

The Idea of Transfiguration in the Early German Reception of Mozart's Requiem

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Over the past two hundred years, authorship disputes have dominated scholarly discussions about Mozart's Requiem. From the analysis of handwriting to the provenance of manuscript evidence, much debate has occurred over who wrote what when and about the relationship of these details to the larger contexts for the work.¹ In our attempts to present new evidence and theories regarding the Requiem, however, we have largely ignored the very reasons for investigating its genesis and composition in the first place. Our motivations as scholars, given Mozart's canonical status and the continual influence of the work, may seem obvious today. But what inspired the initial conversation? This essay works from the premise that early nineteenth-century interest in the authorship of the Requiem grew out of a wider movement of *Kunstreligion* (art religion) in German musical aesthetics of the time. In connection with *Kunstreligion*, the idea of transfiguration entered music criticism and writings on aesthetics around 1800 and played a pivotal role in early texts about the Requiem. Initially employed in vivid comparisons of the Requiem to Raphael's *Transfiguration of Christ*, the idea of transfiguration shaped the debates about the authenticity of Mozart's composition in the 1820s. Critics such as Friedrich Rochlitz, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Gottfried Weber, and Adolf Bernhard Marx understood the Requiem as the transfiguration of its composer, listeners, and of music itself. The composition was imagined to be a site of Mozart's own transfiguration, and concert reviewers described the heightened "spiritual listening" of some of the Requiem's first performers and audiences, whose profound experiences were seemingly evoked by presentations of the work. Drawing on a slightly different sense of the idea of transfiguration, the Requiem itself was at the center of a transformation of existing generic categories: what previously would have been considered "church music" ("Kirchenmusik") now fit into a newer category of "religious music" ("religiöse Musik"). These manifestations of transfiguration, which developed out of the broader movement of early nineteenth-century *Kunstreligion*, led commentators to express concerns about the authenticity of Mozart's final work. After a survey of the ideas of *Kunstreligion* and transfiguration in early nineteenth-century writings about music, this essay traces the role of the concept of transfiguration in the reception of the Requiem, from the early anecdotes to the later controversy.

Kunstreligion, Transfiguration, and the Pantheon of Composers around 1800

The strong inclination toward spiritual ideas in early nineteenth-century writings about music significantly shaped the early German reception of Mozart's Requiem. This proclivity toward spirituality stemmed from both a revival of Platonic Idealism and new expressivist theories of Romanticism. Idealism fixed its aspirations on the higher world of spirit (*Geist*) as it had been theorized by ancient Greeks such as Pythagoras, Plato, and Plotinus (Neubauer 1986; Bonds 1997). The expressivism of early Romanticism focused on the psychological transmission of ideas and feelings through composing and listening, in effect naturalizing the supernatural (Abrams 1953; 1971; Taylor 1989). The emergence of the new category of the musical sublime likewise fostered spiritual language in writings of the time (Webster 1997). However, while each of these movements is indeed related to the spiritual language ever-present in writings on aesthetics around 1800, the idea of a *Kunstreligion* or "art religion" better accounts for the breadth and depth of the influence of spiritual ideas at the time. As a relative of Idealism, Romanticism, and the sublime, *Kunstreligion* is, most simply put, the belief that art manifests the divine.² In *Kunstreligion*, art is thought to express divine feelings, artistic experience is compared to religious ritual, and artistic works are seen as divine presences on earth, whether as divine in and of themselves or as striking manifestations of the divine.³ Particularly important to the field of music, early nineteenth-century *Kunstreligion* inspired beliefs that the concert, composer, and musical work each embodied aspects of the sacred to varying degrees. Audiences were depicted as listening with devotional contemplation, composers were described as deities, and the musical work was thought more capable than any other artistic form of revealing the divine.

Transfiguration (*Verklärung*) was one of the most important spiritual ideas associated with *Kunstreligion*. Originating in religious writings of antiquity, the concept of transfiguration entered musical aesthetics around 1800. In German-language writings after Luther, the state of transfiguration, in which an individual appears in heavenly garb, was most commonly evoked in connection with Christianity, whether in descriptions of Jesus's transfiguration (Matt. 17:1; Mark 9:2; Luke 9:28) or as the spiritual transformation of the Christian believer (2 Cor. 3:18).⁴ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, transfiguration was increasingly used in secular arenas. Friedrich Schiller, for instance, employed "verklärt" in both secular and sacred contexts in his drama *Maria Stuart* ([1800] 1984). In act three, the queen's admirer, Mortimer, is "transfigured" by Mary's charms during her encounter with

Elizabeth, likening the former to the “most beautiful woman on the earth” ([1800] 1984:362).⁵ Later in the drama, as Mary receives her last rites, the priest, Melvil, assures her of her salvation—that she will, “as a transfigured angel, be eternally joined with God” (ein schön verklärter Engel, dich / auf ewig mit dem Göttlichen vereinen, [1800] 1984:408). Likewise, Goethe frequently used the word “verklärt” in place of “verstorben” (deceased).⁶

In *Kunstreligion*, ideas of transfiguration were often employed alongside ideas of apotheosis (“Apotheosis” or “Vergötterung”), their differences notwithstanding. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German speakers used the idea of apotheosis in connection with the ancient pagan custom of regarding emperors and other respected persons as gods after, and sometimes even before, their deaths.⁷ The apotheoses of ancient mythological and historical figures such as Aeneas, Julius Caesar, and Julius Caesar’s successor, Augustus, inspired later generations of artists and writers and, significantly for the present purposes, inspired music commentators of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While German dictionaries of the time clearly associated apotheosis with pagan contexts and transfiguration with Christian ones (Zedler 1732; Adelung 1811), in writings about music both acts were invoked to open up metaphorical passages between mortality and immortality through which composers might be imagined to proceed, adored by human and angelic admirers along the way.

Although musicians, and occasionally composers, had been characterized as spiritually-inspired or spiritually-possessed for hundreds of years and mythological figures such as Orpheus had been enthroned in the clouds by artists and poets, the attribution of transfiguration to real, living composers seems to begin around 1800 (Kramer 2005:176–79).⁸ And while early critical reception of Mozart’s Requiem is the context in which a composer is first described as undergoing transfiguration, the characterizations emerging there would quickly be applied to other composers.⁹ In 1802, for example, Johann Nikolaus Forkel, who wrote of J. S. Bach as a pious steward of God’s creation, asserted that when it came to his organ compositions, Bach appeared to him “more like a true, transfigured spirit than like a human being” (Forkel [1802] 1999:19).¹⁰ Almost ten years later, a writer for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* referred to several composers as transfigured deities (August 1810:364–65). In his dream of a new musical year, the author wrote of passing among pyramids and gigantic buildings worthy of temples toward rows of transfigured composers. The poem he heard recited in his dream mentioned gods of music in the service of the “great female ruler of the universe,” named specific composers, and defined their relationships to each other. Of the many divinities reigning in the heavens, Handel is the “messiah of the singers.” The “stars” of Graun and Pergolesi glimmer mildly as the

initiation rites continue, their path illuminated by the mystical Palestrina. Beethoven's lyre shimmers on earth. He is marked as one of the initiated, even though he is not yet transfigured like the composers who have already died. The "trinity of beauty, truth, and goodness"—"Mozart, Haydn, and [J. S.] Bach"—have "wrested new worlds from Chaos" (August 1810:365).¹¹ Haydn is characterized as the Father, Bach as the Son ("the cornerstone of the temple"), and Mozart as the Holy Spirit. In the trinity, Mozart is clearly first among equals, receiving more praise than Haydn and Bach.

The transfigured Mozart was also given a place of honor in musical monuments such as the "temple of harmony" in the English garden of Joseph Anton Bridi of Tyrol. Between 1810 and 1827, Bridi, a banker, amateur singer, and friend of Mozart's, erected a cupola on which was frescoed a scene of the apotheosis of music (Clive 1993:30). Mozart was depicted as the first composer to receive his laurel wreath, although he was chronologically the youngest of the group. Bridi's garden was detailed in a book, which itself was reviewed by the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1828. The reviewer's description of the musical memorial and speculation about its meaning is worth quoting at length.

[Herr] Bridi chose seven individuals from the celebrated masters of composition, and in seeking to demonstrate their immortality in a fitting manner, he also indicated that this place was one devoted to divine harmony. The chosen artists, whose painted busts are presented in magical dimness, and decorated with sensuous emblems are: Mozart, Palestrina, Gluck, Jomelli, Händel, Haydn, and Sacchini. Their earthly hulls removed, one sees them as ideal images of lovely child-geniuses, to whom Apollo hands their earned laurel wreaths . . . Mozart's genius is the furthest from Apollo and the first to be crowned. He sweeps through the air and has already reached the temple of posthumous fame and holds in a hand raised high a sheet on which may be read the name of the heavenly singer who was animated and inspired by him. His star is adorned by the bestowed laurel. After Mozart, Palestrina's genius has reached the same goal and realm in the temple; then one immediately sees in a charming group two geniuses, Jommelli's and Haydn's. These two spirits have also already received their crowns and hurry to the temple and their honor, first Jommelli, then Haydn [followed by Gluck, Handel, and Sacchini in the reviewer's description] . . . The artist's idea was, without a doubt, this: to show that the human spirit must first work through diligence, study, and steadfastness to achieve this summit, in order to become worthy of immortality; once his genius has been fulfilled and has received heavenly consecration before the judgment seat, he has no need of any lever to another transfigured existence, and like Apollo travels through the ethereal, Olympian fields. (Häser 1828:678–80)¹²

The individuals whom Bridi honored with immortality included composers of sacred music, opera, and instrumental music spanning three centuries and several European regions. From the reviewer's perspective, these human geniuses had worked diligently to attain their immortality and heavenly consecration. Somewhat paradoxically, it was Mozart, the epitome of the divinely inspired child-genius, who was envisioned as the guardian of the other divinized composers. Although Beethoven had been present in the fantastic vision of composers as deities (published several years earlier in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and discussed above, August 1810:364–65), he is conspicuously absent from Bridi's garden.

The tributes to Mozart in the first three decades of the nineteenth century would also be bestowed upon Beethoven after his death in 1827 (strikingly, the authenticity disputes over the Requiem culminated during this period). A multitude of critics ascribed immortality to Beethoven, and Beethoven's divine transfiguration is a central theme running through correspondence, poems, essays, and accounts of the composer, beginning with reports from his deathbed, as is well documented by primary and secondary sources (Schlosser 1828; Arnim [1835] 1986; Sullivan 1927; Schmitz [1927] 1978; Comini 1987; Eggebrecht 1994; Chua 1999; Kramer 2005). For instance, the composer Anselm Hüttenbrenner, who apparently was with Beethoven in his final hours, described the master's death to Alexander Wheelock Thayer in 1860, using language echoing accounts of the deaths of great figures from the ancient world (excerpted in Thayer 1967, 2:1049–51; see Comini 1987:71). Two months after Beethoven's death, his doctor ended a lengthy report on the composer's medical history by likening his death to the apotheosis of a deceased emperor in classical Rome (Nettl 1956).¹³ Other accounts, such as Bettina Brentano von Arnim's in her "memories of Beethoven," alluded to aspects of divinity in Beethoven's compositional abilities, such as omnipotence and the ability to create *ex nihilo* (Arnim [1835] 1986:345–46, 350). The predominantly invented nature of her letters in no way detracts from their usefulness as a register of her own impressions of the composer. In her estimation (and in the thinking of many of her contemporaries), with his death, Beethoven had passed from earthly life to a realm more appropriate to his being.

