Music for a Mixed Taste

STYLE, GENRE, AND MEANING IN TELEMANN'S INSTRUMENTAL WORKS

STEVEN ZOHN

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For my parents, Judith and Harry Zohn

Die Violine wird nach Orgel-Arth tractiret /
Die Flöt' und Hautbois Trompeten gleich verspühret /
Die Gamba schlentert mit / so wie das Bäßgen geht /
Nur daß noch hier und da ein Triller drüber steht.
Nein / nein / es ist nicht genug / daß nur die Noten klingen /
Das du der Reguln Kram zu Marckte weist zu bringen.
Gieb jedem Instrument das / was es leyden kann /
So hat der Spieler Lust / du hast Vergnügen dran.

The violin is treated in the manner of an organ,
The flute, oboe, and trumpet are employed similarly,
The viola da gamba ambles along like a small bass,
But for a trill here and there.
No, no, it's not enough that the notes are sounded,
That you can apply the rules as if bringing wares to market.
Give each instrument that which it will permit,
The player will be pleased, as will you.

—Telemann, "Lebens-Lauff mein Georg Philipp Telemanns" (1718 autobiography)

Die Instrumental-Sachen des Herrn Capellmeisters geben überzeuglich zu erkennen / daß derselbe mit den Instrumenten gleicher gestalt sehr wohl bekannt seyn müsse. Er begleitet sie nemlich mit dem Brillant / welches ihre einwohnende Natur erfordert. Er beobachtet bey den Saiten Instrumenten das Gewichte des Bogens / die bloß liegenden Thöne / und dergleichen; wie auf den Blas-Instrumenten die gebrochenen / nebst andern ihnen zukommenden Zierlichkeiten; überhaupt aber und fürnehmlich die Anmuth des Gesanges.

The instrumental works of Herr Kapellmeister [Telemann] furnish persuasive evidence that he is very well acquainted with the instruments in question. That is, he treats them with the brilliance that their inherent nature demands. He observes the weight of the bow, the unstopped pitches, and the like with string instruments; the breaks and other delicate aspects of wind instruments; and above all the gracefulness of singing.

Anonymous Hamburg reviewer, in *Hamburgische Auszüge aus neuen Büchern und Nachrichten von allerhand zur Gelahrtheit gehörigen Sachen,* 1728

Preface and Acknowledgments

In 1982, a year after the tercentenary of Telemann's birth, the *New Yorker* magazine ran a cartoon showing several billboards announcing concerts, evidently at New York City's Lincoln Center. A sold-out Mozart concert is advertised on the middle billboard, but in front of it is one proclaiming "ALL THE GEORG PHILIPP TELEMANN YOU CAN STAND."[1] The cartoon amusingly plays off the common notion of the composer as a prolific purveyor of trifling music. One imagines sated audience members rolling their eyes in anticipation of consuming yet another trio sonata during an all-you-can-hear baroque buffet. To risk unduly extending the culinary analogy: the music provides empty calories instead of real aural nourishment; it merely represents its era without rising above mediocrity. Even those who know Telemann as a musical author of great depth and originality, as a master of idiomatic instrumental and vocal writing, can appreciate this joke. And one likes to imagine that the composer, with his keen sense of humor, would self-deprecatingly chuckle along with us.

Much has changed during the quarter century since this cartoon was published. Numerous critical and performing editions, scholarly studies, and performances both live and recorded have gone a long way toward restoring Telemann's reputation to something approaching its height during the first half of the eighteenth century, when he was considered Germany's leading musician. Virtually all of his instrumental works are now available in print, and many can be heard in stylish recordings. If access to his vocal music has lagged behind, there have nevertheless been great strides on this count as well. Indeed, the time draws near when we shall be able to make a well-informed assessment of Telemann's entire compositional legacy. Yet, curiously, musicologists—especially those outside Germany—have been slow to embrace him as a legitimate object of study. One struggles, in fact, to name another composer of his historical stature who has received so little attention from Anglo-American musicology.[2] That this is the first book-length study on any aspect of Telemann and his music to be published in

English since a 1974 translation of Richard Petzoldt's brief life-and-works volume seems hard to believe.[3] The composer's scholarly marginalization as a musical giant in the realm of *Kleinmeister* is perhaps nowhere better reflected than in that traditional gatekeeper to the pantheon of musical greatness, the music-history textbook. Only recently have such texts begun to mention Telemann as anything more than an important contemporary and friend of Johann Sebastian Bach—and, of course, as the composer who was first offered the position of "Cantor zu St. Thomae et Director Musices" at Leipzig.[4] In fact, many students learn nothing more about Telemann than this, unless they encounter him as history's "most prolific composer," according to *The Guinness Book of World Records.* However much this dubious distinction may have raised popular awareness of the composer, it cannot have emboldened many to wade through his vast musical output.[5]

How and why Telemann went from being universally praised during his lifetime to being almost universally derided in the century and a half following his death is a fascinating topic that has been treated elsewhere in detail.[6] But because the composer's image continues to be shaped by many old misconceptions and prejudices, it will be instructive for us to sample some of the critical reactions to his music—particularly the instrumental works—from the past century. One should not assume from this brief overview, however, that the reception of Telemann's music since the early twentieth century has been uniformly negative or ambivalent. To take but two examples, Ernst Bücken's 1928 characterization of Telemann as the "seeker and deliberate finder of new musical paths" is echoed in George Buelow's 2003 assessment that "Telemann was a pathfinder in music, an original, imaginative creator of musical forms and styles for the new age in which he became a composer. . . . He was one of music history's outstanding and gifted composers."[7]

Typical of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century view of Telemann is a passage from Hugo Riemann's 1899 genre study of the overture-suite: "After scoring up a few hundred pages of Telemann, I can only summarize my overall impression to the effect that he generally writes smoothly, sometimes piquantly, and here and there in the dance pieces even quite spiritedly, but is unable to continually hold one's interest because he doesn't understand how to build up intensity. This is why, despite his great success during his lifetime, he has little claim to a revival.[8] Like many of his contemporaries, Riemann praises the composer on a number of counts before offering a devastating critique aimed at justifying his continued neglect. Another common theme in the early literature on Telemann's music is his supposed lack of originality. Thus Frederick Niecks writing of the characteristic *Ouverture burlesque de Quixotte* (55:G10) in 1906: "The fancifulness of the titles is here in most cases more striking than their significance. . . . Tele-

mann shows himself rather a ready and spirited writer than an original and profound one. The amusing externalities are better hit off than the weightier internalities."[9] Hans Graeser, who in 1925 wrote a dissertation on Telemann's instrumental chamber music, came to the conclusion that although the composer's role in the development of eighteenth-century musical style was analogous to that of Corelli in violin music, he could not be viewed as an "original artist," for he had merely reflected and synthesized the music of his time.[10] And in 1933 Hans Mersmann moderated his generally high estimation of Telemann's instrumental music by accusing the composer of merely reflecting, not synthesizing, his stylistic influences and of failing to achieve true originality despite his "occasionally brilliant" experiments.[11]

The not-so-hidden subtext of these estimations is a comparison with the music of J. S. Bach, one in which Telemann's perceived failure to have transcended the musical styles of his day in forging an original, personal idiom—as Bach did—is considered to mark him a superficial artist. Such writings also echo a late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century aesthetic that valorized individuality of expression above all else, an aesthetic fundamentally at odds with the stylistically "mixed" mode of expression that prevailed in Telemann's time. Thus the composer's fluency in all of the major compositional styles of his day came in for heavy criticism from Alfred Einstein, whose prewar project was to determine the nature of musical "greatness":

> If Bach had not been born, the leading representative of German music in the first half of the eighteenth century would be Georg Philipp Telemann, of Magdeburg—Bach's senior by four years and his survivor by seventeen, a happy and successful man. He far exceeded Bach in productivity, and like Bach (and later Mozart)[,] he was a man that could write in all manner of styles, in the French as well as the Italian. But when he wrote in these styles there was always a residue of imitation, albeit tasteful imitation. When Bach wrote a concerto "*im italienischen Gusto,*" it was Bachian or, as has been incorrectly said, German. For it was not his so-called Germanism that determined Bach's style; rather it was Bach's music that determined the German style. . . . [Telemann] fused Italian, German, and French ingredients into a highly agreeable and amiable synthesis. Handel, the "Italian," was much more one-sided than Telemann—and much greater. And Bach did something quite different: he was much more the true *heir* than Telemann, and what he produced was much more than a mere synthesis. Indeed, he was not only an heir, but a revolutionary as well.[12]

Here Telemann comes off as a kind of baroque Papa Haydn: a "happy and successful man" who wrote music that is (merely) "tasteful," "agreeable," and "amiable," and that (again, merely) offers a "synthesis" of national styles.[13] Had he

written music that sounds "Telemannian" the way that Bach's sounds "Bachian," and had he been less catholic in his tastes, like Handel, the avuncular Telemann might be fitted for the mantle of greatness. And—reading a bit between the lines—he might also have been more German. One of the ironies here is that Telemann, more than Bach or any other composer of his time, "determined" the German style. At least, this is what his contemporaries believed.

Around the middle of the twentieth century, Anglo-American scholars began turning their attention to Telemann's instrumental works. In his 1959 study of the baroque concerto, Arthur Hutchings offered praise for the composer that is by turns extravagant and damningly faint. For him, Telemann's music represented "the whole history of the concerto and other forms of French and Italian concert music as reflected in German composers from Muffat until after Quantz."[14] William S. Newman's magisterial survey of the baroque sonata from the same year includes several pages devoted to Telemann, and his conclusion bears quoting here:

> The customary historical evaluation of Telemann as a fluent, popular, highly prolific, but not very original composer seems to require no special qualification after a review of the sonatas. If originality means, among other things, boldness of concept, there is boldness in some wide melodic leaps and some out-of-the-way harmonies. . . . If originality means introspective fantasy, there is virtually none. . . . The strengths of Telemann's sonatas seem to lie in their fluent craftsmanship, clear lines, compelling harmony (sometimes strongly chromatic by dominants), effective writing for the instruments, and satisfactory structural organization. The chief weaknesses seem to lie in neutral ideas that stick too close to the scale or chord to achieve individuality, in similarly neutral rhythmic patterns, in a somewhat indifferent rhythmic organization at the phrase or period level, and in a lack of any special textural interest. . . . Actually, the most interesting rhythmic patterns are the borrowed ones, such as the mazurka and polonaise elements.[15]

Once again the issue of originality is raised: Telemann's bold adoption of rhythmic patterns from Polish dances is downplayed as a mere borrowing. To be fair, Newman probably lacked access to such works as the fantasias for unaccompanied flute and violin, where Telemann's considerable "introspective fantasy" is on full display. But one has to wonder at his criticism that the sonatas lack "any special textural interest," especially because he indicates his familiarity with the sixth of the *Nouveaux quatuors* (43:e4), a work of great textural complexity that has since become one of the composer's most popular works.

At the end of her 1980 book chapter on Telemann's concertos, an overview containing many valuable insights, Pippa Drummond concluded that

> Telemann can no longer be classed as a baroque composer. In many ways his work forms a link between the baroque and classical periods. The break with tradition is not complete in that he still relies extensively on the figurative patterns and contrapuntal devices of the old manner. Yet his belief that melody was of supreme importance, his experiments with orchestration and texture, his synthesis of popular and learned styles, are all progressive traits. The tension between old and new which is so characteristic of Telemann is representative of the whole transitional era. In this respect he is one of the most typical composers of his age.[16]

There are few things worse, historiographically speaking, than to be labeled a transitional figure—a "link" between two historical periods and "representative" or "typical" of an era in stylistic flux—for those who fall into the cracks between epochs defined by style, culture, or politics seem destined to be marginalized. Given that Telemann has often been viewed as straddling the baroque and classical eras and therefore easily dismissed as peripheral to mainstream musical developments in both, it is remarkable that he is barely mentioned at all in a recent and wide-ranging study of *galant* music composed between 1720 and 1780, a style and a period that have themselves traditionally been marginalized in music-historical narratives.[17] The fact of the matter is that Telemann was less a transitional figure than a progressive whose music remained on the stylistic cutting edge during most of his long career.

As this book aims to demonstrate, Telemann was not only an innovative composer of "fluent" and "tasteful" music, but also an original—and at times even revolutionary—creator of concertos, sonatas, and suites, more than a few of which rank among the eighteenth century's finest. Researching and writing a study of Telemann's instrumental music has therefore been a pleasurable journey of enlightenment. Occasionally it has also seemed an overwhelming task, given the enormous size of the repertory, the scattered nature of sources and modern editions, and the modest body of earlier scholarship upon which to build and against which to react. What survives of Telemann's compositions for various instrumental combinations encompasses roughly 125 overture-suites, an equal number of concertos, 50 sonatas in four to seven parts, 130 trios, 90 solos, and 95 works for one or more instruments without continuo. Rather than progress systematically through each genre or move across Telemann's career in strictly linear fashion, I have written a series of independent yet related essays that to some extent combines generic and chronological frameworks. After a brief prologue considering the German "mixed taste" and the eighteenth-century manuscript dissemination of Telemann's music, the book's first three parts explore the principal categories of overture-suite, concerto, and sonata. Chapters 1, 3, and 5 are in large measure repertory surveys, whereas chapters 2, 4, and 6 investigate subrepertories

in greater depth, dealing in turn with issues of musical mimesis, imitation, and generic amalgamation. In an effort to contextualize Telemann's music, I frequently turn to comparable works by a variety of other eighteenth-century composers. The most substantial of these investigations reconsider the history of particular musical subgenres such as the overture-suite with concerto-like soloist, the concerto for strings without soloist, the quartet with obbligato bass, and the sonata in concerto style. Part four of the book considers the composer's Hamburg publications, first in a detailed study of his ambitious self-publishing enterprise, and then in a survey of the music. The book's final chapter explores the musical meanings and cultural resonances of Telemann's Polish style, a mode of expression that cuts across all the genres and periods discussed previously.

