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Caveat lector! Sacred music ascribed to Gottlieb Muffat (1690–1770)

The 21st century has witnessed a renewed interest in Gottlieb Muffat (1690–1770), the most eminent composer of keyboard music in Vienna in the first half of the eighteenth century. Newly discovered music manuscripts in the Berlin Sing-Akademie archive and documents previously unconsidered in conjunction with the biography of the Muffat family allow us to critically re-evaluate Muffat's contributions as a composer and illuminate his position in Viennese society. Gottlieb Muffat, son of Georg (1653–1704), was baptized Liebgott in Passau on 25 April 1690. He came to Vienna shortly after his father's death, probably accompanied by his mother Anna Elisabetha (b. c.1646) who died in Vienna from 'Hectica' (hectic fever) on 12 February 1721. Gottlieb Muffat's first presence in Vienna is documented in 1705 in an official report in which the Kapellmeister recommends that he should be considered for a scholar's post as he had been well instructed by his father in both playing and composition and promised to soon develop into a 'perfect' organist. It is also mentioned that Muffat had been heard playing *clavir* five years earlier by the Emperor—when Muffat would have only been nine or ten years old—and was assured that when he was older and after further instruction from his father he would be employed at court.¹ He was accepted on 1 August of the following year as an organ scholar² and received a fully-fledged organist's post on 3 April 1717.³ Muffat was simultaneously organist at the court of the widowed Empress Amalie Wilhelmine from c.1714 to 1742.⁴

Gottlieb Muffat married Maria Rosalia Eineder (1700–1781) in St. Stephan's cathedral Vienna on 22 May 1719 and in a report about the appoint-

¹ A-Whh OMeA Protokoll 6, fos. 495^v–497^r.

² A-Whh OMeA Protokoll 6, fos. 636^v–637^r, 638^v. According to his brother Johann Ernst (1686–1746), also a court musician, Gottlieb was employed from 1704, the year of their father's death (1729 and 1730 petition letters, A-Whh OMeA ÄR Karton 26 [unfoliated]).

³ A-Whh OMeA ÄR Karton 15, fos. 704^{r-v}, 707^{r-v} and OMeA Protokoll 8, fos. 656^r, 664^{r-v}.

⁴ No *Staats- und Stands-Calender* or *Kayserlicher Hof- und Ehren-Calender* survive for the years 1711 to 1714, 1741 and 1742, but Muffat mentions in a letter from 1717 that he has been serving as a 'würcklicher Organist' for three years (A-Whh OMeA ÄR Karton 15, fos. 705^r–706^v).

ment of his eldest son Joseph as *Hofscholar* (dated 17 January 1733) it is written that Muffat was blessed with a ‘zahlreiche Menge’ of children.⁵ It was formerly believed that Muffat had only two sons but an examination of baptism records reveals that Gottlieb Muffat’s union with Maria Rosalia Eineder produced five children—the author of the official report may have confused Gottlieb with his brother Joseph (bapt. Franciscus Maximilianus Josephus, Salzburg 12 March 1680, died Vienna 6 or 7 January 1745),⁶ a *Hof-controloramtsschreiber* and later *Hofcontrolor* at the court of the Empress dowager Elisabeth Christine, who had at least ten children. Some confusion remains about Gottlieb Muffat’s eldest son Joseph, who received a keyboard (*clavir*) scholarship in April 1733 aged twelve and whose name last appears crossed-out in the *Kayserlicher Hof- und Ehren-Calender* of 1757.⁷ This occurrence and possibly the presence of another Joseph Muffat in the death records of this year had led scholars to believe that Joseph had died in 1757 but it would appear that in fact Joseph, baptized Franciscus Josephus Ignatius Laurentius Thadæus on 9 August 1720, worked simultaneously as *K. N. Ö. Repräsentations und Cammer Secretarius*, as listed in both marriage (25 July 1751 to Maria Josepha von Kriegl) and death records (17 or 19 June 1763⁸). Two of Gottlieb Muffat’s children died in infancy, Franciscus Josephus Joannes Ignatius Felix (bapt. 25 June 1727, d. 7 March 1728) and Ignatius Josephus Vitalis Sigismundus (bapt. 28 April 1732, d. 18 March 1733). His other surviving son, Joannes Nepomuzenus Carolus Leopoldus Januarius (bapt. 19 September 1735, d. 8 or 10 March 1767⁹) was an *Abbé*. His only known daughter Maria Anna Christina (bapt. 3 July 1725) married Jacob Joseph Woller (b. 22 August 1713, d. 1 January 1777; from 30 November 1764 Edler von Wollersfeld) on 24 February 1754. Together they had four children. Maria Anna Aloysia Erasmus Expeditus Thecla Margaretha (bapt. 26 December 1754) and Josephus Dominicus Antonius Judas Thadæus Ignatius Franciscus Xaverius (bapt. 18 January 1758) survived into adulthood. Theresia Josepha Rosina Anna Magdalena was baptized on 13 January 1756

⁵ A-Whh OMeA Protokoll 14, fos. 14^r–15^v; A-Whh OMeA ÄR Karton 29 (unfoliated).