From these early nineteenth-century accounts, it is clear that Richard Wagner's well-known "musical creed" from the 1830s painting the composer and his work as divine was one chapter in a longer tradition of composer "worship." In the statement from the short story "An End in Paris," Wagner's *persona* affirmed belief in God, Mozart, and Beethoven and in the eventual transfiguration of all "true disciples of high Art."

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I believe in God, Mozart, and Beethoven . . . I believe in the Holy Spirit and the truth of the one, indivisible Art . . . I believe that through this art all men are saved, and therefore each may die of hunger for Her. I believe that on earth I was a jarring discord, which will at once be perfectly resolved by death. I believe in a last judgment, which will condemn to fearful pains all those who in this world have dared to play the huckster with chaste art, have violated and dishonoured Her through the evilness of their hearts and the ribald lust of their senses. I believe that these will be condemned through all eternity to hear their own vile music. I believe, on the other hand, that true disciples of high Art will be transfigured in a heavenly veil of sun-drenched fragrance and sweet sound, and united for eternity with the divine fount of all Harmony. May mine be the sentence of grace! Amen! (Wagner [1841] 1912:135, translation adapted from Chua 1999:240)¹⁴

The tongue-in-cheek nature of much of Wagner's prose before and after the creed suggests the presence of a substantial degree of irony. Ironic or not, his rhapsodic panegyric registers the idea that the composer might be confessed in much the same way as the Christian God—an idea that may have developed from earlier evocations of the transfigured composer.

Where Wagner's creed started with belief in the composer as divine, it eventually led to a belief in the divinity of music itself. Implicit in many accounts of the transfigured composer was a connection to the transfiguring potential of music. This connection extends back at least to comments by Friedrich Rochlitz, long-time editor of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, about immortal composers and immortal works (1800a:417–18).¹⁵ Rochlitz drew attention to the ephemeral nature of music in relation to the other arts, in order to emphasize its spiritual aspects: “The works of no artist have so great a perishability amidst their imperishability, so much mortality amidst their immortality as the works of a musician” (1800a:417–18).¹⁶ Indeed, the musical work and the composer were in similar situations: as a creation in sound, music was ephemeral, and as human beings, composers were mortal. While there was nothing a deceased composer or a work itself could do to ensure the continued attention of an audience, human beings could erect memorials to music and composers so that they would be remembered by future generations. Rochlitz's hope was that if listeners remembered composers as individuals, they would also remember their works. Accordingly, he applauded the monuments erected to great German composers such as Haydn, memorials that testified to the “esteem” in which the composer was held, and “thus [testified] to his service and his works” (1800a:417).¹⁷ As early nineteenth-century audiences contemplated musical works, it is conceivable that they expected to hear a divine message or to experience the divine presence of a divinely-inspired creative composer.

Through such acts of devotion, the transfiguration of great composers and their music, first glimpsed by musical connoisseurs, might be experienced for years to come by a wider public.

Transfiguration in the Earliest Reception of Mozart's Requiem

The idea of transformation fundamentally shaped the early reception of Mozart's Requiem through repeated comparisons of the work with Raphael's *Transfiguration of Christ* (figure 1). Comparisons between the history and mythology surrounding Raphael's famous altarpiece and Mozart's requiem mass were irresistible to early nineteenth-century music critics. Both artists had died young while completing the works that would in time come to exemplify their highest creativity. As would prove to be the case with Mozart's earliest critics, Raphael's earliest biographers had nothing but praise for his final work.¹⁸ In 1525, Italian historian Paolo Giovio singled out the *Transfiguration* for its excellence, admiring in particular Raphael's depiction of the possessed boy (Shearman 2003:804–20). Some twenty-five years later, the famous biographer Giorgio Vasari wrote that the figures in the painting were “so varied and original that it is the accepted opinion of artists that of all the many works [Raphael] made, this painting is the most glorious, the loveliest, and the most inspired.” Raphael had brought the *Transfiguration* “to perfection,” and “having finished this, the last thing he was to do, he died without taking up the brush again” (Vasari [1550] 1986:637).¹⁹

Historical distance and changing styles in painting gave rise to growing suspicions that Raphael had died before finishing the work and that it had been finished by one of his students, a notion that appears in written form in the eighteenth century. Antonio Raffaello Mengs, whose writings about art were dispersed throughout Europe in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, doubted that Raphael had executed any of his oil paintings entirely by himself (Gould 1982:480). Nineteenth-century commentators such as Quatremère de Quincy and Johann David Passavant reported rumors that Giulio Romano, one of the most successful members of Raphael's workshop, had in fact painted the best of Raphael's last works (Gould 1982:480).²⁰ Some critics expressed doubts about the authenticity of the *Transfiguration* alongside criticism of the combination of two subjects in one work: the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor and the healing of the lunatic boy.²¹ Others, such as Goethe, defended that combination and in so doing implicitly supported Raphael's authorship of the work. Goethe insisted that the theme of liberation from human suffering unified the scenes:

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How can one separate the upper and lower halves? Both are one: below, the suffering and needy, above, the active and helpful, both relating to each other and mutually acting upon one another . . . No! Raphael, like nature, is always right and especially most thoroughly there, where we understand him least. (Goethe 1967:454)²²

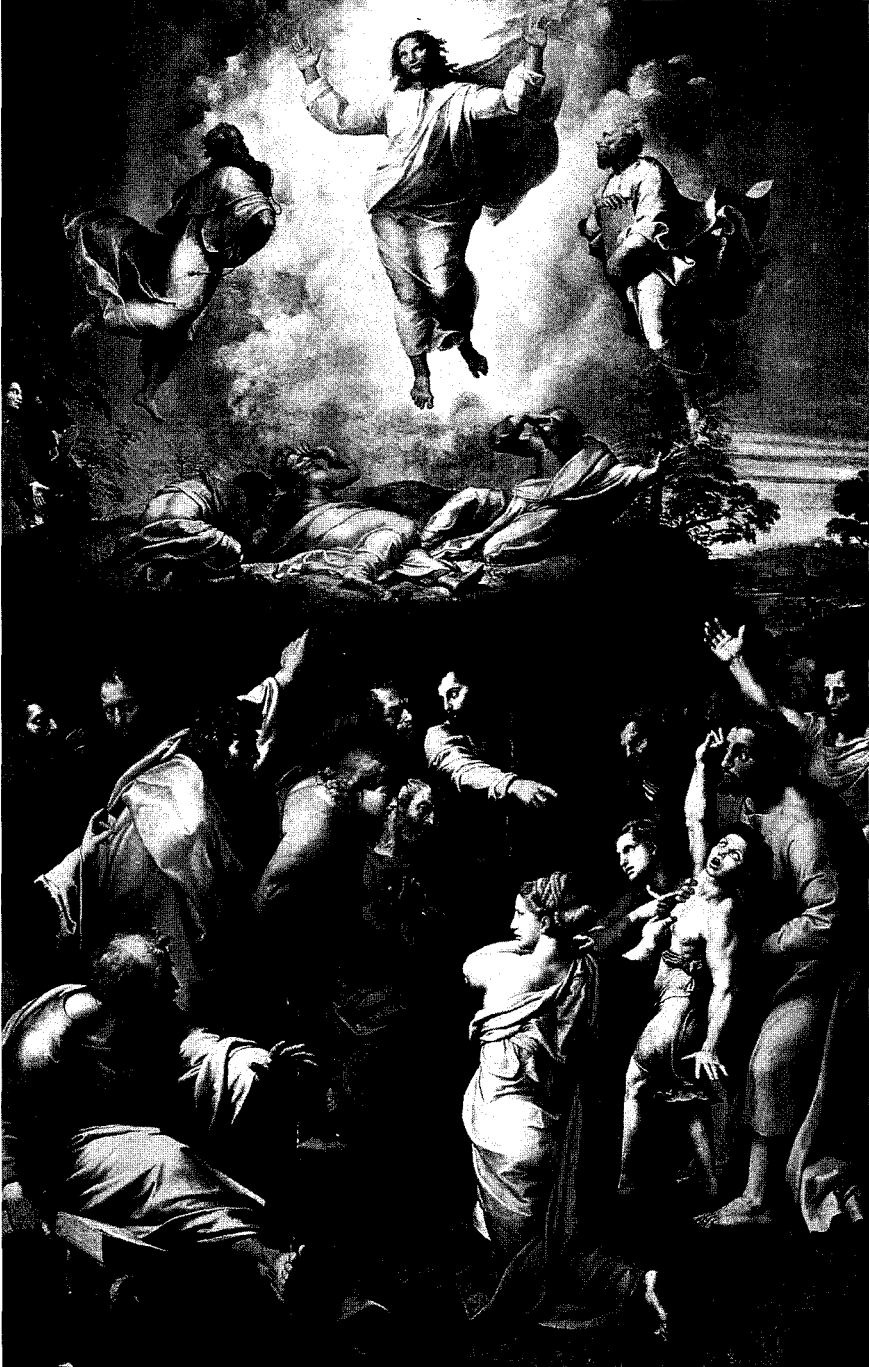
Goethe understood the disciples as witnesses of two revelations of freedom: the demons were miraculously cast out of the boy, and their rabbi, Jesus of Nazareth, was for a moment revealed to them as transfigured—unencumbered by the common lot of humanity. Comparing Raphael to nature, Goethe explained negative criticism of the altarpiece as the simple misunderstanding of a genius by his audience.

