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„On the Polish Parnassus“ – The Early Career of Johann Philipp Kirnberger

Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–1783) is one of Johann Sebastian Bach's most prominent students due to his influential publications on compositional techniques and tuning systems, as well as his role in curating the surviving music collection of the Prussian Princess Anna Amalia ('Amalienbibliothek'", now in the Berlin State Library). Since he was most interested in the music of his teacher and others of that era, he was considered somewhat old-fashioned or even eccentric by his own contemporaries. Later scholars, however, have revered him as a witness to baroque music at its zenith. While his activities as a music theorist and collector in Berlin from the mid-1750s until his death in 1783 have been thoroughly investigated, the first half of Kirnberger's life still has never been explored in detail.[1]

While an enormous amount of material from Kirnberger's Berlin era has survived – e.g., his music collection, publications and letters as well as observations about him by others – very few sources originating from the first three decades of his life are known: in fact, nothing more than the church record entry concerning his baptism, a little-known self-portrait from 1740, and his so-called 'Stammbuch' containing signatures and short notes by persons he encountered while travelling during the years 1740 to 1751. Most of our information on Kirnberger's early years comes from a brief biography published by his Berlin acquaintance Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795) in 1754.[2]

Johann Philipp Kirnberger was baptized on 24 April 1721 in the Thuringian town of Saalfeld as a son of the ducal lackey Matthäus Kirnberger (or 'Kernberg').[3] It can be assumed that his father served in fact as a musician at the court of Duke Johann Ernst of Saxe-Saalfeld since Marpurg states that the boy started learning to play the clavier and the violin 'at home'. The move of the Kirnberger family to Coburg was obviously caused by the translocation of the ducal residence to that city in 1735 (as a result of the death of Johann Ernst in 1729). Johann

[1] I am most grateful to my colleagues Andrzej Godek (Kraków), Szymon Paczkowski and Michał Piekarski (both Warsaw) who helped me illuminate Kirnberger's years in Poland with many hints at sources and literature.

[2] F. W. Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 1, Berlin 1754/5, reprint Hildesheim and New York 1970, pp. 85f. For a modern account of Kirnberger's life and works see Peter Wollny, „Kirnberger, Johann Philipp", in: *MGG2*, Personenteil, vol. 10, Kassel etc. 2003, cols. 169–76.

[3] Baptizm entry in the Saalfeld church record quoted by Max Seiffert, „Aus dem Stammbuche Johann Philipp Kirnberger's", in: *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1899, pp. 365–71, esp. 366.

Philipp probably attended the municipal school in Saalfeld[4] before he sought higher education at the lyceum (*Gymnasium Casimirianum*) in Coburg but apparently did not succeed to his complete satisfaction.[5] He went on to study playing the clavier in Gräfenroda with Johann Peter Kellner (1705–1772), known today as an early Bach enthusiast whose important collection of Bach manuscripts has been largely preserved.[6] It must have been due to Kellner's connections to the court of Sondershausen[7] that Kirnberger moved there in 1738 and continued his studies on the violin (with a still unidentified chamber musician named Meil) as well as in composition with the organist Heinrich Nicolaus Gerber (1702–1775), formerly a student of Bach.[8] Having come to know Bach's music most probably through Kellner and Gerber, Kirnberger went to Leipzig in 1739 to study clavier and composition with the master himself. Subsequently he spend the decade from 1741 to 1751 in Poland, a period which will be discussed in detail below. Back in Germany, Kirnberger took additional violin lessons in Dresden with the chamber musician Johann Georg Fickler[9] before settling permanently in Berlin.[10]

Marpurg's report can be verified and supplemented by Kirnberger's Stammbuch which was discovered and later acquired by Max Seiffert around 1899.[11] It was long considered lost[12] but has recently been discovered in the Berlin State Library.[13] With the help of modern digital research methods and a broad spectrum

[4] Kirnberger claimed in a letter to Anna Amalia in 1783 that he „could orally translate extempore from Latin, French and Italian into German in school aged 12 [= ca. 1733]" („ohnerachtet ich in der Schule meines zwölften Jahres lateinisch, französisch und italienisch gleich ex tempore ins Deutsche übersetzt hersagen konnte", quoted by H[einrich] Bellermann, „Nachtrag zu Kirnberger's Briefen", in: *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 7 (1872), cols. 457–60, esp. 457).

[5] In a letter to Johann Nicolaus Forkel he wrote in 1779 that he „did not receive much in the Coburg school" („dass ich in der Coburger Schule wenig abgekricht habe", quoted by H[einrich] Bellermann, „Briefe von Kirnberger an Forkel", in: *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 6 (1871), cols. 529–34, 551f., 629f. and 677f., esp. 533). Kirnberger was not inscribed into the school register; cf. *Die Matrikel des Gymnasium Casimirianum Academicum zu Coburg 1606–1803*, ed. Curt Hoefner, 4 deliveries, Würzburg 1955–8 (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte, series 4, vol. 6).

[6] See, among others, Russell Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle. A case study in reception history*, Durham and London 1990 (Sources of music and their interpretation; Duke studies in music).

[7] Marpurg 1754/5 (see footnote 2), p. 444.

[8] The year 1738 and the name of H. N. Gerber are not mentioned by Marpurg but only by Gerber's son Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *ATL*, vol. 1, col. 725.

[9] Documented as a member of the Dresden court orchestra from 1739 to 1764 (see Janice B. Stockigt, „The Court of Saxony-Dresden", in: *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760. Changing artistic priorities*, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice B. Stockigt, Woodbridge 2011, pp. 17–49, esp. 34 and 41f.).

[10] According to Mary Oleskiewicz, „The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia", in: *Music at German Courts* (see footnote 9), pp. 79–130, esp. 109f., Kirnberger was firstly employed by king Frederick the Great in March 1752, changed over to margrave Friedrich Heinrich in April 1754 and served as a court musician (without any duties to perform) to Princess Anna Amalia from 1758 until his death in 1783.

[11] Seiffert 1899 (see footnote 3).

[12] Szymon Paczkowski, „Bach and Poland in the Eighteenth Century", in: *Understanding Bach* 10 (2015), pp. 123–37, esp. 130.

[13] D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. theor. Kirnberger, Joh. Phil. 2.

of literature, this document may be re-examined, amending and correcting the information provided by Seiffert. The entries of the year 1751 appear below with biographical annotations.[14]

Johann Andreas Mayer, Coburg, 4 May 1751 (10r, German)

Baptized in Coburg on 22 March 1721; trained by his father Johann Mayer, a bell founder; worked in bell foundries in Leipzig, Dresden, Hamburg, Berlin, Lübeck, Danzig, Copenhagen and Königsberg/Prussia; returned to Coburg in 1748 after the death of his father and obtained the deceased's privilege as a bell founder in 1749; married Anna Sophia, daughter of the Coburg court painter Johann Heinrich Müller on 18 November 1749; died in office in 1786.[15]

Gottlieb Nicolaus Oschmann, Gotha, 13 October 1751 (62r, German)

Born in Eschenbergen c. 1727, son of the schoolmaster Johann Michael Oschmann; graduated from the Gotha lyceum in 1747; inscribed into the register of Jena university on 18 October 1747 (as a depositus); clergyman in Gotha (in various posts) from 1758; died in Gotha on 14 January 1760.[16]

Carl de Moltk[e], Gotha, 14 October 1751 (62v, German)

Born 1736 (in Gotha?), son of Joachim Christoph von Moltke, Privy Councillor and Lord Stewart (Geheimer Rat, Oberhofmarschall) at the court of Saxe-Gotha; served under the German-Roman Emperor.[17]

It becomes clear that Dresden, as stated by Marpurg, was not the only place Kirnberger stayed after returning from Poland. He also visited his (second) home Coburg and met the bell founder J. A. Mayer, born in the same year as Kirnberger and presumably a childhood friend. Kirnberger went on to Gotha where the theological student G. N. Oschmann and C. von Moltke, son of a high-ranking member of the court, signed his Stammbuch. The fact that Moltke was only about fifteen years old at that time makes us suspect that he was a student of the 30-year-old, probably on the clavier. This suggests that Kirnberger lived in Gotha for at least some months and would explain how he earned his living while not being employed by an institution.

[14] Here and in the following excerpts names (and titles) are given in the original spelling while places and dates have been standardized. In brackets appear the folio number within the source and the original language of the entry (often comprising a short poem).

[15] Willi Breuer, „Das Glockengießhaus zu Coburg und seine Pächter“, in: *Jahrbuch der Coburger Landesstiftung* 1975, pp. 67–130, esp. 102–9.

