

Stephen Stubbs

Johann Mattheson—the Russian connection: the rediscovery of *Boris Goudenow* and his other lost operas

In June 2005 Mattheson's opera Boris Goudenow, the score of which was rediscovered in 1998, will be premiered at the Boston Early Music Festival in a performance directed by Stephen Stubbs and Paul O'Dette. Here Stephen Stubbs gives a brief account of the historical context of the opera and its music.

Until very recently almost all the compositions of Johann Mattheson were believed to have been destroyed in the burning of the Hamburg Library in 1943. Although Mattheson has long been recognized as the central spokesman of the musical *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) his reputation as a composer has been obscured in modern times in three ways. First, by his very fame as a prolific writer on music; second, by the musicological star system which has systematically reduced the stature of contemporary *Kleinmeister*, so that the stars of Bach and Handel might burn the brighter; and finally, by the disappearance of nearly his entire output during the Second World War. However, thanks to the recent return of most of the Mattheson scores to the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, we finally have the opportunity to re-evaluate his status as a composer.

Although Mattheson travelled very little, spending his long life entirely in Hamburg, his many careers as performer, composer, statesman, Kapellmeister and writer provided him with a host of international contacts. In particular, his service to England, as the secretary of the English ambassador in Hamburg from 1706 to 1751, gave him a front-row seat at the world political theatre which had a direct effect on



1 Portrait of Johann Mattheson, engraving by Christian Fritsch, after Wahll

his thinking, writing and composition. Mattheson's particular connection to Russia played out for him in the present, past and future: in his own time, through the rise of Russia led by the contemporary Tsar Peter the Great; in the past, through his

imaginative re-creation of the life of Boris Godunov; and in his future, through the fate of his scores, carried off by Russian soldiers to their homeland.

Mattheson's *Nachlass*

The current image of Mattheson's historical significance is based entirely on his prominence as a theorist and an observer of music in his time. A thorough examination and performance of his compositional achievements in opera, oratorio, chamber and keyboard music would provide the necessary corrective to see him as the all-round musician he was—one who had extensively explored, as both composer and performer, all the fields he would later describe in words. Typically of Mattheson's organization and self-image, he collected a large quantity of his autograph manuscript scores and writings, and left them at his death to the Hamburg Library (then the Stadtbibliothek or Bibliotheca Publica, connected with the city's Latin school called the Johanneum, today the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg—Carl von Ossietzky), which shows his intention to be remembered as a composer. Ironically, just after two major studies had been made of his work in the 1930s and early 40s,¹ the manuscripts disappeared and were long believed to have been destroyed in the fire that consumed the Hamburg Library in 1943 during the Allied bombardment.

The true fate of the collection later came to light through careful examination of archival records of the library. A few weeks before the destruction of the library the manuscripts had been sent for safe-keeping to Lauenstein Castle, near Dresden. At the end of the war this area was in the Soviet zone, and it was not possible to have the manuscripts brought back to Hamburg. In letters between the Hamburg Library and the administrator of Lauenstein Castle it is recorded that the Soviet army transported the Hamburg holdings to an unknown destination in February 1946. By 1948 the largest part of the Mattheson legacy had landed in Armenia.²