⁶ The age of death, given in all sources as 63 years, A-Wsa, Totenbeschauprotokolle, 45, fo. 144^v (6 December); A-Wd, Protocollum Mortuorum, Tom. 24, 88 (7 December), conflicts with the baptism date of 12 March 1680 (Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg, Salzburg Dompfarre, Taufbuch 6, fo. 220^v, no. 115).

⁷ A-Whh 38/K2.

⁸ A-Wsa Totenbeschauprotokoll, 57, fo. M 19^r (17? [sic] June); A-Wd Protocollum Mortuorum, Tom. 29, 155 (19 June).

⁹ A-Wsa Totenbeschauprotokoll, 61, fo. M 7^v (8 March); A-Wd Protocollum Mortuorum, Tom. 30, 138 (10 March).

and died several days later on 18 January, and a fourth child Christina is listed as dying with her mother in March 1759.¹⁰ In 1740, Gottlieb Muffat also became guardian of five destitute children of a former fellow court musician, the gambist Franz Anton Schmidtpaur (bapt. 19 July 1689, d. 30 November 1737).¹¹

Gottlieb Muffat's travels after his arrival in Vienna were seemingly restricted to two coronation journeys, to Prague in 1723 and to Pressburg in 1741 (for a list of musicians, see appendix). Significantly, the latter journey to Pressburg may help explain how keyboard works by Viennese composers, including Johann Joseph Fux, were transmitted to what are now Slovakia and Hungary. Amongst these are two volumes of keyboard music compiled by the Franciscan priest, choir master and organist P. Pantaleon Roškovský (1734–1789), now in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, which contain over 700 Austrian, Italian and South-German keyboard works from the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century, a significant number of which are by Gottlieb Muffat.¹²

Gottlieb Muffat was pensioned in December 1764 as age and infirmity were preventing him from carrying out his duties.¹³ He died from *Lungenbrand* at his family home (959 Weihburggasse, today Weihburggasse 2/ Kärntnerstrasse 11) on 9 December 1770¹⁴ and was buried in St Stephan's cathedral on 11 December 1770.¹⁵

¹⁰ The Totenbeschauprotokoll gives the date of death as 14 March 1759 (A-Wsa Totenbeschauprotokoll, 53, fo. W 6^r); the *Wienerisches Diarium* gives 15 March (no. 23, 21 March 1759, 6.); and the Protocollum Mortuorum in St Stephan's (Tom. 28, fo. 47^v) gives 16 March.

¹¹ Six living Schmidtpaur children are listed in Franz Anton Schmidtpaur's probate: Franciscus Sebastian (baptized 26 January 1714), Maria Francisca (baptized 12 August 1718), Maria Catharina (b. c.1722), Joannes Baptista Josephus Antoniy (bapt. 24 June 1725), Carolus Borromæus Antonius Christianus (bapt. 12 December 1726), Maria Barbara Antonia (bapt. 27 April 1736) (A-Whh OMaA Karton 704, no. 4492).

¹² H-Bn Ms.mus.749 and Ms.mus.753; cf. Ladislav Kačic, 'Fuxiana bei P. Pantaleon Roškovský OFM: Ein Beitrag zur Rezeption der Musik für Tasteninstrumente von Johann Joseph Fux in der Slowakei', *Jahresgabe der Johann Joesph Fux Gesellschaft*, 25 (2002), 1–24; and Ladislav Kačic, 'Muffatiana in der Slowakei', *Musicologica Istropolitana*, 4 (2005), 61–80.

¹³ A-Whh OMeA Protokoll 29, fos. 421^v–424^v, 425^v–426^r.

¹⁴ Muffat's death date is given as 9 December in A-Wsa Totenbeschauprotokoll, 64, fo. M 29^r; 10 December in the *Wienerisches Diarium*, 100, 15 December 1770, 7; and 11 December in A-Wd Protocollum Mortuorum, Tom. 31, 134.

¹⁵ Stefan Rechnitz, *Wiener Kirchengräber und Epitaphe* (Wien, 1962), 53.

It would appear from the extant sources of his work and contemporary writings that Gottlieb Muffat wrote almost exclusively for keyboard instruments and in a relatively confined period of time. His earliest known composition is dated 1717,¹⁶ while the latest are his Handel transcriptions of 1736,¹⁷ although an analysis of the handwriting believed to be autograph would suggest that several works, or at least manuscripts, post-date this.¹⁸ Apart from the *72 Versetl sammt 12 Toccaten besonders zum Kirchen Dienst bey Choral=Aemtern und Vesperen dienlich* (Vienna, 1726; *Muffat Compendium* [MC] A 1–12)—Muffat's first printed work and one of very few works to be published in Vienna in the first half of the eighteenth century—Muffat's sacred works comprise the following compositions:

- *Salve Regina*, A-Gd Pfarre Bad Aussee, Ms.138 (MC D5)
- *Sonata pastorale*, A-Wn Mus. Hs. 16933 (MC D4) (only known performance date 28 December 1727)
- two organ masses, D-BEU Mus.ms.82 (MC C3–4)
- two organ pastorellas, D-Bsa 4583–4584 (MC C1–2)
- organ preludes, A-GÖ Ms. 4733;¹⁹ D-B Mus.ms.15781 and selection in A-Wgm VII 16254 (Q 11385) (MC C5–16).

