Translator’s introduction and commentary

INTRODUCTION

Hiller’s *Anweisung zum musikalisch-ziertlichen Gesange*, offered here in English as “Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation,” is an important manual on performance practice worthy of being considered in the company of works by such familiar figures as Quantz, Leopold Mozart, C. P. E. Bach, Mattheson, and Marpurg, to name a few of the major eighteenth-century theorists. A masterly educator, Hiller initiated much improvement in the state of singing in Germany through his teaching and diverse activities as critic, composer, conductor, and music director in Leipzig. With this treatise and the earlier, more elementary tutor, the *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange* of 1774 (“Treatise on Vocal Performance and Technique”), Hiller’s goal was to educate German singers in the elaborate traditions of vocal art emulating the superior achievements of the Italians. As a pragmatic and insightful pedagogue, Hiller aimed at a presentation of performance practice material that would serve to raise the standards of singing in Germany. His 1774 treatise on “Richtigkeit” represents, according to John Butt, the “most radical break with traditional methods of ‘mainstream’ school singing.” Together with “the originality of his pedagogic approach,” this shows Hiller’s “deep insight into the learning process – or, rather, his method conforms to a more ‘enlightened,’ psychological awareness of the pupil’s natural learning abilities.”¹ The subsequent 1780 treatise on “Zierlichkeit” updates the traditional system of ornamentation, particularly the

¹ John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 173, 174, 176. Butt considers Hiller “the most notable figure in German music education during the latter half of the eighteenth century” [p. 167]. In commenting on the 1774 treatise, Butt observes that it “doubtless reflects Hiller’s experience as a teacher in his own music conservatory” [given that he was yet to become Cantor of the Thomasschule], while also stating that it “was more of a prescription than a reflection of actual practice in school music” [p. 173]. In his 1774 treatise Hiller gives “perhaps the clearest picture of German singing in the 1770s and its relation to the school environment.” According to Butt [p. 167] Hiller also “uncovers what he sees as an unthinking attitude towards learning, one that evidently seemed anomalous in the Age of Enlightenment.” For an older view of Hiller’s achievements, see Friedrich Rochlitz, “Johann Adam Hiller,” *Für Freunde der Tonkunst*, vol. 1, 3rd edn. [Leipzig: Carl Crobloch, 1868], p. 27.
work of Tosi–Agricola, from the viewpoint of a new “enlightened” musical sensibility addressing “the more advanced, potentially professional singer, in an attempt to raise the general standard of singing in Germany.”

Johann Adam Hiller represents a musical culture that increasingly sought distinction from that of the court music sponsored by the aristocracy in the eighteenth century. Although he was occasionally employed by aristocratic sponsors, Hiller was a musician who exemplified many of the virtues of his social background: honesty, diligence, versatility, adaptability, and innovation. The historical and sociological situation placed limitations on the middle class in its desire for political and cultural emancipation. As in court life, there was room to assimilate the accomplishments of foreign musical cultures. Hiller was an important figure in the endeavor to shape a musical idiom which gave expression to the feelings and aspirations of his peers. While enlightened despotism and absolutism brought about significant cultural changes, middle-class artists and intellectuals sought to break down many barriers and privileges by popularizing learning and art. This movement, observed as one of the key projects of the Enlightenment, is aptly described in one of the more ubiquitous sources:

Philosophy, science, literature, and the fine arts all began to address a general public beyond the select group of experts and connoisseurs. Popular treatises were written to bring culture within the reach of all, while novelists and playwrights began depicting everyday people with everyday emotions. Powerful support for this popularization came from the “back to nature” movement, which prized sentiment in literature and the arts.

As a versatile composer of Singspiele, Hiller contributed significantly to the efforts to create a popular musical culture that reflected the cultural life of Leipzig and aimed beyond its environs. His “pioneering work as an impresario” was groundbreaking in meeting the needs of a relatively new phenomenon, the “theatrical singer.” Above all, Hiller’s greatest accomplishment was that of mediator and pedagogue for an audience that increasingly showed interest in musical activity and entertainment. In this context he understood that his purpose as a musician was to be a teacher to the future singers of his nation: “so many elements of his teaching are directly applicable to the needs of his age.”