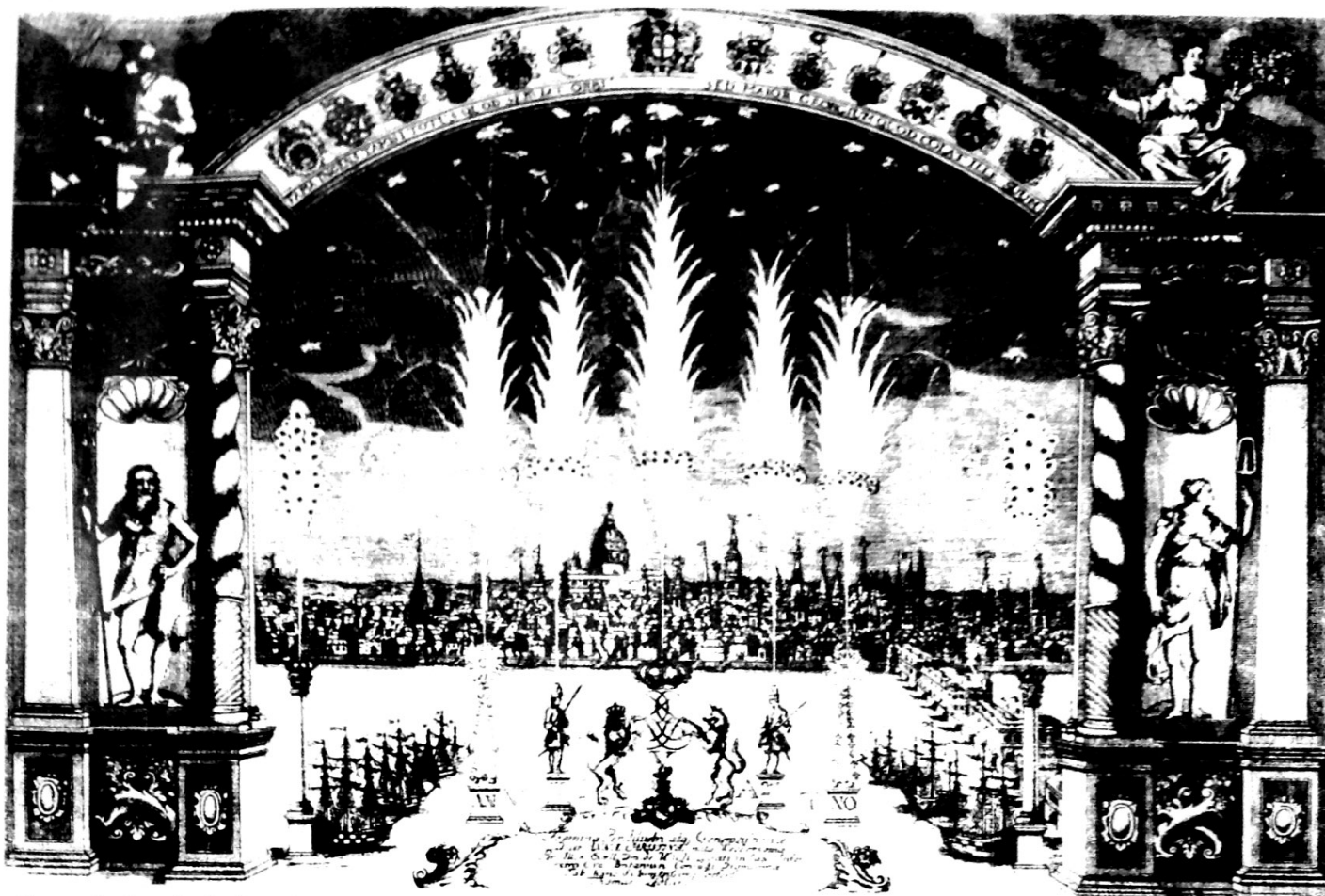
In May 1998 the foreign minister of the former Soviet Republic of Armenia handed over a collection of 565 manuscripts, largely from North German libraries and archives, to his opposite number in the German foreign ministry. This action was based on an agreement reached between the two countries in

December 1995. These manuscripts had been in the care of the Academy of Sciences in Erevan since 1948. This fact was known to only a few people even in the former Soviet Union.³ The manuscripts were brought to the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, where they were examined by librarians and archivists from Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen. The happy results are summarized here.