Given the enormity of Telemann's instrumental output, even a comprehensive survey must be somewhat selective when it comes to discussing the music. Thus not every work deserving of commentary has made the cut. Perhaps the largest omission is Telemann's keyboard music, though more than a few works receive attention here. Against those who would argue, reasonably, that a fuller consideration of this music would have provided a more balanced view of Telemann's achievement, I shall take refuge in the scholarly tradition of separating out a composer's keyboard works from his overall instrumental output. Also not discussed in depth are works of doubtful authenticity, instrumental movements in vocal works, and brief dances found in manuscript anthologies.

A word about terminology. Following eighteenth-century usage, I refer to sonatas and suites for one and two melody instruments with continuo as "solos" and "trios." On the other hand, I employ the modern "quartet" in place of the eighteenth-century "quadro" or "sonata a quattro" for works with three melody instruments and continuo. My use of "overture-suite" to describe what is often called an orchestral suite reflects Telemann's practice of referring to such works as an "overture with suite," which in turn harks back to late-seventeenth-century publications of instrumental suites by Lully ("Ouverture avec tous les airs"), Johann Sigismund Kusser ("Ouvertures de théâtre accompagnées de plusieurs airs"), and Philipp Heinrich Erlebach ("Ouvertures begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen airs"). Although Telemann did sometimes employ the term "ouverture" to refer to both the overture and following suite, he more often used formulations such as "Ouvertüren mit ihren Nebenstücken," "Ouverture, jointes d'une Suite tragi-comique," "Ouvertures avec la suite comique," "Ouvertüren mit ihren umfänglichen Switen," and "VI Ouverturen nebst zween Folgesätzen."

Because few libraries contain more than a small fraction of Telemann's instrumental works in modern editions, I have included as many musical examples as practical; the small number of examples in chapter 8, relative to the amount of

music discussed, is due to the availability of many works in Bärenreiter's selective critical edition, *Georg Philipp Telemann: Musikalische Werke.* Musical transcriptions closely follow the original sources but silently correct errors, regularize articulations, and, with a few exceptions, modernize instrument names, key signatures, and beamings. Readers interested in the sources of quoted passages from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writings will find the original-language versions in the notes. Unless otherwise credited, all translations are my own. I have also provided a brief glossary of terms that may be unfamiliar to nonspecialist readers.

Portions of this study originally appeared in the form of journal articles and book chapters. Chapter 1 draws in part on "Bach and the *Concert en Ouverture,*" in *J. S. Bach's Concerted Ensemble Music: The Ouverture,* Bach Perspectives 6, ed. Gregory Butler (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 137–56. Chapter 5 includes material first published as "When Is a Quartet Not a Quartet? Relationships Between Scoring and Genre in the German Quadro, ca. 1715–40," in *Johann Friedrich Fasch und sein Wirken für Zerbst,* Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz am 18. und 19. April 1997 im Rahmen der 5. Internationalen Fasch-Festtage in Zerbst, Fasch-Studien 6, ed. Konstanze Musketa and Barbara Reul (Dessau: Anhaltische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997), 263–90. And earlier versions of chapters 4, 6, and 7 appeared as "Bach, Telemann, and the Process of Transformative Imitation in BWV 1056/2 (156/1)," *Journal of Musicology* 17/4 (1999): 546–84; "The *Sonate auf Concertenart* and Conceptions of Genre in the Late Baroque," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 1/2 (2004): 205–47; and "Telemann in the Marketplace: The Composer as Self-Publisher," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58/2 (2005): 275–356. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material, and for the privilege to rethink and revise my earlier work.

Throughout this book, the notes bear witness to the great debt I owe earlier writers on Telemann's instrumental music, including some of the scholars already mentioned. But several studies warrant mention here for their special significance. Two 1969 dissertations by Adolf Hoffmann (on the overture-suites) and Siegfried Kross (on the concertos) include succinct but valuable studies of their repertories.[18] Both have provided an important basis for subsequent research, especially as they include thematic catalogs that have only recently been superseded by the third volume of *Georg Philipp Telemann: Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke* (henceforth *TWV*). A more up-to-date and substantial investigation of Telemann's concertos is offered by Wolfgang Hirschmann's 1986 dissertation, consisting of trenchant stylistic and formal analyses of some forty works.[19] Particularly valuable is Hirschmann's identification of stylistic tendencies at various points during the composer's career. Finally, Jeanne Swack's unpublished 1988 dissertation on the solos for Yale University considers the music from both

source-critical and analytical perspectives.[20] Equally illuminating on issues of style, chronology, and authenticity, her study helped inspire my own dissertation on Telemann's trios and quartets.[21]

During the book's preparation, my research and writing was greatly facilitated by a grant from the American Philosophical Society, a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend, and research support and a semester's leave from Temple University. Funds to defray the book's production costs came from the Dragan Plamenac Publication Endowment Fund of the American Musicological Society. I wish also to thank a number of librarians and archivists who allowed me to view rare musical materials and assisted me in obtaining microfilms, photocopies, and photographs: Helmut Hell of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv; Oswald Bill and Silvia Uhlemann of the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt; Karl Wilhelm Geck of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden; Rainer Birkendorf of the Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv in Kassel; Barbara Linnert and Dagmar Steinfurth of the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock; Anna Olszewska and Stępień Grażyna of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków; and Ilse Wieërs of the library of the Brussels Conservatoire Royal de Musique/Koninklijk Muziekconservatorium. At Temple University, librarian Anne Harlow and the Interlibrary Loan staff of Samuel L. Paley Library responded promptly and with good cheer to my many requests.

It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to those friends and colleagues who have assisted and inspired me in various ways over the years. Generously sharing their unpublished research with me were Rebecca Harris-Warrick, Wolfgang Hirschmann, Peter Huth, Joachim Kremer, Sarah McCleave, Ian Payne, Rudolf Rasch, Joshua Rifkin, Stephen Rose, David Schulenberg, and Andrew Talle. Ian Payne, whose many critical editions of Telemann's music greatly facilitated my studies, often sent me copies before the ink had fully dried; he is also responsible for the editorial reconstructions of the Telemann oboe concerto discussed in chapter 4. I owe additional thanks to Ian and Wolfgang Hirschmann for helping shape my ideas about Telemann's music through many stimulating discussions. My colleagues at the Zentrum für Telemann-Pflege und -Forschung in Magdeburg—Wolf Hobohm, Carsten Lange, Ute Poetzsch-Seban, and Brit and Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch—invited me to present my research at several scholarly conferences held in conjunction with the biennial Telemann-Festtage, and provided me with valuable advice and assistance on numerous occasions. Late in the writing process, Rebecca Harris-Warrick, Wolfgang Hirschmann, and Stephen Rose read drafts of selected excerpts, and Daniel Melamed and Michael Talbot made their way through nearly the entire manuscript; all offered thoughtful comments that

have immeasurably improved the final result. I fear, however, that even such wise counsel as this has not prevented me from committing more than my share of errors in fact and interpretation.

I am also deeply appreciative of the personal and professional help I have received from various other people. Erika Moser expertly prepared the electronic copy of most of the musical examples. At Oxford University Press, Editor Kim Robinson, Assistant Editor Norm Hirschy, and Production Editor Christi Stanforth were unfailingly efficient and enthusiastic throughout the journey toward publication. During the project's final stages, my fiancée, Jennifer, offered much-needed love and support, not to mention a good deal of patience. Finally, I have dedicated this book to my parents, Judith and Harry Zohn, without whose encouragement it could never have been completed.

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Contents

Part IV The Hamburg Publications

Abbreviations

Bibliographic

BDok 1–3 *Bach-Dokumente* 1: *Schriftstücke von der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs,* ed. Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963)

Bach-Dokumente 2: *Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs, 1685–1750,* ed. Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969)

Bach-Dokumente 3: *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs,* ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig and Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972)

MGG *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik,* ed. Friedrich Blume, 17 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86)

MGG II *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik.* 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–)

MW Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musikalische Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953–)

NBA Johann Sebastian Bach, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1950–)

NBR *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents,* ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, revised and enlarged by Christoph Wolff (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998)

NG *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980)

NG II *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001)

TB	*Georg Philipp Telemann: Briefwechsel,* ed. Hans Grosse and Hans Rudolf Jung (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972)
TD	*Georg Philipp Telemann: Singen ist das Fundament zur Music in allen Dingen: Eine Dokumentensammlung,* ed. Werner Rackwitz (Leipzig: Reclam, 1981)
TWV 1–3	*Georg Philipp Telemann: Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke (TWV): Instrumentalwerke,* ed. Martin Ruhnke, 3 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984–99)
TVWV 1–2	*Thematisches Verzeichnis der Vokalwerke von Georg Philipp Telemann,* 2nd ed., ed. Werner Menke, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1988 and 1995)

Libraries

B-Bc	Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique/Koninklijk Muziekconservatorium
D-Bds	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
D-DS	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
D-HRD	Arnsberg-Herdringen, Schloßbibliothek (Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana)
D-KA	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek
D-Mbs	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
D-MÜu	Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
D-ROu	Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek
D-SWl	Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern
D-WD	Wiesentheid, Musiksammlung des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid
DK-Kk	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
US-Wc	Washington, DC, Library of Congress

Secondary sources are cited as author, short title, page. Citations of thematic catalog numbers for Telemann's instrumental works omit the preceding "TWV." This catalog (*TWV*) is organized by genre and key, so that 42:a2 is the second trio in A-minor, 51:D5 is the

fifth solo concerto in D major, 55:h1 is the first overture-suite in B minor, etc. By contrast, the thematic catalog of Telemann's vocal works (*TVWV*) is organized primarily by genre and secondarily by either text incipit or date of composition. Thus 1:21 is the sacred cantata *Ach, Jesus geht zu seiner Pein* (1749), whereas 1:1241 is *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* (ca. 1700); 21:14 is the opera *Omphale* (1724), whereas 21:27 is *Flavius Bertaridus* (1729).

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Prologue

Styles and Sources

Telemann and the German Mixed Taste

Johann Sebastian Bach's August 1730 memorandum to the Leipzig town council, the "Short but Most Necessary Draft for a Well-Appointed Church Music," includes not only a famous description of the unfavorable performing conditions for his music, but also a pithy description of the cosmopolitan nature of German musical life at the time: "It is, anyhow, somewhat strange that German musicians are expected to be capable of performing at once and *ex tempore* all kinds of music, whether it come from Italy or France, England or Poland."[1] This was in fact nothing new, for such versatility had long been expected of German performers. As early as 1681, Johann Beer could satirize this taste for the music of other nations in his novel *Der berühmte Narren-Spital* (The Famous Fool's Spital), in which the narrator, Hans guck in die Welt, is a court violinist required by his master to play a ridiculous mixture of "the most beautiful little pieces from the entire world, now French, now Burgundian, now Turkish, now Italian, now from the Siebengebirge, now Tyrolian."[2] Bach did not need to point out to the town council that German composers were also expected to master all the principal national idioms, resulting in a style that became known as the "mixed taste." Thus Georg Muffat acknowledged in the dedication to his 1695 *Florilegium primum* that "I dare not employ only a single style or method, but rather the most skillful mixture of styles I can manage through my experience in various countries. . . . As I mix the French manner with the German and Italian, I do not begin a war, but perhaps rather a prelude to the unity, the dear peace, desired by all the peoples."[3]

By the 1710s and 1720s, such stylistic mixtures were being advocated in German theoretical writings: Johann Mattheson noted the German tendency to "combine the Italian and French styles";[4] Ernst Gottlieb Baron observed that "whereas the Italian manner is serious and the French style diverting, in Germany one takes on both, for this nation loves variety and going from one thing, and even

one extreme, to another";[5] and Johann David Heinichen considered that a "happy mixture of the Italian and French tastes would most astonish the ear, and must win out over all other tastes of the world."[6] In a 1728 issue of his periodical *Der Biedermann,* the Leipzig literature professor Johann Christoph Gottsched reported that "in particular, I hear it said in praise of the above-mentioned Telemann that he knows how to suit the taste of all amateurs. In composing his pieces he follows sometimes the Italian, sometimes the French, and often also a mixed manner."[7] Telemann became something of a standard-bearer for the mixed taste in subsequent years: Johann Adolph Scheibe marveled at his ability to assimilate national styles of music without compromising his individuality as a composer, and Mattheson praised the mixture of the French and Italian idioms in his trios.[8] Although Scheibe elsewhere warned against mixing styles in a single composition, he found that "it is best if diligent German part writing, Italian *galanterie,* and French passion are combined" in trios and quartets.[9] By the early 1750s Johann Joachim Quantz could describe the amalgamation of national styles as the "German taste":

> If one has the necessary discernment to choose the best from the styles of different countries, a *mixed taste* results that, without overstepping the bounds of modesty, could well be called *the German taste,* not only because the Germans came upon it first, but because it has already been established at different places in Germany for many years, flourishes still, and displeases in neither Italy nor France, nor in other lands.[10]

The four national styles mentioned by Bach—Italian, French, English, and Polish—were also those recognized by Telemann as the constituent parts of the mixed taste. In his libretto for the lost cantata *Wie? ruhet ihr, versteckte Saiten?,* TVWV 20:13, performed at the opening of his winter collegium musicum concert series in 1721 and 1722, Telemann described the nature of German music in a recitative:

> The flattery of Italy's pieces,
> The unrestrained liveliness
> That flows from French songs;
> Britain's leaping, obliging nature;
> Yes, Sarmatia's exquisite pleasure,
> To which the notes' jesting is devoted:
> German diligence combines all this
> To the honor of its country,
> All the more to please the listener here
> Through pen, mouth, and hand.[11]

Thus, at the outset of his career in Hamburg, the composer introduced himself to the city's concertgoing public by stating something of a musical manifesto. Telemann again praised the felicitous combination of national styles in the dedicatory poem to his published minuet collection *Zweytes sieben mal sieben und ein Menuet,* which appeared six months before Bach wrote his "Short but Most Necessary Draft." Here he compliments the mixed taste of Count Friedrich Carl von Erbach (1680–1731), an amateur musician with whom he had long been acquainted: "You effortlessly combine the French liveliness, melody, and harmony; the Italian flattery, invention, and strange passages; and the British and Polish jesting in a mixture filled with sweetness."[12] Telemann could just as easily have been describing his own brand of the mixed taste, marked as it is by an abiding eclecticism—a rondeau in the Italian style, a suite with a concerto-like soloist, a concerto in the Polish style, a sonata combining modern and historical idioms. Such hybridizations do not constitute merely a mix-and-match catalog of possibilities, for Telemann had a genius for seamlessly blending disparate elements. The result is a variegated musical language that remains, paradoxically perhaps, simultaneously accessible and intellectually demanding.

