musical notation for measures 1-5. The piece is in 3/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth notes and some chords. The left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

6

Musical notation for measures 6-10. The right hand continues the melodic line. The left hand has a steady accompaniment of chords and eighth notes.

11

Musical notation for measures 11-15. The right hand has a more active melodic line with eighth notes. The left hand accompaniment includes chords and eighth notes.

16

Musical notation for measures 16-21. The right hand features a complex melodic line with sixteenth notes. The left hand accompaniment includes chords and eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present at the end of the system.

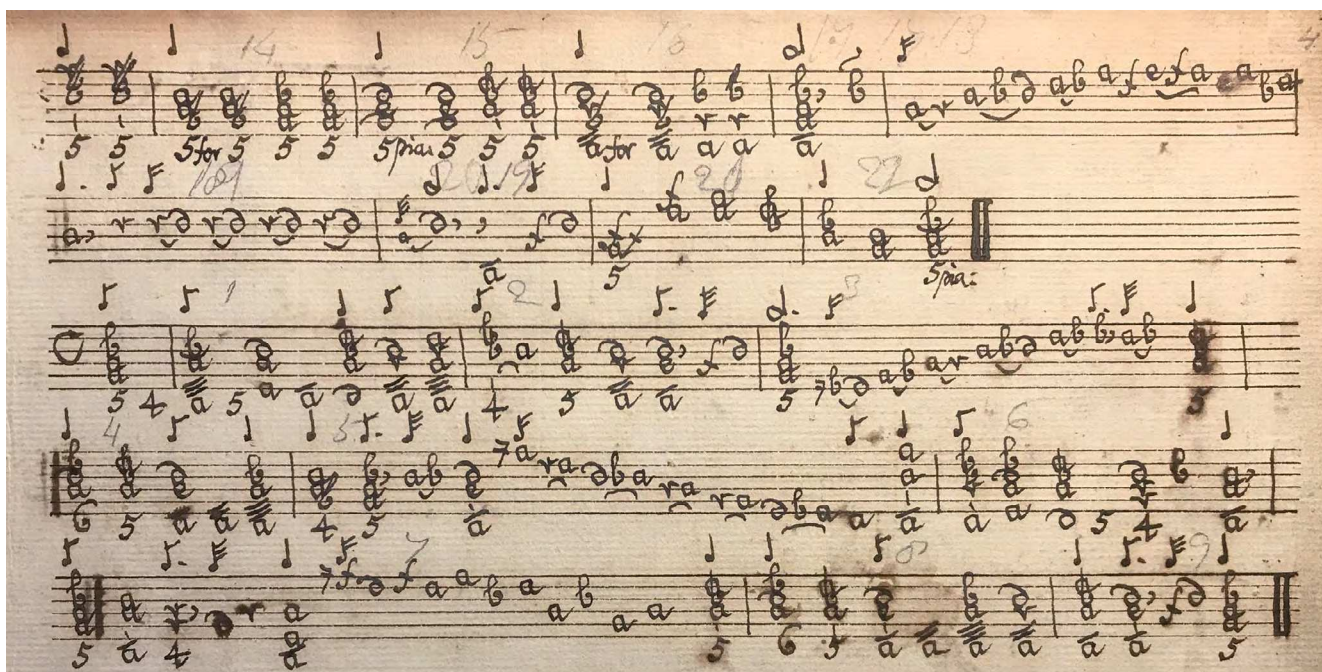
22

Musical notation for measures 22-26. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes. The left hand accompaniment includes chords and eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *f* (forte) is present at the beginning of the system.

27

Musical notation for measures 27-31. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes. The left hand accompaniment includes chords and eighth notes. The system ends with the text "etc." to the right.





Example 18: GB-Lbl Add. MS 31698, Rudolf Straube, two untitled pieces.