¹⁶ Keyboard Suite in A Major (MC (*Muffat Compendium*) B36) (D-Bsa 4582). Alison Dunlop, 'Gottlieb Muffat 1690–1770: A Companion to the Sources' (PhD thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 2010).

¹⁷ D-B Mus. ms. 9160.

¹⁸ The manuscript D-B Mus. ms. 9160 is one of those identified as potentially being autograph by Friedrich W. Riedel (cf. Johann Joseph Fux, *Werke für Tasteninstrumente*, ed. Friedrich W. Riedel (Kassel, 1964), 66.). Other manuscripts in this hand (in order of approximate chronology) include D-B Mus. ms. 6712, D-Bsa 4573–78, CZ-KR A II 24, D-B Mus. ms. Bach P247/IV, [D-B Mus. ms. 9160], D-B Mus. ms. 15784/1, D-Bsa 4583–93, D-Bsa 2868, D-Bsa 2870). It cannot be stated conclusively that these manuscripts (all fair copies) are in Muffat's hand but this copyist is certainly the most convincing candidate based on their reliability, dating, the works copied (the most Muffat works in the hand of any one copyist, Froberger, Fux and Handel), and the 'ex libris' on D-B Mus. ms. 9160. However, no drafts are extant for purposes of comparison and Muffat's signature with a distinctive 'ff' formation, cannot be found on any music manuscripts.

¹⁹ I would like to thank Friedrich W. Riedel for allowing me to personally consult the Muffat manuscripts at Göttweig and his thematic catalogue, as well as for his time, invaluable advice and many stimulating discussions.

Although there have been several seminal studies on Muffat²⁰ and in recent years a number of works have appeared in print for the first time,²¹ there remain lacunae and discrepancies in the literature, no detailed biographical study has been conducted, a large proportion of Muffat's music remains unpublished and very little has been recorded.²² Consequently, his name is not widely known, there remains a confusion between father and son, and Muffat's contribution to the repertory is somewhat undervalued. This paper will discuss how several sacred works exemplify the issues which one is confronted with when trying to authenticate works ascribed to Gottlieb Muffat and how they call us to evaluate his position in reception history.

The source situation is one of the main obstacles when trying to undertake a holistic study of the composer. Although Muffat spent almost his entire life in Vienna, almost all the sources of his music have travelled further afield.²³ The recovery of the Berlin Sing-Akademie collection has brought a considerable number of potential autographs to light, but no drafts or sketches are extant and several manuscripts have been lost in the more recent past.²⁴ This, compounded by the fact that only a handful of copies are dated, only one of which is potentially partially autograph (D-B Mus.ms.9160), means that dating Muffat's work is problematic. Most works are *unica* and there are few instances of revisions made by the composer. Stylistic analysis seldom reveals much about the dating of compositions owing to the nature of Muffat's oeuvre, which consists largely of keyboard suites. Moreover, there is only

²⁰ Friedrich W. Riedel's extensive writings and thematic catalogue (MS in author's possession); Susan Wollenberg, 'Viennese keyboard music in the reign of Karl VI (1712–40): Gottlieb Muffat and his contemporaries' (D.Phil. thesis, Univ. Oxford, 1974).

²¹ These include Gottlieb Muffat, *Die 32 Ricercaten und 19 Canzonen*, ed. Erich Benedikt (Vienna, 2003); Gottlieb Muffat, *Die 24 Toccaten mit Capriccios*, ed. Erich Benedikt (Vienna, 2005); Gottlieb Muffat, *Konzert B-Dur, Konzert C-Dur, Konzert F-Dur*, ed. Martin Haselböck (Vienna, 2001).

²² Naoko Akutagawa is currently recording the complete keyboard suites of Gottlieb Muffat for the label Naxos.

²³ Sources of Muffat's music and copies made by him are found in A-Gd, A-GÖ, A-Wgm, A-Wm, A-Wn, CZ-KR, D-BD-BEU, D-Mbs, H-Bn, and US-NYp.

²⁴ No sketches or drafts for compositions have been discovered but the music antiquarian Hans Schneider offered a copy of Muffat's Handel transcriptions for sale in the 1960s (Katalog no. 101 (undated), item no. 550), which he listed as a Muffat autograph and according to Friedrich W. Riedel was probably a draft copy (Johann Joseph Fux, *Werke für Tasteninstrumente*, ed. Friedrich W. Riedel (Kassel, 1964), 66). There are no notes about the provenance of this manuscript, but it is likely that it came from Friedrich Chrysander's estate along with many other early manuscripts purchased by Hans Schneider (personal correspondence with Musikantiquariat Dr. Hans Schneider, 4 June 2009). The current whereabouts of this manuscript are unknown.

one known chamber work in each given genre (excluding the three keyboard concerti) and there are no large-scale works of any kind. Watermarks, where they can be seen, provide little more than a *terminus post quem*. The only clues which remain to help us establish the authorship of works are ascriptions and source provenance.