[16] Max Schneider, „Die Abiturienten des Gymnasium Illustre zu Gotha aus Joh. Heinrich Stussens Rektorat 1729–1767“, in: *Mitteilungen der Vereinigung für Gothaische Geschichte und Altertumsforschung* 1919, pp. 27–66, esp. 47 (no. 356); *Thüringer Pfarrerbuch*, ed. Gesellschaft für Thüringische Kirchengeschichte, vol. 1: Herzogtum Gotha, Leipzig 1995 (Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Stoye, vol. 26), p. 517.

[17] H. H. Langhorn, *Historische Nachrichten über die dänischen Moltke's*, Kiel 1871, p. 19f.

There is further evidence that Kirnberger did not go to Berlin directly from Dresden but rather stopped in Gotha along the way. According to a letter to Johann Nicolaus Forkel from 1780, his stay in Dresden in 1751 was connected with a performance of Johann Adolf Hasse's Opera *Ciro riconosciuto*[18] which premiered on 20 January.[19] This means that Kirnberger went to Coburg and Gotha only after this event. There are two remarkable connections between the musical scenes of Gotha and Berlin: Firstly, there are the Benda brothers Georg (violinist in king Frederick the Great's ensemble until appointed Hofkapellmeister in Gotha in 1750) and Franz (violinist in the Berlin orchestra who performed frequently in Gotha).[20] Secondly, there is Count Gustav Adolf von Gotter (1692–1762), a statesman to Prussia as well as Saxe-Gotha, who held several functions under Frederick II of Saxe-Gotha from 1717 to 1732 before he became a Prussian Envoy (1732) and Lord Steward (1740). In 1743 he was also appointed chief executive of the Berlin opera house. From 1745 to 1753 he lived at his pompous manor in Molsdorf (near Erfurt) but at the same time participated in the vibrant court life of Gotha.[21] He was also a patron to Johann Peter Kellner's younger brother Johann Andreas (1724–1785) who became organist in Molsdorf in 1748 and was trained further in Gotha and Berlin.[22] This link to Kirnberger's former teacher J. P. Kellner suggests that Count Gotter may have been the man behind Kirnberger's employment at the Prussian Court.

Returning now to the Stammbuch we find a hint that Kirnberger stayed not only in Dresden, Coburg and Gotha in the early 1750s but also in the university city of Jena. The background of this visit remains unclear. The cryptic signature „G. W. Mor d. H. G. B. aus d. Bayreüthischen"[23] (neither place nor date given) may be resolved as follows:

G[ottfried] W[ilhelm] Mor[us] d[er] H[eiligen] G[elehrsamkeit] B[eflissener] aus d[em] Bayreüthischen (theological student from the Principality of Bayreuth) (66v, German)

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[18] „diese Hassische habe ich anno 1751 sehen aufführen" („I have seen Hasse's [opera Ciro riconosciuto] being performed in the year 1751", quoted by Bellermann 1871 (see footnote 5), p. 646).

[19] Roland Dieter Schmidt Hensel, „Hasse, Johann Adolf" (Werkverzeichnis), in: *MGG2*, Personenteil, vol. 8, Kassel etc. 2002, cols. 800–13, esp. 810.

[20] Zdeňka Pilková, „Benda, Franz", „Benda, Georg (Anton)", in: *MGG2*, Personenteil, vol. 2 (1999), cols. 1056–63.

[21] Ulrich Heß, „Gotter, Gustav Adolf Graf von", in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 6, Berlin 1964, pp. 659f. For an elaborate biography see Kurt Krüger, *Gustav Adolph Graf von Gotter. Leben in galanter Zeit*, Erfurt 1993.

[22] Autobiography c. 1762 in Landeskirchenarchiv Eisenach, Superintendentur Ichtershausen, Nr. 280 (Schuldienermatrikel mit Lebensläufen, 1758–1861), fol. 113v–115v. He was appointed organist of the municipal church in Gotha in 1772, and of the court church in 1782 (Peter Harder, „Johann Andreas Kellner", in: *Johann Peter Kellner 1705–1772 & Gräfenroda. Festschrift zum Kellner-Jahr 2005*, ed. Orgelförderverein Gräfenroda e.V., s.l. [2005], p. 109.

[23] Seiffert's reading as „B. W. Mor. d. K. K. B." (see footnote 3, p. 369) cannot be confirmed on the original.

Born c. 1730 in Markredwitz or Brand (near Bayreuth), son of Johann Samuel Mohr/Morus (1695–1763, cantor in Markredwitz from 1721, cantor (or pastor?) in Brand from 1730, deacon in Markredwitz from 1741); inscribed into the register of Jena university on 8 October 1750, member of the „Teutsche Gesellschaft“ (German Society) in Jena from c. 1751; violinist in the Hofkapelle in Bayreuth (merged with the Ansbach ensemble in 1769) from c. 1760/61 (or earlier), documented in this position in Ansbach until 1796.[24]

Kirnberger's stay in Leipzig about a decade earlier is supported by the following two entries in his Stammbuch:

P[hilipp] J[acob] H[einrich] Heublein, Leipzig, 20 January 1741 (57r, Latin)

Baptized in Coburg on 20 January 1720, son of Wilhelm Friedrich Heublein (1676–1735, assessor of the administration, later secretary of the administration and the law court (Regierungsassessor, Regierungs- and Gerichtssekretär)); inscribed into the register of the lyceum in Coburg in April 1734; inscribed into the register of Leipzig university in summer semester 1739; advocat of the administration (Regierungsadvokat) in Coburg from 1749, later secretary of the administration and the court, court counsellor and consistory counsellor (Hof- and Amtssekretär, Hof- and Konsistorialrat); died on 8 June 1792.[25]

Christian Philipp Glaser, Stud. Iur. (law student), Leipzig, 4 March 1741 (55r, German)

Baptized in Coburg on 21 June 1717, son of Johann Christian Glaser (chandler and municipal ensign (Kramer, Stadtfähnrich)); inscribed into the register of the lyceum in Coburg on 19 March 1733; inscribed into the register of Leipzig university in summer semester 1739; chamber commissar (Kammerkommissar) at the ducal manor Schweighof (near Coburg, c. 1745), later in Coburg.[26]

These were presumably friends of Kirnberger since their school days in Coburg. While Heublein and Glaser were students at Leipzig university, Kirnberger himself seems to have never attended university courses here or anywhere else;

[24] Matthias Simon, *Bayreuthisches Pfarrerbuch. Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Geistlichkeit des Fürstentums Kulmbach-Bayreuth (1528/29–1810)*, München 1930 (Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns, vol. 12), p. 212 (no. 1615); *Die Matrikel der Universität Jena*, vol. 3: 1723 bis 1764, ed. Otto Köhler, 9 deliveries, Halle and Leipzig 1969–90, p. 575; Felicitas Marwinski, *Der Deutschen Gesellschaft zu Jena ansehnlicher Bücherschatz. Bestandsverzeichnis mit Chronologie zur Gesellschaftsgeschichte und Mitgliederübersicht*, Jena 1999 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, vol. 5), p. 54; Rashid-S. Pegah, „The Court of Brandenburg-Culmbach-Bayreuth“, in: *Music at German Courts* (see footnote 9), pp. 389–412, esp. 409; Günther Schmidt, *Die Musik am Hofe der Markgrafen von Brandenburg-Ansbach vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis 1806*, Kassel etc. 1956, pp. 84 and 91.

[25] *Die Matrikel des Gymnasium Casimirianum* (see footnote 5), p. 137, and Ergänzungsheft, Neustadt/Aisch 1976, p. 122.

[26] *Die Matrikel des Gymnasium Casimirianum* (see footnote 5), p. 120.

his name is not found in the matriculation records of any central German university. In Leipzig he surely focussed on his musical studies with Bach. According to Seiffert, an entry by Bach on one of the first pages of the Stammbuch once existed but was already lost when he investigated the item.[27] Today all we can observe is that some sheets were cut out of the book and that a title page is missing.