- a) ff. 3v, systems 1-4, untitled piece (extract), bars 1-26
- b) ff. 4r, systems 1-2, untitled piece (extract), bars 49-58; systems 3-5 [chorale-setting, 'Wenn wir in höchsten Noten sein']
- c) transcription (p. 266-267)

'modern' features, such as a *unisono* final cadence quite untypical of the Thomaskantor, strongly suggests – almost to the point of near-certainty – that this setting was by Johann Ludwig Krebs himself, and provided by him to his lute-playing composition pupil between the last months of 1736 and the spring of 1737.

Note that the tune is missing some of the time, suggesting that this chorale setting is more in the nature of an accompaniment rather than a self-standing piece. For this reason, the melody has been supplied on a separate stave in this transcription (ex. 19c, p. 272-273). The piece can easily be performed as a 'lute song' just as the chorale-settings in the Brussels manuscript (which sometimes incorporate variant passages for verses other than the first). In this respect, it, and the other settings in Luise's book, adds the lute to the various keyboard instruments for which several printed books of chorale-settings, like that by Daniel Vetter published in 1709,<sup>98</sup> were intended.

98 See Rose 2005. The numerous manuscript sources of chorale-settings in lute tablature from this period have not yet received the scholarly attention they deserve.

Magnus Gronau's setting,<sup>99</sup> labelled 'Chorale in Fuga' (for two manuals and pedal; the pedal part is figured throughout) and followed by five variations (with detailed notes on their registration), uses a sequence of themes derived from the successive phrases of Albert's hymn-tune, each culminating with the tune in the uppermost part. To lutenists, this procedure may be familiar from the sequence of nine substantial fantasies on well-known chorale-tunes by Matthias Reymann, published in 1598.<sup>100</sup>

During the Seven Years War, the tune seems to have taken on another significance, as on 25 August 1758 the Prussian army under Frederick the Great met the Russian troops at Zorndorf. Christian Täge, the Lutheran Pastor for the Russian army recalls:

We could already hear the horrible noise of the Prussian drums, [although] we could not yet distinguish their field music. But in a solemn march they come closer and closer, now we hear their oboes, they play: 'I am Lord in your power!' Here, with this music, not a word about my feelings; those who can feel will not find it unbelievable that in my subsequent life this melody has always produced the most intimate stirrings of melancholy in me.

A spurious anecdote from ca 1830 is occasionally quoted to reveal Frederick's reaction:

As the regiments marched up in battle formation, Frederick noticed that the music corps of one regiment was sounding a somewhat striking but extremely solemn march. 'What is that?' asked Frederick of one of the generals stopping beside him, who was listening in earnest to the music of the regiment marching past. 'It is the melody of the chorale "I am, Lord, in your power",' the general replied. Moved, Frederick repeated these words and listened with the most rapt attention to the music, which grew more and more distant and faded away.<sup>101</sup>

Krebs, following the precedent of Kauffmann 1735, later composed many fantasias for organ with an obligato instrument, usually oboe or a brass instrument, playing the chorale melody. In certain respects, the lute setting is not unlike some of these, e.g. 'Treuer Gott' for oboe d'amore and organ (1743),<sup>102</sup> but its aria-like ritornello structure is not the same.

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99 Gronau [2015], vol. 2, pp. 414–427.

100 Reymann 1598, ff. B6v–E5v (Minkoff edition, pp. 40–74).

101 Christian Täge's, *ehemaligen Russischen Feldpredigers, Lebensgeschichte*, Königsberg, 1804, S. 181.

<https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/image/1714397483/209/> (20.8.2022).