Thanks to these returns, together with the approximately 2,200 books that had previously been recovered from elsewhere (1989 from East Berlin, 1990 from Moscow, and 1991 from St Petersburg), approximately 90 per cent of the pre-war holdings of musical manuscripts are once again in Hamburg.⁴ All the manuscripts returned from Armenia are in good condition and are now available for research and study.⁵ Included are 31 autograph scores of operas and oratorios from the Mattheson legacy, including *Porsenna* (1702), *Cleopatra* (1704), *Boris Goudenow* (1710) and *Henrico IV* (1711). These, together with previously returned scores, now account for all but five of the 41 autograph scores that Mattheson left in 1764 to the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek, along with a large body of his writings.⁶

Mattheson's life

Mattheson was born in 1681, three years after the founding of the Hamburg opera (illus.2). At the age of nine he made his first appearance on the opera stage as a boy soprano in Johann Wolfgang Franck's *Aeneas* (1690). In his autobiography of 1740 he wrote that the opera was for him 'a musical university, without the help of which, neither he nor anyone else would ever create anything worthwhile in the highest art of music'.⁷ He must have been the star pupil of this university, for in 1699 at age 18 he produced his first opera, *Plejades*, in which he wrote the music, 'sang the main role, directed the entire production and put the audience in a pleasurable state of wonder'.⁸ In the following six years he continued singing lead roles in his own and others' operas until his retirement from the opera stage at age 24, after singing the title role in Handel's *Nero*. This retirement coincided with the onset of hearing problems that were to continue to handicap him. From 1715 to 1728 he was Kapellmeister of the Hamburg Dom, during which time he wrote 32 oratorios; but his



2 Stage design, including fireworks, for the Hamburg Opera by Thomas Lediard for the celebration of the coronation of Georg II (1727) (Hamburg, Staatsarchiv)

career as an active musician was brought to a close at the age of 47 by almost total deafness. His enormous energy and passion for all things musical were thereafter poured entirely into his vast writings on music.

Another important event that spurred Mattheson's retirement from the opera stage in 1705 was his appointment in 1704 as the tutor of Cyrill Wich, son of the English Resident (Ambassador), Sir John Wich. This assured him of both a comfortable income and contact with the highest reaches of Hamburg society. He commented: 'This was the beginning of my true happiness, but also the inspiration for the jealousy of a certain man [Handel] who had previously been the musical tutor.'⁹ He goes on to recount the famous story of the duel between himself and Handel after one of the performances of *Cleopatra* (on 5 December 1704), when Handel refused to vacate the harpsichord for the composer after his onstage death scene. The accuracy

of Mattheson's recollection of this matter is typical of a man who made a life-long habit of writing daily notes on the events of his life. The première of *Cleopatra* was on 20 October, the appointment of Mattheson as Cyrill Wich's tutor on 7 November, and the performance that inspired the duel on 5 December. But the two composers must have been on good terms again by 30 December, when Mattheson attended a rehearsal of Handel's *Almira*, where he again sang the leading male role of Fernando.¹⁰ Relations between the two young composers were close during Handel's Hamburg years (1703–6), and Mattheson, the elder by four years, was proud to be the operatic mentor of the teenage genius. He later wrote that Handel 'used to bring me his first opera (*Almira*) scene by scene every evening and wanted to know all of my opinions about it—and what trouble it cost him to conceal his pedantry!'¹¹

Mattheson's employment as young Cyrill's tutor led quickly to an even more important role as secretary to the father, Sir John. In this capacity he was to serve father and then son for the next 45 years, including a period in 1714 between the death of Sir John and the appointment of Cyrill, during which he was himself the acting English ambassador. In the first decade of the 18th century Hamburg was a crossroad of diplomatic and military movement concerning the Great Northern War (1700–1721), in which the seemingly unstoppable forces of Charles XII of Sweden (1682–1718) (illus.4) faced shifting alliances of English, Dutch, Danish, Saxon and, most implacably, Russian forces led by their own warrior king, Peter the Great (1672–1725) (illus.3). Mattheson knew both antagonists personally, travelling to Altranstadt to meet Charles XII at the pinnacle of his success,¹² and later entertaining the tsar in Hamburg on 28 May 1716, well after the tide had turned in Russia's favour and Russia was part of a grand alliance including England and Denmark, aiming at a death blow to Swedish power in the Baltic.¹³ If all of Hamburg was well informed and directly concerned by these current events, Mattheson was surely the first to know of any decisive developments.