As Marpurg gives the years 1739 to 1741 for Kirnberger's stay in Leipzig, one is surprised to find three entries in the Stammbuch written in Sondershausen in the autumn of 1740:

Johannes Scherer, Sondershausen, 7 September 1740 (65r, signature only)
Born in Butzbach, son of Johann Scherer (wood turner); trained in Italy; documented as a chamber musician (oboe, flute, violin, viola) at the Kassel court from 1725 to 1768.[28]

J[ohann Ernst] Süs, Sondershausen, 7 September 1740 (66r, German)
Born c. 1700, son of Johann Süß (captain of the army of the Electoral Palatinate); hautboist in Kassel c. 1710; trained in Italy (with Scherer) and Darmstadt; chamber musician (oboe, flute, violin, viola d'amour) at the Kassel court from 1722, documented until c. 1768.[29]

Johann Wolffgang Wolff, Sondershausen, 12 October 1740 (67v, signature only)
Baptized in Ansbach on 2 March 1704, son of Johann Wolfgang Wolf (hautboist); choir boy (Kapellknabe) at the Ansbach court (documented 1717); educated at the monastery lyceum in Heilsbronn; from c. 1734 violoncellist in the Sondershausen Hofkapelle; from 1741 chamber musician and lackey at the court of Carl of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1708–1752) in Mirow.[30]

A guest performance (or performances) of the Kassel musicians Scherer and Süß in Sondershausen is referred to by Ernst Ludwig Gerber,[31] undoubtedly once again transmitting first hand information provided by his father Heinrich Nicolaus. In 1740, the reason for their visit was probably the birthday of Prince Günther of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen on 24 August. The celebrations included a performance of Christoph Förster's cantata *„Kommt alle zugleich, vereiniget*

[27] Seiffert 1899 (see footnote 3), p. 365.
[28] Gerber ATL, vol. 2, col. 411; Gerber NTL, vol. 4, col. 53; Christiane Engelbrecht, „Die Hofkapelle des Landgrafen Carl von Hessen-Kassel", in: *Zeitschrift für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* N. F. 68 (1957), pp. 141–73, esp. p. 168; Landeskirchliches Archiv Kassel, Kirchenbuch Kassel-Hofgemeinde 1685–1739, p. 248.
[29] Gerber ATL, vol. 2, col. 609; Gerber NTL, vol. 4, col. 303; Engelbrecht 1957 (see footnote 28), p. 168; Landeskirchliches Archiv Kassel, Kirchenbuch Kassel-Hofgemeinde 1685–1739, p. 244.
[30] Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, Kirchenbuch Ansbach-St. Johannis, Taufen 1683–1705, p. 600; Gerber ATL, vol. 2, cols. 828f.; Schmidt 1956 (see footnote 24), pp. 73 and 76.
[31] Gerber ATL, vol. 2, p. 609.

euch”[32] which applies several kinds of woodwind instruments in pairs (oboes, oboi d'amore, flutes, recorders) – perfectly suitable for Scherer and Süß. It is easy to imagine that Kirnberger also joined the orchestra on this occasion and sought a permanent position at the Sondershausen court. However his hopes must have been dashed by the death of Prince Günther in November of 1740 which caused a decrease of musical activities at the court.[33]

Also connected to Sondershausen is Kirnberger's self-portrait which is dated 1740 (although it shows an oddly mature face for a nineteen-year-old) and is dedicated to „nobilissimae puellae Christ. Henriett. Einertinae, quam Musices principia docuit in Clavichordio”.[34] Christi(a)ne Henriette Einert was born in Sondershausen (around 1730?) and later married the local school rector Gottfried Conrad Böttger (1732–1794).[35] Since Kirnberger taught her clavichord lessons we may assume that he stayed in Sondershausen longer than the single month documented in his Stammbuch.

This might cause us to doubt that Kirnberger was indeed Bach's student at all from 1739 to 1741. Indeed, none of the many surviving Bach copies from Kirnberger's possession can be dated before the composer's death. Also, Marpurg has challenged the authenticity of his description of Bach's principles in composition.[36] However, no less an authority than Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach referred to Kirnberger as a student of his father,[37] and no counterstatement by any contemporary is known. Bach's student Johann Friedrich Agricola, who was in Leipzig from 1738 to 1741, can be expected to have had protested if Kirnberger's numerous published references to Bach were based on a lie. It therefore seems as if Kirnberger indeed studied with the Thomaskantor from 1739 to 1741, though he must have taken a lengthy break in 1740.

In 1741 Kirnberger accepted an offer to work in Poland – a decision very unusual for a German Lutheran of his era. Certainly the political rather than the religious situation played a role here, as the electorate of Saxony and the Polish kingdom had been joined under Augustus II the Strong in 1697. In fact the Saxon

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[32] D-SHs, Mus.A6:4.

[33] See Michael Maul, „The Court of Sondershausen”, in: *Music at German Courts* (see footnote 9), pp. 287–303, esp. 296f.

[34] A-Wgm, Bi 3402. Facsimiles in Gabriele and Walter Salmen, *Musiker im Porträt*, vol. 3: Das 18. Jahrhundert, München 1983 (Beck'sche Schwarze Reihe, vol. 252), p. 93, and Christoph Wolff, co-eds. Marion Söhnel and Markus Zepf, *Bach. Eine Lebensgeschichte in Bildern / A Life in Pictures*, Kassel etc. [2018] (Bach-Dokumente, vol. 9), p. 362.

[35] *Thüringer Pfarrerbuch*, ed. Gesellschaft für Thüringische Kirchengeschichte, vol. 2: Fürstentum Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Leipzig 1997 (Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Stoye, vol. 29), p. 98; Wiebke Röben de Alencar Xavier, „Gottfried Conrad Böttger (1732–1794): Lehrer Johann Karl Wezels, Hofmeister und „Erziehungsschriftsteller“ im Fürstentum Schwarzburg-Sondershausen“, in: *Wezel-Jahrbuch* 1 (1998), pp. 57–74, esp. 59. Christine Henriette Böttger died „many years“ after her husband.

[36] F. W. Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. 1, Berlin 1760, reprint Hildesheim and New York 1974, p. 183.

[37] *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750–1800*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze, Leipzig and Kassel 1972 (Johann Sebastian Bach. Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Supplement, vol. 3), p. 289.

capitol Dresden was Kirnberger's stepping stone to Poland as his Stammbuch reveals:

> **Frantz. Joseph. Götzl.**, Dresden, 9 June 1741 (51r, German)
> *Student of Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin (1690–1768, in Dresden 1715–49); flutist in the Dresden Hofkapelle from 1741, documented until 1772.*[38]
> **J. C. Jehne**, Hautboist de Cadet, Dresden, 29 June 1741 (53r, German)
> *Not identified.*

One can only speculate that J. S. Bach, *Hof-Compositeur* to the Saxon court since 1736, or his son Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, organist of St Sophia's Church at Dresden since 1733, helped Kirnberger make contact with musicians in the capital. It is also remarkable that there is a direct musical connection between Dresden and the first documented place where Kirnberger stayed in Poland, Częstochowa (in 1742): The Kapellmeister of the city's Pauline monastery at Jasna Góra, the castrato Piotr Michał Polakowski (1710–1746), had been sent to Dresden in 1738 (for an unknown length of time) to hear the famous court ensemble.[39]

Marpurg writes of Kirnberger's studies in Leipzig and his career in Poland (without mentioning Dresden) as follows:

> So in the year 1739 he moved to Leipzig into the school of the late Mr. Bach, and studied composition as well as clavier playing under this famous man's rigorous instruction. Hereupon, in the year 1741, he had the opportunity to go to Poland, where he stayed for ten years, during which time he was at first employed by the Starosta of Petrikau, Count Poninsky, afterwards by the Voivode of Podolia, Count Rzewusky, now being a Captain under the Crown, after this by Prince Stanislow Lubomirsky in Rufno in Wolhynia, as a harpsichordist at all of these courts, and at last by the cloister maidens of the Bernardine order in Reusch-Lemberg as a music director.[40]

The Polish magnates who employed Kirnberger can be identified as Józef Poniński (died 1770), Governor of the district of Piotrków Trybunalski (Pol. *starosta piotrkowski*) from 1737 to 1752, Wacław Rzewuski (1706–1779), Voivode of Podolia (*wojewoda podolski*) from 1736 to 1762, and Stanisław Lubomirski (1704–1793), Governor of the district of Nowy Sącz (*starosta sądecki*) from 1735 to 1754 but residing in Równe.[41] All of them had strong connections to the courts of king Augustus III (Frederick Augustus II as Elector of Saxony) in

[38] Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*, vol. 2, Dresden 1862, reprint Leipzig 1971, pp. 95 and 294; Stockigt 2011 (see footnote 9), p. 44; Charles Burney, *Tagebuch einer musikalischen Reise*, ed. Eberhardt Klemm, Leipzig 1975, pp. 355f.