Original German text: *Das entsetzliche Lermen der preussischen Trommeln hörten wir schon, ihre Feldmusik konnten wir noch nicht unterscheiden. Aber in feierlichem Marsche kommen sie immer näher, jetzt hören wir ihre Hautboisten, sie spielen: Ich bin ja Herr in deiner Macht! Hier bei dieser Musik kein Wort von meinen Empfindungen. Wer fühlen kann, wird es nicht unglaublich finden, daß in meinem nachherigen langen Leben diese Melodie stets die innigsten Regungen der Wehmuth in mir hervorgebracht hat.*

The source for the second quotation is Johann Andreas Christoph Hildebrandt, *Anekdoten und Charakterzüge aus dem Leben Friedrichs des Großen*, 6 Vol., Halberstadt and Leipzig, 1829–1835, Vol. II, p. 15. It was Thomas Carlyle who, in his *History of Friedrich II of Prussia, called Frederick the Great*, published in 1858 (XI p. 346), realised that the anecdotes published between 1829 and 1835 were 'dubious'. Original German text: *Bei dem Aufmarsche der Regimenter in die Schlachtordnung bemerkte Friedrich, daß das Musikchor des einen Regiments einen etwas auffallenden, aber äußerst feierlichen Marsch blies. – »Was ist das?« fragte Friedrich einen der neben ihm haltenden Generale, der in ernsthafter Rübrung die Musik des vorbeimarschirenden Regimentes anhörte. – »Es ist die Melodie des Gesanges: Ich bin ja, Herr, in deiner Macht!« erwiderte der General. Gerührt wiederholte Friedrich diese Worte und hörte mit der gespanntesten Aufmerksamkeit der sich immer mehr entfernenden und verhallenden Musik zu.*

(My thanks are due to Harry Joelson for finding the original sources.)

102 Krebs 1981, no. 17, p. 68.



Musical score system 1, measures 1-6. The piece is in 2/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The right hand plays chords, and the left hand plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Dynamics include *p* and *f*.

Musical score system 2, measures 7-14. The piece continues with the same accompaniment pattern. Dynamics include *p* and *f*.

Musical score system 3, measures 15-20. The piece continues with the same accompaniment pattern. Dynamics include *p* and *f*. A fermata is present over the final chord of the system.

Musical score system 4, measures 21-27. The piece continues with the same accompaniment pattern. Dynamics include *p* and *f*.

Musical score system 5, measures 28-34. The piece continues with the same accompaniment pattern. Dynamics include *f*, [*p*], [*f*], and *p*.

Musical score system 6, measures 35-40. The piece continues with the same accompaniment pattern. Dynamics include *f*.

Example 18c: GB-Lbl Add. MS 31698, Rudolf Straube, two untitled pieces, transcription.

42

Musical score for measures 42-47. The piece is in B-flat major (two flats) and 4/4 time. The bass line consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The treble line features chords in measures 42-45, followed by a melodic line in measure 46, and a trill in measure 47.

48

Musical score for measures 48-53. The bass line continues with eighth notes, including dynamic markings *f* and *p*. The treble line features chords in measures 48-52, followed by a melodic line in measure 53.

54

Musical score for measures 54-59. The bass line continues with eighth notes. The treble line features a melodic line in measure 54, followed by a trill in measure 55, and a melodic line in measure 56, ending with a double bar line in measure 59.

Musical score for measures 60-65. The piece changes to 3/4 time. The bass line continues with eighth notes. The treble line features chords in measure 60, followed by a melodic line in measure 61, and a melodic line in measure 62, ending with a double bar line in measure 65.

5

Musical score for measures 66-71. The piece changes to 4/4 time. The bass line continues with eighth notes. The treble line features chords in measure 66, followed by a melodic line in measure 67, and a melodic line in measure 68, ending with a double bar line in measure 71.

9

Musical score for measures 72-77. The piece changes to 3/4 time, then 4/4 time. The bass line continues with eighth notes. The treble line features chords in measure 72, followed by a melodic line in measure 73, and a melodic line in measure 74, ending with a double bar line in measure 77.



## Postlude – Luise’s lutes

Luise Gottsched’s health, never strong, and aggravated by the toll of her hard work, which largely comprised the translating, editing and proofreading of her husband’s voluminous output, became seriously worse during the 1750s, and her eyesight deteriorated to the extent that she was forced to give up music-making altogether. By 1760 she was too ill to leave the house, barely able to eat and drink and subject to fainting spells.<sup>103</sup> She lent her fine harpsichord for a rehearsal on 4 March 1762 of a cantata composed by Johann Adam Hiller in honour of the Saxon electoral princess, Maria Antonia Walpurgis (1724–1780), whom she greatly admired, although she was too ill to attend.<sup>104</sup> Her last months were a painful decline borne with great courage, and her death, on 26 June 1762, came as a merciful release.