Boris Goudenow

After suffering a humiliating defeat at the hands of his arch-rival at Narva in Estonia in 1700, Tsar Peter spent the next decade in an all-consuming effort to build up Russia's armed forces and to establish Russia's window on the western world by creating a Baltic port city, St Petersburg. On 28 June 1709 his efforts were rewarded with a victory at Poltova in the Ukraine which changed the political winds of Europe in one day. Charles XII, wounded, his army destroyed, was forced to flee into the Ottoman Empire and seek sanctuary from Sultan Ahmed III. The news of the stunning Russian victory spread quickly across Europe. The diplomatic turnaround was instant. With Russia suddenly become fashionable, obstacles to marital alliances between the nobility of Europe and Russia's great houses melted away, and the stage was set for Russia's grand entrance onto the European scene. One specific diplomatic move at this point (1709) was the installation of the

first Russian ambassador to Hamburg in the person of Johann Friedrich Böttiger.¹⁴ Can it be coincidental that Mattheson chose this moment to write an opera on a Russian theme?

After *Cleopatra* in 1704, Mattheson had let six years pass before writing another opera. In 1710 he composed both words and music to an opera about the legendary Tsar Boris Fyodor Godunov (c.1552–1605) (illus.5). This opera was never performed. Mattheson makes a cursory explanation for this in his autobiography:

The year 1710 was almost filled up with much diplomatic business. Nevertheless, as far as music was concerned, it was far from laid aside. So much so that Mattheson [he refers to himself this way throughout the autobiography] for his own special pleasure and practice, composed a new opera by the name of *Boris*, both the poetry and the music. However, because of certain circumstances, he had reservations about turning it over to the theatre. It therefore remained unperformed.¹⁵

The phrase 'certain circumstances' may conceal several possible motives. First, there is the question of Mattheson's contempt for the current state of the Hamburg Opera. Since his retirement from the opera stage he observed a sharp decline in standards there. In his (English) foreword to the printed score of his last opera *Henrico IV* (1711) he wrote in his dedication to his pupil and friend Cyrill Wich:

Sir, . . . You are not ignorant, with what a negligence the envy, or the malice, or the Ignorance of some people has endeavoured, to make this Musick perform'd, and what a terrible Jangle and Confusion the Audience was often forc'd to hear, in the place of good Musick; for these reasons therefore, and to disabuse such, as might lay the blame on the Composer, I could not do less, then to publish under your Patronage the Pieces, that were the most mangled and disfigur'd, not doubting, but they will find a more favorable Reception, now, when examined nearly and at Leisure, then they could expect to have, when they were represented but confusedly and very much maimed.¹⁶

Other considerations might have been of a political nature. Russian tradition seems to have forbidden the portrayal of tsars living or dead on the theatrical stage.¹⁷ Perhaps Mattheson only learned of this (from the new Russian ambassador?) after the work was completed. Equally likely is that the rapidly shifting sands of international political alliances made it unseemly, or even dangerous for the closest associate of the English ambassador to be seen portraying the Russians in either a good light or



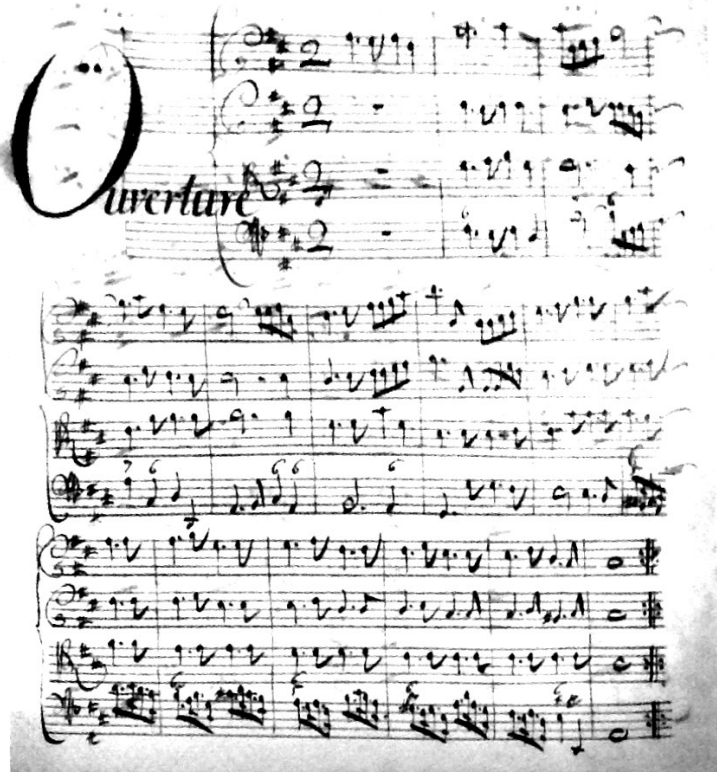
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Sir Godfrey Kneller, Portrait of Peter the Great (1698) (The Royal Collection © 2005, HM Queen Elizabeth II)