All aspects of his musical endeavors are to be seen in the light of this personal and professional mission. Hiller the conductor, the performer, the teacher, the theorist, and critic can only be grasped fully if one looks at his achievements as

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2 Butt, Music Education, p. 177. Hiller’s stature with regard to earlier theorists and his indebtedness to treatises, particularly to the works of Tosi and Agricola, is emphasized by Julianne C. Baird in Introduction to the Art of Singing by Johann Friedrich Agricola, trans. and ed. Julianne C. Baird (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 34: “Updating Agricola by providing specific directions and musical examples of how these ornaments should be performed pertinent to his own day, Hiller, the only other notable writer of a German singing treatise in the era of Agricola, used and modernized the Anleitung [i.e. Tosi/Agricola, Anleitung zur Singkunst (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1757)] and supplanted Agricola as the foremost German writer in the eighteenth-century tradition of singing and as an authority on ornamentation.”


4 Butt, Music Education, p. 177.

5 Ibid., p. 179.
manifestations of an extraordinary service and unrelenting dedication to the cause of cultural and national identity.

To meet the challenges of the day, Hiller employed his resourcefulness and versatility in playing several instruments, conducting, and composing, although his greatest love remained the human voice. Ever since he came to know Hasse’s operas in Dresden, his preference was established and reinforced. As a labor of love he painstakingly copied Hasse’s scores, familiarizing himself with his idol’s art and operatic tradition. Hiller followed through with his unwavering dedication to vocal music from the Dresden years (1746–51) to his Cantorship at the Thomasschule in Leipzig (1789–1801).

In Hiller the musician and theorist two traditions intersect: the theoretical line of vocal pedagogy as represented by Tosi, Agricola, Marpurg, and Mancini, and the musical practice of Handel, Hasse, C. H. Graun, C. P. E. Bach, and W. A. Mozart. It is in his vocal treatises that Hiller demonstrates the results of his endeavors in theory and practice to improve the quality of singing in Germany. Having heard many Italian virtuosi perform and through his acquaintance with the writings of Burney and Mancini, Hiller became aware of the superior training available to singers in Italy. He complained often and persistently about the lack of training facilities for singers in Germany, as the German school system no longer placed any special emphasis on this subject. The Italians, however, had special music schools called Ospedali or conservatories: in Venice there were four such conservatories, and Naples had three. In Italy also had many more opera houses; the larger cities sometimes boasted several. In Germany there was no longer much indigenous opera and the comedies often performed by traveling acting companies were unsuited to German singers. Hiller found that the state of music in the church also left much to be desired. To improve these discouraging conditions he undertook two major steps: first to provide the opportunity to learn how to sing properly, and second to motivate singers to acquire such musical training. Since vocal music was of great importance in the eighteenth century, Hiller devoted much time and energy to engendering significant change and improvement in the German tradition, in the hope of raising it to a level comparable to Italian vocalism.

Hiller’s concern for an identifiable German style in singing and vocal music was part of the general movement in the arts through which the German middle class sought to establish its own terrain within the Enlightenment. The drive to create a national theater, led by many artists of the time, among them brilliant writers such as Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, was an integral part of the movement toward a national identity and culture. In tune with these emancipatory trends, Hiller’s wish to overcome the Italian domination in singing led to his
pivotal role in the creation of Singspiel. In his attempt to nationalize opera, he aimed at a lighter and more popular form. This endeavor to contribute to national culture positions Hiller at the forefront of major cultural developments in the eighteenth century.

Whatever opera took place after the Thirty Years War (1618–48) at German courts, especially in Vienna, Dresden, and Berlin, almost exclusively employed Italian singers. The lack of opportunity for German singers was so severe that they had to travel to Italy to study singing and return not only with Italian training but with Italian names as well, essentially coming home as Italian artists. The resulting Italianization, for both economic and opportunistic reasons, caused resentment among many Germans and attempts ensued to establish opera companies for home-grown talents as well. Occasionally, there were attempts at creating German opera, notably the Weissenfels court theater and the Hamburg civic opera. The wealthy port of Hamburg founded its own company in 1678 which lasted until 1739. Its most successful director was Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739), whose successor, Georg Philipp Telemann, assumed the directorship in 1722 after Keiser had departed for Copenhagen. Telemann, however, could not prevent the demise of the Hamburg opera, and when German opera failed Italian opera once again gained the upper hand.