Genius in the Closet

Although the following chapters are not primarily concerned with issues of chronology, authenticity, and dissemination, comprehending the meanings of Telemann's music often requires investigating a given work's genesis and reception. The details of such investigations may be fascinating in themselves, but as Charles Burney cautions, they must not distract one from the larger picture. In his celebrated travelogue of 1773, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces,* Burney reflected on the difference between writing a military history and one focused on ideas, scientific discoveries, or artworks:

> If a narration of the still, but successful efforts of genius in the closet, could render a book equally entertaining with the public transactions of the field; the life of a philosopher, a man of science, or an artist, would be read with as much avidity, as that of a Cæsar, or an Alexander.
>
> But though the day, and hour, are carefully consigned to posterity, when towns have been sacked, and armies defeated, yet the exact time is seldom enquired, when discoveries the most useful to human nature have been made, or the greatest productions of genius conceived.
>
> He would, therefore, be thought a most contemptible biographer, who, in the life of a musician, should circumstantially relate the year, the day, the hour when,

> and place where, a particular *sonata* was composed, though by its excellence, it should bid fair for delighting the lovers of music, as long as the present system of harmony shall submit.
>
> And yet an historian will be read with a kind of savage satisfaction, who in the course of events, tells us, when Kouli-kan, or any other tyrant, made dispositions for a battle, in which such carnage ensued, as will make humanity shudder with horror, as long as the recital of it shall blacken the annals of mankind.[13]

Little seems to have changed from Burney's time to ours, though relating the story of a sonata's genesis is no longer considered such a pointless act. We shall not, in any case, concern ourselves with the details of particular works here; instead, let us open the closet's door a crack to consider how Telemann's instrumental music has come down to us.

The field of Telemann studies was relatively slow to embrace source-critical research, in part because for years the monumental undertaking of achieving basic bibliographic control over the composer's output took precedence, and in part because very few autograph sources for the instrumental music survive. Aside from Telemann's composing scores to eighteen concertos, overture-suites, and symphonies, we have only scribal copies for the many instrumental works he left unpublished.[14] Why this is so remains a mystery, and unfortunately the nonvocal portion of Telemann's musical estate seems to have vanished with scarcely a trace. However, hundreds of the extant scribal copies were made at courts to which the composer had close ties, and some are in the hands of musicians he knew personally. The bulk of them belonged to the Darmstadt and Dresden Hofkapellen, or to musicians employed by those courts, and in recent years much progress has been made in determining their chronology though studies of copying hands and paper types.[15] Indeed, the situation is much improved over the days when scholars such as Hans Graeser, Horst Büttner, Adolf Hoffmann, and Siegfried Kross lamented that a chronology of Telemann's instrumental works was practically out of reach.[16] Still, copies can tell us only the date by which the music was written, and in fact a given work might have been decades old by the time a particular scribe put quill to paper. We are also fortunate to possess Telemann's authorized publications from Frankfurt and most of his self-published editions from Hamburg; these last, engraved by the composer, have the status of autograph fair copies, and many are precisely datable. Although Telemann's earliest instrumental works, the "sausage symphonies" (*Bratensymphonien*) he wrote for town musicians at Zellerfeld between 1693 and 1697,[17] have not been traced, it appears that the extant instrumental works represent most or all of the stations in his career: Hildesheim (1697–1701), Leipzig (1701–05), Sorau (1705–08), Eisenach (1708–12), Frankfurt (1712–21), and Hamburg (1721–67).

Starting with his Frankfurt years, Telemann maintained a long relationship with the Darmstadt Hofkapelle maintained by Ernst Ludwig (1667–1739) and Ludwig VIII (1691–1768), Landgraves of Hessen. Under the leadership of Christoph Graupner, this organization performed Telemann's instrumental music with great frequency during the 1720s and 1730s. The surviving portion of the court's music collection is now owned by the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, where there are some 350 manuscripts containing instrumental works by Telemann. The earliest layer of these sources dates from before 1720, with many manuscripts appearing to have been sent by the composer from Frankfurt (occasionally one finds among them corrections or even an entire part in his hand). Telemann was probably well acquainted with most of the Hofkapelle musicians, who played under him in performances at Frankfurt during April and May 1716. Despite the richness of the Darmstadt collection, it is likely that much has been lost. For example, in 1729 the wind player Johann Michael Böhm, who had served at Darmstadt since 1711 and became Telemann's brother-in-law in 1714, suddenly left the court for a position at the Württemberg court in Stuttgart. Although Böhm had been a valued member of the Hofkapelle, directing some of the instrumental music and receiving a high salary (in 1718 he was the fourth-highest-paid member), he claimed following his departure that the Landgrave had repeatedly ignored his requests for temporary leaves, and that he could no longer support his family because his salary was so desperately in arrears. To the charges that he had stolen music and instruments belonging to the court, Böhm responded that he had taken only his "own Telemann things," of which there were "nearly as many" as the violinist Johann Samuel Endler owned.[18] Today just over a hundred manuscripts of Telemann's instrumental music in Endler's hand are at Darmstadt. Böhm's manuscripts, which like those of other musicians had been placed at the Darmstadt Hofkapelle's disposal, have not been identified.[19]

The second largest manuscript collection of Telemann's instrumental music, numbering just over 150 items, is preserved at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden. Under the Saxon Electors Friedrich August I ("August the Strong," r. 1694–1733) and Friedrich August II (r. 1733–63), the opulence of the Dresden Hofkapelle was nearly unrivalled in all of Europe. An ardent Francophile, Friedrich August I restructured the Hofkapelle along French lines during the first decade of the eighteenth century. In addition to creating a six-part string ensemble supplemented with flutes, oboes, and bassoons, he assembled a French ballet and brought French *comédiens* to the court. The Versailles-trained Belgian Jean-Baptiste Volumier (Woulmyer) was engaged as dancing master in 1709 and soon became Konzertmeister. The elector ensured that Hofkapelle members received a cosmopolitan musical education: several

chamber musicians accompanied him on trips to Paris (1714), Italy (1716–17), and Vienna (1718). Italian music was represented at Dresden by the operas of court composers (including Giovanni Alberto Ristori and the Kapellmeisters Johann David Heinichen and Antonio Lotti) and through frequent performances of Vivaldi's instrumental works. The influence of the Italian style heightened with the installation of Johann Georg Pisendel as Konzertmeister in 1728, the accession to the throne of Friedrich August II in 1733, and the arrival at court of the Italian-trained Oberkapellmeister Johann Adolph Hasse in the following year. It was also at this time that the mixed taste crystallized at Dresden. The skill of the Hofkapelle's musicians was a source of wonder to the teenaged Quantz, who first heard the ensemble in March 1716:

> The royal orchestra was already in full bloom at this time. By virtue of its smooth, French manner of performance, introduced by the then Konzertmeister Volumier, it was already different from many other orchestras. Under the leadership of the succeeding Konzertmeister, Pisendel, who introduced a mixed taste, its execution gradually reached a high level of refinement. In all my subsequent travels, I have heard none better. At that time it boasted many famous instrumentalists, including Pisendel and [Francesco Maria] Veracini on the violin, Pantaleon Hebenstreit on the pantaleon, Sylvius Leopold Weiss on the lute and theorbo, [Johann Christian] Richter on the oboe, [and] Pierre Gabriel Buffardin on the transverse flute, not to mention the good cellists, bassoonists, horn players, and double bassists.[20]

All of these musicians, including Quantz, were personally known to Telemann. In fact, the composer very nearly joined the Dresden Hofkapelle in 1711, when Friedrich August I tried to lure him away from Eisenach.[21] Instead, the composer settled the following year in Frankfurt. But Telemann's music was already being performed at Dresden by 1710–11, and the surviving manuscripts reveal that performances of his music continued there into the 1750s. Aside from performance material prepared by court copyists, the bulk of the "Königliche Privat-Musikaliensammlung" (Royal Music Collection) was probably the property of musicians, who were responsible for developing their own repertory.[22] As a result, many manuscripts must have left the collection when players took other court positions or died. A large quantity of the Telemann works were evidently owned by Pisendel, who maintained a warm friendship with the composer over several decades; the violinist's personal collection joined the court's in 1765.

Next to Darmstadt and Dresden, the most significant collection of Telemann's instrumental music is that assembled by Crown Prince Friedrich Ludwig of Württemberg-Stuttgart between 1716 and 1731. Now in Rostock, the prince's manuscripts include some three dozen Telemann sources.[23] Two dozen more

sources, once belonging to the Schwerin Hofkapelle, are now at the Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in Schwerin. Most are in the hands of musicians from the town of Altona (now a suburb of Hamburg), and appear to have traveled to Schwerin in 1730 with the newly installed court organist, Peter Johann Fick.[24] Although the copies of Telemann instrumental works preserved at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz are mostly late or peripheral sources, they have been supplemented recently by manuscripts from the archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Among the holdings of the archive are previously unknown chamber works, including a set of flute duets.

It is also worth considering what has been lost, in addition to Michael Böhm's extensive collection. A 1743 inventory of the holdings of the Zerbst Hofkapelle under Johann Friedrich Fasch shows it to have been especially rich in Telemann's music, with no fewer than forty-three overture-suites, twenty-three concertos, and twenty-four sonatas.[25] Some of this music may have come with Fasch from Prague, where he served the Bohemian count Wenzel von Morzin (1676–1737) as Kapellmeister in 1721–22. Unfortunately, little or no instrumental music by Telemann is preserved in Sorau, Eisenach, Frankfurt, and Hamburg. Nor do we have any record of the music that he sent to Bayreuth as Kapellmeister in absentia from 1726.[26]

Finally, a number of manuscripts transmitting Telemann's music are attributed to "Melante," the composer's anagrammatic pseudonym. He began referring to himself in this way no later than 1712, and seems to have ceased after 1733.[27] To judge from the composing scores and scribal copies at Berlin, Darmstadt, Dresden, and Frankfurt, "Melante" was in use mainly during the Frankfurt years. In adopting this pseudonym, Telemann was participating in a German fashion for pen names: the dancing master Johann Leonard Rost styled himself "Meletaon," the poet Christian Friedrich Hunold published under the name "Menantes," and the poet and amateur musician Johann Sigismund Scholze was known as "Sperontes." This fashion seems to have emulated a seventeenth-century French tradition of representing prominent members of society as characters in novels, their identities concealed by pastoral names. It is also reminiscent of Jean de La Bruyère's 1688 *Caractères,* literary portraits with classicizing pseudonyms.[28] Already by the second half of the eighteenth century, many writers on music were unaware that Telemann and "Melante" were one and the same. When, in 1899, Alfred Moffat published his edition of the violin sonata 41:a1 (from the *Six sonates à violon seul*)—apparently the first publication of a multimovement instrumental work by Telemann in well over a century—he entitled it "Sonate von Georgio Melande (ca. 1700–1750)."[29]

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Part I

The Overture-Suites

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Chapter 1

Acquiring a Mixed Taste

Telemann as "Great Partisan of French Music"

Writing to Telemann in January 1753, Johann Joachim Quantz expressed pleasure at the older composer's approval of his recently published *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*: "since you yourself declare that what you take exception to is of no consequence, I am pleased, at all events, that I have differed from your principles only in trifles." One of Telemann's few trifles (mentioned in a letter that has yet to surface) concerned a brief passage in the *Versuch* on French overtures. With more than the requisite grace, Quantz responded to Telemann's criticisms:

> At the place where I extol Handel and Telemann for having surpassed Lully in writing overtures (in other [kinds of] pieces this same [superiority] is self-evident) I take overtures in [a] broader sense. I also perceive no reason why I should introduce a distinction here and establish true French overtures, since their invention derives from the French. Nevertheless, I will yield on this point, if you, honorable Sir, will resolve to give a genuinely precise explanation of true French overtures. I will never allow myself to be persuaded, however, that Telemann and Handel have not made infinitely better overtures than Lully. You know yourself what a lazy writer and sluggish hero Lully was in learned and fugal music.[1]

In the *Versuch*, Quantz had contented himself with providing a few points about the French overture's style and noting that "Lully has provided good models for it; but some German composers, among others especially Handel and Telemann, have far surpassed him. . . . Since the overture produces such a good effect, however, it is a pity that it is no longer in vogue in Germany."[2] He now considered Telemann to be splitting stylistic hairs by insisting, apparently, on a distinction between overtures composed by the French ("true French overtures") and those by German imitators, who were more fluent in "learned and fugal music." (One might accuse Quantz of being slightly disingenuous on this point, for earlier in his letter he had referred to Telemann's trios in the "true French

style" without defining his terms.) For Telemann, the distinction would have been far from meaningless: unlike Quantz, who seems not to have composed any overture-suites, he had witnessed the genre's unfolding almost from its birth during the 1680s and 1690s, and knew as well as anyone how it had moved beyond the Lullian archetype during succeeding decades. "True French overtures" may therefore have encompassed not only the works of Lully and his French successors, but also those by German "Lullists" such as Benedict Anton Aufschnaiter, Philipp Heinrich Erlebach, Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer, Johann Sigismund Kusser, Rupert Ignaz Mayr, Georg Muffat, and Johann Abraham Schmierer, all of whom published collections of overture-suites before 1700.[3] But for Quantz, as for most of his readership in the 1750s, such music no longer laid claim to special recognition.