The first work to be considered is the *Salve Regina* (MC D5), the only work ascribed to Muffat in the extensive Pfarre Bad Aussee collection.²⁵ At present, it is not possible to explain the earliest provenance of the manuscript. The 581 manuscripts, seven printed works and other loose leaves of the Bad Aussee collection entered the possession of the Catholic *Pfarramt* Aussee sometime after the dissolution of the Augustinian canonry Rottenmann in 1785 and were discarded to the loft of the *Pfarrhof* in the mid-nineteenth century. The collection consists of music dating from eighteenth century, a large proportion of which was copied between 1740 and 1760.²⁶

The wrapper of the *Salve Regina* bears the inscription 'Salve Regina | à | C. ex A. Solis, 2 Violinis e 1 Viola Alto obligatis | Organo e Violonzello. | ex Cm. | Autore D.^{no} Muffat. | Gottlieb ['Gottlieb' in pencil]'. Parts survive for canto solo, alto solo, 2 violins, viola, violoncello and organ (none of which have performance marks). The music is in the hand of an anonymous copyist, not distinctly Viennese, and the manuscript cannot be precisely dated. It is known that other manuscripts in the collection were acquired from priests in various Austrian monasteries; however, owners' marks are rare and few can be identified.²⁷ One earlier owner or custodian of the Rottenmann collection, however, can be identified as Anton Marcellinus Simbinelli Edler von Battistoni, a talented musician and priest in Rottenmann from 1724 to 1774, whose handwriting can be found on the wrapper of the *Salve Regina*.²⁸

The person most likely to have been responsible for the manuscripts transmission from Rottenmann to Bad Aussee was Franz Seraphicus Anton

²⁵ I am very grateful to Norbert Allmer for providing me with much of the information about this collection.

²⁶ cf. Helmut Federhofer, 'Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Kirchenmusik in der Steiermark', *Singende Kirche*, 11/3 (1964), 110.

²⁷ This is indicated partially by compositions by priests in the Augustinian monastery St. Florian (Franz Aumann), the Benedictine monastery Admont (Sebastian Höpflinger), the Benedictine monastery Kremsmünster (Franz Sperry), the Minorite monastery Graz-Mariahilf (Ägidius Schenk) and the Cistercian abbey Neukloster in Wiener Neustadt (Benedict Klima).

²⁸ His distinctive script can also be found on the wrappers of many other manuscripts in the collection including three by Leopold Mozart (Mss. 350, 352, 353) which were copied by the anonymous copyist 'W.S.' (responsible for 54 other manuscripts in the collection, 25 of which have titles in Battistoni's hand) in 1753.

Kuglmayr (1756–1843).²⁹ Kuglmayr was a priest in Rottenmann from 1793 to 1814 and it is likely that he took the manuscripts to his new post at Bad Aussee in 1814. After Kuglmayr's death, the manuscripts were not integrated into the main Aussee collection, rather they were consigned to the *Pfarrhof* attic, where they remained for over a century. In 1952, the collection was transported to Graz as part of an initiative concerned with the protection of historical musical items and instruments in Styria.

The *Salve Regina* is the most problematic to authenticate of the works in question. There are no other vocal works ascribed to Muffat to compare it to and it is not stylistically consistent with works which can be confidently attributed to him. It is a single-movement work, approximately 100 bars in length, in *da capo* form. There are essentially two alternating themes which correspond to homophonic and imitative sections and are not developed to any great extent. The work is not harmonically adventurous—it rarely deviates from the home key or relative major. The possibility that this piece is an early offering cannot be excluded but there are no distinctive features which positively support Muffat's authorship. Moreover, there are no discernible direct links between the only known copy of this work and the composer.

The next works in question, the two organ masses (*MC D3–4*), are found in a late nineteenth-century manuscript copy in the library of the Benedictine archabbey St Martin in Beuron. The manuscript contains two organ masses (only one of which is complete) ascribed on the title page simply to 'G. Muffat' (fo. 1^r) although a later addition in pencil attributes them to 'August[!] Gottlieb Muffat'³⁰ and gives the date of composition as 1725 (fo. 2^r). Both masses consist of a number of short functional versets. The seemingly complete mass in F major also contains three more finely-crafted and developed pieces: a *Canzon pro offertorio*, an *Aria sub elevatione*, and a *Toccata post elevationem* (notably, the latter two are in the contrasting keys of

²⁹ Kuglmayr, the son of the Prefect of Negau Anton Kuglmar [*sic*] and Susanna Spazegg, was born on 3 September 1756 in the Styrian town of Radkersburg and entered the Augustinian monastery of Pöllau in 1769. He continued his studies in philosophy and theology at the University of Graz before his ordination as priest on 27 June 1779, after which time he worked in Pöllau. After the dissolution of the Rottenmann monastery in 1785, Kuglmayr was employed as provost's secretary. He travelled with the provost to Graz, where he remained until the provost's death on 4 July 1793. On the death of the provost, Kuglmayr left Graz for Rottenmann in Upper Styria where he was priest until 1814 after which time he took up a new post as priest at Bad Aussee, where he remained until his death on 26 March 1843.