4 David von Krafft, Portrait of Charles XII of Sweden (1707) (Photo: The National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm)

BORIS GOUDENOW

oder
Für
Dunst Verschlagenheit
Erlangte Trohn



5 Title-page of Mattheson's *Boris Goudenow* (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek—Carl von Ossietzky)

a bad. The discrepancy between the subtitle in the score and that in the now lost libretto, shows a certain ambivalence in this regard. The score has it as 'Der durch Verschlagenheit erlangte Trohn' ('The throne attained through cunning'), while the libretto has the friendlier 'Die durch Neigung glücklich Verknüpfte Ehre' ('The happy union of affection and honour'). In any case, Mattheson, with his insider knowledge of both the political world and the world of the opera, certainly promised himself renewed and expanded recognition through this work, so that the 'certain circumstances' which persuaded him not to have it performed must have been weighty.

Boris Goudenow is dedicated to John Wich, Ambassador Extraordinaire of her Royal Majesty of Great Britain. His son Cyrill composed one aria in

Act 3 as a mark of the high mutual regard of teacher and pupil which was to continue through the long years when Cyrill became his teacher's master as the new ambassador to Hamburg (1715–41). At the end of his Hamburg service Cyrill was sent to St Petersburg to be the English ambassador to the new Tsar Ivan VI.

The manuscript score could be described as a first draft, or torso, compared to the performance-ready state of Mattheson's other scores. In particular, the lack of dance movements (although indicated in the libretto) and *recitativo accompagnato* must lead to the conclusion that Mattheson had already foreseen that the work would not come to performance before preparing a final score. (There are typically between three and eight *accompagnati* in contemporary Hamburg operas, and they carry an important weight of dramatic expressiveness.) Luckily there are sufficient applicable and exquisite models from Mattheson himself to create an informed 'restoration'.

The macaronic libretto (Italian arias strewn liberally throughout an otherwise German text) was written by Mattheson himself. Other Hamburg opera composers had also been involved in the literary as well as the musical creation of operas; these included Franck, Förtsch and Telemann. In defending this effort against literary critics, whether real or imagined, he revealed that he had sometimes composed the music first and then fitted the text:

Those who find here and there some rather unusual genres should be informed that when one is fitting text to a pre-existing composition the process is difficult, but also leads to a special effectiveness. Masters will already know this, and the inexperienced should try it!

This clear indication of a tendency toward 'Prima la musica, poi le parole' fits into his progressive aesthetic which already foreshadows that of Mozart.

This remark was saved from its destruction in the 1943 fire by the work of H. C. Wolff, who had luckily transcribed portions of Mattheson's libretto and his preface to it. Mattheson's most poignant remark in this regard is that he finds it unnecessary to comment on the subject matter of *Boris Goudenow* other than to say:

I would rather not disturb the dear librarians in their dusty repose, particularly because there are so many more learned pedants than learned 'galantes' (meaning men of fashion, taste and substance).¹⁸

This shows a reluctance to reveal the real reasons for the writing of the opera or the possible meanings contained in the story. Mattheson's plot revolves around the events that lead to Boris's coronation as tsar. In Act 1 Tsar Theodorus tries unsuccessfully to name a successor before dying. Pro- and contra-Boris factions crystallize, and Boris decides to retire to a monastery to await the will of the Russian people. With a dancing and singing chorus of the old men and children of Russia, Act 2 ends with shouts of 'Long live Boris'. In Act 3 the opponents of Boris recognize their defeat, and all of the love pairs which Mattheson has woven into the historical tale come together in a classic *lieto fine*.