During her lifetime and after her death, Luise’s reputation as a literary figure – for good reason – outshone the memory of her musical activities. But something of her significance as an enthusiast for the lute was still recognised more than three decades later, when the following advertisement appeared in a literary journal in 1769.<sup>105</sup> (See Example 20, below)

**II. Instrumente so zu verkaufen.**

Folgende musikalische Instrumente, als:

- 1) Eine Laute oder Theorbe, das schönste Instrument von dieser Art, welches wohl je gemacht worden, und welches ehemals die feil. Frau Professor Gottsched in Leipzig besessen;
- 2) Eine dergl., das älteste und erste dieser Instrumente, war auch in den Händen der feil. Fr. Prof. Gottsched;
- 3) Eine schöne Viole d’Amour;
- 4) Eine Steinertische Violine;
- 5) Eine Flöte;
- 6) Eine Viola.

sind um billige Preise zu verkaufen. Liebhaber können sich deshalb mit Anfragen in frankirten Briefen an Hrn. Amtschreiber, Johann Gottfried Kohl, in Freyberg, wenden.

Freyberg im Churfächf. Erzgebürge  
am 29 April 1796.

Example 20: Luise’s lutes for sale in 1796, advertisement in *Gnädigst privilegiertes Leipziger Intelligenzblatt : in Frag- und Anzeigen, für Stadt- und Land-Wirthe, zum Besten des Nahrungsstandes*. - Leipzig : Intelligenz-Comtoir Intelligenzblatt

Example 20. Luise’s lutes (advertisement from Intelligenzblatt 1796, no. 68), translation:

### II. Instruments for sale

The following musical instruments:

1. A lute or theorbo, the most beautiful instrument of this kind that has ever been made, and which was formerly owned by the late wife of Professor Gottsched in Leipzig;
2. A similar instrument, the oldest and first of these instruments, would also have been in the possession of the late Mrs. Prof. Gottsched.
3. A beautiful Viole d’Amour;
4. A Steiner violin;
5. A flute;
6. A viola.

are for sale at cheap prices. Enthusiasts may therefore address their enquiries in a franked letter to the Freyberg Public Notary, Mr. Johann Gottfried Kohl.

Freyberg (Erzgebirge), Electorate of Saxony, 29 April 1796.

<sup>103</sup> Kord 1998, p. 162.

<sup>104</sup> Agethen 2019, p. 53.

<sup>105</sup> *Intelligenzblatt* 1796, no. 68, cols 573–574, 4 June 1796.

Items 1 and 2 in the list of instruments for sale suggest that J. C. Gottsched had supported Luise's lute-playing by purchasing a pair of fine lutes for her, one of which at least was in the later 'swan-neck', theorboed form said by her to have been invented by her idol, Silvius Leopold Weiss.<sup>106</sup> It would be reasonable to suppose that at least one of these lutes was made by her acquaintance Johann Christian Hoffmann (1683–1750), who was instrument-maker to the Royal Polish and Saxon Electoral Court in Dresden, but maintained his business and lived in Leipzig.