Like Hamburg, Leipzig was another major trade center with a wealthy, culturally aspiring middle class. Steeped in patrician tradition, Leipzig was at the center of some of the most frequented trade routes to Hamburg, Nuremberg, Vienna, Danzig, Strasbourg, Frankfurt am Main, and Breslau. The impact on Leipzig at the hub of the crossroads was overwhelming; its trade fairs became the meeting places for all German merchants. Economically prosperous, Leipzig developed a rich and diverse culture with a flourishing musical life. Unlike other important musical centers of the eighteenth century – Paris, Vienna, Prague, Mannheim, and Berlin – which revolved around court life, Leipzig was determined by the tastes of the trade-oriented middle class. Boasting approximately 30,000 inhabitants in the early eighteenth century, this flourishing city had the nimbus of a “little Paris” and a “little paradise” as well. A proud city government not only administered to the needs of the people but also sought to keep high cultural standards. The presence of its prestigious university contributed to a lively intellectual atmosphere enhanced by Leipzig’s status as a center for publishing made famous by its annual book fairs. In the 1720s there was hardly another city in Germany (perhaps with the exception of Hamburg) that boasted such vigorous commerce and modern life.

In Leipzig, the churches were an important part of the vibrant cultural

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heritage. There were five of them apart from the University chapels, and all had daily services in addition to the special services at festival times. The people of Leipzig had ample opportunity to worship in churches where music was an essential part of the service. While sacred music was available in abundance, several attempts were made over the years to establish opera in Leipzig and to foster the development of German opera in its indigenous form.

As part of the effort to foster German opera, an initiative in 1743 tried to establish Singspiel in Germany by following an English model. However, this initial attempt resulted in instant failure. Almost ten years passed before Gottlieb Heinrich Koch, one of the leading comedians and Director of the Leipzig theater, made another attempt in 1752 with the same work, Der Teufel ist los (from the English Devil to Pay), but with new music by Standfuss, a violinist for his ballet troupe.11 This new effort met with a great deal of success. Standfuss gave his music a certain folk-song quality that Hiller later made a distinctive feature of his own Singspiele. Both Koch and Standfuss produced another Singspiel, Der stolze Bauer Jochem Tribs, which also found high acclaim in Berlin. The subsequent performance of the second part of Der stolze Bauer, however, met with a cool reception; the text seemed outdated, and the music had lost its appeal. As a formula for a German equivalent to the English ballad opera, Italian opera buffa, or the new French opéra comique (better known as comédie mêlée d’ariettes, a “comedy [in spoken dialogue] mingled with songs”),12 the Singspiel still had to overcome more obstacles before it became successful. Among the difficulties encountered by this light, entertaining genre was the rapid change in taste typical of this period. These volatile conditions made a lasting acceptance of the Singspiel difficult.

In the course of time, however, Singspiel was successful. In 1764 Koch approached the well-established poet Christian Felix Weisse, who, in turn, asked Hiller to write new music for Der Teufel ist los, the same opera that had been performed in 1752. Since the performers were actors and not singers, Hiller had to meet the standards of untrained voices by reducing vocal demands. The result was an emphasis on the Lied. As it turned out, this accessible vocal form was both pleasing and entertaining and became an instant hit with the audience. The ordinary burghers enjoyed nothing more than simple tunes which they could hum, whistle, and sing. The popular Lied, replacing the more elaborate Italian aria, was something common people could relate to and freely imitate. Here, in the strophic Lied form, Hiller found his best musical medium. From the beginning of his collaboration with Weisse, he was able to use the melodic lines of the Lied adroitly for characterization and comic effect. Consistently tailoring his vocal