In fact all the characters in Boris, with the exception of Olga, are derived from historical figures contemporary with Boris Godunov:¹⁹

Boris Goudenow Boris Fedrovich Godunov (c.1552–13 April 1605), tsar 1598–1605 (illus.6).

Theodorus Ivanowitz Fedor Ivanovich (31 May 1557–6 Jan 1598), tsar 1584–98, simple-minded son of Ivan the Terrible and Anastasija Romanov.



6 Portrait of Boris Godunov

Irina Irena Fedrova (d 1603), sister of Boris, married to Fedor Ivanovich in 1580.

Gavust Gustav (1568–1607), Crown Prince of Sweden, son of King Eric XIV. Brought to Moscow by Boris in 1599 to marry his daughter Xenia, but Gustav was unwilling to give up his Protestant faith or to command a Russian army in a war against Sweden.

Josennah Johannes; Duke Johann (1580–1602), the brother of Christian IV of Denmark. Travelled to Moscow in 1602 as another prospective suitor to Xenia, but died that same year.

Axinia Xenia, daughter of Boris

Fedro Fyodor Nikitich Romanov, one of four brothers (sons of the Regent Nikita Romanov, d 1586) to whom Tsar Theodorus (Fedor Ivanovich) offered the sceptre of state. The scene of Theodorus offering the sceptre before throwing it to the ground is reported in Petreius, 1620.

Ivan (Ivan Romanov), son of Nikita Romanov, another of the four brothers who declined the sceptre from Fedor Ivanovich in Petreius' depiction.

Bogda Although there is a historical 'Bogdan' in the chronicles of the Boris years—Bogdan Jakovlevich Bielski (d 1611)—the comic servant, always lazy, hungry and horny, an archetype passed on from the Italian *commedia dell'arte*, is a necessary ingredient to every Hamburg opera. Bogdan Bielski was one of the 'new men' created by Ivan the Terrible and put into high positions alongside Boris. In order to sideline the potential rival, Boris had him appointed Governor of Nizny Novgorod before the coronation of Fedor Ivanovich in 1584.

Olga No Olga appears in the historical documents to the life of Boris. But the medieval Russian Princess Olga was a known and iconic figure from Russian history. In Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* of 1732–54, she is described as 'a brave and heroic lady, but of great cleverness and cunning'.

The music

The score is written for a cast of the ten principals listed above, STTB chorus (typical for the Hamburg Opera) and an orchestra consisting of four-part strings, oboes, recorders, bassoons, viola d'amore and continuo. There is no mention of trumpets or timpani in the score, but, as with many other Hamburg operas, their participation seems to be implied: the style of several of the movements is often reminiscent of Lully's ceremonial music, which usually specifies the combination. The orchestra is used in a colourful and varied way, including obbligatos for violin, recorders, bassoons and viola d'amore, and a sarabande accompanied by pizzicato strings. The arias, partly in Italian, partly in German,

are a wonderful mixture of *da capo*, through-composed and strophic forms in the manner of other Hamburg operas of the time. The flexibility of both the form and sequence of arias, dances, choruses etc. creates a variety that was not available in the more rigid form of the *opera seria*.

The typical Hamburg combination of German, Italian and French elements serves to create a work of considerable colour, variety and novelty without sacrificing artistic unity. The quality of the writing makes it clear why Handel would have embraced Mattheson as his operatic mentor. The young Saxon clearly recognized in Mattheson an experienced opera composer who understood the dramatic requirements of the stage and how to balance all the available elements. Now that *Boris Goudenow*, *Porsenna*, *Cleopatra* and *Henrico IV* are all available for study, Mattheson's importance as an opera composer can finally be fully and objectively evaluated.