[39] Paweł Podejko, *Nieznani muzycy polscy. Kompozytory, dyrygenci, instrumentaliści, wokaliści (1572–1820)*, Bydgoszcz 1966 (Z dziejów muzyki polskiej, vol. 11), pp. 82f.

[40] Marpurg 1754/5 (see footnote 2), pp. 85f.

[41] Data concerning these magnates here and in the following after *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Kraków 1935ff., accessed online via <http://ipsb.nina.gov.pl>. Cf. Paczkowski 2015 (see footnote 12), pp. 130–2. A Voivode ruled a territory (województwo) comparable to a county which was devided into several administrative districts (powiat) governed by a Starosta.

Warsaw and Dresden, as is evident from preserved correspondence with the Saxon Prime Minister Heinrich von Brühl.[42] They were also, like Polish nobility in general, interlinked with each other – Wacław Rzewuski for example was married to Anna of the Lubomirski family.

It is not entirely clear where the magnates actually lived and thus where Kirnberger worked. The center of Poniński's administrative duties was Piotrków Trybunalski (about 130 km southwest of Warsaw) but he also had property in the Ruthenian Voivodeship (*województwo ruskie*, now on both sides of the Polish-Ukrainian border) near the cities Przemyśl and Halicz (now Kalush in Ukraine).[43] While the seat of the Voivode of Podolia (now western Ukraine and northern Moldova) was at Kamieniec Podolski (Ukr. Kamianets-Podilskyi), Rzewuski's main residence was the castle at Podhorce (Ukr. Pidhirtsi, about 80 km east of L'vìv). However, the count at the same time owned or rented houses in L'vìv and Warsaw[44] and travelled frequently to other cities.[45] The only places explicitly mentioned by Marpurg are Równe (Ukr. Rivne, about 200 km northeast of L'vìv) in the Volhynian Voivodeship where Lubomirski[46] owned a palace and Lwów[47] (Ukr. L'viv) where Kirnberger was music director of the Bernardine nunnery.

Very little is known about the musical ensembles of Poniński, Rzewuski and Lubomirski. While it was very common for Polish noblemen to employ a number of musicians of Polish, sometimes of German, Austrian, Bohemian or Italian descent,[48] Lubomirski can be suspected to have maintained one of the larger orchestras, since he was one of the richest persons in the country and even competed for the throne after Augustus' III death in 1764 (albeit in vain). Rzewuski however has been noted by Polish literary studies primarily as a writer due to his dramas.[49] A reminiscence of this count's passion for music is found in an early account of

[42] Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 458/1, 458/2, 2099/39, 3588, 3589/2, 3589/3, 3590/2 and 3591/1 (Correspondenz des Pr. Min. Grafens von Brühl, and similar titles); Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Archiwum Sanguszków, Podh I 2/3, Podh XII 15/2–5.

[43] Letters by Poniński to Brühl are dated Piotrków, 1741, and Stanisławów (in Ruthenia, now Ivano-Frankivsk in Ukraine), 1748 (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 458/1 and 3589/3).

[44] Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Archiwum Sanguszków, Podh IV/XXXVIII, 6–7 (Kamienice w Warszawie) and 8–13 (Kamienice lwowskie).

[45] Trips to Dresden are mentioned in 1741, 1742 and 1747 (see *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*). Rzewuski's correpondence from the years 1738 to 1752 documents stays in Chełm, Dresden, Kamieniec, Lublin, Lviv, Piotrków, Podhorce, Warsaw, and Wrocław (see footnote 42 and Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych we Warszawie, Archiwum Roskie, 1 Korespondencja, XIX/27, Rzewuski Wacław Kasz. Kr. H. W. Kor. do Branickiego Jana Kl., 1734–67).

[46] Lubomirski's letters from 1747 to 1761 document stays in Równe and Lviv (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych we Warszawie, Archiwum Roskie, 1 Korespondencja, XII/31, X. Lubomirski Stanisław wda. Bracław. do Branickiego Jana Kl.).

[47] The term „Reusch-Lemberg" as given by Marpurg is a combination of a short form of the adjektive „reußisch" („Rotreußen" is German for the region of Ruthenia) and the German name of the city.

[48] See the survey at *Słownik muzyków polskich*, ed. Józef Chomiński, vol. 1, Kraków 1964, pp. 226–36 („Kapele magnackie").

[49] Alfred Brodnicki, *W przededniu odrodzenia literatury polskiej (1706–1779.)*, Poznań [1912]; Wacław Rzewuski, *Tragedie i Komedie*, ed. Janina Majerowa, Warsaw 1962.

his life: here it is mentioned that he employed „famous musicians", and the Podhorce palace is called a „temple of the arts".[50]

A more detailed insight into the musical activites at Podhorce is provided by an inventory from the late 1760s which among other things specifies a great stock of instruments:[51] fifteen violins, one viola, two lower string instruments (*Basetla*, *Kwart Wiola*), one bassoon, two pairs of French horns, two clavichords, two harpsichords (one in the chapel and one in a room within the palace – possibly the instruments which Kirnberger used)[52], an *Oktawka* in a drawer (a virginal?) and, most astonishing, about twenty flutes plus additional components. The high number of flutes is evidence that Count Rzewuski admired the sound of this fashionable instrument and most likely played it himself as did many other amateurs in the mid-18th century (the most prominent being the Prussian king Frederick the Great). This is also reflected in the many flute compositions mentioned in the inventory: 44 concerti, 25 sonatas, 30 trios, 8 duetts and 16 solos (named arias), plus several unspecified items.[53] An author's name is only given in one case for six flute trios as „P[an = Mr.] Katalano", a person still to be identified.

Besides other instrumental works (for violin or unspecified instruments, all anonymous) the inventory contains a number of vocal pieces, such as oratorios, masses, litanies, kyries, motets, duets and arias. A volume of no fewer than 154 arias and motets is attributed to the „Pani" (Lady), i.e. the count's wife Anna Rzewuska, though it seems doubtful that this marks her as the composer rather than the possessor. A similar case is a compilation of 98 arias and motets which is linked to Stefan Jaroszewicz, a castrato singer employed by Wacław Rzewuski's father Stanisław Mateusz (documented 1728)[54] who has never been men-

[50] [Louis Antoine de Caraccioli], *La vie du comte Wenceslas Rzewuski, Grand-Général, & Premier Sénateur de Pologne*, Liège 1782, p. 72: „Le château de Podhorcé, sa résidence ordinaire, sembloit être le temple des arts & des vertus. C'est-là qu'ayant rassemblé les tableaux les plus rares, les livres les plus précieux, des Musiciens célebres, qui formoient sa Chapelle, il occupoit dignement ses loisirs". Cf. Majerowa 1962 (see footnote 49), p. 11.

[51] Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Archiwum Sanguszków, Podh II, 65 (Opisanie Pałacu Podhoreckiego). For transcriptions of the document see Jan Wilusz and Adolf Chybiński, „Z inwentarzy muzycznych zamku w Podhorcach", in: *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 1913, pp. 71–4, and Beniamin Vogel, „Do dziejów tradycji muzycznych zamku w Podhorcach", in: *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 13 (2015), pp. 99–124, esp. 114–20 (transcription of a copy of the inventory kept in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych we Warszawie). Cf. Majerowa 1962 (see footnote 49), p. 12, and Paczkowski 2015 (see footnote 12), p. 132. The instruments are described with many details on pp. 150–3 of the original document („Regestr Fletow w Archiwum będących d. 29. Julii 1769. Ao. spisany", „Regestr wszystkich Instrumentow Muzycznych spisany d. 29. Julii 1769.").

[52] Vogel 2015 (see footnote 51) investigates the origins and whereabouts of the keyboard instruments from the Podhorce palace in detail.

[53] The music collection is specified on pp. 153–5 of the inventory („Regestr Papierow Muzykalnych spisany d. 20. Augusti 1769.", „Regestr Xiązek Muzykalnych w zułtym Pokoju").