As a self-styled "grand partisan de la musique Française,"[4] Telemann cultivated an interest in the French style from his teens through old age, an interest reflected in numerous suites, sonatas, concertos, cantatas, and operas. The fact that his *faîte de la gloire* came during his eight-month visit to Paris in 1737–38—the composer's only documented trip outside Germany—further underscores his Gallic sympathies, as does his advocacy of French recitative in a fascinating correspondence with Carl Heinrich Graun during the 1750s.[5] Telemann's involvement with the French style is most vividly documented by his overture-suites, a repertory that also offers some unusually rich expressions of the mixed taste. This blend of stylistic purity and heterogeneity undoubtedly helps explains the music's great popularity among the composer's contemporaries, for in this sense it could hardly be more "German" in expression.

Telemann as Lullist

Let us begin to approach Telemann's overture-suites—and his instrumental works generally—from just before the start of his career as a professional composer. While a student at the Andreanum Gymnasium in Hildesheim (1697–1701), he made frequent visits to the courts at Hanover and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, where he was able to absorb the French, Italian, and "theatrical" styles of composition and to familiarize himself with various instruments. He recounted these visits and his early compositional models in the autobiographies of 1718 and 1740:

> I took the works of the new German and Italian masters as my models, finding the most pleasant taste in their style, which was at once inventive, singing, and well

crafted. I am still of the opinion that a young man proceeds better if he examines works in the current fashion than if he seeks to emulate those by older composers, who are able enough in counterpoint but devoid of invention or write fifteen to twenty obbligato voices. . . .

At that time I often had the good fortune to hear the Kapellen at Hanover and Wolfenbüttel, regarding the first of which one must confess:

Here is the best seed of France's science,
Growing into a large tree and the ripest fruit.
Here Apollo himself feels the lively songs' power
And, half ashamed, must flee with his lyre.

And regarding the second:

Venice may no longer rejoice in its theaters,
For Brunswick tears from it the pillars of honor.
And because here both voice and instrument flourish equally,
This place may be considered a little Italy.

I thus became acquainted with the French style from the former, with the Italian and theatrical styles from the latter, and from both I learned the diverse natures of various instruments, which I spared no effort to master myself. To this day I am still learning how necessary and beneficial it is to be able to differentiate the essential elements of these styles, and I believe that no one can be fluent and felicitous in invention without it.[6]

[At Hildesheim] I chose to study the works of *Steffani*, *Rosenmüller*, *Corelli*, and *Caldara* as models for my future church and instrumental compositions, both of which types occupied me daily. The two neighboring Kapellen at Hanover and Brunswick, which I visited during special celebrations, during all fairs, and at several other times, provided me with the opportunity to become better acquainted with and learn to distinguish between the French style (at the former court), the theatrical style (at the latter court), and the Italian style (at both courts).[7]

The court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel had employed several notable composers in the two decades preceding Telemann's Gymnasium years, among them the Kapellmeisters Johann Rosenmüller and Johann Theile and the opera Kapellmeister Kusser. The "theatrical style" could be sampled not only at Wolfenbüttel, where the court opera maintained an exclusively Italian repertory (following productions during the 1680s of Lully's *Proserpine*, *Psyché*, and *Thésée*), but also at the new public opera house at Brunswick's Hagenmarkt, one purpose of which was to provide entertainment during the trade fairs attended by Telemann.[8] During the late 1690s the Brunswick opera presented both Italian and German works, with many of the German librettos provided by the court poet, Friedrich Christian Bressand, and Italian librettos often translated into German. Telemann might have heard such operas as Steffani's *Henrico Leone* (*Hertzog Heinrich der Löwe*; 1697

and 1699), *La superbia d'Alessandro* (*Der hochmüthige Alexander*; 1699), *Orlando generoso* (*Der grossmüthige Roland*; 1697 and 1698), and *La libertà contenta* (*Der in seiner Freyheit vergnügte Alcibiades*; 1700); Carlo Francesco Pollarolo's *Il Pastore d'Anfriso* (*Der Schäfer an dem Fluss Amphriso*; 1697 and 1699) and *Ottone* (1697); Reinhard Keiser's *Orpheus* (1698; revised in 1699) and *Arcadia, oder Die königlische Schäferey* (1699); and *Endimione* (1700) by Georg Caspar Schürmann, conductor of the Brunswick Opera. Among the "special celebrations" Telemann possibly witnessed were the *Türken-Ballet und Bauern- oder Hirten-Masquerade* (Brunswick, Carnival 1697) and the ballets *Tempel der Tugend und Ehre* (1697) and *Die sich erfreuende Jahreszeiten* (1700), performed at Wolfenbüttel for the birthday of Duke Anton Ulrich.[9]

The Francophile Hanover court also boasted a new opera house, but this was closed for years following the death in January 1698 of Elector Ernst August.[10] Nor would the teenaged Telemann have met the Kapellmeister Steffani, who was absent from the court on diplomatic service during the years around 1700. Yet Hanover's musical life remained rich, thanks to such musicians as the *maître des concerts* Jean-Baptiste Farinelly (Farinel; 1650–1725 or 1726) and his pupil and eventual successor, Francesco Venturini (ca. 1675–1745). In all, twenty-three instrumentalists were employed by the Hanover court in 1698; of the ten string players and four oboists, a large majority were of French origin.[11] Lully's music was indeed favored at Hanover: a 1765 court inventory lists scores to seventeen operas, and a bookshop in the city sold dances from the dramatic works in manuscript.[12] A score of eleven anonymous overture-suites copied in 1689 by the court oboist Charles Babel provides a further indication of what Telemann might have heard during his visits. Lullian in style, but scored for strings in four rather than five parts, the suites appears to have been composed by the French violinist Stephan Valoix for court ballet performances during the 1680s.[13] Twelve more anonymous overture-suites, copied by the Hanover oboist "Mr. Barre" in 1689, may contain works by Farinelly.[14] Babel also transcribed numerous movements from Lully's stage works for harpsichord or instrumental trio. After leaving Hanover, he published two sets of *Trios de differents autheurs* in Amsterdam (1697 and 1700), both dominated by Lully's music. Babel's two undated manuscripts of trios contain, in addition to many movements by Lully, extensive excerpts from Marin Marais's *Pièces en trio* (1692) and Michel de La Barre's *Premier Livre des trio* (1694).[15] These and similar works may therefore have been performed at Hanover during the last years of the seventeenth century.

The French instrumental style could also have become familiar to Telemann during his Gymnasium years through the many Amsterdam editions of overture-suites assembled from instrumental movements in Lully's operas, as well as

through overture-suites composed *ab initio* by German composers. The Lully compilations began appearing in 1682, when Jean Philip Heus published his first two collections entitled *Ouverture avec tous les airs*, consisting of excerpts from *Cadmus ed Hermione* and *Persée.* Over the next thirty years Heus, Antoine Pointel, and Estienne Roger issued suites of seventeen to thirty-two movements each, in most cases reducing the texture to four parts by omitting Lully's *quinte* line and suppressing indications for wind instruments.[16] German musicians also fashioned their own overture-suites from the full-score editions of Lully's operas issued by Christophe Ballard and Henri di Baussen. At the Dresden court, for example, a number of such compilations were performed with winds and a five-part string ensemble (in the Italianate configuration of two violins, two violas, and bass).[17] Appearing in print during the quarter century between 1682 and 1706 were collections of overture-suites for four- or five-part strings (and occasionally winds) by Kusser, Mayr, Erlebach, J. C. F. Fischer, Aufschnaiter, Muffat, Schmierer, Fux, Johann Fischer, and Steffani, a lineup that probably included some of the "new German" masters whose works Telemann studied at Hildesheim and, no doubt, immediately afterward as a university student in Leipzig (1701–05).[18] Indeed, almost half the publications listed in Table 1.1 appeared during Telemann's Gymnasium years. Such music speaks to the enthusiastic cultivation of the French instrumental style at many German courts during the late seventeenth century. Around 1690 Johann Beer, Konzertmeister at Weissenfels, observed that "just as French music is a special art, so it requires special admirers. Their suites sound well during meals. . . . And whoever is an admirer of them can presently derive great satisfaction from such compositions at many German courts."[19]

After arriving at Leipzig University in 1701, Telemann gained further exposure to the French style though visits to the Berlin court, where the Belgian dancing master Jean-Baptiste Volumier had introduced the French manner of performance;[20] it was Volumier, in fact, who later directed performances of Lully's overture-suites at the Dresden court. Telemann may also have traveled from Leipzig to Dresden, for he noted in his 1718 autobiography "the approval of the virtuosos in Dresden, who combined Italian delicacy with French liveliness, as if to join the two at their midpoint. . . . I must admit that this approval of theirs, with which they honored my works, has aided me considerably in my subsequent progress."[21]

If the young composer had not written his own overture-suites by the start of his university studies, he would soon have the opportunity to do so, for he founded a collegium musicum (precisely when is unknown) that gave public

Table 1.1 Overture-suite publications of German Lullists, 1682–1706

Composer	*Publication*
Johann Sigismund Kusser	*Composition de musique, suivant la méthode françoise, contenant six ouvertures de théâtre accompagnées de plusieurs airs* (Stuttgart, 1682)
Rupert Ignaz Mayr	*Pythagorische Schmids-Fünecklein, bestehend in unterschidlichen Arien, Sonatinen, Ouverturen* (Augsburg, 1692)
Philipp Heinrich Erlebach	*VI Ouvertures begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen airs, nach französischer Art und Manier eingerichtet* (Nuremberg, 1693)
Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer	*Le Journal de printems consistant en airs, & balets à 5 parties, & les trompettes à plaisir* (Augsburg, 1695)
Benedict Anton Aufschnaiter	*Concors discordia, amori e timori* (Nuremberg, 1695)
Georg Muffat	*Suavioris harmoniae instrumentalis hyporchematicae florilegium primum* (Augsburg, 1695)
Georg Muffat	*Suavioris harmoniae instrumentalis hyporchematicæ florilegium secundum* (Passau, 1698)
Johann Abraham Schmierer	*Zodiaci musici, in XII partitas balleticas* (Augsburg, 1698)
Johann Fischer	*Neu-verfertigtes musicalisches Divertissement, in sechs sehr anmuthig- und Gehör-vergnügenden Ouverturen, Entrée, Air, Gavotten, Sarabanden, Chaconnen, Rondeau, Menueten, Trio Bouréen, &c. bestehend* (Augsburg, 1700)
Johann Sigismund Kusser	*Apollon enjoüé, contenant six ouvertures de théâtre accompagnées de plusieurs airs; Festin de muses, contenant six ouvertures de théâtre accompagnées de plusieurs airs; La cicala della cetra d'Eunomio* (all Stuttgart, 1700)
Johann Joseph Fux	*Concentus musico-instrumentalis, enthaltend sieben Partiten und zwar, vier Ouverturen, zwei Sinfonien, eine Serenade* (Vienna, 1701)
Johann Fischer	*Tafel-Musik bestehend in verscheidenen Ouverturen, Chaconnen, lustigen Suiten, auch einem Anhang von Pollnischen Däntzen à 4. & 3. Instrumentis* (Hamburg, 1702)
Agostino Steffani	*Sonate da camera à tre* (Amsterdam, ca. 1705)
Johann Fischer	*Musicalische Fürsten Lust, bestehend anfänglich in unterschiedenen schönen Ouverturen, Chaconnen, lustigen Suiten und einen curiosen Anhang Polnischer Täntze mit 3 und 4 Instrumenten* (Lübeck, 1706)

concerts and, from 1704, provided music for Leipzig's Neue Kirche. In his 1718 autobiography he described the "still flourishing" ensemble:

> Although it consists of nothing but students, occasionally numbering as many as forty, this collegium is nonetheless very pleasant to listen to, and one could not easily find an instrument—not to speak of the mostly good singers—that it does not include. On many occasions it has had the honor to entertain His Majesty, the king of Poland and other great rulers. It otherwise provides the music in the Neue

> Kirche. Finally, it redounds to the ensemble's glory that in many places are former members now counted among the most famous musicians. In Dresden, Mr. [Johann Georg] Pisendel excels upon the violin; in Darmstadt, Mr. [Johann Michael] Böhm on the oboe, flute, and recorder; Mr. [Salomo] Bendler and [Martin] Petzold in Wolfenbüttel and Hamburg as tremendous basses and actors. Among those who are presently members, the ensemble's director, Mr. [Johann Gottfried] Vogler, is a lively composer and strong violinist; Mr. [Johann Gottfried] Riemenschneider, already admired in the Hamburg theater, is a pleasant bass; and Mr. Schneider is one of the best contraltos.[22]