Although making no direct reference to Mozart's Requiem, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder was one of the first writers to compare the genesis of Raphael's *Transfiguration* to that of a work of music. In his collection of poetry and prose entitled *Outpourings from the Heart of an Art-loving Friar* ([1797] 1991), Wackenroder described the circumstances of Raphael's final painting and those of a fictional composer's final composition. This volume and its sequel, *Fantasies about Art for the Friends of Art* ([1799] 1991), were two of the first texts to articulate the new phenomenon of *Kunstreligion* as it pertained to visual and musical art. In these essays, the artist was repeatedly depicted as divinely inspired and the work of art took on a mystical aura. In a colorful account of Raphael's death, Wackenroder wrote that the artist's corpse lay in his studio next to the *Transfiguration*, a painting "in which we still today see the misery of earth, the solace of noble men, and the glory of the kingdom of heaven portrayed in such magnificent union,—and the master by whom it was conceived and carried out cold and pale beside it" ([1797] 1991:122, translation adapted from Wackenroder 1971:140).²³ In the collection's fictional memoir of the "Remarkable Musical Life of the Composer Joseph Berglinger," Wackenroder implicitly compared the production of Raphael's *Transfiguration* with the more agonized "birth" of the final work of a young composer whom Wackenroder named Joseph Berglinger. In Wackenroder's story, Berglinger began the Passion music he had been asked to write shortly after his father's death. His efforts were mired in deep depression, when suddenly he

flung himself open forcefully and stretched his arms up toward heaven with the most intense longing; he filled his spirit with the highest poetry, with loud, jubilant singing and, in a marvelous state of enthusiasm, but with continuous, violent swings of emotion, he wrote down a Passion composition which, with its penetrating melodies that embrace all the pains of suffering, will eternally be a masterpiece. His soul was like a sick man who, in a wonderful paroxysm, shows greater strength than a healthy one. ([1797] 1991:143–44, translation adapted from Wackenroder 1971:159)²⁴

Figure 1: Raphael's *Transfiguration of Christ*.

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Soon after completing his composition, Berglinger would collapse from exhaustion, dying young as had Raphael. Other than this similarity, the composer's traumatic experience writing his masterpiece was markedly different from the apparently peaceful genesis of the "most highly spiritual" work, "produced in all innocence and naiveté by Raphael." In reference to the differences in Raphael's and Berglinger's experiences, Wackenroder speculated that while human beings might not "comprehend the ways of heaven," they could at least "admire the variety of exalted spirits which heaven has placed into the world for the service of art" ([1797] 1991:144).²⁵

In his "biographical" accounts of Mozart's life, Friedrich Rochlitz emphasized similarities between Raphael and Mozart and the significance of the idea of transfiguration for composers and their art. Rochlitz's anecdotes, like Wackenroder's lives of the artists, reflect the spirit of their time, even though they are of dubious veracity. In one of the more famous stories, Rochlitz dramatized the circumstances of the commission of the Requiem and the composer's final days:

He immediately began to work on the commission. With each bar his interest in the matter increased; he wrote day and night. His body could not endure the strain, and several times he collapsed in a faint from his labors. All exhortations to moderate his work were fruitless. After several days his wife took him to the Prater. He remained constantly quiet and turned inward. Finally he denied it no longer—he was certain that he was writing this work for his own funeral. He could not rid himself of this idea; he worked, therefore, like Raphael on his *Transfiguration*, with the constant awareness of his approaching death, and delivered, as Raphael had, his own transfiguration. (Rochlitz 1798a:150–51)²⁶

Like Wackenroder's Berglinger, Rochlitz's Mozart strained to complete what would be his final composition. The struggles of Rochlitz's Mozart, however, were tempered by the composer's own realization that he, like Raphael before him, was producing his "own transfiguration." Rochlitz articulated this transfiguration by juxtaposing traditional interpretations of transfiguration and the requiem mass (the use of the language of transfiguration to describe both Christ's experience on Mount Tabor and the changes a believer undergoes during his life and at his death, and the function of a requiem mass as a means of the transfiguration of a departed believer).²⁷ Rochlitz's joint evocation of Christ's transfiguration and the requiem mass intensifies the sense of transfiguration ascribed to Raphael and Mozart and their works. His emphasis on transfiguration here complements his efforts toward the erection of memorials for composers and their works, as discussed above. Indeed, beginning with a performance of part of the work at Mozart's own memorial service, the composer's Requiem was performed numerous times

throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in honor of a departed soul, often the departed soul of another musician or composer (Anon. 1818:286; Anon. 1820; Thayer 1967, 2:1056; Wolff 1994:114–74; Gruber 1994:111).²⁸ Perhaps there was a trace of the celebration of Mozart himself in each of these memorials, given the immediate association of the composition with Mozart's own transfiguration.

A year and a half later, Rochlitz extended his comparison in a five-page article, in which he again drew on the idea of transfiguration and also introduced the idea of liberation. Here the Requiem emerged as symbolic of the transfiguration of its composer, its listeners, and of the style and genre of church music. The perception of these transfigurations was based in the Requiem's music rather than in associations of transfiguration with the traditional text and function of the requiem mass, though admittedly, those elements were noted too.

Both [Mozart and Raphael] felt the cold hand of death, which they even seized; both wanted to establish monuments to eternity. Both chose the *transfiguration*—Raphael, of the liberator, Mozart of the liberated. With the fervor of those who see the mask of death hovering around them, and with the effort of those who sense that “this is your last,” both worked and gave, in this instance, the essence of their holy feelings, as it were. Both transformed the transfigurations themselves. Raphael's work was the first of the new paintings, Mozart's, the first of the new religious music; still, most connoisseurs find several aspects of both a bit too black. (Rochlitz 1800b:651, emphasis in original)²⁹

Rochlitz's description of Raphael's work as the transformation of the liberator and Mozart's as the transformation of the liberated resonates with the theme of liberation from earthly suffering that Goethe noted in his critique. In the case of Raphael's depictive altarpiece, the identity of the liberator as Christ may seem straightforward enough, but the referent of “liberation” in Mozart's Requiem is more ambiguous. Is it Mozart the composer, Mozart the believer, or both? Or was Rochlitz simply thinking about any believer celebrated by or celebrating a requiem mass?

The “liberated” might also refer to the audience of any performance of the Requiem, an audience who might be construed as musically and spiritually liberated. Early reviewers of the Requiem often commented specifically on the audience's and orchestra's senses of devotion, peace, and freedom, along with the dignity and power of the music, and the intimate, deep, and sublime spirit of the work. In Hamburg, the entire audience was “carried away” by Mozart's “masterpiece” (von diesem Meisterstücke hingerissen, Rochlitz 1799:176). In Berlin, “the large audience shared, with true devotion, the beautiful wishes and the enthusiasm of the orchestra,

which one seldom encounters so strongly and well and with such intentions” (Z. 1805:85).³⁰ In Königsberg, a reviewer commented on the “infinite, high spirit” of the work and the “deeply-moving impression that it left” (Anon. 1805a:362).³¹ And in Leipzig, the Requiem was given with “power” and “dignity” and seized its reviewer with its “sublime spirit of the new, deep and intimate” (Anon. 1805b:413).³² Of the four performances mentioned here, only the one in Berlin was a memorial service (given after the death of the Prussian queen mother), a fact that suggests that the spiritual impact of Mozart’s music went beyond the response one might expect of listeners attending a funeral ceremony.³³ Indeed, the reviewers’ direct statements about the spiritual nature of the Requiem most likely stemmed as much from listeners’ perceptions of Mozart’s music as spiritual and new habits of spiritual listening as from the traditional text and function of the requiem mass (Kramer 2005:95–133).

Or could Rochlitz’s “liberated” here refer to the music itself? According to him, Mozart’s Requiem was the “first of the new religious music.” The idea of transfiguration seemed to encapsulate the trends that Rochlitz heard in the music of his day, especially the perceived changes in what until then had been classified as church music (“Kirchenmusik”). Writers had been debating the qualities of true church music (“wahre Kirchenmusik”) since the middle of the eighteenth century in a discourse that reflected elements of Enlightenment thought and that by the end of the century was absorbing the concerns of Romanticism (Krummacher 1979; Dahlhaus 1984; Kramer 2005:217–26). Some writers argued that true church music was only the music of the old masters like Palestrina, hearing little that was sacred in the music of their own time. Others, such as Rochlitz, defended at least some contemporary music, including Mozart’s Requiem. In another biographical anecdote, for instance, he reported,

from this work [the Requiem] one can see that Mozart, like so many other great men, was unable to find a place for himself during his lifetime. It was he who sought to raise up religious music, which is presently debased, to where it belonged—on the throne above all other music. In this field he became the leading artist in the world—for those who have heard his last work, according to the unanimous judgment of all connoisseurs, even those who are not particularly fond of Mozart, place it among the most perfect that the most recent art has produced. His existing masses are mostly early works which he himself made nothing of and which he, justly for the most part, would rather have forgotten. (Rochlitz 1798b:178–79, translation adapted from Solomon 1991:34)³⁴

While complaining of a general dearth of fine spiritual music (and even criticizing some of Mozart’s early offerings), Rochlitz found hope in the

Requiem, which he perceived as Mozart's attempt to "raise up religious music." His choice of words is telling. Instead of polemically speaking of Mozart's contributions to church music, Rochlitz evoked "religious music," a classification that, along with the idea of "spiritual music," was gradually becoming as common in music criticism as references to "church music" and "sacred music" (Krummacher 1979:365–68). By avoiding the term "Kirchenmusik" and writing more generally of "religious music," Rochlitz and others transformed the concerns of church music into those of religious music, a new category that included what had formerly been understood as church music but that would be judged by different criteria.³⁵

Religious experience was a key element of this new genre of religious music. Elsewhere, Rochlitz characterized Mozart as a defender of the experience of religious music, portraying him in a conversation in which the works of composers of church music were compared to those of the old painters whom they described as having to depict "spiritually-deadening, Church-imposed subjects":

Mozart at this point turned to the others and said (at least, this is the sense, if not the manner of it): this is some more of the usual mindless chatter about the arts! Perhaps for you *enlightened* Protestants, as you call yourselves when you remember your religion, there may be some truth in such a statement; I cannot say. But for us, it is a different matter. You have no concept of what it means: *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem*, etc. But if someone like myself, who from earliest childhood was introduced into the mystical sanctuary of our religion; if someone, not yet knowing where to go with his dark yet urgent feelings, full of heartfelt inner passion, sits through the holy service without really knowing what his purpose was, and leaves with his heart lightened and exalted without really knowing precisely what has happened to him . . . then it is a different matter. Of course, this admittedly tends to get lost as one goes through life on this earth; but—at least in my case—if one looks once again at those words heard a thousand times over with the intent of setting them to music, all of this revives and stands before you, and moves your soul. (Rochlitz 1801:494–95, emphasis in original, translation adapted from Solomon 1991:39)³⁶

As Maynard Solomon has pointedly observed, "Rochlitz manages to achieve in a few lines what Leopold Mozart could not accomplish in a lifetime of written and spoken exhortation—to implant in Mozart an unswerving reverence for and conscientious observance of the Church's sacraments of confession and communion" (1991:40). Although Mozart was an observant Catholic, the intensity of the words Rochlitz put in the composer's mouth here does seem excessive (Solomon 1991:40).³⁷ The anecdote can nevertheless be understood to reflect its author's priorities: Rochlitz's Mozart criticized

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enlightened Protestantism, emphasized the mystical aspect of religion, told a Berglinger-type story of music as redemption for an individual, and posited a direct connection between personal piety and the compositional process. Rochlitz's Mozart, like Rochlitz himself, avoided directly entering the fray over church music, writing instead about more general religious ideas that outline a broader category of religious music.

Transfiguration, Mozart's Requiem, and the Writings of E. T. A.