[54] Mirosław Perz, „Materiały do dziejów muzyki i opery na dworze Stanisława Mateusza Rzewuskiego", in: *Opera w dawnej Polsce na dworze Władysława IV i królów saskich. Studia i materiały*, ed. Julian Lewański, Wrocław etc. 1973 (Studia staropolskie, vol. 35), pp. 61–7, esp. 65f. Later Jaroszewicz was a member of the „Polnische Kapelle" of king Augustus III in Warsaw from 1740 until his

tioned as a composer elsewhere. Other pieces are ascribed to the Neapolitan composers Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736) and Antonio Palella (1692–1761). While the latter appears only with a hitherto unknown motet with the incipit *„Festantes Lire”*,[55] Pergolesi is represented by his famous *Stabat mater* as well as a *Salve regina*, an intermezzo, a *Miserere* (for six voices) and two motetts (*„Alti Coles”, „Surgit”*). A high quantity of works – motetts, masses and litanies, altogether 24 pieces – is attributed to Giovanni Antonio Ricieri (1679–1746) who spent most of his life in his native Italy but served in the ensemble of the older Rzewuski from 1722 to 1726. Ricieri's successor as a Kapellmeister was his student Giuseppe Maria Nelvi (1698–1756) from 1727 to 1730, thus also under Wacław Rzewuski after his father's death in 1728.[56] With these connections in mind we may assume that parts of the repertoire listed in the inventory from 1769, especially compositions by Ricieri but maybe also by other Italian composers such as Pergolesi and Palella (and Catalano?) as well as the arias composed or performed by Jaroszewicz, were in fact created long before, in part possibly at the behest Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski. Although it is not possible to determine when exactly the music and instruments were acquired, the inventory gives an impression of the musical life in Podhorce during Kirnberger's time.

Concerning Kirnberger's employment in L'vìv, Marpurg's denomination of the „cloister maidens of the Bernardine order” („Klosterjungfern des Bernardiner Ordens”) seems a little depreciative, and working in a catholic nunnery must have appeared odd to a Protestant indeed. As a matter of fact, nothing is known about the musical activities of this congregation (which must not be confused with the Benedictine nunnery). At least it is possible to locate the convent within the city of L'vìv: at today's Mytna Square, now hosting a museum for baroque sculpture in the former church (Muzei „Ivana Georgija Pinzelja” containing mid-18th-century frescos) and a school in the subsidary buildings. The nunnery was supervised by the Bernardine monastery located a few meters away at Soborna Square (today housing St Andrew's Church and the Ukrainian State Archive). An important event for the Bernardine order in L'vìv – maybe also stimulating cultural activities – was the beatification of John of Dukla (Pol. Jan z Dukli) in 1733 who had lived as a monk in the city in the 15th century and is considered one of the patrons of the Polish nation. (A monument to him, erected in 1736 and funded by the Rzewuski family, still stands in front of the Bernardine church.) Meaningful for the female branch of the order in particular seems to be the fact that their convent was the only one in L'vìv which was not bound to a vow to poverty. As a result, many

death in 1757 (see Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, „The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland”, in: *Music at German Courts* (see footnote 9), pp. 51–77, esp. 67f. and 70).

[55] Not listed in James L. Jackman and Francesca Seller, „Palella, Antonio”, in: *New Grove 2*, vol. 18, London and New York 2001, pp. 929f.

[56] Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, „Ricieri, Giovanni Antonio”, in: *MGG2*, Personenteil, vol. 14, Kassel etc. 2005, cols. 42f.; Perz 1973 (see footnote 54); Laura Callegari, „Tra Bologna e la Polonia: Giuseppe Maria Nelvi, accademico filarmonico”, in: *Offerta Musicale. Contributi e studi per Arnaldo Forni*, ed. Giuseppe Vecchi, Bologna 1983, pp. 49–65.

nuns came from wealthy and noble families,[57] and, supposedly, were able to maintain a professional musical ensemble. The convent's archive survived its dissolution in 1782 and was brought to Kraków, though it does not contain any music-relating documents.[58] We can only speculate about the music Kirnberger performed and the ensemble(s) he directed.

Probably the situation at the Bernardine nunnery was similar to those of other churches and monasteries in 17th- and 18th-century L'vìv for which some details survive (though unfortunately these only concern male congregations). These pertain to the Latin cathedral as well as the churches of Jesuits, Dominicans, Carmelites, Bernardines and Franciscans, proving the existence of vocal and instrumental ensembles under the direction of a Kapellmeister. (Organists seemingly had inferior positions, by comparison with their counterparts in Germany).[59] An important role was played by the so-called „*bursae musicorum*", i.e. musical schools similar to Italian conservatories of that time, which have been founded in L'vìv by the Jesuits in 1615 and by the Dominicans in 1727. Apart from these institutions several „*confraternitates musicorum*" (Pol. *bractwie muzyków*) existed which were documented first in 1580 and again in 1687.[60]

While these documents are limited to the Roman Catholic churches, there seems to be no single trace of music in the Russian Orthodox and Armenian as well as in the important Jewish comunities. In contrast to these denominations, the Protestants (to which Kirnberger belonged) „have never been able to arrive" in L'vìv, as an 18th-century encyclopedia puts it. This article goes on to say that Hungarians, Moldovans and even Turks used to visit the city's famous winter fair,[61] which creates a truely multicultural image. Besides that, we have to acknowledge the musical activities of noblemen outside of the religious framework. A glimpse of the real extent of musical life in the magnates' city palaces is provided by a contemporary reference to Italian operas presented by Stanisław

[57] Hieronim Eugeniusz Wyczawski, articles on the Bernardine monastery and convent in Lviv, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H. E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 193–7 and 526–8.

[58] Archiwum Prowincji OO. Bernardynów w Krakowie. I am grateful to Andrzej Godek for transmitting fotos of the archive's inventory. Documents from the Lviv city archive (Tsentral′nyy Derzhavnyy Istorychnyy Arkhiv Ukrayiny, M. Lviv, Magistrat Mista L'wowa, Fonds No. 52) on the Bernardine monastery and convent concern their privileges and property only.

[59] See Michał Piekarski, „Z muzycznej przeszłości lwowskich kościołów katolickich", in: *Rocznik Lwowski* 14 (2009), pp. 81–107.

[60] Leszek Mazepa, „Życie muzyczne dawnego Lwowa (XIII–XVII wiek)", in: *Musica galiciana* 1 (1997), pp. 13–34, esp. 31f. Tsentral′nyy Derzhavnyy Istorychnyy Arkhiv Ukrayiny, M. Lviv, Magistrat Mista L'wowa (Fonds No. 52), No. 154 (Musicorum Confraternitatis fundatio, 1687); mentioned here (fols. 3f.) also „Muzycy Muzyki włoskiej" (musicians of the Italian music) and „Muzycy serbscy pospolicie nazwani Jako to skrzypkowie Cymbalistowie y inni tym podobni" (violinists, cymbalists and the like which are usually called Serbian musicians).

[61] *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. Johann Heinrich Zedler, vol. 17, Halle and Leipzig 1738, cols. 51f. („Die Evangelischen aber haben daselbst nieMahls ankommen können").

Mateusz Rzewuski in L'vìv that „cost millions".[62] Although no details are known for the 1740s we may assume that musical performances of whatever kind took place, especially in the L'vìv houses of Kirnberger's patrons Wacław Rzewuski[63] and Stanisław Lubomirski.[64]

More details on Kirnberger's social network in L'vìv as well as at other places he visited during his journey are provided by the Stammbuch:

Carolus Samuel Poster, Częstochowa, 14 May 1742 (4r, Latin)
Not identified.
L. Bielski, L'vìv, 26 March 1743 (34r, Latin)
Maybe a relative of Antoni Bonawentura Bielski (mentioned as violinist, bassoonist and trombonist at the Jesuit Church in Kraków in 1736), or a member of the noble Bielski family (an Antoni Bielski was created „Kron-Hof-Jägermeister" to the royal court in 1750).[65]
M. S. Sadowsky, L'vìv, 15 July 1743 (60v, signature only)
Not identified.
Leon Cięciłowicz, L'vìv, 15 July 1743 (61r, Polish)
Maybe a relative of Jan Cięciłowicz who was trained in Rome and later conducted the ensemble of Dominik Radziwiłł in Nieśwież (now Belorusian Nyasvizh) from 1751 until his death in 1759.[66]
Johann Georg Mallabar, L'vìv, 21 October 1743 (9v, German)
Not identified.
Szymon Krzyżanowski, Podhorce, 17 May 1744 (54r, signature only)
A person named Krzyżanowski (first name not mentioned) is documented as a soprano at the monastery at Jasna Góra in the years 1744 to 1746.[67]
George Stürmer, Podhorce, 1744 (58v, signature only)
Not identified.
Johann Michael Schaetzel, Stocateor [plasterer], Równe, 1 December 1745 (45r, German)
Probably identical with a plasterer named Schätzel who helped build the palace at Wörlitz (near Dessau/Germany) around 1769/71.[68]

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[62] [Józef Andrzej Załuski], *Zebranie rytmów przez wierszo-pisów żyjących, lub naszego wieku zeszłych pisanych*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1754, p. 17: „Mieliśmy naszych czasow Xięcia [...] Rzewuskiego Hetmanna W. Koronnego Woiewodę Bełskiego, ktory we Lwowie, millionowym kosztem, opery reprezentowali Włoskie [...]" (S. M. Rzewuski was the Voivode of Bełz from 1726 to 1728). The operas mentioned here were probably (at least partially) the ones composed by Ricieri (cf. Perz 1973, see footnote 54).
[63] See footnote 44. The house was located at the market square (rynek).
[64] Although today's Lubomirski palace at the market square was built only in the 1760s it is most likely that Lubomirski owned another house in the city before.
[65] Chomiński 1964 (see footnote 48), p. 253; *Nöthige Supplemente zu dem Großen Vollständigen Universal-Lexikon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1752, col. 1193.
[66] Chomiński 1964 (see footnote 48), p. 233.
[67] Podejko 1966 (see footnote 39), p. 54.
[68] Erich Paul Riesenfeld, *Erdmannsdorff. Der Baumeister des Herzogs Leopold Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau*, Berlin 1913, p. 55; Hans-Joachim Kadatz, *Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff.*

Joannes Bernardus Wurm, s.l. (L'vìv?), 9 June 1747 (51v, German)
Not identified.