Unclear from Telemann's account is whether the collegium could muster forty instrumentalists and singers in 1701–5. But Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel noted that this was occasionally the case under Telemann's successor, Melchior Hoffmann: "At that time [1707–10], such an ensemble [*Chor*] was heard in the Leipzig Neue Kirche only on high feast days and during the trade fair."[23] In 1716 the Leipzig chronicler Christoph Ernst Sicul claimed that under Hoffmann the collegium had performed two evening concerts each week with fifty to sixty musicians.[24] The precise makeup of the collegium cannot be established, but Johann Kuhnau's 1709 complaint of the inadequacy of the Leipzig civic musicians (four *Stadtpfeifer*, three *Kunstgeiger*, and an apprentice) for performing orchestral music implies that Hoffmann's ensemble included more than a dozen string players: "it is hard to see how a string band, which is so agreeable, can be assembled, because throughout Europe and here too a string band requires many players: at least eight persons on the two violin parts, and furthermore violas two on a part and violoni, cellos, colascioni, timpani, and more, and these people are tied up in the Neue Kirche."[25]

Although we have no concrete evidence that Telemann wrote overture-suites for his collegium, Johann Friedrich Fasch's recollection of his student days in Leipzig suggests as much. The playful deception Fasch describes here probably took place between Telemann's June 1705 departure for the court of Count Balthasar Erdmann von Promnitz at Sorau (now Żary) in Upper Silesia and his own enrollment at the university in autumn 1708:

> Because Telemann's *Ouverturen* were well-known, I was at last bold enough to take a stab at writing such a work. I offered it under his name at a rehearsal of the first-form students' collegium musicum, and much to my joy, they believed that it was by him. On this occasion I cannot avoid publicly confessing that at that time I learned most everything from the beautiful works of my most esteemed and dearest friend, Herr Kapellmeister Telemann, for I constantly took them as my model, especially the *Ouverturen*. When the Swedes departed, I enrolled at the university

> and started a collegium musicum that met in my quarters on Sundays following church, and which gradually increased in size to twenty students.[26]

However likely it may be that Telemann began composing overture-suites at Hildesheim or Leipzig, he does not mention such works in his autobiographies until the passages recounting his years at Sorau (1705–8):

> Indeed, here I really began to be prolific for the first time, and that which I had done in Leipzig with vocal works I set out to do here with instrumental music, especially with *Ouverturen*, for His Highness the Count had recently returned from France and therefore loved them. I got hold of works by Lully, Campra, and other good composers, and although I had just acquired a considerable taste of this style in Hanover, I now studied it more closely and completely devoted myself to it, not without good success. This has, moreover, remained my inclination in subsequent periods, so that I have been able to produce up to 200 *Ouverturen* from my pen. Contributing greatly to my productivity and growth at that time was undoubtedly my marital love for my late wife. For one considers that love enlivens the spirits.[27]

In the briefer 1740 version of this account Telemann attributed his musical motivation to "the dazzling nature of this newly and lavishly equipped court" and now claimed that he "produced about 200 *Ouvertüren* in two years."[28] Both accounts seem to provide startling evidence for what has been lost, for if we take Telemann's initial word for it that he composed 200 overture-suites between 1705 and 1718, and if we further assume that he produced additional works at a steady, if perhaps slower, pace during the following two decades at Frankfurt and Hamburg, then we must now possess only a small fraction of what once existed. On the other hand, the round figure of 200 could easily be exaggerated, and "Ouverturen" may refer either to suites in all scorings or just to French overtures. Whatever the case, it seems unlikely that Telemann's total output of overture-suites amounted to the 600 pieces with which he is sometimes credited.[29]

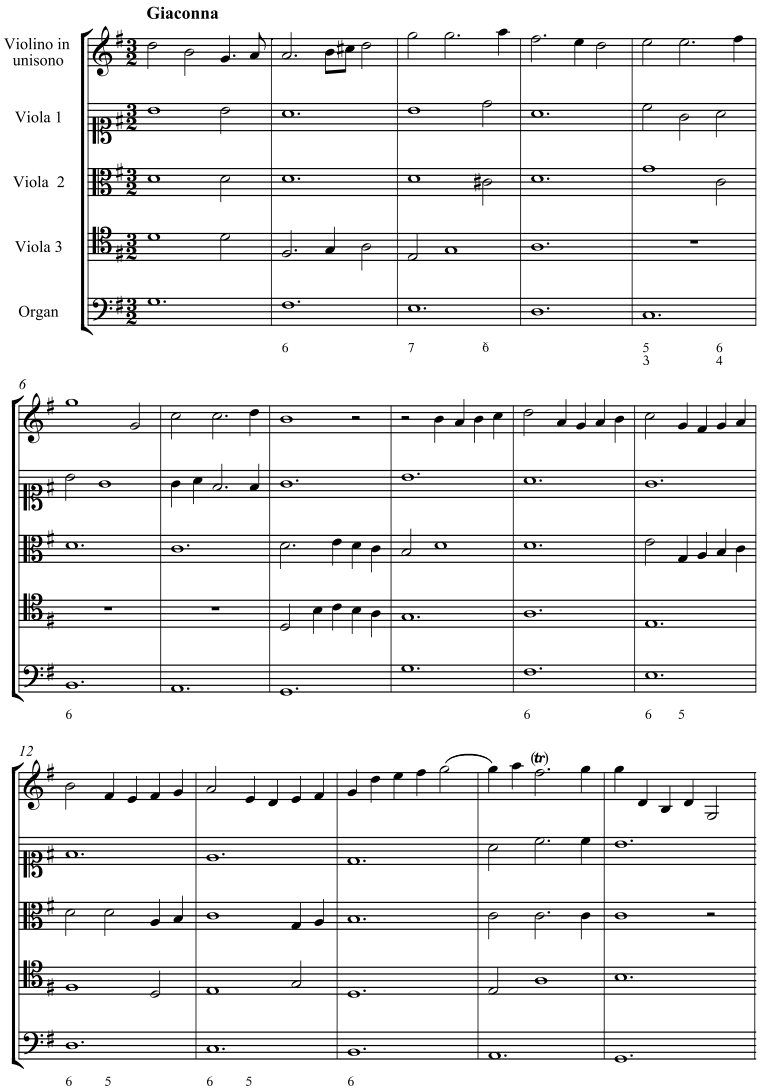
Before considering the music of Telemann's overture-suites, it will be instructive to turn to one of his earliest extant vocal works, the Whitsun cantata *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz,* TVWV 1:1241, a Hildesheim or Leipzig composition that reveals much about the young composer's stylistic orientation.[30] The cantata opens with one of the most striking movements in Telemann's early vocal music: a choral chaconne in which voices and strings present a series of variations to a text based on Psalm 51:1–10. Although choral chaconnes are far from unknown in the sacred cantata repertory of the time, few works begin with such movements. In this respect, the closest analogs to *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* are

J. S. Bach's later cantatas *Weinen, klagen, sorgen, zagen,* BWV 12 (1714; later adapted as the "Crucifixus" segment in the Credo of the *Mass in B Minor*) and *Jesu, der du meine Seele,* BWV 78 (1724). Telemann's chaconne consists of twelve strict statements of an eight-measure ostinato that is nothing more than a descending G-major scale—much the simplest bass pattern among Telemann's chaconnes and passacailles in all scorings. As Example 1.1 shows, the movement owes a debt to the French theatrical chaconne in its five-part string complement of violins in unison, three violas, and bass notated in G2, C1, C3, C4, and F4 clefs. This configuration, apparently unique in Telemann's output, is employed in overture-suites by Muffat and J. C. F. Fischer; Erlebach, following Lully's practice, notates the same instruments in G1, C1, C2, C3, and F4 clefs. Telemann's grouping together of adjacent *couplets* through common melodic material is also reminiscent of French theatrical chaconnes. But he otherwise avoids typically Lullian features such as an ascending opening gesture beginning on the second beat, suggestions of tutti-solo contrast, alternations of instrumental with vocal segments, a rhythmic accelerando from quarter-note to sixteenth-note motion, and a section in the parallel mode. The absence of these features, together with the strict ostinato bass and combination of variation with rondeau structure (in which the violin's melodic refrain, given varied accompaniments by the inner voices, alternates irregularly with variation *couplets*), points strongly to the related traditions of the German sacred concerto and organ variation.[31]

Telemann's chaconne is therefore only superficially French in style, and is in fact more closely allied to roughly contemporaneous German chaconnes and passacailles such as those in Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber's *Sonatae a Violino Solo* (Salzburg, 1681), Dieterich Buxtehude's *VII Suonate à due* (Hamburg, 1696), and Johann Pachelbel's *Musicalische Ergötzung* (Nuremberg, 1695). Especially close in conception is the ciaccona in the third of Erlebach's *VI Sonate à violino e viola da gamba col suo basso continuo* (Nuremberg, 1694), the beginning of which is shown in Example 1.2. As for vocal antecedents, the soprano aria "Mein Freund ist mein und ich bin dein" from the wedding cantata *Meine Freundin, du bist schön* by Johann Christoph Bach (1642–1703) is remarkably similar to Telemann's chorus in being a variation-rondeau hybrid over a strict ostinato bass, with three violas and bass supporting figuration in the violin part; both composers alternate division variations with refrains and *couplets* in longer note values.

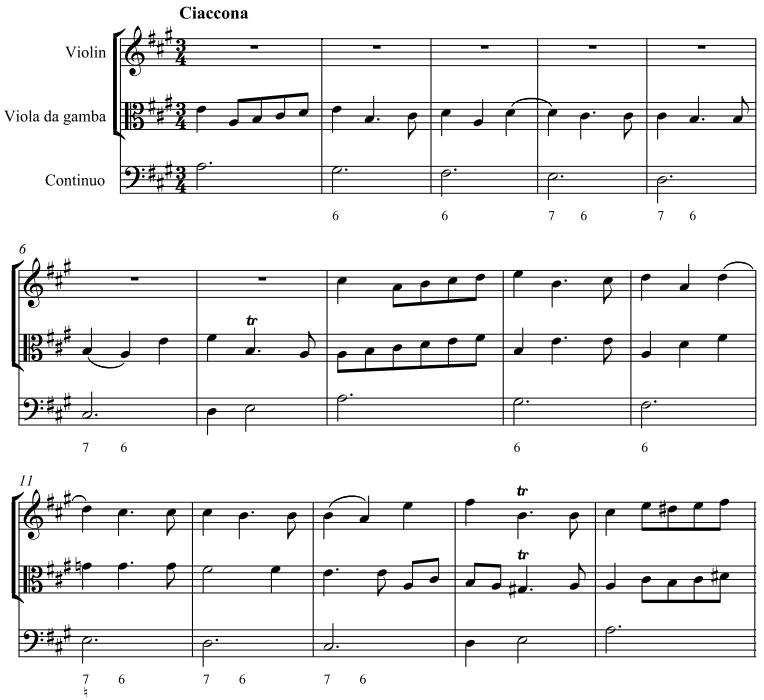
Just how thoroughly the French theatrical style penetrated Telemann's later chaconnes becomes apparent when we survey his instrumental ensemble music, where we find surprisingly few examples of the chaconne and passacaille (the keyboard suites contain none). Besides the burlesque "Lilliputsche Chaconne" in the

EXAMPLE 1.1. *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz,* TVWV 1:1241/i, mm. 1–16



violin duet 40:108, the chaconnes or passacailles in the solo suite 41:Es1, the trio 42:d6, and the quartet 43:e4 all fall squarely within the French tradition. The same is true of the eleven chaconnes (44:1; 50:2; 55:D4, f1, F6, G3, G7, G9, g9, a5, h1) and four passacailles (55:D18, D23, e4, g8) found among Telemann's overture-suites, concertos, and divertimentos.[32] Of these, five (44:1; 55:D18, f1,

example 1.2. Erlebach, Ciaccona in A major for violin, viola da gamba, and continuo from *VI Sonate* no. 3 (Nuremberg, 1694), mm. 1–15



g9, h1) recall *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* through their rondeau structures. But none harks back to the seventeenth-century variation tradition that so strongly informs the cantata chorus.