³⁰ This (erroneous) form of Muffat's name is found in several late nineteenth-century writings on the organ.

f and d minor). Although these works are more stylistically consistent with Muffat's writing than the *Salve Regina*, Muffat's authorship should not be hastily assumed.

The only extant copy of the organ masses was made from a now lost manuscript which was once in the possession of Otto Jahn (1813–1869) and Friedrich Chrysander (1826–1901). It is unknown how the manuscript came to Beuron. The title page bears the signature of Adolf Auberlen who was a priest in Hassfelden (Baden-Württemberg) from 1878 to 1899.³¹ It is known that Auberlen acquired or at least consulted manuscripts from the Erfurt organist August Gottfried Ritter's (1811–1885) estate,³² a large part of which came to Beuron, although Ritter does not list these works in his thematic catalogue.³³ D-BEU Mus.ms.82 contains most of the contents of what were once two separate manuscripts listed in the auction catalogue of Otto Jahn's estate:³⁴

No. 2376 **Muffat, G.** Missa in F. u. C. Orgelstimme. A. A. [alte Abschrift] Fol. Hl [Halbleinwandband]

No. 2377 **Muffat, G.** 12 Toccaten – 12 Fugen. In demselben Bande: **Neumüller**, Partien, **Eberlin**, Fugen, **Froberger**, Tocc. und Fugen. **Murschhausen**, Jntonat., **Kerl**, Canzoni, A. A. Querf. Hl.

Unlike the first manuscript (No. 2376) which is now lost, the second (No. 2377) is preserved in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky in Hamburg (D-Hs ND VI 3209).³⁵ The latter manuscript, compiled

³¹ Reinmar Emans gives 1876 as Auberlen's date of appointment (Reinmar Emans, *Johann Sebastian Bach. Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke. Orgelchoräle aus unterschiedlicher Überlieferung. Kritischer Bericht* IV/10 (2008), 312.), whereas the church records online (www.hassfelden.de/html/kirchenchronik.html [accessed 01 September 2009]) give 1878.

³² A manuscript copy of *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (BWV deest (Emans no. 16)) D-Bim Mus. ms. Pachelbel 1 in Ritter's hand was later acquired by Max Seiffert (1868–1948) from Auberlen's estate. cf. Reinmar Emans *Johann Sebastian Bach. Kritischer Bericht* IV/10 (2008), 312.

³³ [Katalog der Orgelkompositionen] D-BEU Mus. ms. 159.

³⁴ *Otto Jahn's Musikalische Bibliothek und Musikalien-Sammlung. Bonn. 1870. Versteigerung in Bonn am 4. April 1870 und an den folgenden Tagen, Nachmittags 4 Uhr unter Leitung der Herren Joseph Baer in Frankfurt a. M., Max Cohen & Sohn in Bonn, M. Lempertz in Bonn im Auctionslocal des Letzteren* (Bonn, 1870). At present one can also only speculate about where Jahn acquired these manuscripts, most likely on his research trip to Vienna or Salzburg in 1852 or 1853.

³⁵ The Hamburg manuscript was believed to have been lost during the Second World War after it had been evacuated to Schloss Lauenstein (Erzgebirge) and taken as trophy of war

around 1738, is in the hand of the Stift Mattsee organist Johann Anton Graf (1711–1791)³⁶ who was also responsible for copying another manuscript (D-BEU Mus.ms.30) containing works by Muffat (MC B23, B29), which came to Beuron through Ernst von Werra's (1854–1913) estate.³⁷

The last two sacred works in consideration are two hitherto unknown organ pastorellas (MC C1–2) found in the Berlin Sing-Akademie collection.³⁸ Unlike the other three works discussed, there is no question about Muffat's authorship of these pieces. Both manuscripts are seemingly autograph fair copies and one is a transcription of Muffat's sonata pastorale (A-Wn Mus. Hs.16933). Based on a study of the handwriting chronology of manuscripts believed to be autograph fair copies, D-Bsa 4583 and D-Bsa 4584 post-date 1736. Muffat's pastorellas follow contemporary pastoral conventions with short diverse sections and an aria, long pedal points, melodies in unison, thirds or sixths, and fanfare-like motifs.

There are a total of 27 manuscripts containing works by Georg and Gottlieb Muffat in the Sing-Akademie archive (see table 1). This collection is therefore of extraordinary significance to Muffat scholarship: not only is it the single largest collection of Muffat manuscripts, but most compositions were previously unknown. Additionally, it contains the earliest and latest known works by Gottlieb Muffat, a remarkable 19 potential autographs (marked with an asterisk in table 1), and transcriptions of keyboard works by Georg Muffat—most of which are unique to this collection.³⁹

by the Red Army but it was recently recovered in the Soviet Union and returned in 1991 to Hamburg. cf. Göttinger Bach-Katalog ([http://gwdu64.gwdg.de/pls/bach/qu\\$quellen.QueryViewByKey?P_QSL=dhsndvi3209&Z_CHK=59609](http://gwdu64.gwdg.de/pls/bach/qu$quellen.QueryViewByKey?P_QSL=dhsndvi3209&Z_CHK=59609)) (accessed 01 September 09).