Habermann, L'vìv, 24 June 1747 (40v, German)

Most probably identical with Jan Piotr (Johann Peter) Habermann, born in Bohemia, violinist in the Jesuits' ensemble in Kraków around 1737/38, maybe later employed by the Jesuits and the Benedictine nuns in Sandomierz, then concertmaster to the Voivode of Kiev Józef Potocki (1673–1751, in office 1702–1744), priest in L'vìv and kapellmeister at the Jesuit church (documented 1748), employed by Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715–1760) in 1759, documented in Kraków and Częstochowa/Jasna Góra in 1762, further fates unknown; three vocal works of his composition have survived in the Sandomierz library.[69]

Franciscus Dussek, Fagottist [bassoonist], L'vìv, 21 October 1747 (29r, Latin)

Born in Germany (or Bohemia?), musician at the court of the Starosta of Kazimierz Dolny Antoni Benedykt Lubomirski in Janowiec, employed as a bassoonist in Biała Podlaska by Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł from 1739 (or earlier) to 1743, then maybe again by A. B. Lubomirski, asked H. F. Radziwiłł for appointment anew in 1747 but without success, following stay in L'vìv hitherto unknown.[70]

Adalbertus Wieczorkowski, L'vìv, November 1747 (56r, signature only)
Not identified.

Stephanus Potaciewicz, L'vìv, 4 March 1748 (56v, signature only)
Not identified.

Augustinus Stephan, L'vìv, 4 April 1748 (55v, German)

An Antonio Stephan is documented in the „Polnische Kapelle" of king Augustus III in 1748.[71]

On top of this list we find the city of Częstochowa which is not mentioned in Marpurg's biographical essay. The most prominent musical institution there was

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Wegbereiter des deutschen Frühklassizismus in Anhalt-Dessau, Berlin 1986, pp. 74, 76f., 81, 84, 170 and 187.

[69] Gottfried Johann Dlabacž, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen*, vol. 1, Prague 1815, reprint Hildesheim etc. 1998, col. 535; Chomiński 1964 (see footnote 48), pp. 254f.; Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, „Habermann Jan Piotr", in: *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, Część biograficzna, ed. Elżbieta Dziębowska, vol. 4, Kraków 1993, p. 6; Wendelin Świerczek, „Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków muzycznych Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Sandomierzu", in: *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne. Organ Ośrodka Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych przy Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim* 10 (1965), pp. 223–78, esp. 228; Jan Piotr Habermann, *Utwory wokalno-instrumentalne. Partytura*, ed. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, Kraków 1966 (Źródła do historii muzyki polskiej, vol. 10), pp. III–VIII; Irena Bieńkowska, *Muzyka na dworze księcia Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła*, Warsaw 2013 (Studia et Dissertationes Instituti Musicologiae Universitatis Varsoviensis, series B, vol. 19), p. 340; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (see footnote 41), article „Potocki Józef h. Pilawa"; compositions in PL-SA, 258/A VII 17, 18, 33.

[70] Bieńkowska 2013 (see footnote 69), p. 338; cf. Dlabacž 1815 (see footnote 69), cols. 341–53.

[71] Żórawska-Witkowska 2011 (see footnote 54), p. 76.

the Pauline monastery on the hill of Jasna Góra. A cultural boom followed the coronation of the famous Black Madonna in 1717, a venerated icon also referred to as the „Queen of Poland”, which made the city an important place of pilgrimage.[72] The monastery is said to have maintained a very good musical ensemble including some musicians from abroad which was led in the early 1740s by the above-mentioned Polakowski who had been trained at the Dresden court.[73] Obviously Kirnberger was attracted by the musical life at Jasna Góra where he encountered C. S. Poster, a likely member of the ensemble.

It is not clear if Kirnberger has already been employed by Count Poniński when he stayed in Częstochowa in 1742. Neither did the city belong to the district of Piotrków governed by Poniński nor is there any other link to this nobleman.[74] It seems possible that Kirnberger, at the beginning of his journey, travelled within Poland until he found a permanent position. In any case, Kirnberger's stay in L'vìv in 1743 as abundantly documented in the Stammbuch is to be seen in connection with his employment by Count Rzewuski rather than by Poniński or the Bernardine nuns. As has been shown above, Rzewuski was quite active in the city, and Podhorce where two more persons signed in the Stammbuch in the following year was relatively close-by. In contrast, Kirnberger's time with Lubomirski is indicated only by a single poem from Równe dated 1745. The subsequent entries were all made in L'vìv in 1747 or 1748, now apparently illuminating Kirnberger's activities as a music director in the cloister.

The Stammbuch reveals the importance of the city of L'vìv for Kirnberger, not only during his final years in Poland, and enables us to reconstruct a rough chronology of his appointments: c. 1742 at Poniński, c. 1743/44 at Rzewuski, c. 1745/46 at Lubomirski, c. 1747–50 at the Bernardine convent. Further connections to other musicians can be derived from the following undated entries:

Adam Hermanowski, L'vìv, 1 January n.d. (64v, signature only)

A person named Hermanowski (first name not mentioned) is documented as a musician at the Dominican monastery in L'vìv from 1741 to 1743; three sacred Polish songs by „A. Hermanowski" have survived in the Sandomierz library.[75]

Michael Götz, arpista [harpist] (37r, signature only)

Hired by H. F. Radziwiłł in Fischamend near Vienna for his ensemble in Biała Podlaska in August 1748, performed as Radziwiłł's musician at the Warsaw palace of Heinrich von Brühl on 25 and 29 December 1748, died in Białystok on 11

[72] Remigiusz Pośpiech, „Die Bedeutung des Paulinerklosters Heller Berg (Jasna Góra) für die Entwicklung der Musikkultur der Stadt Tschenstochau (Częstochowa)“, in: *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Mitteilungen der Internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Technischen Universität Chemnitz* 14 (2013), pp. 83–96, esp. 86.

[73] Podejko 1966 (see footnote 39), pp. 9–13 and 82f.

[74] Cf. Seiffert 1899 (see footnote 3), p. 367, and Paczkowski 2015 (see footnote 12), p. 130.

[75] Chomiński 1964 (see footnote 48), p. 251; Świerczek 1965 (see footnote 69), p. 229 (stating he lived in Warsaw instead of Lviv); compositions in PL-SA, 270/A VII 30.