Hoffmann

E. T. A. Hoffmann's assessment in 1814 of the Requiem in his "Old and New Church Music" was strikingly similar to Rochlitz's. Hoffmann, too, criticized the early masses, argued for the Requiem's superiority, regretted the frivolous nature of recent art, wrote of music for religious worship as the highest type of music, and stressed the religious life of the composer ([1814] 1967). Although Hoffmann retained the term "church music" throughout his historical survey, he focused on its more generically religious traits over particular connections to Christian tradition. More significantly for the present purposes, Hoffmann expanded the ideas of transfiguration that had first appeared in Rochlitz's accounts. For Hoffmann, true and dignified church music (*wahre, würdige Kirchenmusik*, [1814] 1967:231) could come only from the pen of the genuinely pious composer, and it was through the act of composition that a composer experienced "spiritual transfiguration" (*geistige Verklärung*, [1814] 1967:210). Using the categories of critics before him, Hoffmann drew distinctions between the "most glorious period of church music" (*die herrlichste Periode der Kirchenmusik*) exemplified by Palestrina, and the era of his imitators in later generations ([1814] 1967:214). According to Hoffmann, Palestrina's descendents had departed from the earlier composer's deep seriousness and homophonic simplicity. Composers such as Pergolesi, Jommelli, Durante, and Marcello developed a style midway between church music and the oratorio, while other composers yielded to a sentimental and secular oratorio style. While there was much to be lamented in the current state of affairs, wrote Hoffmann, the fault lay not with Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, but with their imitators.

Hoffmann's descriptions of Mozart's Requiem suggest the broader category of religious music already articulated by Rochlitz. Hoffmann summarized his observations about the effect of Mozart's Requiem on listeners with a simple, rhetorical question: "Who could remain unmoved by the fervent devotion and spiritual ecstasy radiating from it?" ([1814] 1967:214, translation adapted from Charlton 1989:370).³⁸ Combining "the power and dignity of the old music with the rich ornament of the

new,” the Requiem, for Hoffmann, exhibited two attributes—power and dignity—which other critics had found lacking in church music ([1814] 1967:233).³⁹ Even though there might be elements of the oratorio style in the Requiem (itself an observation questioning a simplistic assignment of the Requiem to the category of church music), “the music remains genuinely devotional throughout; pure devotion resonates through these awe-inspiring chords which speak of another world, and which in their singular dignity and power are themselves another world” ([1814] 1967:233, translation adapted from Charlton 1989:374–75).⁴⁰ The devotion, power, and dignity heard by Hoffmann and others in Mozart’s Requiem became important characteristics of the new religious music.⁴¹

Mozart’s Requiem, the paragon of religious music, found its home in the “invisible church” (unsichtbare Kirche) that Hoffmann introduced in the opening paragraphs of “Old and New Church Music.” Perhaps influenced by the “invisible” and “aesthetic” churches found in the writings of Kant, Hölderlin, Hegel, and Schelling, Hoffmann’s invisible church consisted of “servants of art” whose “earthly demise meant spiritual transfiguration” ([1814] 1967:210)⁴² and was a particularly resonant context for music, an art emerging “more purely from human spiritual nature” than any other ([1814] 1967:212).⁴³ The invisible church of Hoffmann’s essay on church music was strikingly similar to the “one church” of poets and composers referred to in *The Poet and the Composer* (1813) and to the description of an “unknown realm” in Hoffmann’s 1810 review of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony ([1810] 1967). Both the invisible church and the unknown realm were spaces in which the deepest and most inexpressible feelings might be embraced ([1810] 1967:34–37; [1814] 1967:210).⁴⁴ Both represented a “world beyond” that was revealed by the musical work, a musical home marked by freedom, strength, peace, love, and joy ([1810] 1967:36; [1814] 1967:235).⁴⁵

The imagery and ideas common to the invisible church and the unknown realm thus suggest a more unified aesthetic approach to music contexts and genres than most recent scholars have read in Hoffmann’s writings.⁴⁶ It appears that for Hoffmann the best of the music discussed in the essay on church music no longer existed solely in the church’s domain but rather was imagined to reside in a world beyond that might be alternatively described as an “invisible church” or an “unknown realm.” Indeed, this metaphorical world of religious music hosted not only compositions such as Mozart’s Requiem but also the new instrumental music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. At the core of this new category of music was a concern with the musical transfiguration of the composer, listener, and work, a prerogative that went beyond the parameters of eighteenth-century debates over true church music to broader concerns about musical authenticity.

Authenticity and Transfiguration in the *Requiemstreit*

Commentators after Hoffmann thus inherited the association of Mozart's Requiem with ideas of transfiguration—a tradition underlying the controversies about the work during the 1820s (known as the *Requiemstreit*). For the composer, music theorist, and music critic Gottfried Weber (1779–1839), the application of the metaphor of transfiguration in Mozart reception initially rang false. Perhaps triggered by reflection on his own composition of a requiem or by his close review of Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut's essay, *On Purity in Music* (1825)—a review that recognized Thibaut's critical attack on the operatic elements in Haydn's and Mozart's church music—Weber launched a provocative query into the authenticity (“Echtheit”) of Mozart's Requiem in the pages of the music journal *Cäcilia*, which he had founded in 1824 (Weber 1825a).⁴⁷ To date, most scholarly attention to the *Requiemstreit* has been given to the sometimes vitriolic polemics set off by Weber's article, and in particular, to the debates between Weber, the composer Abbé Maximilian Stadler, and the publisher Johann Anton André (Jahn [1891] 1970, 3:361–93; Moseley 1989:229–33; Gärtner 1991:155–72; Wolff 1994:7–14). The significance of the idea of transfiguration to the origins of the Requiem and its reception are most strikingly encountered, however, in the contemporaneous interchange between Weber and music critic Adolf Bernhard Marx.

Over the past two hundred years, few musical questions have been as tantalizing for audiences as the composition history and provenance of Mozart's Requiem, and yet, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the essential facts of the actual case had been publicly acknowledged (albeit alongside a plethora of more mythical ideas): young Countess Anna von Walsegg had died on February 14, 1791, and her husband, Count von Walsegg, an enthusiastic musical amateur who would from time to time put on private performances of compositions that he claimed as his own, discreetly commissioned a Requiem from Mozart for the fee of fifty ducats in the summer of 1791.⁴⁸ When Mozart died on December 5, 1791, the work was not yet finished, and in order to honor the commission, Constanze Mozart arranged for its completion, turning to a succession of other composers. Mozart's student, Franz Xaver Süssmayr, eventually made the final revisions and delivered the piece to the count, who had it performed as his own work on December 14, 1793. Portions of the Requiem, however, had already been performed by this time: excerpts were sung on December 10, 1791, at a memorial service for Mozart at St. Michael's, the parish church of the Hofburg. The complete work was first heard by the public on January 2, 1793, in the Jahn-Saal in Vienna, as part of a benefit concert for Constanze and her children, arranged by Baron Gottfried van Swieten, and

three years later the work was given in Leipzig. Performances in London, Hamburg, Königsberg, Dresden, and Paris followed in the early years of the nineteenth century, as well as publication of the full score, vocal score, and performing parts from a copy of the score sent to Count von Walsegg.⁴⁹ When the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reviewed the full score in 1801, the journal published a letter from Süßmayr, which explained that he had been in communication with Mozart about the Requiem before the composer's death. Süßmayr gave an outline of which movements Mozart had written and which movements he had written. His clarification, however, did nothing to calm the subsequent investigation into the degree to which Süßmayr's musical contributions reflect Mozart's ideas, suggesting that, for its early critics, the authenticity of the work had repercussions beyond the editorial issues involved in creating a publishable version.

Weber highlighted the role of transfiguration in the reception of the Requiem from the very first sentence of his initial article, "On the authenticity of the Mozart Requiem" (1825b), in a claim meant to advance his argument that the historical facts of the genesis of the Requiem had been ignored by most listeners: "Of all works of our magnificent Mozart, there is hardly one that enjoys such universal, such *adoring worship* as the Requiem . . . yet it can hardly be called a work by Mozart" (1825b:205–6, emphasis added).⁵⁰ Noting that the genesis of the piece had been shrouded in a "mystical, almost Romantic obscurity," Weber hypothesized that Mozart's complete or nearly complete manuscript of the composition had been lost and that the published Requiem was actually the work of Mozart's student, Süßmayr. Weber went on to call for the compilation of fragments of Mozart's sketches and manuscripts that were circulating as "dear relics" (*theure Reliquien*), so that the world might have a "true" facsimile (*treues facsimile*) of Mozart's composition. It was at this point that Weber appropriated the language of transfiguration, hitherto used almost mockingly, to support his cause, writing that it was the "holy duty" of those holding fragments (*heilige Pflicht des Inhabers*) to bring them forward (1825b:216).

Ideas of transfiguration were equally crucial to Weber's reservations about the musical style of the Requiem—he used musical and theological reasoning to support his attribution of the weaker passages to Süßmayr's pen. He felt, for example, that the contrast between the "wild unison" of the final judgment and the sweet depiction of the blessed believers in the *Confutatis maledictis* was too strong. In his opinion, the petition of the believers for grace sounded like mere "slithering" flattery, and he reasoned that had Mozart ever asked grace from God while he was alive, he would have certainly prayed for the healing of all humanity rather than selfishly begging for personal forgiveness of sin (1825b:221).⁵¹ On the other hand,

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Weber praised the Sanctus and Benedictus—two movements attributed to Süssmayr—as pious and even sublime, suggesting that perhaps Süssmayr had based them on unacknowledged sketches of Mozart's. Given the situation—which, as Weber explicitly pointed out, was not unlike the case of a painting that had been planned by Raphael but executed by a student—Weber hoped for the eventual publication of the original sketches and drafts of the Requiem, a project that he viewed as the “dear duty of every friend of art” (1825b:227, 229).⁵²

Adolf Bernhard Marx quickly responded to what he heard as a challenge to the greatness of Mozart's spirit and of the Requiem (Marx 1825; 1826a). Whereas the straightforward tone of Weber's article is seemingly concerned with factual and scientific claims, spiritual connotations of transfiguration pervade Marx's essay. For Marx, music criticism of the Requiem should be motivated by a desire to demonstrate that the whole work as well as each of its parts were “composed in Mozart's spirit” rather than having to validate the “worth of the work” (1825:379).⁵³ One might say that in Marx's estimation, the goal of criticism was to display the musical work as a transfiguration of its composer's spirit. As a manifestation of the composer's ideas and emotional states, the best music was more than a simple vehicle for the expression of ideas and emotional states. To this end, Marx stressed that the significance of vocal music exceeded the opportunity it provided for interpreting a text, and he offered a litany of rhetorical questions regarding the web of relationships connecting the text and music of vocal compositions, their composers, and their audiences (1825:379–80). Of the Requiem he asked: Is it the meditation of the one who prays or the meditation of the composer who writes for the one who prays? He likewise emphasized close connections between other famous composers and their religious contexts: Did not Palestrina administer the holy mass as an unshaken believer in the Catholic church? Did not Handel the Protestant triumph by wresting the Word from the old church and delivering it into the hands of the people? Did not the Evangelist Sebastian Bach unite holy and earthly things? (1825:380).