An important tool for the analysis of these works is provided by Mattheson himself in the form of his

theory of the affective content of keys published in *Das neu-eröffnete Orchester* (Hamburg, 1713). George Buelow has demonstrated how Mattheson had deployed keys according to their emotional content in his *Cleopatra* (1704) in a way that illustrates the later theoretical description.²⁰ Boris Goudenow reveals the same pattern. One example may stand here to indicate this avenue of exploration: the youthful, energetic Boris is consistently characterized with the key of B \flat , which according to Mattheson is 'very diverting and magnificent; it retains also something modest, so that it can be at the same time heroic and delicate . . . it raises the soul to great things'.²¹

A point of overriding importance and interest was emphatically made by the great Mattheson scholars Beekman Cannon and George Buelow:²² the body of Mattheson's work as a composer can illustrate and illuminate the body of his work as a writer in a way that nothing else can. Now, finally, we will all have the opportunity to tap this well-spring of the high Baroque.

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I would like to thank the entire production team of the forthcoming Boston Early Music Festival production of Boris Goudenow for June 2005. In particular, Paul O'Dette, Jörg Jacobi, Nils Niemann, Lucy Graham, Anna Watkins, Kathy Fay and David Cockayne contributed ideas, content and illustrations. Dr Neubacher of the Staatsbibliothek Hamburg and Dr Jürgen Rathje contributed their expertise both in print and in conversation.

1 B. C. Cannon, *Johann Mattheson: spectator in music* (New Haven, 1947); H. C. Wolff, *Die Barockoper in Hamburg (1678–1738)* (Wolfenbüttel, 1957).

2 H. J. Marx, 'Unbekannte Kompositionen aus Matthesons Nachlaß', *New Mattheson studies*, ed. G. J. Buelow and H. J. Marx (Cambridge, 1983), pp.213–55;

J. Neubacher, 'Rückführung von Hamburger Musikhandschriften aus Eriwan', *Die Musikforschung*, lii (1999), pp.89–90. Marx describes only that part of Mattheson's bequest which in 1957 had been sent from Moscow to East Berlin (DDR), and which returned in 1989 from East Berlin to Hamburg.

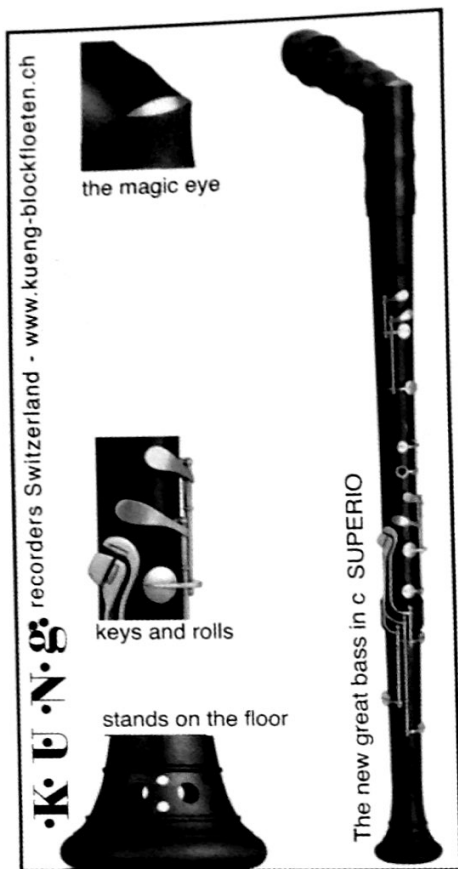
3 There is a complicated history of library holdings that were transported for safe-keeping during the Second World War and their later transmission through 'trophy commissions' of the Soviet Union. See particularly I. Kolasa, 'Sag mir, wo die Bücher sind', *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, xlii (1995). Concerning the holdings of the Hamburg Library, see O.-E. Krawehl, 'Verlagert—verschollen—zum Teil restituiert: das Schicksal der im 2. Weltkrieg ausgelagerten Bestände der Staats- und Uni. Bibliothek Hamburg',

Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte, lxxxiii (1997), pp.237–77.