³⁶ Graf first entered the service of Stift Mattsee in May 1730 where he remained for over sixty years. He was employed as organist from 1739 and from 1750 as principal copyist. Cf. Ernst Hintermaier, 'Das Orgelbüchlein des Mattseer Stiftsorganisten Johann Anton Graf aus dem Jahre 1738', *Bach in Salzburg. Festschrift zum 25-jährigen Bestehen der Salzburger Bachgesellschaft* (2002), 84–86.

³⁷ Christoph Wolff suggests that Werra also acquired items from Ritter's estate, Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach. Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke. Orgelchoräle der Neumeister-Sammlung. Kritischer Bericht* IV/9 (2003), 24.

³⁸ I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Marina Schieke-Gordienko for her tireless help, advice, and enthusiasm during my visits to Berlin to work on the collection and to Dr. Axel Fischer for his kind support.

³⁹ 16 of the 35 pieces in D-B SA 4581 are also found in A-Wm XIV 743 (scattered throughout the manuscript) but in all instances the Berlin manuscript is the more reliable copy. D-Bsa 4581 is in the hand of an unidentified Viennese copyist, seemingly working on behalf of Gottlieb Muffat, and dates from c.1730. The ornamentation used, a system seemingly devised by Gottlieb Muffat (cf. ornamentation tables appended to the two

TABLE 1. Overview of Muffat manuscripts in the Berlin Sing-Akademie Archive (D-Bsa)

<i>Shelf-mark</i>	<i>Short title/MC</i>	<i>Shelf-mark</i>	<i>Short title/MC</i>
2868*	Keyboard concerto in B flat/ D3	4583*	Organ pastorella in D/ C2
2869	Keyboard concerto in F/ D2	4584*	Organ pastorella in C/C1
2870*	Keyboard concerto in C/D1	4585*	Keyboard suite/B7
4531	Keyboard suite (1717)/B36	4586*	Keyboard suite/B8
4573*	Keyboard suite/B1	4587*	Keyboard suite/B9
4574*	Keyboard suite /B2	4588*	Keyboard suite/B10
4575*	Keyboard suite/B3	4589*	Keyboard suite/B11
4576*	Keyboard suite/B4	4590*	Keyboard suite/B12
4577*	Keyboard suite/B5	4591*	Keyboard suite/B13
4578*	Keyboard suite/B6	4592*	Keyboard suite/B14
4579	Keyboard suites/B17–19	4593*	Keyboard suite/B15
4580	Keyboard suites/B21, 27, 31, 37	4594	Keyboard suite/B16
4581	Keyboard suites by Georg Muffat/X3	4595	Keyboard suite/B43
4582	Keyboard suite (1717)/B36		

At present, there is insufficient evidence to allow us to establish conclusively the transmission history of the Muffat items in the Berlin Sing-Akademie archive. Based on source-critical evidence, correspondence, accounts, and catalogues, known possessors of Muffat manuscripts include Johann Adam von Questenberg (1678–1752),⁴⁰ P. Alexander Giessel (1694–1766), P. Venantius Sstanteysky (1671–1729), P. Pantaleon Roškovský (1734–1789), Johann Anton Graf (1711–1791), Johann Traeg (1747–1805), Aloys Fuchs (1799–1838), Joseph Fischhof (1804–1857), Archduke Rudolf of Austria

works printed during his lifetime, the *72 Versettl sammt 12 Toccaten* (Vienna, 1726) and *Componimenti Musicali* (Augsburg, c.1736–39)), and features consistent with his own writing would suggest that Gottlieb made transcriptions of his father's music in the same manner as his 1736 Handel transcriptions (D-B Mus. ms. 9160, D-B Mus. ms. 9160/1).

⁴⁰ In the Questenberg accounts under items to be bound (1733) is the item 'Musikalien von Muffat'; Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, F 460, Karton 2429, Nr. 9744, fo. 45^r. A 'Schlagbuch' is also listed along with tuition provided by the composer (May 1724) which one might assume also contained works by the composer himself; Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, F 460, Karton 2426, Nr. 9734, fo. 161^r. Both manuscripts are yet to be identified.

(1788–1831), Baron Karl Doblhoff-Dier (1762–1837⁴¹), Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), Friedrich Chrysander (1826–1901), Otto Jahn (1813–1869), and Ernst von Werra (1854–1913). Identifying the provenance of Muffat manuscripts, however, is often problematic for two reasons: firstly, most manuscripts contain only one individual work (or a variety of shorter works by different composers) and are therefore unlikely to have been meticulously individually catalogued given the vast number of manuscripts in most nineteenth-century collectors libraries; and secondly, it is known from both the annotations on manuscripts as well as correspondence that manuscripts were frequently borrowed and swapped like marbles between collectors and therefore a catalogue may only represent what a collector possessed at the time of cataloguing. Very little is known about the contents of Muffat's own library. No documents pertaining to Gottlieb Muffat's estate appear to have survived and the inventory of his wife's estate (1781) contains no mention of musical items.⁴² However, it is known that at least some of Muffat's music and instruments were sold by auction at his home on 19 October 1763:

Es dienet dem Publico zur Nachricht, daß den 17ten Octob. in dem Muffatischen Haus zweyten Stocks in der sogenannten Weyburggassen ein schöner Vorrath verschiedener brauchbaren Büchern, wie auch unterschiedliche geschriebene auch in Kupfer gestochene, und viel eingebundene musikalische Bücher, meistens auf das Clavier und Orgel von den berühmtesten alten und neuen Meistern. Item ein sehr gutes Clavir oder Flieg, samt dem Kasten mit Schubladen, und eine Viol d'amour=geigen, auf hohe Verordnung bis auf den 19ten dieses verschoben worden. Der Catalogus Librorum ist in der Buchhandlung zum goldenen Vließ auf der Hohen Brucken gratis zu bekommen.⁴³

Some items from Muffat's library were once in the possession of Baron Karl Doblhoff-Dier and later acquired by Aloys Fuchs and Joseph Fischhof.⁴⁴ Doblhoff-Dier would have only been eight years old when Muffat died, meaning that there must have been an intermediate collector—very plausibly Baron

⁴¹ Most sources give Doblhoff-Dier's year of death incorrectly as 1836. According to the Totenbeschauprotokoll (A-Wsa Band 180, fo. D 5^v) Doblhoff-Dier died on 23 February 1837.

⁴² A-Whh OMeA 786, no. 23 (unfoliated).

⁴³ *Wienerisches Diarium*, 15 October 1763.

⁴⁴ There is evidence of this on several manuscripts owned by Fuchs and in catalogues made by him including his thematic catalogue of Froberger's works (D-B Mus. ms. theor. kat. 559) in which he notes: 'Im Jahre 1837. wurde hier in Wien, die musikalische Bibliothek eines sehr kunstsinnigen dilettanten [sic] im Lizitationswege öffentlich versteigert, welche nebst vielen anderen schätzbaren und seltenen Werken, namentlich eine ziemliche Anzahl alter Orgel=Compositionen enthielten, welche größtenteils aus dem Nachlasse des berühmten kk Hoforganisten Theoph. Muffat herstammten. Einige dieser Werke habe ich käuflich an mich gebracht, und meiner Sammlung einverleibt.'

Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803), who had strong associations with a Viennese copyist in whose hand there are two Muffat manuscripts.⁴⁵

The only catalogue to contain any reference to the Muffat manuscripts in the Berlin Sing-Akademie archive is the so-called *Zelter-Katalog*, made by Georg Poelchau (1773–1836) to settle a legal dispute over the rightful ownership of the Sing-Akademie director Carl Friedrich Zelter's (1758–1832) estate.⁴⁶ One of the only indications of their earlier history are the cataloguing marks found on the covers of three manuscripts.⁴⁷ A printed copy of the *Componimenti Musicali* (SA 4596) bears both the catalogue mark 'I.9' and the inscription 'Lehmann auct.', identified as coming from the estate of the Berlin organist, singer and choir-director Johann Georg Gottlieb Lehmann (1745 or 1746–1816).⁴⁸ There is no documentary evidence that Muffat ever visited Berlin but from Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795) we learn that after Lehmann was born, Muffat entered into a correspondence with his father the organist Johann Peter Lehmann (?–1772).⁴⁹ Johann Peter Lehmann asked Muffat to become godfather, a 'testimony of his respect for him', which Muffat accepted with pleasure:

Ein Dilettante besuchte den herrn **Johann Peter Lehmann**, einen geschickten Organisten seiner Zeit an der Nicolaikirche zu Berlin, und Vater des itzigen würdigen berlinschen Chordirectors, herrn **Johann Georg Gottl. Lehmann**. Derselbe hatte just Kopffschmerzen und ruhte auf einem Lehnstuhl. Da wegen dieses Umstandes ihre gewöhnliche Unterredungen über Musik nicht lebhaft sein konnten, so setze sich der Dilet-

⁴⁵ D-B Mus. ms. 15781, D-B Mus. ms. 15784/II; cf. Johann Joseph Fux, *Werke für Tasteninstrumente*, ed. Friedrich W. Riedel (Kassel, 1964), 69. Dexter Edge ('Mozart's Viennese copyists' (Ph.D., University of Southern California, 2001)) provides some convincing evidence that this copyist is Johann Traeg (1747–1805). However, only one of the manuscripts in the hand of Edge's Viennese Mozart-Copyist 1 (which Edge hypothesises is Traeg) appears in his 1799 catalogue (*Verzeichnis alter und neuer sowohl geschriebener als gestochener Musikalien welche in der Kunst= und Musikalienhandlung des Johann Traeg, zu Wien, in der Singerstrasse Nr. 957 zu haben sind* (Wien, 1799)). The Muffat manuscripts advertised in Traeg's catalogue 'I/107 Muffat 6 Parth. e Fux 2 Parth.' (154) and 'L/57 Muffat Toccaten und Fugen' (165) are seemingly A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18685 and D-B Mus.ms.15781 respectively, although the latter does not bear a Traeg catalogue number which may suggest it was not a master copy).