Marx's comments about the critic's task of hearing music as the manifestation of its composer's spirit led to his articulation of a new compositional mandate that he perceived to have flourished during Mozart's lifetime: the belief that a composer should imbue his work with a true expression of his individuality (*treuen Abdruck seiner Eigenthümlichkeit geben*, 1825:380). Mozart, even more so than Palestrina, Handel, and Bach before him, distinguished himself by expressing his individuality in his music. In particular, Mozart had offered a gift of “warm love for human kind” (*ein Geist warmer Liebe zum Menschen*, 1825:380–81). Marx heard this “warm love” in the composer's operas as well as in the Requiem. He speculated

that Mozart must have recognized that the Requiem would convey his own transfiguration and that this recognition inspired him to endow the work with his “pronounced individuality.” Without his inner sympathy and child-like love, the work would have been reduced to a coldly-dignified product like so many others (1825:381).⁵⁴

As one might expect (given Marx’s concern with originality in music), the critic took exception with the tendency of many of his contemporaries to valorize old church music for setting a universal standard at the expense of modern styles of composition and instrumentation (1825:381). He apparently read Weber’s stylistic complaints about the Requiem as fodder for those who would deny the worth of contemporary church music. Thus, he systematically addressed each of Weber’s music-stylistic issues, often, as Weber had, using theological reasoning. Weber had argued that the interlude for violin and wind instruments near the end of the *Tuba Mirum* at “*Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?*” (What then shall I, poor wretch, reply?) was much too sweet for the serious nature of the text. Marx countered:

Mozart’s loving, childlike sense seems fitting and natural, like that of a child of an honorable father . . . Is this idea, if here in the image of a childlike and naive Mozart, not the sense of the Christian religion? . . . Could Mozart pray without childlike love? He would have to silence his heart, kill his soul, and bring back the truly dead pharisaical forms. (1825:382)⁵⁵

On the other hand, Marx downplayed Weber’s difficulties with the vast divide between the redeemed and the damned in the *Confutatis*, reminding his readers that the belief that some would be deemed unrighteous in the final judgment was a part of Catholic theology, and noting that, as an artist, Mozart’s goal was to depict the contrast as vividly as possible (1825:389).⁵⁶ In the final analysis, Marx stressed his rejection of those standing “against the new church music,” whom he associated with Weber. They were misunderstanding both Mozart and modern religion. Indeed, by rejecting works such as the Requiem they were participating in the modern erosion of religious consciousness (1825:382). One might say that Marx perceived a dangerous disregard among his contemporaries for the possibility of transfiguration through music.

A slightly less theoretical and more empirical rebuttal of Weber’s argument came from Abbé Maximilian Stadler. Stadler, who had assisted Constanze Mozart and her second husband, Georg Nikolaus Nissen, with the ordering of Mozart’s estate in the late 1790s, drew on his own examination of Mozart’s manuscripts of the Requiem in his *Defense of the Authenticity of the Mozart Requiem*, dedicated to the “admirers of Mozart” (*Verehrern Mozart’s*) in the spring of 1826. Using the manuscript sources as evidence,

Stadler demonstrated that more of the Requiem was Mozart's than Weber had allowed and noted parenthetically that Mozart had borrowed musical material from Handel. The language in which he staked his claims, however, was not that of a dry empirical report. On the contrary, it reflected Stadler's high respect for Mozart as a composer and the Requiem as a composition. Stadler insisted, for instance, that the Requiem was still Mozart's most perfect and most finished work: "As far as he was able to execute it before his death, [it is] a genuine and pure work of Mozart's" (1826:11).⁵⁷ He also seemed to suggest that Weber's hypothesis about the composition had been colored by the critic's misunderstanding of the Catholic liturgy and was a misplaced attempt to "reform and improve" Catholic ritual.⁵⁸

Marx's and Stadler's contributions, among others, inspired Weber to publish a hundred-page response in *Cäcilia* that was dedicated to Mozart's "true admirers" (wahren Verehrern) and that engaged ideas of transfiguration even more than his previous essays had (Weber 1826). Responding to Stadler, Weber now theorized that even if the composition was partially Mozart's work, the composer had not intended it for public circulation. His essay focused, however, on a different concern: his belief that the authenticity of the Requiem was being judged on aesthetic rather than historical criteria (Weber 1826:320).⁵⁹ Weber introduced his argument by suggesting that others had misinterpreted his research as a depreciation of Mozart's creativity and that these critics had responded with a "vindication" of Mozart's "divinity" (Ehrenrettung des Göttlichen, 1826:258). After summarizing the communications of the now almost year-long discussion, Weber complained that historical objections to his claims had not yet been raised (1826:313), and in their place incoherent criteria had been proposed for what it meant to be a true admirer of Mozart (1826:322–24). Seeing the "unmistakable stamp of Mozart's divinity" in the composition, his interlocutors had proclaimed the "authenticity of the entire work," a claim that Weber found completely invalid (1826:324).⁶⁰ Stadler's recognition of the borrowings from Handel in the Requiem now became ammunition for Weber's offensive. Weber noted that the two sides apparently agreed that Mozart's genius had shone in the use of Handelian quotations in the Requiem. Why, then, could they not accept that traces of Mozart's divinity might coexist with the student work of a composer such as Süßmayr? And if Süßmayr's contributions were sizable, how could Stadler legitimately subordinate the pupil's role and herald the authenticity of the Requiem as a composition of Mozart's?

Throughout the essay Weber stressed that the presence of Mozart's genius in the work was simply not enough to establish the composition's authenticity, and, as the critics before him had, turned to Raphael (1826:324–25). His argument climaxed in an extended allegory in which Raphael becomes a surrogate for Mozart in a thinly disguised recounting of the debates of

the past year (1826:325–34). Weber told the story of a hypothetical painting embarked on by Raphael (inspired by the painter’s studies of Perugino) and left unfinished at his death. A student of the “transfigured, divine disciple” (that is, Raphael’s student) completes the figures and groups of figures in the empty half of the canvas, perhaps drawing on ideas of the master. Later a “friend of art” stands before the great painting of Raphael’s and bemoans the fact that it has been poorly completed by an apprentice and that the untouched work of the master has not been preserved for the world to see. An art expert enters and declares the entire work to be Raphael’s because it contains traces of “Raphael’s divinity,” the owner of an art gallery acquires the painting and passes it off as Raphael’s, and an admirer of Raphael slanders the friend of art because the latter does not find everything in the painting “divine.” The friend of art naturally wants to defend himself but believes that any subsequent confession of his admiration for Raphael would sound hollow in contrast to the far more holy admiration in his heart. He explains that, like honesty (“Ehrlichkeit”), true admiration is only with great difficulty self-proclaimed and cannot be an “extorted confession of faith” (1826:328–29). In Weber’s narrative, this honest admiration also entails that the friend of art not assume that the painting is as Raphael would have completed it, had he been able to, so as not to blaspheme the “transfigured” (1826:333).⁶¹ The allusion to both Raphael’s *Transfiguration*—its allegedly unfinished state, its two halves, and its figures and groups of figures—and to the *Requiemstreit* could scarcely be clearer.⁶²

The fantastic nature of this allegory allowed Weber to replace the more historical language of his earlier essay with the spiritual vocabulary of transfiguration. Like Wackenroder, Rochlitz, Hoffmann, and Marx, Weber harnessed the associative power of ideas of transfiguration as he compared the creation of visual art and music. But where his predecessors had mostly focused on transfiguration in the *composition* of works of art, Weber drew attention to the role of transfiguration in the *reception* of works of art. Weber simultaneously acknowledged the presence of transfiguration in references to Raphael as transfigured and his work as divine, as he subjected the friend of art’s experience of transfiguration to critique. He cautioned against the often misplaced admiration of the masses and searched for a truer admiration for transfigured artists and divinity in art, an admiration grounded in historical honesty. As Weber emphasized yet again in his conclusion to the article, historical research should inform one’s contemplation of music and ensure that works such as the Requiem continue to be studied in the future (1826:351–52).

Marx’s final contributions to the debate over the composition (1826b; 1827) were much more sympathetic to Weber’s project and developed

Weber's critique of the superficial type of transfiguration that he believed many listeners had heard in the Requiem. While Marx thanked Weber for his historical insights, it was clearly Weber's insistence that the musical public consider the real "content" of the work rather than simply judge the Requiem by Mozart's name that Marx most admired (1826b:269).⁶³ Marx noted that Weber's demand had not been well-received: unable to reconcile Weber's claims with their own beliefs about the composition, members of the public had protested, even attributing Weber's comments to artistic jealousy (1826b:270). Unfortunately these opinions were not only held by ignorant laypeople; generally respected commentators and musicians such as Abbé Stadler had been among the most outspoken defenders of the composition, and Marx acknowledged his own initial opposition to Weber's ideas. From Marx's perspective, it seemed to be very difficult for musicians to accept that the Requiem was not what they had thought; they preferred to ignore the issue in an attempt to protect their artistic "confession of faith" (1827:186).⁶⁴ In short, like Weber, Marx believed that listeners had been more interested in their own experiences of transfiguration than in the thoughtful application of ideas of transfiguration to Mozart and his music.

Although pessimistic about the reception of Mozart's Requiem, Marx was optimistic about the progress of "scientific and artistic explanations" demonstrated by the *Requiemstreit*, declaring fruitless any attempts to oppose that progress (1827:186).⁶⁵ He was most concerned that musicians might learn to more clearly perceive and express their feelings and ideas about music (1827:186). Marx noted that when historical knowledge about a composition was lacking, the work must "support itself," and the critic must look for relationships between the work and its composer's spirit (1826b:270).⁶⁶ While such an approach might be preliminary—Marx acknowledged that it would be foolish to pursue it exhaustively before the completion of historical research—it had been productive. Marx saw his earlier essays as representatives of this approach because they helped listeners to become more "conscious of the work," an aim that Marx repeatedly highlighted in these final two essays.⁶⁷ With the hope that listeners might continue to become more conscious of works of music, Marx pledged to write no more about Mozart's Requiem, leaving the "final judgment for a future time of more lively and universal practice" (1827:180).⁶⁸

Transfiguration as a Music-Critical Stance

During the 1820s, the ideal of authenticity joined the ideal of transfiguration in the reception history of the Requiem and within the larger matrix of *Kunstreligion*. The earliest reception of the Requiem, as found in Rochlitz's

anecdotes, had reflected the ideas of a transfigured artist who, at his death, left his greatest work as a transfiguration of himself. Performance reports from the first decades of the nineteenth century suggested that the Requiem's audiences had participated in this transfiguration through their spiritual listening. In E. T. A. Hoffmann's writings, the value of transfiguration had spread from the confines of the church-music debates to the broader category of religious music, where the transfigurations of composer, listener, and work each played a role.