August 1749 during a three days visit of Radziwiłł at the court of Jan Klemens Branicki; probably the author of some surviving harp compositions.[76]

Joh[ann] Gust[av] Spangenberg (53v, German)

Born 2 June 1724, probably identical with „P[an] Szpangienberger Muzykant" mentioned by Wacław Rzewuski in 1754 (a member of his ensemble?), maybe employed by Augustus III in his „Polnische Kapelle" in Warsaw and/or by Heinrich von Brühl in Dresden around 1756, chamber musician (violinist) in the court orchestra of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt from 1761 to 1801, died in Rudolstadt on 11 June 1801.[77]

S[imon] F[erdinand] Lechleitner (67r, signature only)

No biographical data available; known as a composer from the libraries in Sandomierz (an autograph dating from 1725, copies dating from 1725 to 1741), Staniątki, Częstochowa, Poznań and Modra/Slovakia.[78]

(For the sake of completeness, the remaining entries by unidentified persons in unidentified places may be added here:)

Michael Antonius Langer (52r, Latin)

Johann Godfried Otto (37v, signature only)

Johann Gottlieb Schmidt (40r, German)

Jos. 9 ♥ (= Joseph/Josias Neunherz?) (35r, German)

VHGVT (= V.../U... H... G... von T...?) (2r, Latin)

As is suggested by some of the examples above (especially M. Götz and F. Dussek), Kirnberger was probably familiar with the ensembles of magnates other than his own patrons, for instance that of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł, and surely visited places which are not mentioned in the Stammbuch. Another hint at the extent of Kirnberger's travels is found in his treatise *Anleitung zur Singekomposition* (1782) in which he states that he once vainly tried to write down a special kind of folk music heard „in Poland, in the Masovian, Volhynian and Podolian

[76] Bieńkowska 2013 (see footnote 69), pp. 132, 186, 339f., 419–21 and 424; EitnerQ, vol. 4, pp. 297 and 317; GB-Lbl, Add. 14248 („Notturno. Per L'Arpa Con Violini, è Basso [...] Del Sigr. Gotz"); two sinfonies in A-Wgm mentioned by Eitner cannot be found in RISM.

[77] Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Archiwum Sanguszków, Podh II, 33 (Księga inwentarzowa zamku Podhorcach), p. 71; Ute Omonsky, „Werden und Wandel der Rudolstädter Hofkapelle als Bestandteil des höfischen Lebens im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert", in: *Musik am Rudolstädter Hof. Die Entwicklung der Hofkapelle vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. U. Omonsky, Rudolstadt 1997, pp. 13–94, esp. 56, 75 and 87f.; Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung*, Tutzing 2005, p. 171; Żórawska-Witkowska 2011 (see footnote 54), p. 69 (first names: Johann August).

[78] Świerczek 1965 (see footnote 69), p. 256f.; PL-SA, 58/A I 58, 65/A II 5, 142/A III 42, 287–292/A VII 47–52, 294/A VII 54, 295/A VII 55, 297–307/A VII 57–67, 390/A VIII 30, 391/A VIII 31; PL-R (in PL-SA), RAp-6–9; PL-STAb, 31a; PL-CZ, III-814; PL-Pa, Muz GR I/121; SK-J (in SK-MO), H-47, 125, 425.

Voivodeships as well as in the Carpathian Mountains".[79] An occasion to hear Carpathian music might have arisen during his time with Poniński whose residence Stanisławów (now Ukr. Ivano-Frankivsk) is located in the foothills of these mountains.[80] While Podolia and Volhynia can be allocated to Rzewuski and Lubomirski respectively, Masovia with its capital Warsaw does not have a place in Kirnberger's biography yet. However, Warsaw was of course a central point for all Polish magnates, and it seems suspicious that Gerber mentions a person named Kamiński who was „a fine composer in Warsaw around the year 1750, spent time with Kirnberger when he was in Poland".[81]

Another acquaintance of Kirnberger in Poland, though not a friend, was the violinist Antoni Kossołowski. Marpurg indicates that Kirnberger once claimed a composition by Kossołowski as his own[82] and, in a different publication, recounts the following anecdote:

„A violinist in a Polish orchestra named Kosolowsky used to play a concerto of his own composition containing a passage which Mr. Kirnberger, who served as a harpsichordist in this orchestra, could not stand because it made a disharmonious effect. Kirnberger argued with Kosolowsky about this passage several times and offered him a different one as a substitute if he was not willing to correct it himself. Kosolowsky did not listen, so Kirnberger thought about a means to make him stop playing the concerto or at least change the said passage. He trained one of the count's dogs to come into his room, and every time this happened, he played on the violin exactly this part of the concerto where the poor passage was and did not refrain from beating the dog with a stick at the same time. The attentive dog learned through these exercizes in a short time to howl miserably each time the fatal passage appeared, and this was what Kirnberger wished.

One day, when he had learned through one of his spies that Kosolowsky was going to play his cursed concerto, he instructed a servant of the count to let the dog inside the concert hall. Kosolowsky put on his concerto, and when he reached the despairing passage, the dog suddenly started howling so miserably that the whole orchestra was confused and layed down their instruments.“[83]

As a useful fact we learn from this amusing story that Kirnberger and Kossołowski were employed by the same count although without clarifying if this

[79] J. P. Kirnberger, *Anleitung zur Singekomposition mit Oden in verschiedenen Sylbenmaaßen begleitet*, Berlin 1782, p. 5.
[80] See footnote 43.
[81] Gerber NTL, appendix, vol. 4, 1813/14, col. 805; Gerber's source was the Warsaw music director Józef Elsner (1769–1854) but it remains unclear on what ground his information is based on. The name „Kamiński" is also recorded for a cantor in Kraków and Włocławek around 1742, a musician in the Jesuits' ensemble in Kraków in 1764/65, and a composer in the Sandomierz collection (here with the first name initial „F."; see Świerczek 1965, see footnote 69, p. 229; Chomiński 1964, see footnote 48, p. 215, 245, 254).
[82] Marpurg 1760 (see footnote 36), p. 233.
[83] F. W. Marpurg, *Legende einiger Musikheiligen*, [Wrocław] 1786, reprint Leipzig 1977, p. 63f.

was Poniński, Rzewuski or Lubomirski.[84] In any case the described incident must have taken place before Kossołowski was employed by Jan Klemens Branicki in 1747. He served as kapellmeister of the ensemble based in Białystok but also travelled to Warsaw and even Venice where he hired new musicians for Branicki. It can not be determined how long Kossołowski held this position but it was at least until 1757,[85] probably even until Branicki's death in 1771.[86] In Warsaw he was also a member of the royal „Polnische Kapelle" where he is documented from 1754 to 1762.[87]

Interestingly, Count Branicki also played a role in the life of Johann Sebastian Bach: He ordered an „instrument, called Piano et Forte" from the Thomaskantor in 1749, as is stated in the surviving receipt (written by Bach's youngest son Johann Christoph Friedrich but with an autograph signature).[88] The background of this trade is still obscure, but it seems to be a remarkable coincidence that a similar receipt by instrument maker Johann Christian Hoffmann for a cello acquired by Branicki is dated just the same day as Bach's (Leipzig, 6 May 1749); also, the same three merchants (Gervinus, Valentin and Zimann) acted as brokers in the business.[89] Possibly this case can be seen as further evidence for the friendship between Bach and Hoffmann[90] since they obviously took advantage of each other's business contacts.

As the instrument sold by Bach seems to be lost it cannot be confirmed if it was built by Gottfried Silbermann as is sometimes assumed. The last trace of the piano is found in an inventory of the Białystok palace made in 1772,[91] shortly after Branicki's death, where eight keyboard instruments are listed but none of them can be linked to Bach with certainty. It was already back in 1757 when

[84] There is no reason to concentrate on Lubomirski (cf. Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, „Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego", in: *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, ed. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Agata Roćko, Warsaw 2005, pp. 221–44, esp. 225, and Paczkowski 2015, see footnote 12, p. 131).

[85] Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), p. 225–31.

[86] It can be suspected that he continued to work for the family since an account book of Branicki's widow Izabela Branicka from 1783 records an expens „to Antoni for strings to the clavichord" („za Strony do Klauikortu Antoniemu"; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych we Warszawie, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, No. 7, pp. 15–8).

[87] Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), p. 229.

[88] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych we Warszawie, Archiwum Roskie, Akta majątkowo-rodzinne 98, fol. 2. Transkription and bibliography in *Dokumente zum Nachwirken* 1972 (see footnote 37), p. 633f. Also see Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), p. 232f. (giving the current signature for the first time).

[89] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych we Warszawie, Archiwum Roskie, Akta majątkowo-rodzinne 98, fol. 1; cf. Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), p. 233 (the cello was not acquired in Dresden as the author states).

[90] Cf. Herbert Heyde, „Johann Christian Hoffmann", in: *Martin und Johann Christian Hoffmann. Geigen- und Lautenmacher des Barock. Umfeld – Leben – Werk*, ed. Eszter Fontana, Leipzig 2015, pp. 65–74, esp. 69–72.

[91] See Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), p. 234.