4 Around 220 manuscripts are still missing. Among them are cantatas by Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel and operas by Johann Adolph Hasse.

5 A complete list of the manuscripts returned in May 1998 to the Hamburg Library is published as an addendum to R. Charteris, 'Thomas Bever and some rediscovered sources in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg', *Music & letters*, lxxxi (2000), pp.177–209, esp. pp.188–93.

6 These manuscripts were first described in detail in Cannon, *Johann Mattheson*, based on Cannon's research in Hamburg in 1938. The entire description here of the restitution of the Mattheson legacy is from J. Neubacher, 'Rückführung von



Hamburger Musikhandschriften aus Eriwan'.

7 Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), p.189.

8 Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p.190.

9 Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p.193.

10 J. M. Knapp, 'Mattheson and Handel', *New Mattheson studies*, ed. Buelow and Marx.

11 Johann Mattheson, *Critica musica*, i (1722), p.243.

12 Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, pp.195-6.

13 Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p.202.

14 D. Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne: Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und*

Diplomatie (1690-1745) (Göttingen, 1998), p.38.

15 Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p.197: 'Das Jahr 1710. wurde fast mit lauter Staatsgeschäften erfüllet. [. . . und] nahmen viel Zeit weg. Doch was die Musik betrifft, wurde diesselbe so wenig auf die Seite gesetzt, das Mattheson, zu seiner besondern Übung und Lust, eine neue Oper, die Boris hieß, so wohl der Poesie, als auch Composition nach, verfertigte; selbige aber aus Ursachen, dem Theatro zu überlassen Bedenken trug. Sie ist also nicht aufgeführt worden.'

16 Dedication to *Henrico IV, König von Kastilian*. Hamburg, 1711.

17 Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne*, p.80.

18 Wolff, *Die Barockoper in Hamburg*, p.290: 'Denen aber, die hie und da etwas ungewöhnliche Genera antreffen möchten, dient zur Nachricht, daß solche der schon vorher verfertigten Music zu gefallen also eingerichtet worden, welches, da es eben nicht so leicht zu machen, und gleichwol eine sonderliche Würckung habe, Verständige schon wissen und Unerfahrne versuchen mögen.'

19 I would like to thank Dr Jürgen Rathje for much of the information concerning the historical figures upon which Mattheson based his characters. The direct sources most likely to have served Mattheson are Erasmus Francisci, *Acerra exoticorum. Oder Historisches Rauchfaß* (Frankfurt am Main 1674) and Peter Petreius *Historien und Bericht von dem großfürstenthumb Muschow* (Leipzig, 1620). The latter is the source not only of characters, but of essential dramatic ingredients in Mattheson's plot.

20 G. J. Buelow, 'An evaluation of Johann Mattheson's opera *Cleopatra* (Hamburg 1704)', *Studies in eighteenth-century music*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London, 1970). Also, Jörg Jacobi in his foreword to the score of *Boris Goudenow*, ed. J. Jacobi,

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P. O'Dette and S. Stubbs (Bremen: Edition Baroque, 2004) for the Boston Early Music Festival.

21 'B-Dur. (Lydus transpositus) ist [. . .] sehr divertissant und prächtig; behält dabei gerne etwas modestes, und kan demnach zugleich vor magnific und mignon passieren. Unter anderen Qualitäten die ihm Kicherus beyleget, ist diese nicht zu verwerffen: Ad ardua animam elevans: Er ehebet die Seele zu schweren Sachen.'

22 Buelow, 'An evaluation of Johann Mattheson's opera *Cleopatra*'; G. J. Buelow, 'Johann Mattheson and the invention of the *Affektenlehre*', *New Mattheson studies*, ed. Buelow and Marx, pp. 393-407; B. C. Cannon, 'Johann Mattheson's "Inquiring Composer"', *New Mattheson studies* pp.125-68.