By the end of the *Requiemstreit*, both Weber and Marx had proclaimed themselves Mozart devotees and had written about inspired music coming from an inspired composer and about the spirit of a composer spreading into the work of student collaborators through the processes of imitation and organicism. Both critics also strove for a greater sense of authenticity as they attempted to better understand the historical facts and musical content of the Requiem. Their applications of the ideas of transfiguration and authenticity, however, varied in scope and emphasis. Marx initially approached the Requiem with confidence in its general authenticity as a work of Mozart's spirit. His critical perspective was focused on the human, or perhaps superhuman, transfiguration of the composer. For Marx, the Requiem stood in a long tradition of works in which composers interacted with religious concerns. Understood as a work that aroused the best of the spiritual currents of its day, the Requiem deserved the utmost admiration and respect from commentators who might hear it as a profoundly transcendent, aesthetic product. When further research proved the Requiem to be less a product of Mozart's than previously thought, Marx acknowledged the facts and encouraged his readers to do likewise. Authenticity in music was to be pursued by becoming more conscious of the work, a process that included historical thinking but that was based in an understanding of the work as an expression of its composer's spirit. Thus articulated, the authenticity of the composer, listener, and work became components of the wider phenomenon of early nineteenth-century *Kunstreligion*.

If over the course of the *Requiemstreit* we see Marx growing to appreciate Weber's historical agenda, we also see Weber eventually embracing the ideas of transfiguration initially championed by Marx, while remaining critical of more superficial instances of transfigured reception. In the end, however, Weber preferred to ground his judgments of the Requiem in historical and empirical authenticities; he insisted that one could express admiration of Mozart through careful evaluation of the manuscript sources, so that only that which was truly worthy of the great composer would be attributed to him. Pondering whether the authenticity dispute had benefited art in and of itself, Weber concluded that his investigation had brought purity, excellence,

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and understanding to this “holy antique,” and that it had resulted in promises of a new musical score and a refined understanding of the historical origins of the piece. Weber’s concern with the work of art itself can be seen as the mildest beginnings of an aestheticism in which the material of art becomes the object of a religion, a *Kunstreligion* less holistic in focus than the matrix suggested by Marx’s writings, but still historically significant.⁶⁹

Taken collectively and from a broader vantage point, Marx and Weber may be seen as inaugurating a new era of music history and criticism, which at some moments has located transfiguration as much in the act of documenting historical and aesthetic authenticities as in the composer, listener, or the musical work itself. Weber’s search for the manuscript evidence and Marx’s reflections on the music-critical process have shaped music scholarship to the present day. Our awareness of these historical and critical tendencies might lead to greater self-reflexivity about the perspectives that we bring to our considerations of new musical phenomena and reconsiderations of influential works of favorite composers, such as Mozart’s Requiem. It also might lead us to ponder why we, more often than not, have refrained from characterizing our own endeavors as acts of transfiguration.

Notes

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1. Notable contributions include, among others, Wolff (1994), Bauman (1991), Moseley (1989), Maunder (1988), Marguerre (1962–63), Blume (1961), Hess (1959), and Fischer (1951).
2. *Kunstreligion* also has connections to the idea of absolute music (Dahlhaus 1978) and the work-concept (Goehr 1992).
3. Throughout this essay my use of the word “divine” corresponds to the German word “göttlich,” a word that Johann Christoph Adelung defines as “coming from God, or from that which is similar or the same as God, in whom being is grounded” (Gott, oder einem Gotte ähnlich, gleich, von demselben herrührend, in dessen Wesen gegründet, 1811:col. 762). Interestingly, Adelung’s entry is particularly critical of more casual uses of the term: “It is a great misuse when this word is used by particular, rather witty authors for that which is excellent or highly exquisite, where one thus often must hear of divine understanding, of divine thoughts, and even of divine beauty” (Ein großer Mißbrauch ist es, wenn diese Wort von einigen, besonders witzigen Schriftstellern für vortrefflich, in einem hohen Grade vorzüglich, gebraucht wird, da man denn oft von einem göttlichen Verstande, von einem göttlichen Gedanken, ja wohl gar von einer göttlichen Schönheit hören muß, 1811:cols.762–63).
4. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd. rev. ed., (2005) s.v. “Transfiguration.”
5. “Wie dich der edle königliche Zorn / Umglänzte, deine Reize mir verklärte / Du bist das schönste Weib auf dieser Erde” (Schiller [1800] 1984:362).
6. See *A Historical Dictionary of German Figurative Usage*, (1994), s.v. “Verklären.”

7. See definitions in Zedler (1732) and Adelung (1811). On emperor worship, see Gradel (2002). On relationships between ancient Christian and pagan understandings of apotheosis, see *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd. rev. ed., (2005), s.v. “Apotheosis” and s.v. “Deification.” The title “divus” (the same title applied to Roman emperors on their apotheosis) was given to saints on the occasion of their canonization in medieval Christianity but with very different resonances. While the Gnostics and Eastern mystics sometimes used the Greek term ἀποθέωσις (“apotheosis”) for divination in the sense of “union with God,” most of the time this religious union was described as θέωσις or θεοποίησις (“deification”).

8. For a summary of these references to composers, see chapter four of my dissertation (Kramer 2005:175–216). On the relationship of some of these descriptions to the concept of musical genius, see Kivy (2001). Slightly earlier references to the apotheosis of a composer may be found in François Couperin’s programmatic suites of the 1720s and in the English reception of Handel from the 1780s.

9. In addition to the references to Mozart’s transfiguration, Mozart was ascribed immortality and was proposed as an object of worship in writings dating from as early as the first three years of the nineteenth century ([Rochlitz] 1801:8). See also the book published anonymously and attributed to I. F. Arnold, *Mozarts Geist: Seine kurze Biografie und ästhetische Darstellung seiner Werke. Eine Bildungsbuch für junge Tonkünstler, mit dessen Portrait: “das Wunder seiner Zeiten, und der Gegenstand der Verehrung aller Zeiten”* ([Arnold] 1803:viii).

10. “So daß er mir hier nicht mehr wie ein Mensch, sondern wie ein wahrer verkörter Geist vorkommt, der sich über alles irdische hinaus geschwungen, hat” (Forkel [1802] 1999:19).

11. “Die Dreyeinigkeit seh ich des Schönen, des Wahren, des Guten; Mozart, Haydn und Bach.—Der du mit mächtiger Hand neue Welten dem Chaos entriest” (August 1810:365).

12. “Hr. Bridi wählte unter den gefeyertesten Meistern der Tonkunst sieben, und indem er auf eine würdige Weise ihre Unsterblichkeit andeuten wollte, zeigte er damit auch an, dass dieser Ort der göttlichen Harmonie geweiht sey. Die auserwählten Künstler, deren gemalte Brustbilder man hier von magischem Halbdunkel umgeben, und mit sinnreichen Emblemen geschmückt, bewundert, sind: Mozart, Palestrina, Gluck, Jomelli, Händel, Haydn und Sacchini. Ihrer irdischen Hülle entnommen, erblickt man diese grossen Meister in idealen Gestaltung lieblicher Kinder-Genien, denen Apollo den verdienten Lorberkranz darzureichen im Begriff ist . . . Der von Apollo am weitesten entfernte Genius, und von ihm zuerst gekrönt, ist Mozart’s Genius. Er schwebt durch die Lüfte, hat den Tempel des Nachruhmes bereits erreicht, und hält in hochebener Hand ein Blatt, auf welchem der Name des himmlischen Sängers zu lesen ist, welchen jener beseelte und begeisterte. Seine Stirne ist mit dem empfangenen Lorber geziert. Nach Mozart’s Genius bewegt sich, freudig, das gleiche Ziel und gleichen Ruhm errungen zu haben, Palestrina’s Genius nach dem Tempel; unmittelbar darauf erblickt das Auge in reizender Gruppierung die zwey Genien Jomelli’s und Haydn’s. Auch diese beyden Geister haben schon früher die Krone der Unsterblichkeit erhalten, und eilen dem Tempel des Ruhmes und der Ehre zu, zuerst Jomelli, nach ihm Haydn . . . Des Künstlers Idee war ohne Zweifel diese: damit anzuzeigen, dass der menschliche Geist, um zur möglich höchsten Vollkommenheit, die ihn der Unsterblichkeit würdig macht, zu gelangen, sich erst durch Fleiss, Studium und Beharrlichkeit zu diesem Gipfel empor schwingen müssen; wenn sein Genius aber einmal zu der Vollendung gelangt ist, und vor dem göttlichen Richtersthule die himmlische Weihe empfangen hat, so bedarf er keines Hebels, um gleich andern verkörerten Wesen, ja wie Gott Apollo selbst, die olympisch-ätherischen Gefilde zu durchwallen.—” (Häser 1828:678–80). The volume reviewed had been published in June of 1827, only months after Beethoven’s death.

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13. The doctor asked, "Would not a Roman augur, in view of the accidental commotion of the elements, have taken this apotheosis for granted?" (Nettl 1956:43). The doctor's statement was reported on May 20, 1827, and first published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literature, Theater, und Mode* (April 30, 1842).

14. "Ich glaube an Gott, Mozart und Beethoven, ingleichen an ihre Jünger und Apostel;—ich glaube an den heiligen Geist und an die Wahrheit der einen, unteilbaren Kunst;—ich glaube, daß diese Kunst von Gott ausgeht und in den Herzen aller erleuchteten Menschen lebt;—ich glaube, daß, wer nur einmal in den erhabenen genüssen dieser hohen Kunst schwelgte, für ewig ihr ergeben sein muß und sie nie verläugnen kann;—ich glaube, daß alle durch diese Kunst selig werden, und daß es daher jedem erlaubt sei, für sie Hungers zu sterben;—ich glaube, daß ich durch den Tod hochbeglückt sein werde;—ich glaube, daß ich auf Erden ein dissonierender Akkord war, der sogleich durch den Tod herrlich und rein aufgelöset werden wird. Ich glaube an ein jüngstes Gericht, das alle diejenigen furchtbar verdammen wird, die es wagten, in dieser Welt Wucher mit der hohen teuschen Kunst zu treiben, die sie schändeten und entehrten aus Schlechtigkeit des Herzens und schnöder Gier nach Sinnenlust;—ich glaube, daß diese verurteilt sein werden, in Ewigkeit ihre eigne Musik zu hören. Ich glaube, daß dagegen die treuen Jünger der hohen Kunst in einem himmlischen Gewebe von sonnendurchstrahlten, dustenden Wohlkängen verklärt, und mit dem göttlichen Quell aller Harmonie in Ewigkeit vereint sein werden.—Möge mir ein gnädig Los beschieden sein!—Amen!" (Wagner [1841] 1912:135).