⁴⁶ *Catalog musikalisch=literarischer und practischer Werke aus dem Nachlasse des Königl: Professors Dr. Zelter*, D-B N.mus.ms.theor.30.

⁴⁷ 'I.210' on D-B SA 4574, 'I.213' on D-B SA 4582, and 'III.28' on D-B SA 2869. A similar mark 'III.40' also appears on D-B Mus. ms.15783.

⁴⁸ See Johann Jakob Froberger, *Toccaten, Suiten, Lamenti: Die Handschrift SA 4450 der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin Faksimile und Übertragung*, ed. Peter Wollny (Kassel, 2006), p. xvii.

⁴⁹ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Legende einiger Musikeiligen* (Breslau, 1786), 135f.

tante vors Clavier, fantasirte eine Weile, hörte in einer starken Dissonanz auf und gieng seine Wege. Der herr Lehmann, der über der unresolvirten Dissonanz sein Kopfweh vergass, sprang schnell vom Stuhle auf, und resolvirte sie. „Warte, du Vogel,“ brach er voller Unwillen über die musikalische Sünde seines Freundes aus, „ich werde dich für deinen Muth willen schon ein andermal fassen.“ Der herr Lehmann war aus hang und Einsicht ein Verehrer des Gründlichen in der Tonkunst, und seine Lieblinge waren **Frescobaldi**, **Froberger** und die beyden **Muffats** in Wien. Als ihm sein Sohn, der itzige Musikdirector gebohren wurd, so eröffnete er einen Briefwechsel mit dem herrn **Gottl. Muffat**, und trug ihm bey demselben, zur Bezeugung seiner hochachtung, eine Pathenstelle an, die jener mit Vergnügen *per procurationem* übernahm.

Johann Georg Gottlieb Lehmann as one of the earliest members of the Berlin Sing-Akademie almost certainly had good contact with Carl Friedrich Zelter which would explain how they came to be in his possession.

This brief overview of sources of Gottlieb Muffat's sacred works illustrates some of the issues one encounters when attempting to establish the authorship of works by composers who have suffered at the hands of reception history. Recent discoveries of music manuscripts have not only given us the necessary materials to critically re-evaluate Muffat's work, but also drawn attention to the potential scope for further research in this area. Although there remain many more questions than answers about Gottlieb Muffat, it is clear from the wealth of surviving documents which have not been examined from the perspective of Muffat family biography that his identity has not been completely eroded over time. It is hoped that an ongoing systematic study of these sources will allow us to better contextualise the man and his music and to affirm his position as the most prolific composer of keyboard music of his time in Vienna.

APPENDIX

*Musicians present on Maria Theresia's coronation journey to Pressburg (1741)*⁵⁰

	Pay		Returned on 3 July	Remained in Pressburg until 21 September
	Fl	Xr		
Music Director				
Graf von Lamberg				✓
1 Composer				
Georg Reütter	1			✓
Theresia Reütter	1			✓
3 Soprani				
Agostino Antonelli		47		✓
Domenico Genvesi		47?		✓
1 or 3 boys [uncertain]		24	✓	
3 Contralti				
Pietro Cassati		47		✓
Pietro Galli		47		✓
Pietro Rauzzino		47?	✓	
3 Tenors				
Joseph Timmer				✓
Gaetano Borghi				✓
Christian Payer or Igantz			✓	
Finsterbusch				
3 Basses				
Christoph Braun		47		✓
Joseph Moser		47		✓
Anton Pöck		47	✓	
1 Organist				
Gottlieb Muffat		47		✓
6 Violinists				
Anton Piani		47	uncertain	uncertain
Johann Rosetter		47		✓
Tomaso Piani		47	✓	
Georg Hintereder		47		✓
Carl Denk		47		✓
Bernhard Ziller		47	✓	
2 Violoncellists				
Carl Drenger		47	uncertain	uncertain
Christian Röttig		47	uncertain	uncertain

⁵⁰ This table is a synthesis of several lists found in A-Whh ÄZA Karton 40 and OMeA Protokoll 17. It is unclear which, if any, is the final version.

	<i>Pay</i>	<i>Returned on 3 July</i>	<i>Remained in Pressburg until 21 September</i>
1 Violist			
Franz Schnautz	47		✓
2 Oboists			
Andre Widmann	47	✓	
Johann Garzarolli	47	✓	
2 Bassoonists			
Tobias Woschitska	47	uncertain	uncertain
Anton Maillard	47	✓	
2 Trombonists			
Leopold Christian senior	47	uncertain	uncertain
Andre Pock	47	uncertain	uncertain
1 <i>Concert-Dispensator</i>			
Andre Amiller	38		✓
2 Instrument servicer (<i>Instrument-Diener</i>)	38		✓
Valerius Pacher	38	✓	
Franz Zeiß			
1 Lute maker			
Anton Posch	38		✓
1 Organ maker			
Johann Leydecker	38		✓
4 Trumpeters			
Unnamed, each receiving:	47		✓
1 Timpanist			
Unnamed	47		✓