106 Gottsched *Handlexicon* 1760, col. 1645.

D.		E.	
13	Du Gott und Herr, wie	2.	31.
	Du Gott wie mancher Herzlieb	6.	40.
	Aus meinen lieben Gott	4.	34.
	Du was alle ich dündor manchen	3.	27.
	Aus meine Herzlieb Gottlieb	6.	30.
	Du Herr mich erman dündor	2.	25.
	Aus meine Herzlieb mit zu Grabe, die	7.	40.
H.		G.	
	Was ich du meine Herr	2.	33.
I.		H.	
	Ich bin ja Herr, in deiner Macht	2.	42.
	Du bist in Gottes Hand, die	2.	21.
	Du bist der meine Herr	4.	29.
	Du bist meine Herr	3.	35.
	Du bist meine Herr, die	7.	36.
	Du bist die lieber Herr	5.	38.
	Du bist meine Herr	2.	41.
	Du bist die Herr, die	8.	40.
	Du bist meine Herr, die	3.	34.
	Du bist meine Herr, die	8.	40.
	Du bist meine Herr, die	2.	25.
	Du bist die Herr, die	2.	41.
J.		I.	
	Das alte Jahr vergangen ist	6.	28.
	Du bist die Herr, die	4.	29.
	Du bist die Herr, die	3.	34.
	Du bist die Herr, die	2.	21.
K.		L.	
	Du bist die Herr, die	2.	37.
	Du bist die Herr, die	2.	22.

Example 19: F-Pn Rès. Vma. Ms. 1213, *Ich bin ja, Herr, in deiner Macht*:

a) index entry (p. 45);

b) (see p. 270-271) *Variat 2<sup>da</sup>*: (pp. 43-44);

c) (see p. 272-273) transcription



43. Variat. 2<sup>da</sup>

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top left, it is labeled '43. Variat. 2<sup>da</sup>'. The page contains 12 staves of music. The notation is dense, featuring various rhythmic values such as 5/4, 4/4, and 3/4. There are numerous accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) and slurs throughout the score. The paper is aged and yellowed.

Example 19b: F-Pn Rès. Vma. Ms. 1213, [*Ich bin ja, Herr, in deiner Macht*]; Variat 2<sup>da</sup> (pp. 43-44).



This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. The page is numbered "44." in the top right corner. The notation is written in three staves, using a system of letters (a, b, c) and rhythmic symbols (vertical lines with flags) to represent musical notes and rests. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The second staff begins with a bass clef and a common time signature (C). The third staff begins with a common time signature (C). The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines. Below the three staves of notation, there is a large section of the page consisting of ten empty musical staves, which are not filled with any notes or markings.



[Chorale melody]

Lute

3

Ich bin ja,

7

Herr, in dei-ner Macht, du hast mich an das

11

Licht ge-bracht, du un-ter hältst mir auch das Le-ben;

16

du ken-nest mei-ner

Example 19c: F-Pn Rés. Vma. Ms. 1213, *Ich bin ja, Herr, in deiner Macht*: transcription.

19

Mon - den Zahl, weißt, wann ich die - sem Jam -

23

- mer - tal auch wie - der gu - te Nacht muß ge -

27

ben; wo, wie und wenn ich ster - ben soll,

31

das weißt du, Va - ter, mehr als wohl.

35

fn. 1: 25,1: bass note is F in MS.

fn. 2: 28,1: Ms has chord a, F.

fn. 3: 29,2: Ms has a.