15. As will be seen below, Rochlitz drew these connections between immortal composers and immortal works around the same time that he published his Mozart anecdotes.

16. "Die Werke keines Künstlers haben wohl so viel Verwesliches bey dem Unverweslichen, so viel Sterbliches bey dem Unsterblichen, als die Werke des Musikers" (Rochlitz 1800a:417–18).

17. "Das sie auf den Künstler, auf die Werthschätzung desselben, und eben dadurch auch auf seine Verdienste und Werke hinweist" (Rochlitz 1800a:417).

18. Raphael's *Transfiguration of Christ* is currently held by the Pinacoteca Vaticana in Rome. The *Transfiguration* had been commissioned for the cathedral of Narbonne by Cardinal Giulio de Medici after he was appointed Archbishop of Narbonne in late 1516, and the artist probably started his work sometime during 1517. The cardinal was so impressed with the finished project that he had it kept at his residence, the palace of the Cancellaria, instead of taking it to the cathedral. When the cardinal became Pope Clement VIII in 1523, he donated the *Transfiguration* to the Church of San Pietro in Montorio. The altarpiece remained in San Pietro until 1797 when Napoleon transported it to Paris to be placed in the Louvre. It remained in Paris until 1815 when the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova secured its return to the pope. It has been displayed at the Vatican since 1816 (Fogg Art Museum 1981:5–6).

19. "E nel vero egli vi fece figure e teste, oltra la bellezza straordinaria, tanto di nuovo e di vario e di bello, che si fa giudizio commune de gli artefici che questa opera, fra tante quante egli ne fece, sia la più celebrata, la più bella e la più divina . . . nella perfezzione della arte di Rafaello . . . che finitolo, come ultima cosa che affare avesse, non toccò più pennelli, sopraggiugnendoli la morte" (Vasari [1550] 1986:638).

20. Although Vasari insisted that Raphael finished the *Transfiguration* and that it was his own work, many theorists down to the present day assume that most or all of the lower half of the painting was executed by Giulio Romano (Gould 1982:479).

21. In 1725, Jonathan Richardson, for instance, found the two scenes completely unrelated (Gould 1982:480).

22. "Wie will man nun das Obere und Untere trennen? Beides ist eins: unten das Leidende, Bedürftige, oben das Wirksame, Hülfreiche, beides aufeinander sich beziehend, ineinander einwirkend. Läßt sich denn, um den Sinn auf eine andere Weise auszusprechen, ein ideeller Bezug aufs Wirkliche von diesem lostrennen? . . . Nein! er hat wie die Natur jederzeit recht, und gerade da am gründlichsten, wo wir sie am wenigsten begreifen" (Goethe 1967:454).
23. "Dies Gemählde, worin wir noch jetzt das Elend der Erde, den Trost edler Männer, und die Glorie des Himmelreichs in so herrlicher Vereinigung dargestellt sehn,—und der Meister, von dem es erdacht und ausgeführt war, kalt und bleich daneben" (Wackenroder [1797] 1991:122).
24. "Endlich riß er sich mit Gewalt auf, und streckte mit dem heißesten Verlangen die Arme zum Himmel empor; er füllte seinen Geist mit der höchsten Poesie, mit lautem, jauchzendem Gesange an, und schrieb in einer wunderbaren Begeisterung, aber immer unter heftigen Gemüthsbewegungen, eine Passionmusik nieder, die mit ihren durchdringenden, und alle Schmerzen des Leidens in sich fassenden Melodien, ewig ein Meisterstück bleiben wird. Seine Seele war wie ein Kranker, der in einem wunderbaren Paroxysmus größere Stärke als ein Gesunder zeigt" (Wackenroder [1797] 1991:143–44).
25. "Wir begreifen die Wege des Himmels nicht.—Aber laßt uns wiederum die Mannigfaltigkeit der erhabenen Geister bewundern, welche der Himmel zum Dienste der Kunst auf die Welt gesetzt hat. Ein Raphael brachte in aller Unschuld und Unbefangenheit die allergeistreichsten Werke hervor, worin wir den ganzen Himmel sehn" (Wackenroder [1797] 1991:144).
26. "Er fing sogleich an, an dem Verlangten zu arbeiten. Mit jedem Takt schien sein Interesse an der Sache zuzunehmen: er schrieb Tag und Nacht. Sein Körper hielt die Anstrengung nicht aus: er sank über dem Arbeiten einigemal in Ohnmacht. Alles Zureden zur Mässigung in der Arbeit war vergebens. Nach einigen Tagen erst erhielt es seine Frau über ihn, dass er mit ihr in den Prater fuhr. Er sass immer still und in sich gekehrt. Endlich verleugnete er es nicht mehr—er glaube gewiss, er arbeite dies Stück zu seiner eignen Todesfeyer. Von dieser Idee liess er sich nicht abbringen; arbeitete also, wie Raphael seine Verklärung, stets im Gefühl seines nahen Todes, und lieferte, wie dieser, die Verklärung seiner selbst" (Rochlitz 1798a:150–51).
27. It should be noted that Luther's translation of the Bible uses both the idea of *Verwandlung* (transformation or metamorphosis) and that of *Verklärung* (transfiguration) to describe the changes a Christian believer experiences during his life and at his death. See, for instance, 1 Cor. 15:51 and 2 Cor. 3:18.
28. Memorial performances of the Requiem abounded in cities such as Leipzig, Hamburg, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna in the first thirty years after Mozart's death. In addition to those cited in the body of this article, see Anon. (1823) and Gruber (1994:65–66, 160).
29. "Beyde fühlten die kalte Hand des Todes, die sie schon ergriff; beyde wollten sich erst noch Denkmähler für die Ewigkeit stiften; Beyde wählten die *Verklärung*—Raphael, des Erlösers, Mozart der Erlöseten. Mit dem Eifer deren, welche die Larve des Todes um sich schweben sehen, und mit der Anstrengung deren, welche fühlen 'das ist dein Leztes,' arbeiteten beyde und gaben hier gleichsame die Quintessenz ihrer heiligsten Gefühle. Beyder Verklärungen verklärten sie selbst. Raphaels Werk wurde das erste der neuern Mahlerey, Mozarts, das erste der neuern religiösen Musik; doch finden manche Kenner die Haltung einiger Theile in beyden etwas zu schwarz" (Rochlitz 1800b:651, emphasis in original).
30. "Das zahlreiche Auditorium theilte mit wahrer Hingebung den schönen Willen und die Begeisterung eines Orchesters, das man nur selten so stark, so gut und mit solchen Intentionen antrifft" (Z. 1805:85).

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31. “Daß nichts den unendlich hohen Geist dieses Werks und seinen tieferschütternden Eindruck schwächte” (Anon. 1805a:362).

32. “Ward es doch mit Kraft und Würde gegeben, und ergiff mich mit seinem erhabenen Geiste vom Neuen tief und innig” (Anon. 1805b:413).

33. In addition to the concerts in Hamburg, Königsberg, and Leipzig cited in this paragraph, there were several other performances of the work without explicit funerary ties (Rochlitz 1799; Anon. 1800; Anon. 1805a; Anon. 1805b:413; Gruber 1994:34, 116).

34. “Aus diesem Werke siehet man, dass Mozart—wie so mancher grosse Mann—Zeit seines Lebens nicht an seinem Platze war. Er war der Mann, die jetzt so gesunkene religiöse auf den Thron über alle Musik. In diesem Fache wäre er der erste Künstler der Welt geworden, denn jenes sein letztes Werk gehört schon, nach dem einstimmigen Urtheile aller Kenner, selbst derer, die sonst nicht Mozarts Freunde sind—unter das Vollendetste, was die neueste Kunst aufzuweisen hat. Die vorhandenen Messen von ihm sind meistens machte, und die er grossentheils mit Recht, lieber vergessen wissen wollte” (Rochlitz 1798b:177–80).

35. Although prevalent in descriptions of performances and publications of other masses and service music in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the term “Kirchenmusik” is conspicuously absent from many early reviews of Mozart’s Requiem.

36. “Ganz umgestimmt und trübe wendete sich Mozart hier zu den Andern, und sagte—dem Sinne nach, obschon nicht auf diese Weise: Das ist mir auch einmal wieder so ein Kunstgeschwätz! Bey Euch *aufgeklärten* Protestanten, wie ihr Euch nennt, wenn ihr eure Religion in Kopfe habt—kann etwas Wahres darin seyn; das weis ich nicht. Aber bey uns ist das anders. Ihr fühlt gar nicht, was das will: *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem* u. dgl. Aber wenn man von frühester Kindheit, wie ich, in das mystische Heiligthum unsrer Religion eingeführt ist; wenn man da, als man noch nicht wusste, wo man mit seinen dunkeln, aber drängenden Gefühlen hinsolle, in voller Inbrunst des Herzens seinen Gottesdienst abwartet, ohne eigentlich zu wissen was man wollte; und leichter und erhoben daraus wegging, ohne eigentlich zu wissen was man gehat habe . . . dann ist’s anders. Nun ja, das gehet freylich dann durch das Leben in der Welt verlohren: aber—wenigstens ist’s mir so—wenn man nun die tausendmal gehörten Worte nochmals vornimmt, sie in Musik zu setzen, so kommt das alles wieder, und steht vor Einem, und bewegt Einem die Seele—” (Rochlitz 1801:494–95, emphasis in original).

37. A fine overview of Mozart’s thoughts about religion can be found in the catalog from an exhibition on Mozart’s Requiem at the Austrian National Library. See Leibnitz (1991).

38. The entire statement reads: “Er hat indessen in einem einzigen Kirchenwerke sein Inneres aufgeschlossen; und wer wird nicht von der glühendsten Andacht, von der heiligsten Verzückung ergriffen, die daraus hervorstrahlt?” (Hoffmann [1814] 1967:227).

39. “Die Kraft, die heilige Würde der alten Musik mit dem reichen Schmuck der neueren verbindet” (Hoffmann [1814] 1967:233). A prime example of music found lacking in power and dignity may be found in the reception of Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater* around 1800. See Ruiter (1990:8–12), Will (2004), and Kramer (2005:228–32).

40. “Sonst bleibt die Musik überall reiner Kultus, und nur als solcher ertönen die wunderbaren Akkorde, die von dem Jenseits sprechen, ja, die das Jenseits selbst sind, in ihrer eigentümlichen Würde und Kraft.—Das Requiem, im Konzertsaal aufgeführt, ist nicht dieselbe Musik; die Erscheinung eines Heiligen auf dem Ball!” (Hoffmann [1814] 1967:233).

41. One could argue that Richard Wagner was also concerned with ideas of power and dignity as he emphasized one commonly recognized vehicle of these attributes—a composition’s

musical structure—in his comments about Mozart’s Requiem: in the Requiem, “religious music really touched its apogee in point of structure” (Wagner 1896:103).

42. “Ihr [die Kirche] irdischer Untergang war indessen die geistige Verklärung, in der sie mit den Getreuen in beständiger Gemeinschaft bleiben” (Hoffmann [1814] 1967:210).