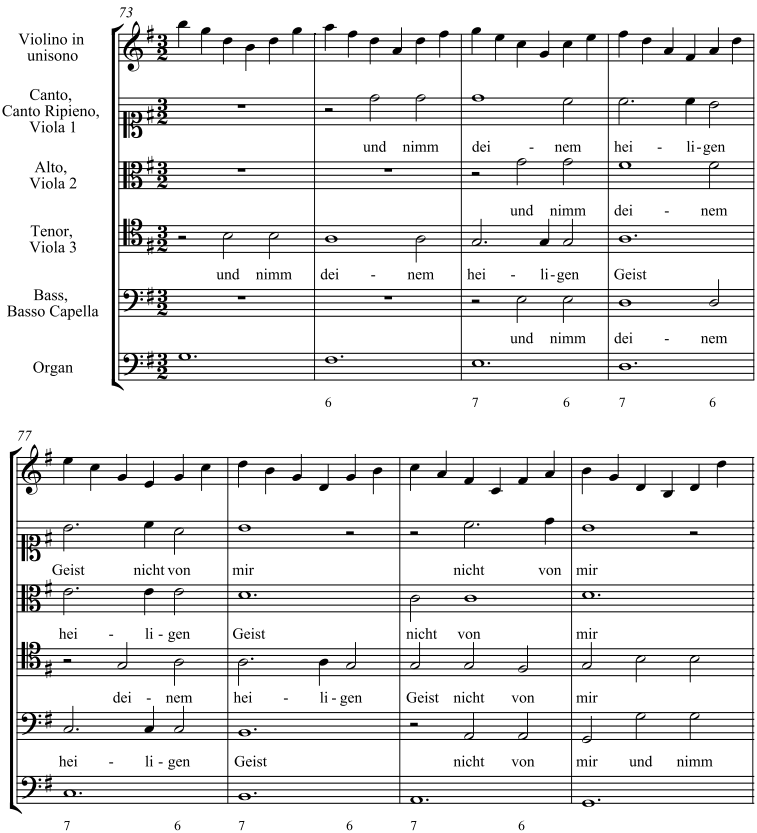
If the style of Telemann's vocal chaconne illustrates his early response to the French and German traditions, aspects of the movement's scoring and manuscript transmission hold clues to its original performance contexts. The sole source for *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* is a set of fourteen manuscript parts copied by 1725 (the date of a performance recorded on the title page) by ten different scribes, including Johann Caspar Dietel (d. 1760), organist and cantor at Calbitz and, from 1719, at Falkenhain (both near Wurzen).[33] The work apparently belonged to an annual cycle of sixty-three Telemann cantatas sold by Dietel in March 1723 to Johann Ulisch, cantor at the Fürstenschule in Grimma. Such a large number of copying hands, together with the presence of a seemingly unnecessary duplicate alto concertist part, suggests that the manuscript may have been assembled from two or more incomplete sets of parts. Of particular interest is a note at the top

of both violin parts indicating that six instruments should play the violin line ("Violino in unisono 6 Fach zu bestellen"). This extraordinary directive appears to have only one parallel among Telemann cantata sources: a set of parts to *Kommt, die Tafel ist gedeckt,* TVWV 1:1006, also copied by Dietel and several anonymous scribes. Here the violin line is to be realized by six to eight players.[34] One naturally wonders whether anyone in small Saxon towns such as Calbitz, Falkenhain, and Grimma could have mustered an ensemble including, for *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz,* a minimum of six violins, three violas, cello and/or bass, and organ in addition to six vocalists (four concertists with soprano and bass ripienists). Such a string complement is comparable to that available at the well-outfitted court Kapellen at Berlin, Darmstadt, Dresden, and Stuttgart during the first two decades of the eighteenth century.[35] And it closely approximates that desired, but presumably rarely attained, by Bach in Leipzig in 1730.[36] German sacred cantatas were usually performed with small ensembles, and in fact a large majority of the Telemann cantata manuscripts stemming from Dietel and the Grimma cantors provide only single parts for each instrument.[37] Of course, it is possible that Dietel, who moonlighted as a music dealer, obtained the two cantatas only to sell them to other cantors, and that neither he nor Ulisch ever performed them with such heavy string doublings (the presence of only two violin parts in the *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* set suggests as much). But if so, then where did the scoring indications for six to eight violins originate?

The most likely answer is Leipzig, Dietel's undoubted source for many of the Telemann cantatas he sold to Ulisch in 1723, and the city in which two of his sons (including Bach's pupil and copyist Johann Ludwig Dietel) later attended the Thomasschule.[38] There Telemann's collegium musicum, under either the composer or his successors, could presumably have performed *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* and *Kommt, die Tafel ist gedeckt* with the indicated string doublings at the Neue Kirche. The fact that the continuo organ part to *Kommt, die Tafel ist gedeckt* bears Telemann's name—a rarity in the Grimma collection—may be a further indication of the manuscript's Leipzig connection, for this is the instrument (along with violin) that Telemann is most likely to have played during Neue Kirche services.

Finally, let us return briefly to the chaconne's Gallic scoring. Other than in the opening and closing measures of the movement, which function as framing ritornellos, the violas seem oddly underutilized: they normally drop out during imitative passages, and in more homophonic passages they strictly double the voices, sometimes allowing them to begin a *couplet* or refrain alone. Moreover, in the last four of these homophonic passages, the vocal parts are curiously devoid of melody and function essentially as *parties de remplissage* (see Example 1.3). The effect

EXAMPLE 1.3. *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz,* TVWV 1:1241/i, mm. 73–80



here of concentrating much of the melodic and rhythmic interest in the violin part at the expense of the vocal parts—especially pronounced during the two couplets featuring eighth-note divisions—leads to the suspicion that the movement has not come down to us in its original form. That is, it might have begun life as a work for five-part strings. To arrange the chaconne for chorus, Telemann would have assigned the viola lines to soprano, alto, and tenor, then added the vocal bass line, which is for the most part closely tied to the continuo. This hypothetical scenario explains both the violas' odd role and the often accompanimental nature of the vocal lines. If the chorus did indeed originate as a purely instrumental movement, perhaps as part of an overture-suite, then it must have been among Telemann's earliest works for instrumental ensemble.

As for the overture-suites that survive intact, at least a handful appear to date from the first decade of the eighteenth century. But here one must proceed with

caution, for in the absence of manuscript sources datable to before about 1712, any such determination must rely heavily on stylistic criteria.[39] And if style is often an unreliable guide in matters of chronology and authenticity, it is particularly so in the case of the overture-suite, a genre that was to some degree retrospective for much of its history. Yet, in Germany during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the overture-suite was gradually transformed from a collection of brief, theatrical movements (whether adapted from a stage work or freshly composed) into a concert piece of greater dimensions and stylization. The practice, frequently encountered in the works of Lully and the German Lullists, of writing bipartite overtures concluding with a fast, lightly imitative section gave way to a standard slow–fast–slow organization in which the second section was expanded in length and became more contrapuntally rigorous, often resulting in a fully worked out fugue. Movements following the overture were also subject to a process of expansion, doubtless in part because they were no longer conceived as accompaniment for dancing. A larger palette of coloristic and textural effects became available through the more frequent deployment of concertante instruments, including not only string trios and the *trio des hautbois* or "French" wind trio of two oboes and bassoon, but also recorders, flutes, horns, and trumpets.[40] What Telemann would later call the "true French style" was further diluted by mixed-taste explorations of the Italian, English, Polish, and other national styles, most notably through the use of ritornello forms and slow Italianate "arias" in place of French "airs."

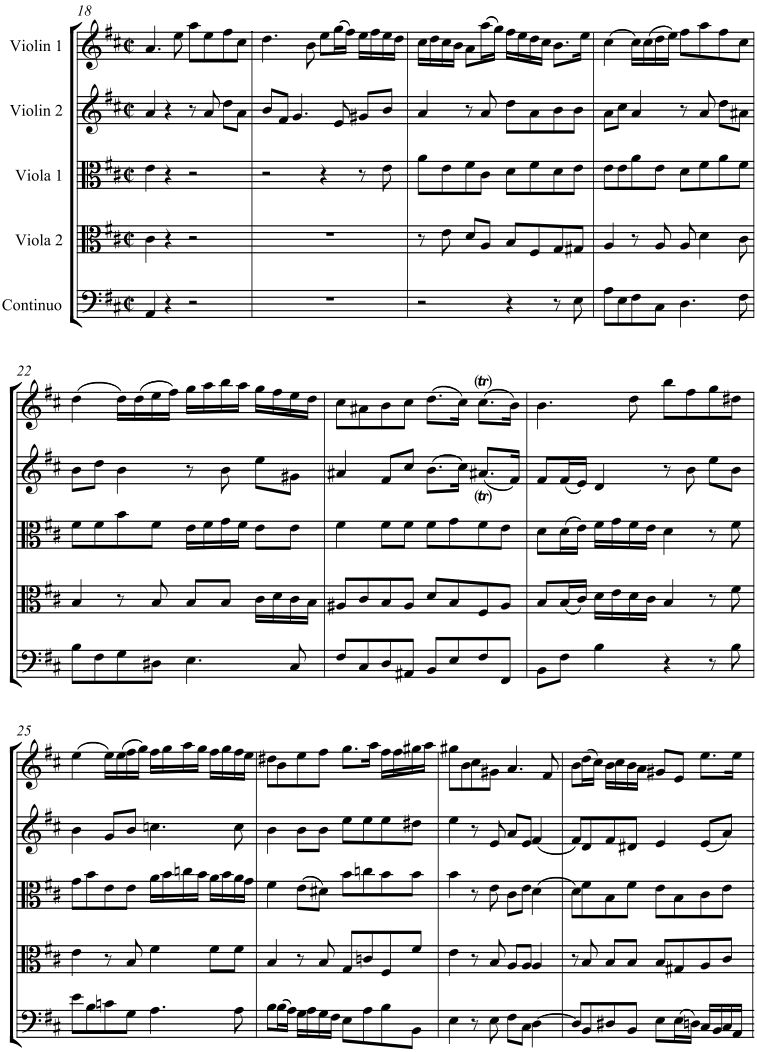
Some of the earliest eighteenth-century German descriptions of the French overture bear witness to its late seventeenth-century configuration. Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann, writing in 1706, speaks of the "Ouverteur" (apparently meaning an overture-suite) as a "French *sonata* commonly beginning in duple meter, continuing fugally in a fast triple meter, and finally concluding with a *ciacona.*"[41] Johann Mattheson noted in 1713 that the second part of the overture "consists of brilliant themes created by the composer's free invention, and may be either a regular or irregular fugue, and often only a simple yet lively imitation. Most French overtures conclude after the Allegro, or second part, with another brief Lentement or serious section; however, it appears that this fashion will find few adherents."[42] Although Friedrich Erhardt Niedt had written in his 1706 *Handleitung zur Variation* that overtures conclude with a "serious section" resembling the first, Mattheson's 1721 second edition of the treatise emends the definition to note that the conclusion is "optional [*arbitrair*], and nowadays most overtures end with the fast section, without special ceremony."[43] Mattheson's and Fuhrman's descriptions of bipartite overtures are to some degree borne out by German overture-suites published during the 1690s: all five of the overtures in Muffat's *Flori-*

legium primum (1695) are in two parts, as are a majority of overtures in the *Florilegium secundum* (1698) and J. C. F. Fischer's *Journal du printems* (1695); two-part overtures are also found in such collections as Schmierer's *Zodiaci musici* (1698) and Erlebach's *VI Ouvertures* (1693). J. S. Bach's keyboard suite in F major, BWV 820, a work thought to have been composed shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century, also begins with a two-part overture.

Only two of Telemann's extant overtures are bipartite: those beginning 55:D4 and the C-major keyboard suite, 32:11. Yet several overture-suites display other hallmarks of the Lullian style—and a corresponding absence of Italianate elements—that suggest their origins before 1715. One of these characteristics is an overture with a second section that commences in a closely imitative texture (Mattheson's "simple yet lively imitation") but is otherwise predominantly homophonic (55:C1, C2, D16, F2 [= 44:6], f1, G9, a7, B9, h1, h3). Not only are these second sections less consistently fugal than most others by Telemann, but they also tend to be significantly shorter: several (55:C2, D16, F2 [= 44:6], B9, h1, h3) are a scant twenty to thirty measures in length, comparable to those in many seventeenth-century overtures by Lully and his followers. Observe in Example 1.4, showing the beginning of a fast section, that the imitative opening gives way to an essentially homophonic texture in which the brief imitative subject is confined to the outer voices. Notice also the scoring with two viola parts, found in only three of Telemann's overture-suites (55:D16, G7, G9). This in itself suggests a composition date of no later than 1715, for after the so-called *französischer Jahrgang* of sacred cantatas for 1714–15—half of which include two viola parts—Telemann appears consistently to have adopted a four-part string scoring in his instrumental and vocal works. Another archaic scoring is found in 55:C1, where the combination of three violins and bass recalls the seventeenth-century German ensemble suite. Here the unusually compressed range of the violin parts (d′–b″) makes them performable with oboes or flutes. Also likely indicating an early origin is the practice in several works of notating the second part (sometimes labeled "Haute Contre") in C1 clef, and the third part in C2 clef (55:C4, d1, e3, F3, G5, G9, a3).[44]

If other archaic stylistic features of the overture-suites prove less reliable as guides to chronology, they nevertheless document Telemann's participation in seventeenth-century traditions. Among these are the *petite reprise* ("Brandle" of 55:D9 and "Les Augures" of 55:G5) and menuets with a characteristic rhythmic pattern consisting of an iamb followed by a trochee (a 1–2–2-1 pattern over six beats).[45] The iamb-trochee pattern, common in late seventeenth-century menuets, is found in the dance step of Jean Favier and in works by Lully, Campra, Michel-Richard de Lalande, and André Danican Philidor.[46] What might be

EXAMPLE 1.4. Suite in D major for strings and continuo, 55:D16/i, mm. 18–28

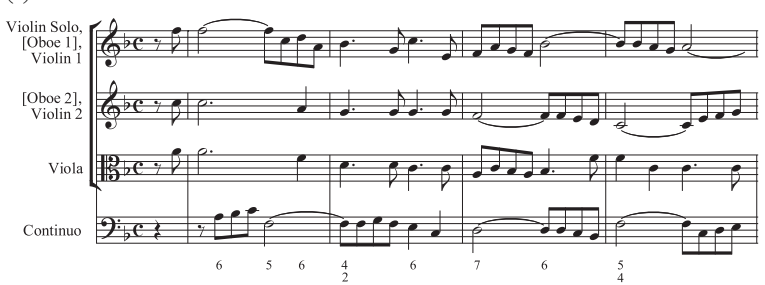


termed Favier-type menuets are found in thirteen of Telemann's overture-suites, including several of those discussed in the previous paragraph.[47] There are other old-fashioned dance types as well, including the allemande (55:C4, F13, f1), amener (55:C2), branle (55:D9, G2, A1), courante (seventeen examples), and galliard (55:D23, A1). Although the allemande and courante remained fixtures in the eighteenth-century keyboard suite (as in Telemann's own 32:12–15 and 32: 17–18), they became increasingly uncommon in German ensemble music, where