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## Lute manuscripts cited

<b>Siglum</b>	<b>Description</b>
A-RO I & II Harrach	Two lute MSS (c. 1735?) in the Harrach family library (Schloss Rohrau, Austria) containing many unique works by S. L. Weiss and others
B-Bc Ms. Littera S. No. 5620	A collection of 164 chorale-settings for 13-course lute, dated 1740
B-Br MS II 4086	7 ensemble works for lute by Karl von Kohaut, 2 works by Adam Falckenhagen, 2 by Paul Charles Durant
B-Br MS II 4088	2 ensemble works for lute by Joseph Haydn, 1 by Neruda, 11 by Kropfgans
B-Br MS II 4089	1 ensemble work for lute by Corigniani, 3 by Blohm, 1 by Pichler, 1 by Bleditsch
D-B Mus. ms. 11834	4 lute concertos by Kohaut, 1 concerto by [Pfeiffer]
D-B Mus. ms. 12019/1	Krebs C major lute concerto
D-B Mus. ms. 12020	Krebs F major lute concerto
D-B Mus. ms. 12021	Krebs F major lute concerto (another copy - lute part only)
D-B Mus. ms. 40642	35 chorale-settings by „Herr Deckert“
D-Dl Ms. Mus. 2841-V-1	6 volumes of lute music by S. L. Weiss, partly autograph
D-LEm Ms. III.11.3	Lute tablature version of J. S. Bach's suite in G minor, BWV 995
D-LEm Ms. III.11.33	'C. Dur Fantasia et Motetta sopra Chorale Nun sich der Tag geendet hat'
D-LEm Ms. III.11.64	The so-called ‚Rosani‘ lute manuscript: 8 works for solo lute by Kropfgans, 1 by Falckenhagen, 7 by [Beyer], 1 arr. of a Hasse aria, 2 anonymous
D-LEm Ms. III.12.18	Mandora MS, including 22 chorale-settings
D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 5362	Lute manuscript originating in Leipzig (c1738) containing works by Weiss, Kropfgans, Fackenhagen, Kellner, Gebel etc. Facsimile edition: Legl 2010
D-Ngm Hs. 25461, 1 & 2	Two manuscripts of lute music originating in Bayreuth, c. 1760, each containing the same table of signs for Manieren probably stemming from Adam Falckenhagen
F-Pn Rés. Vma ms. 1213	Lute manuscript entirely in the hand of LAVG, containing 8 works by S. L. Weiss ‚composées à Rome‘ and 52 chorale-settings, 11 of which are copied from Falckenhagen's 1746 print
GB-Lbl Add. MS 31698	Lute manuscript consisting of c. 40 works composed or arranged by Straube and later copies or transcriptions (some dated as late as 1813)
PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40150	9 chorale-settings for lute in the hand of Köthen court lutenist Johann Michael Scyurus (dates unknown), apparently an annex to PL-Kj 40151; Three sonatas for violin and lute by F. W. Rust added later (c. 1760?)
PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40151	220 chorale-settings for solo lute by Scyurus (cf PL-Kj 40150), dated 1740 and 1742

<b>Remarks</b>	<b>Main copyist</b>	<b>Literature</b>
		Facsimile edition
Uses Falckenhagen's system of signs for Manieren	Same as D-LEm Ms. III.12.18	
From the Breitkopf collection (possibly originally owned by LAVG)	Breitkopf scribe (J. C. Beyer?)	Meyer 1996
From the Breitkopf collection (possibly originally owned by LAVG)	Breitkopf scribe (J. C. Beyer?); 2 items in Kropfgans autograph	Meyer 1996
From the Breitkopf collection (possibly originally owned by LAVG)	Breitkopf scribe (J. C. Beyer?)	Meyer 1996
Probably from the Breitkopf collection (possibly originally owned by LAVG)	Breitkopf scribe (J. C. Beyer?)	
From the Breitkopf collection		Modern edition, Chiesa 1971
From the Breitkopf collection		Modern edition, Chiesa 1971
From the Breitkopf collection	Corrections by Kropfgans and a Breitkopf scribe (J. C. Beyer?)	Modern edition, Chiesa 1971
Origin unknown, but possibly compiled by or for F. W. Raschke (1706-61)		Facsimile edition, Weiss 1977; facsimile and transcription, Weiss SW, vols 5-8
Uses Falckenhagen's system of signs for Manieren		Facsimile edition, Schulze 1979
Probably from the Breitkopf collection (possibly originally owned by LAVG)	Breitkopf scribe (J. C. Beyer?)	
	Breitkopf scribe (J. C. Beyer?)	
Uses Falckenhagen's system of signs for Manieren	Same as B-Bc Ms. Littera S. No. 5620	
		Facsimile edition, Legl 2010
Uses Falckenhagen's system of signs for Manieren		
Uses Falckenhagen's system of signs for Manieren	Luise Adelgunde Victoria Gottsched	
	Rudolph Straube (1717–after 1780)	
	J. M. Scyurus	
	J. M. Scyurus	