43. “Keine Kunst geht so rein aus der inner Vergeistigung des Menschen hervor, keine Kunst bedarf so nur einzig reingeistiger, ätherischer Mittel, als die Musik” ([1814] 1967:212). On ideas of “aesthetic” and “invisible” churches see Chytry (1989:121–22) and Kant (1998:111–12).

44. Hoffmann’s “invisible church” provides a space for composers to “express the feelings deepest in their hearts” (das tief im Innersten Empfundene auszusprechen, [1814] 1967:210). The feelings of the “unknown world,” described in Hoffmann’s review of the Fifth Symphony, are so profound that they are cognitively inexpressible (alle durch Begriffe bestimmbar Gefühle zurückläßt, um sich dem Unausprechlichen hinzugeben, [1810] 1967:34).

45. Commentators on Hoffmann’s review of the Fifth Symphony have most often focused on the sinister characteristics of the unknown world opened up by Beethoven’s instrumental music. While this dark imagery is quite striking, the unknown world may also be interpreted more broadly to include the less terrifying descriptions of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven’s music: the “eternal youth” of Haydn’s contributions; the mixture of love and sorrow in Mozart’s; the consumption but not destruction of love, hope, and joy in Beethoven’s (Hoffmann [1810] 1967:35–36). Hoffmann’s descriptions of the invisible church in his essay are equally concerned with love, hope, joy, and infinity, although these descriptions clearly represent a less troubled world than the unknown world: “Mag die Zeit der Erfüllung unseres Hoffens nicht mehr fern sein, mag ein frommes Leben in Friede und Freudigkeit beginnen, und die Musik frei und kräftig ihre Seraphsschwinge regen, um aufs neue den Flug zu dem Jenseits zu beginnen, das ihre Heimat ist, und von dem Trost und Heil in die unruhvolle Brust des Menschen hinabstrahlt!” (Hoffmann [1814] 1967:235)

46. Scholars have tended either to read “Old and New Church Music” through the ideas of Hoffmann’s review of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony or to cordon off “Old and New Church Music” to its own sacred space. Influenced by Dahlhaus’s emphasis on the idea of absolute music found in Hoffmann’s review of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, Lippman (1992) argues that the essay on church music should be read through the lens of absolute music. Dahlhaus (1978) himself tends toward this view, but much more subtly. Charlton (1989) is also perplexed by Hoffmann’s interest in church music, hypothesizing that Hoffmann avoided the church at all costs. Garratt (2002), on the other hand, identifies a space for Hoffmann’s ideas about church music separate from the space that Hoffmann creates for his ideas about music such as Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, but provides little evidence of a truly distinct perspective in the church music reviews as opposed to the symphonic reviews.

47. Weber’s review of the first edition of Thibaut’s *Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst* (Thibaut 1825) appeared in June of 1825 in the third volume of the journal *Cäcilia* (Weber 1825a:73–88). The next issue included an article by Weber in which he reflected on requiem composition more generally. The publication of Weber’s own Requiem had been reviewed in the first volume of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* (Anon. 1817). Mozart’s Requiem also received negative criticism in Ludwig Tieck’s well-known *Phantasi* ([1812] 1985), where the character Ernst praises Mozart’s music with the explicit exception of the Requiem.

48. For more detailed documentation of the events discussed in this paragraph, see Wolff (1994).

49. Breitkopf & Härtel published the first edition of the full score in the summer of 1800. Johann Anton André published the vocal score in 1801, and the Chemische Druckerei released the performing parts in 1812 (Wolff 1994:116–17).

50. “Von allen Werken unsers herrlichen Mozart, geniehet kaum irgend Eines so allgemeine, so vergötternde Anbetung, als sein Requiem . . . ja kaum wirklich ein Werk von Mozart zu nennen ist” (Weber 1825b:205–6).

51. “Wenigstens im höchsten Grade unwahrscheinlich ist es mir, dass Mozart, der so edel aufzufassen verstund, dessen ganzes Innere so herrlich und gross, und einer solchen, ich mögte sagen, ohrenbläserischen, selbstsüchtigen Idee so gradezu entgegengesetzt gewesen sein muss, der, hätte er sich im Leben vom lieben Gott eine Gnade zu erbitten gehabt, sicherlich weit eher Heil für die gesammte Menschheit erbeten und vielleicht grade nur sich dabei vergessen, als sich eine Gnade auf Kosten der Sünder erlehrt haben würde,—dass Mozart, sag’ ich, solche Behandlung beabsichtigt haben könne, ist mir wenigstens im höchsten Grade unwahrscheinlich” (Weber 1825b:221).

52. “Und dass es daher theure Pflicht jedes Kunstfreundes ist, zur unverbrüchlich treuen Bekanntmachung jener Original-Manuscripte auf jede ihm mögliche Art beizutragen” (Weber 1825b:227, 229). Weber was clearly interested in *Cäcilia*’s potential involvement in this endeavor.

53. “Wir hoffen gründlichere Ueberzeugung aus einer Untersuchung, ob das ganze Requiem in Mozarts Geiste komponirt und in seinen Theilen diesem Geiste gemäss ausgeführt worden sei . . . Nicht der Werth des Werkes, sondern seine Abstammung aus Mozarts Geist, seine Aechtheit als mozartsches Produkt ist zu prüfen” (Marx 1825:379). On Marx’s music criticism, see Burnham (1990).

54. “Wurde Mozart aus seinem vornehmsten Wirkungskreise, der liebewarmen Darstellung des menschlichen Lebens und Treibens, berufen, eine kirchliche Feier zu begehen, gab ihn das Vorgefühl des nahen Todes die Ueberzeugung, dass sie zu seiner Verklärung bestimmt sei, so konnte sein bisheriges Leben, seine ausgeprägte Eigenthümlichkeit damit nicht verlöscht werden, sondern es musste sein erster Entschluss sein, seine höchste Künstlerkraft diesem würdigsten und ehrendsten Gegenstande zuzuwenden . . . Ohne jene sinnliche Erregbarkeit, ohne jenes innige Mitgefühl und die kindliche Liebe würde Mozarts Requiem, wie so viele Werke anderer Künstler, auch nur jene kalte Würde” (Marx 1825:381).

55. “Dem kindlichen liebevollen Sinne Mozarts scheint es so eigen und natürlich, wie ein Kind dem hohen Vater . . . Ist denn diese Idee, wenn gleich hier von Mozart kindlich naiv gestaltet, in ihrem Grunde nicht dem Sinne der christlichen Religion gemäss? . . . Konnte Mozart anders beten, als kindlich liebend? Er hätte also sein Herz schweigen, das Leben seiner Seele tödten und wahrhaft pharisäisch todte Formen zurück bringen sollen, deren Leben längst entflohen war?” (Marx 1825:382).

56. “Dass einen Theil der Geister im letzten Gerichte Verdammniss treffen werde, ist, soviel wir wissen und dieser Text bezeugt, als feststehender Glaubenssatz der katholischen Kirche zu betrachten” (Marx 1825:389).

57. “Es ist sein vollkommenstes, sein, so weit er es vor seinem Tode ausführen konnte, vollendetestes, ein echtes, reines Werk Mozart’s” (Stadler 1826:11).

58. “Wie sich Herr Weber zum Verbesserer und Reformator des kath. Rituals aufwarf” (Stadler 1826:7).

59. “Also nicht von historischer Seite—wohl aber von ästhetischen Gesichtspuncten aus, haben Manche versucht, ihren Glauben an die durchgängige Echtheit des Requiem zu begründen” (Weber 1826:320).

60. "So hört ja auch eben darum dieser Stempel [Mozartscher Göttlichkeit] auf, ein Beweis der durchgängigen Echtheit des ganzen Werkes zu sein" (Weber 1826:324).
61. "Honesty" is subtly incorporated into Weber's repeated references to Raphael as the transfigured one on page 333: "Und wer, wenn er die Grösse des verklärten Meisters wahrhaft zu verehren und zu begreifen vermag, wird solche Behauptungen wagen mögen, welche, unter Umständen wie diese, nichts anders als Lästerungen gegen den Verklärten sind, ja sogar factisch unwahre Anschuldigungen sein können" (Weber 1826:333).
62. Allusions to questions of authenticity in art history and literature can be found elsewhere in the *Requiemstreit* but are most extensively developed in Weber's essay.
63. "Diese Ausführung musste nun zwiefach [*sic*] anregen: einmal zur historischen Diskussion; dann zur Vertheidigung der Meinung, die man bisher von der fraglichen Komposition gefasst und oft genug mit Ostentation, aber ohne Gründe ausgelegt hatte. In beiden Beziehungen musste Herrn Gottfried Weber's Unternehmen dankenswerth erscheinen" (Marx 1826b:269).
64. "Wie schwer entbehren die Musiker die Fähigkeit dazu, ohne die keine grössere Schöpfung mehr durchzuführen ist" and "Nichts haben die Musiker gethan, um ihren Liebling unversehrt und ihre sonst vielfach in allgemeinen Exklamationen kund gegebene Verehrung, diesen Artikel ihres künstlerischen Glaubensbekenntnisses zu schützen" (Marx 1827:186).
65. "Wie fruchtlos es in unsern Tagen und unserm Volke gegenüber ist, den Gang wissenschaftlicher und künstlerischer Erörterungen durch niedrige Einmischungen hemmen zu wollen" (Marx 1827:186).
66. "Sollte der geschichtliche Beweis über die Aechtheit des Requiems unvollkommen bleiben; so kann es darauf an, aus dem Werke selbst denselben zu unterstützen; es musste dann erörtert werden, wieweit der Inhalt der Komposition Mozarts Geist und Künstler-Karakter entsprechend sei" (Marx 1826b:270).
67. The formulation first appears in the essay of 1826, where Marx speculated that even "enthusiasts" might become more conscious of the musical content of the Requiem (damit sie nur endlich sich bewusst würden, was sie am Requiem hätten, 1826b:270). In his essay of 1827, Marx noted that few musicians were able to raise their ideas about music to consciousness (sich von ihren Gefühlen und gefähen Meinungen zu klarer Anschauung, zum Bewusstsein zu erheben, 1827:186). In this essay, he suggested that his earlier writings had been beneficial, even though they had been in opposition to Weber's ideas, because through them the public had become more conscious of the work: "Der Unterzeichnete trat bei dem Beginn der Untersuchung diese Opposition gegen Weber an . . . und sah sich getäuscht. Gleichwohl wäre dies der erspriesslichste Weg gewesen. In jedem Falle wäre man über das Werk zum Bewusstsein gekommen" (1827:180).
68. "Und so scheiden wir denn von der Sache—ihre letzte Entscheidung von einer künftigen Zeit regerer und allgemeiner Thätigkeit zu erwarten" (Marx 1827:186).
69. For more on aestheticism, see Chytry (1989) and Bürger, Bürger, and Schulte-Sasse (1979).

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