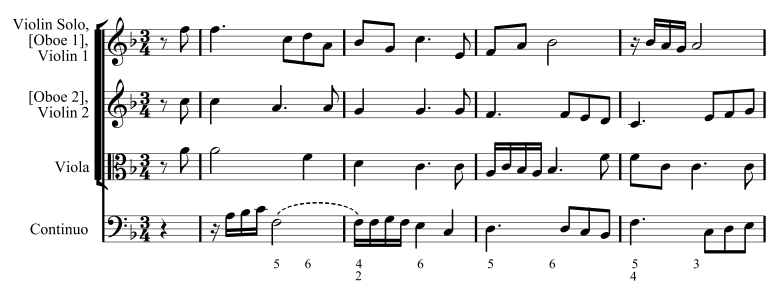
the sarabande, gigue, and *Galanterien* such as the bourrée, gavotte, loure, menuet, and passepied predominate. The allemande, in fact, appears only occasionally in overture-suites published during the 1690s. Among later works, Graupner's eighty-odd overture-suites contain only four courantes and no allemandes, just as many by Fasch include no examples of either dance, and the eight overture-suites by Johann Bernhard and Johann Sebastian Bach yield two courantes and no allemandes.[48] Some of Telemann's older dance types are easily heard as direct continuations of seventeenth-century tradition, while others (particularly the branles and galliards) may represent historicizing invocations of the past. The courantes mostly avoid the flowing eighths of the Italian corrente in favor of the dotted rhythms of the French dance, and several (55:C4, C7, c1, G2, G9, Anh. 55:A1, h1) hark back to seventeenth-century examples through frequent hemiolas effecting metrical shifts between 3/2 and 6/4 or 3/4. Another of Telemann's nods to the past occurs in 55:F13, where an allemande and courante are paired in the manner of a variation suite (Example 1.5). Yet these two movements, essentially the same dance in contrasting meters, cannot be understood merely as pure

EXAMPLE 1.5. Suite in F major for violin, strings, and continuo, 55:F13: (a) Allemande, mm. 1–4; (b) Courante, mm. 1–4

(a)



(b)



representations of the "true French" or archaic German styles, for the concertante violin part introduced for the repeat of each binary half comes from the world of the Italian concerto. In a similar mixture of the old (French) and new (Italian), the allemande and Favier-type menuet of 55:C4 give way to a concerto-style concluding movement.

Tradition versus Innovation

On the face of it, few instrumental genres of the early eighteenth century seem to have been so strictly governed by convention as the overture-suite. Both the overture and the accompanying dances followed prescribed forms and individually, if not collectively, conveyed a relatively circumscribed range of affects. One might consider that the genre's balance of contrast (within the overture and between the dances) and predictability (of affect and form) was at once its greatest strength and ultimate undoing. Writing in 1739, Mattheson lauded the overture's uplifting rhetoric of alternating affects:

> When listening to the first part of a good overture, I feel a special elevation of the spirit. The second part on the other hand expands minds with great joy; and if a serious ending follows, then everything is brought together to a normal restful conclusion. It seems to me that this is a pleasantly alternating movement that an orator could scarcely surpass. Anyone who is paying attention can see in the face of an attentive listener what he perceives in his heart.[49]

Yet by this time both the overture and overture-suite had begun to outstay out their welcome. We have already seen Quantz lament the overture's virtual disappearance by the 1750s, and as early as 1740 Scheibe tempered his praise for it with an explanation of why "many musical connoisseurs . . . regard overtures as antiquated and ridiculous pieces":

> One could accuse [the first section] of causing every overture to begin in the same manner. Thus a certain variety is lacking that is otherwise constantly necessary in composition, if all works are not to sound of a piece. This is why, when one has not heard any overtures for a long time and an entirely new work is finally played, it nevertheless seems to the ears as if one had heard it long ago. And this only results in an overly precise, restricted uniformity, which is in fact a fundamental part of the overture's style. Perhaps this very great similarity that the beginnings of all overtures have with one another has contributed significantly to their no longer being as popular as they used to be.[50]

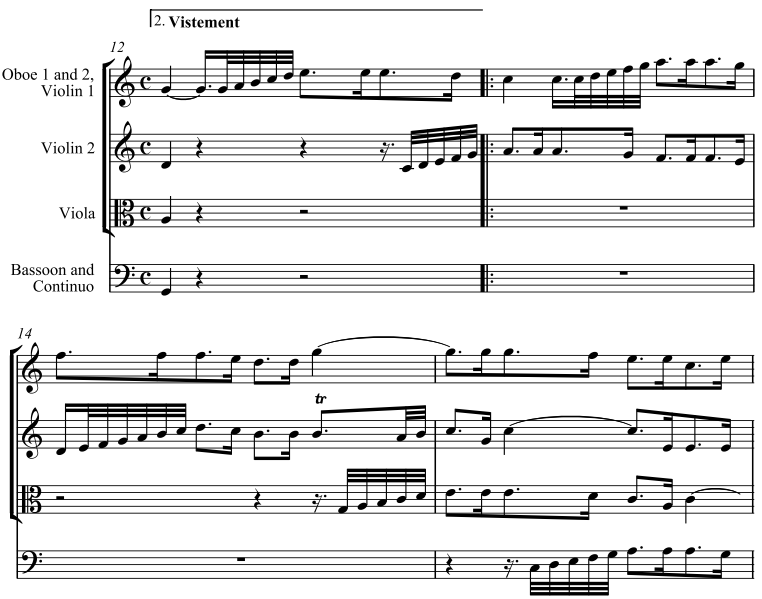
Like other successful composers of overture-suites, Telemann transcended the genre's shortcomings through the strength of his invention. But no one else seems to have been so willing to stretch and even explode its conventions. If the jerky, dotted rhythms (*rhythmes saccadés* or *sautillants*) of the overture's slow sections are chiefly responsible for the spirit's elevation (Mattheson), this did not prevent Telemann from occasionally upstaging them with other types of introductory gestures (55:D18), or even doing away with them altogether (44:8 = 55:F5, 44:14 = 55:F18). At the other extreme, the convention of embellishing the outer voices with thirty-second-note *tirades* is taken to nearly parodistic heights in 55:C6; in the "Entrée" of 55:C4, one of only a few such movements to imitate the archaic overture's slow–fast bipartite structure, Telemann elevates the humble *tirade* to thematic status during a brief fugato (Example 1.6). Elsewhere, diatonically or chromatically descending bass lines render the beginnings of several minor-mode overtures darkly expressive, almost lament-like (55:c3, c4, e7, f1, fis1). And unexpected opening gestures occasionally confound the expectation of harmonic stability at the start of an overture's slow section: both 55:d2 and e10 have off-tonic beginnings (V_2^4 and V^6/iv chords, respectively), while a number of concluding sections deflect the tonic's return following the fugal second section (55:d3, e3, F9 = 44:10, a5, B9, B13, h1).[51] The latter effect, illustrated in Example 1.7, is endorsed by Scheibe:

> It is also very pleasant if one lets the second, fugal section collapse immediately into the concluding section through a certain figure called fleeing from the cadence (which I have already described elsewhere), thereby surprising the listener and placing him in a state of astonishment [*Verwunderung*]. One may also choose to achieve this aim more surely through [replacing] the pitch from which one had fled at the cadence [with] a very distant, and often very strange, dissonant chord that one then endeavors cleverly to resolve by progression to the tonic key, or to its fifth.[52]

Given the apparent rarity of such harmonic *Verwunderung* in overture-suites by other composers (one example is Johann Bernhard Bach's overture-suite in E minor), one wonders if Scheibe was thinking specifically of Telemann's works.

Rather more possibilities for overstepping the boundaries of convention were offered by the overture's second section, where Telemann ordinarily writes fugues or fugatos that vary in the degree of their contrapuntal rigor. With few exceptions (55:c3, D10, D15, g6, B2), fugal imitation proceeds in strict order from the top voice down to the bottom. The subject is most often stated by all four voices, but three-part imitation may result from pairing the viola and bass parts (55:Es2, e8, F10, G4), and two-part imitation by restricting the subject to the two outer

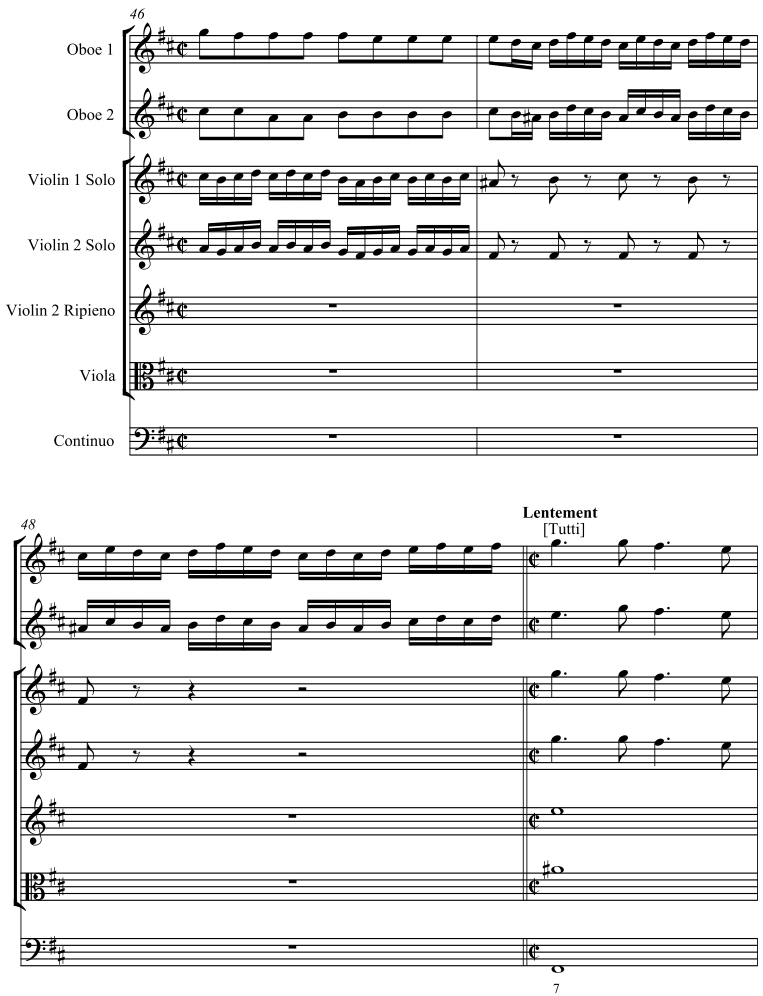
EXAMPLE 1.6. Suite in C major for 2 oboes, bassoon, strings, and continuo, 55:C4/iv, mm. 12–15



voices (55:D11, E2, e2, B5).[53] Although episodes tend to be motivically independent of the subject, there are cases in which virtually all episodic material derives from the opening point of imitation (55:C4, C7, c3, D10, D11, D13, Es4). In keeping with the brevity and lightheartedly *galant* nature of many subjects, learned devices play little role in the contrapuntal discourse, but there are the occasional stretto (55:d2, Es4, e2, G8) and canon (55:c2, Es4).[54]

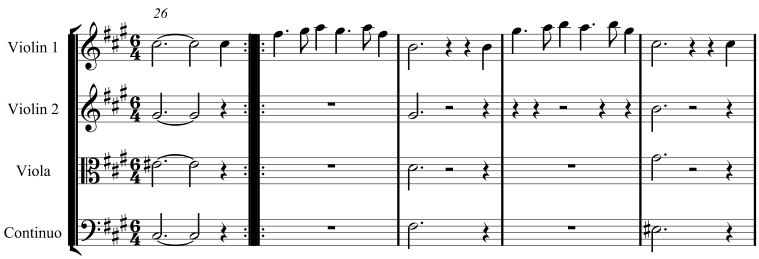
Some of Telemann's more interesting departures from this paradigm find him dispensing entirely with fugal imitation. The homophonic second section of 55:D9, for example, resembles nothing so much as a fast sinfonia movement. Similarly devoid of imitation is the second section of 55:fis1, one of about twenty examples that adopt the rhythmic characteristics of the giga or gigue (Example 1.8). Here there are several other strikingly unconventional features, including initial chromatic motion in the bass (F♯–E♯–E) that echoes the opening section's descending lines; a rhythmically and harmonically halting "subject" built upon this bass; and two trios for low-lying violins with viola bassetto (not shown in the example). In combination with the darkly expressive slow sections, these features produce a kind of chiaroscuro effect totally at odds with Mattheson's description of the French overture as elevating and joyful. Equally foreign to the overture's standard

example 1.7. Suite in B minor for 2 violins, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, strings, and continuo, 55:h1/i, mm. 46–49