Kossołowski stated that „all the harpsichords in Białystok are ruined” and therefore recommended that he hire an organist who was also able to repair and maintain these instruments.[92] A suitable person was found in Dominik Grabenbauer who served Branicki from 1757 until the end of the count’s life, later was employed by Michał Kazimierz Ogiński in Słonim, and died in 1804 (or slightly earlier).[93] Grabenbauer’s predecessor – and probably the first player of the piano Bach supplied – was Franz Richter who came to Branicki from a „bursa musicorum” in Kraków at an unspecified time.[94]

Other musicians in Białystok reveal vague but surprising connections to Kirnberger: The cellist Niedźwiecki for instance, who is documented in Branicki’s ensemble from 1742 to 1755 and likely received Hoffmann’s instrument, switched over to Wacław Rzewuski in 1755.[95] Christian Heinrich Henkel (Krystian Henryk Henkiel), a flutist in the then resolved orchestra of Michał Antoni Sapieha, was employed by Branicki on recommendation by Rzewuski in 1748,[96] probably after a guest performance in Podhorce. Even closer connections between Rzewuski and Branicki are documented by extensive correspondence beginning in the 1730s, mostly concerning non-musical issues.[97] It seems at least conceivable that Kirnberger, though no longer employed by Rzewuski, played a role in this network of magnates or their musicians respectively and helped make contact with Bach in 1749. Incidentally, we may also note that the singer and composer Johann Melchior Pichler (Büchler) was a member of the Dominicans’ ensemble in L’vìv before he was employed by Branicki in early 1750.[98]

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[92] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych we Warszawie, Archiwum Roskie, X/11 (Kossołowski Antoni do Branickiego Jana Kl.), p. 5f. (letter dated Białystok (corrected from Warsaw), 30 January 1757, „wsytkie Kławicembale w Bialemstoku są ruinowane”); Cf. Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), p. 231.

[93] Andrzej Ciechanowiecki, *Michał Kazimierz Ogiński und sein Musenhof zu Słonim. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der polnischen Kultur und ihrer europäischen Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Cologne and Graz 1961, p. 179f.; Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), pp. 230f. and 233.

[94] Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), p. 229. Richter appears on a specification of Branicki’s musicians from August 1756. On Marpurg’s list of the ensemble (Marpurg 1754/5, see footnote 2, pp. 447f.) neither Richter nor any other keyboard player is mentioned.

[95] Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), pp. 223 and 228; Marpurg 1754/5 (see footnote 2), p. 448; Chomiński 1964 (see footnote 48), p. 234. He is possibly identical with Andrzej Niedźwiecki who was a singer, violinist, violist and „kwartwiolista” at the Jesuit church in Kraków until 1720; cf. Chomiński 1964 (see footnote 48), p. 252.

[96] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych we Warszawie, Archiwum Roskie, 1 Korespondencja, XIX/27, pp. 5f. (Podhorce, 11 March 1748); Marpurg 1754/5 (see footnote 2), pp. 447f.; Chomiński 1964 (see footnote 48), p. 226; Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), p. 226.

[97] Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Archiwum Sanguszków, Podh I, 2/1 (letters by Branicki to Rzewuski, 1734–67); Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych we Warszawie, Archiwum Roskie, 1 Korespondencja, XIX/27 (letters by Rzewuski to Branicki, 1734–67).

[98] Żórawska-Witkowska 2005 (see footnote 84), pp. 227, 229 and 244. Pichler’s home was Vienna as can be suspected also for Grabenbauer and Richter (telling from their names typical for south German lands); maybe Henkel, the french horn player Birnbaum and other musicians in Branicki’s orchestra around 1755 came from Austria too (cf. Marpurg 1754/5, see footnote 2, pp. 447f., and Chomiński

In addition to Kirnberger's possible role in musical networks the question arises if any of his compositions can be connected with Poland. There are many references to the Polish style in his oeuvre, especially in Polonaises and Mazurkas,[99] but this does not mean that these works were necessarily composed in Poland. In fact, no musical manuscript containing a work by Kirnberger can be dated before 1754, though it is certainly possible that older compositions have survived in later copies. This has long been suspected in the case of Kirnberger's chorale preludes since Gerber wrote that his first attempts in this genre were made in Sondershausen.[100] However, Marpurg wrote in 1754 that „his compositions to this point include some Latin masses, fugues, clavier concerti, trios and solos etc. for flute and violin", not mentioning chorale preludes.[101]

As for the concerti, relatively precise information is available. It is again Marpurg who tells the following sarcastic anecdote:

„Is it a wonder that you present to the audience only a few pieces written by yourself; that you have composed nothing more than two concerti in your life, though very lovely, very subtle concerti; and that by now you seem to have lost almost all your will to start a new concerto ever again because you do not know if you will live long enough to complete it?"

And in a footnote Marpurg clarifies: „One of these concerti is the G minor, the other the C minor. The author began the compositions on the Polish Parnassus about 16 years ago [1744] and finished them here [in Berlin] only a few years ago."[102]

There are indeed only two concerti by Kirnberger, surviving in Berlin copies (one of them mistakenly attributed to J. S. Bach).[103] Does Marpurg's suggestion that they were conceived „on the Polish Parnassus" refer to Rzewuski's palace in Podhorce? Kirnberger's flute compositions might also be connected to this count who, as discussed above, was a great admirer of flute music. Most of these pieces were printed only in Berlin but circulated as well in many manuscript copies. While some fugues were printed (in treatises) many autographs are available, though none of them dated. Not even the holograph canons, concepts and sketches

1964, see footnote 48, p. 226). Also note the strong connection to Vienna in the 1740s and 50s in the case of H. F. Radziwiłł (cf. Bieńkowska 2013, see footnote 69, pp. 27, 117, 355, 360 and 419–21).

[99] Szymon Paczkowski, *Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, Lanham etc., 2016 (Contextual Bach studies), p. 323.

[100] Wollny 2003 (see footnote 2), col. 175.

[101] Marpurg 1754/5 (see footnote 2), p. 86.

[102] Marpurg 1760 (see footnote 36), p. 232.

[103] G minor: D-B, Mus. ms. 11630 (ed. Alexander Bender, Winterthur 2006). C minor: D-LEb, Go. S. 56 (ed. as a work by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach by Willy Eickemeyer, Mainz and Leipzig [1934]; for the correct attribution see Hans-Joachim Schulze, „Die Bach-Überlieferung. Plädoyer für ein notwendiges Buch", in: *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 17 (1975), pp. 45–59, esp. 55 and 57; *Katalog der Sammlung Manfred Gorke. Bachiana und andere Handschriften und Drucke des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. H.-J. Schulze, Leipzig 1977 (Bibliographische Veröffentlichungen der Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, vol. 8), p. 26; *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach. Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke (BR-WFB)*, ed. Peter Wollny, Stuttgart 2012, p. 332).

found in the Stammbuch can be attributed to Poland because they were obviously written after the book had already lost its original function.[104]

More interesting is Marpurg's remark on Latin compositions. Although Gerber seemingly still knew manuscripts of Kirnberger's masses,[105] none of these has survived. Such works may have been created during the late 1740s when Kirnberger was responsible for the music in the Bernardine church in L'vìv. The only Latin works to have survived are two psalm settings, *„Laetatus sum"* (printed in *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*)[106] and *„De profundis"* (known only from a late apocryphal copy),[107] which are more likely to have been performed in Polish churches than at any other place in Kirnberger's biography. Furthermore, there are two Italian arias by Kirnberger: *„Voi piangete amiche rupi"*[108] on an unidentified text and *„Ecco quel fiero istante"* on a text by Pietro Metastasio printed in Vienna in 1746 (or 1749?).[109] Fashionable operatic pieces like these would definitely seem appropriate for a concert performance at the magnates' residences or at their city homes in L'vìv.

Of course, none of the above mentioned works can be attributed to Kirnberger's Polish years exclusively. They might well have originated in Dresden, Leipzig, Sondershausen, Gotha, or Berlin. This study has aimed to point out some starting points for further research and to illuminate a vast and obscure landscape in Kirnberger's biography. It should be clear now that this important figure in German music theory, often regarded today as Bach's most narrow-minded advocate, spent the first half of his life engaged in pursuits more varied than we might have imagined.

[104] See Seiffert 1899 (see footnote 3), pp. 369–71.
[105] Gerber ATL, vol. 1, col. 728.
[106] J. P. Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, vol. 2, section 3, Berlin and Königsberg 1779, reprint Hildesheim 1968, pp. 163–75. Some copies after this print apply the text „Laudate pueri" instead and/or mistakenly name Scarlatti as the composer.
[107] D-Mbs, Mus. ms. 2313.
[108] D-B, Am. B 479 (7) and Mus. ms. 11625.
[109] D-B, Mus. ms. 30312 (1) and D-Bsa, SA 1341; cf. *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*, ed. Bruno Brunelli, vol. 2, [Milan] 1965, pp. 780–2 and 1328.