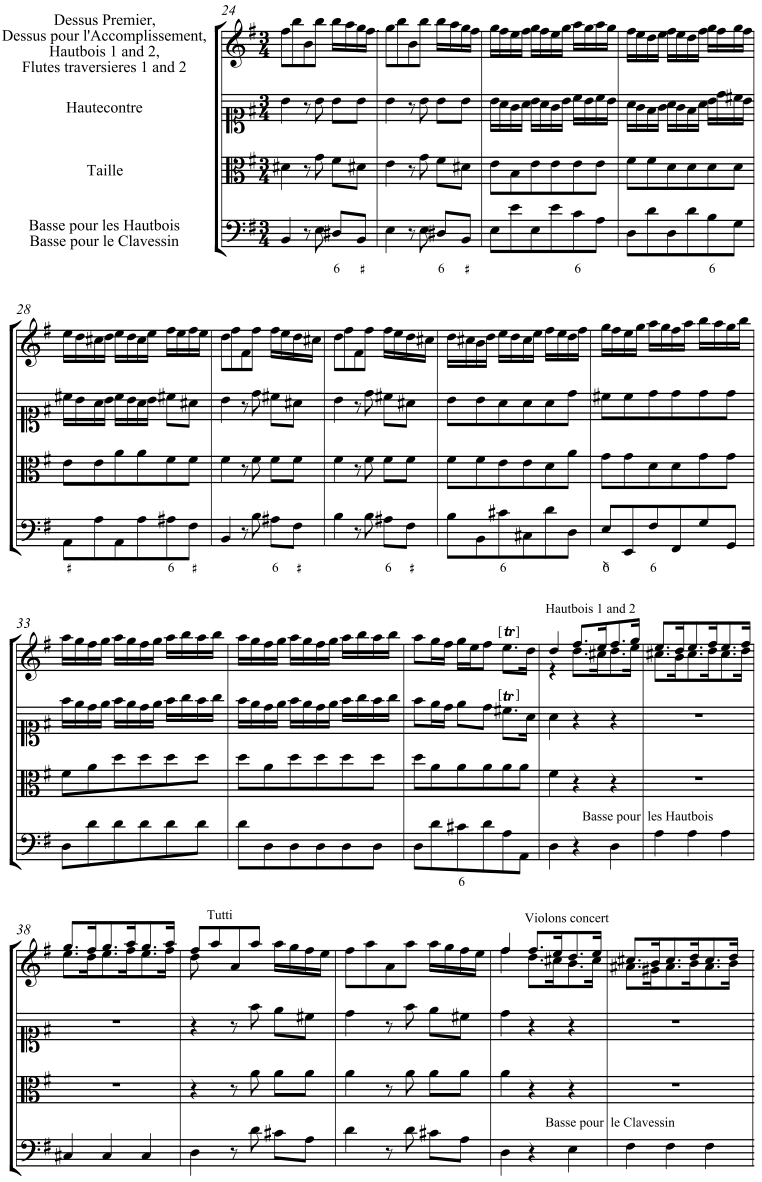
affective vocabulary are several movements referencing the pastoral style. Two pastoral topics make unexpected appearances in the second section of 55:g2: the siciliana (mm. 34–41) and the peasant dance, featuring typically excessive melodic and rhythmic repetition, wide leaps, and drone accompaniments (mm. 50–60). Pomp is more thoroughly replaced by pastoral in the overture to 55:F7, where the first and third sections feature a rustic melody supported by paired quarter notes and slow harmonic rhythm; the ensuing fugal subject is suggestive of a horn signal and gives way to various other fanfare-like gestures evocative of the hunt.

EXAMPLE 1.8. Suite in F-sharp minor for strings and continuo, 55:fis/i, mm. 26–30



By the early Frankfurt period, Telemann began to introduce ritornello form into the overture's second section. This would seem a logical extension and formalization of the common practice of alternating between strings (fugal subject entries) and concertante winds (episodes), and perhaps inevitable given the popularity of the solo concerto in Germany from about 1710. Possibly the earliest such work is 55:e3, featuring a homophonic ritornello largely given over to Italianate *Fortspinnung,* and pairs of concertante flutes, oboes, and violins (Example 1.9). Each pair of soloists is introduced in turn but, surprisingly, plays only "French" dotted rhythms instead of the expected display figuration. Here the mixed taste operates simultaneously on multiple levels, establishing the section as a gallicized concerto within an Italianate French overture. A more thorough encroachment of ritornello form upon the overture occurs in 55:B11, apparently written toward the end of the Frankfurt period. Here only the first tutti statement begins fugally, and the subject consists of broken-chord figuration suggestive of the concerto. (This was a second thought: the beginning of a more conventional fugal exposition is crossed out in Telemann's composing score at Dresden).[55] Beginning with the double-motto entrance of the concertante oboes—a further signifier of the concerto—any residual sense of Frenchness evaporates, and the section proceeds as a concerto-allegro. Similar to the B-flat overture is that of 55:D4, with fugal ritornellos and pairs of concertante violins and oboes. Remarkably, the overture's first section hints at the Italianate orientation of what follows when its *sautillant* rhythms are interrupted by tremolo chords over a dominant pedal. Without parallel in Telemann's overture-suites is the manner in which the movement concludes: with a ritornello abruptly halting on a dominant seventh chord, resolved only in the first measure of the following menuet I. It is tempting to seek an extramusical explanation for this run-on effect: Could the overture-menuet complex originally have introduced a theatrical work? If so, might theatrical action also lie behind the suite's odd concluding movement ("Air serieuse-

EXAMPLE 1.9. Suite in E minor for 2 flutes, 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 violins, strings, and continuo, 55:e3/i, mm. 24–42



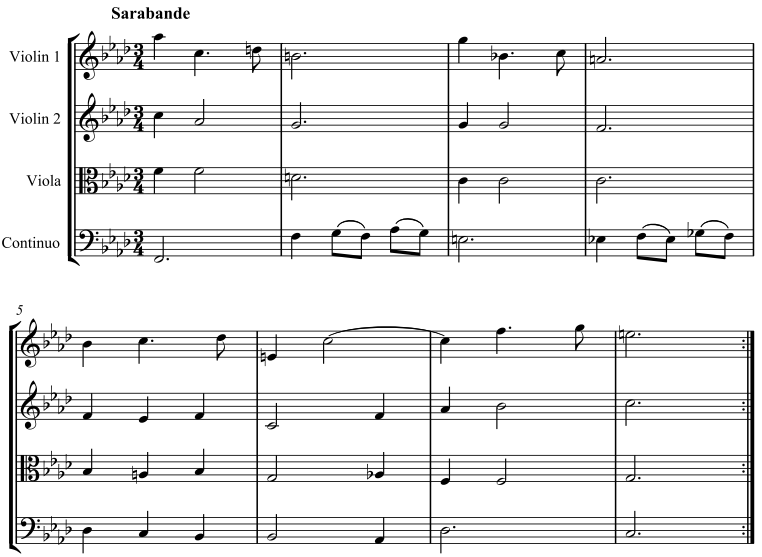
ment"), in which a siciliana alternates with a bourrée/rigaudon? We shall take up the relationship of Telemann's overture-suites to the theater more fully in chapter 2.

Movements seemingly imported from the Italian concerto also occasionally displace French dance types following the overture. Among the most affective slow movements is the "Avec douceur" of 55:g2, essentially a da capo–form aria in which the first violin "sings" a double motto upon its first entrance. Similar in conception, though more richly realized, is the aria-like "Air à l'Italien" of 55:a2 (see below). Less common are concerto-allegro movements such as the concluding "Air italien" of 55:C4, a ritornello–da capo structure highlighting two oboes and bassoon as soloists. Not only is the movement's form "Italien" (and strikingly so: both the A and B sections commence with double mottoes), but the strings' material seems almost parodistically concerto-like as well, with the violins playing mostly rushing scalar figures in unison. In most of these aspects, the movement adumbrates the extraordinary "Combattans" of 55:B10, to which we shall turn in the next chapter.

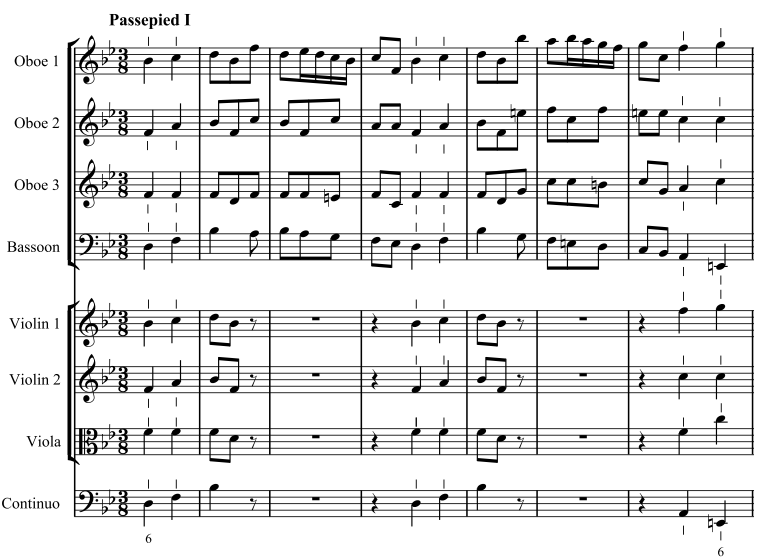
On the whole, however, the mixed taste plays a limited role in Telemann's suite movements, most of which provide relatively undiluted expressions of their respective national styles. Yet some of the most effective dances are marked by intensifications or exaggerations of an essential element of their type. Two examples may suffice here. To the extent that the sarabande is the most serious of dances (Walther describes it as "gravitätisch" or solemn),[56] the example in 55:f1 can only be described as tragic in affect, for the combination of descending chromatic motion, suspensions, and expressively wide melodic leaps transports it to the realm of the lament (Example 1.10). The passepied, by contrast, achieves its lively effect in part by subtly disrupting the listener's sense of meter through hemiolas. In the concluding dance of 55:B10, as in several other passepieds (55:D23, Es2, e8, F2 = 44:6, F13), hemiolas are notated as "double measures" of 3/4 within the context of 3/8. Here Telemann follows the practice of French composers such as François Couperin.[57] But in this particular dance, the listener's perception of meter is confounded from the outset with an incomplete measure in 3/4, leading to rapid alternations of 3/4 and 3/8 (Example 1.11).

One of the least progressive aspects of Telemann's suite movements is form, for the vast majority of dances have binary or rondeau structures. More *galant* types such as the bourrée, gavotte, gigue, menuet, passepied, and rigaudon may adopt either formal template, while allemandes, courantes, loures, and sarabandes are almost invariably binary (55:C4 furnishes a rare example of a sarabande *en rondeau*). Rounded binary forms are in the distinct minority but become more common and substantial in works apparently composed during the late Frankfurt or

example 1.10. Suite in F minor for 2 recorders (*tacet*), strings, and continuo, 55:f1/iv, mm. 1–8



example 1.11. Suite in B-flat for 3 oboes, bassoon, strings, and continuo, 55:B10/ix, mm. 1–6



Hamburg period, such as the three-oboe suites 55:C6, D15, and B10; occasionally the "double return" of tonic and opening material is indicated by a da capo.[58] Bourrées, gavottes, menuets, passepieds, and rigaudons are often paired *alternativement* to create a large-scale ternary structure. But the menuets of 55:C4, c1, and G5 and the rigaudon of 55:a3 are all five-part forms in which the first dance alternates with two others. This rondeau-like structure, to which Telemann later returned in scherzos 2–4 of the A-major divertimento, 50:22, is not unlike the larger *alternativement* complex of dances concluding the First Brandenburg Concerto, BWV 1046 (Menuet–Trio–Menuet–Polonaise–Menuet–Trio–Menuet). Aside from the "Air serieusement" of 55:D4, mentioned earlier, several suite movements take on interesting compound structures. Capriccio-like alternations of contrasting material are found in "Invention III" of 55:A7 and in characteristic movements of 55:C5, D22, and B5 (see chapter 2). Run-on effects occur in the "Air en sarabande" of 55:G1, where a sarabande unexpectedly gives way to what resembles an overture fast section in ritornello form. And *alternativement* pairs of dissimilar movement types are found in the "Plainte-Galliard" of 55:D23 and the "Plainte-Presto" of 55:B13. These last two patterns are also represented in characteristic movements of 55:B5.

Many of the non-French dance types reference Britain, perhaps not surprising given Hamburg's close trading ties and proximity to England (though at least a few of these dances appear to have been written at Frankfurt). Most numerous are movements entitled "Angloise" (55:C7, D13, E1, fis1, g1, A3, a3) and "Horn[e]pipe" (55:D2, d3, e3, g2, a3, B10), and there are single examples of the "Irlandoise" (55:d2) and "Ecossaise" (55:D19), the latter including obligatory Lombard or "Scotch snap" (reverse-dotted) rhythms and a suitably pentatonic melodic contour. Syncopation, hemiola, and overall rhythmic liveliness often play important roles in conveying rusticity and otherness in these country dances, as do occasional "barbaric" effects such as passages in octaves and the $\hat{7}$–$\hat{1}$ octave leap at cadences in the D-minor hornpipe.[59] Metric displacement animates the hornpipes of 55:e3 and B10, both of which initially emphasize the second beats in 3/4 and 3/2. Delightfully disorienting in this respect is the B-flat movement, where the half note in the top voice is first heard as a downbeat and then, starting in measure 4, as a syncopation (Example 1.12). Most of these effects are combined in the lusty A-minor hornpipe, where rustic drones producing "crude" harmonies unexpectedly interrupt the musical flow. The exotic may also take the form of dances representing Turkish, Russian, or Polish music, examples of which are discussed in chapters 2 and 9. But even courtly dance types are sometimes defamiliarized through the introduction of "foreign" elements. For example, the pastoral style, in its most courtly-idyllic mode, inflects the second bourrée of 55:g5 and the second gavotte of 55:A5. Uniquely among Telemann's