11 See Hans Michael Schletterer, Das deutsche Singspiel von seinen ersten Anfängen bis auf die neuere Zeit (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1863) and Georgy Calmus, “Die ersten deutschen Singspiele von Standfuss und Hiller,” Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Beihüte, vol. VI, 2nd sequence (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908). Standfuss, on whom there is scant biographical information, never reaped the rewards worthy of his talents, and he died in poverty in a Hamburg hospital in 1756, according to Schletterer (Calmus gives a different date, 1757 or even later).

parts to fit the respective character on stage, Hiller used popular melodies for peasants and other members of the lower classes whereas kings and other noble figures were given more ornate, Italianate arias. This distinction also followed the contemporary pattern of presenting characters on stage according to the conventions of the social hierarchy. Hiller’s success in responding to the popular need for enjoyable and entertaining songs is reflected in Peiser’s assessment which credits him with arousing in the Germans a “Lust zum Singen.”

Numerous other Singspiele followed, among them Die Jagd in 1770, which was probably the most popular of Hiller’s works in Germany and abroad.

Hiller’s musical ingenuity is evidenced by the fact that he sensed the needs of the day while being able to come up with the right formula to satisfy them. The Singspiel was not just a pastime of popularizers and entertainment seekers. Some of the greatest creative minds and artists of the eighteenth century were attracted to this agreeable and versatile musical form. Goethe, himself drawn to Leipzig in part because of its cultural riches and student life, was intrigued by Singspiel. While studying at the university, he frequented performances of Singspiele, among them Hiller’s Lismart und Dariolette which premiered on November 25, 1766. Because of its lightness and comic element, Singspiel held a particular attraction for Goethe, who subsequently wrote numerous Singspiel texts; one of the most significant examples is his attempt at a sequel to Mozart’s Die Zauberflöte in 1798. Years later, in 1824, the aging Goethe remembered his student days in Leipzig and his encounters with the composer whom he endearingly recalled as “der gute Hiller.”

Before Hiller decided to devote his life entirely to music after years of diverse studies and musical activities, he – like Goethe – had engaged in the study of law. He entered the University of Leipzig in 1751. But his love for music had been with him since his childhood and he did not fail to spend as much time on it as he could. Giving music lessons partially helped his financial situation as a student. Hiller also tried his luck at composition although he considered the works of this early Leipzig period insignificant. His attention was turned more

15 Goethe’s Singspiele are numerous. Here is a list of some from the 1770s:

1775 Claudine von Villa Bella (“Claudine of Villa Bella”)
1775 Erwin und Elmire (“Erwin and Elmire”)
1777 Lila (“Lila”)
1777 Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit (“The Triumph of Sensibility”)
1779 Jery und Bately (“Jery and Bately”)

The references to Goethe are in Goethe’s Werke, Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand, vols. X, XI (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1828).
toward theoretical endeavors and his first attempt at writing about music, his *Abhandlung von der Nachahmung in der Musik*, completed in 1753, impressed Marpurg enough to publish it in volume 1 of his *Historisch-kritische Beiträge*. Continuing his studies of law at the university, Hiller was encouraged by this successful enterprise to persevere in his pursuit of musical matters on his own. Essentially Hiller was self-taught in many areas of interest, both in music training and in scholarship. While he lacked the financial means to afford a proper musical education himself, he managed to achieve a sufficient level of performance on the piano, flute, and violin that would allow him to make good use of it in his future career as composer, teacher, and theorist. However, in his autobiography, Hiller claimed to have no illusions about the limitations of his playing skills. Likewise his compositional output was, by the standards of his time, modest at best. Yet Hiller was confident of his voice and his accomplishments as a singer. The favorable reputation he had achieved in Leipzig reinforced his preoccupation with the human voice. Like so many of his contemporaries, he considered it the greatest instrument.

At Leipzig University, the renowned Johann Christoph Gottsched and Christian Fürchtegott Gellert were among Hiller’s teachers. In 1754, through the assistance of Gellert, the young student was appointed to a position as tutor in the service of the Brühls, an aristocratic family whose residence in Dresden was one of the centers for the arts in that city. The possibility of studying music more thoroughly and the opportunity to come into direct contact with the latest artistic activities were particularly attractive to Hiller. Stimulated by this environment and secure in his modest position, he finally gave up his studies of law to devote himself completely to music.

Characteristically, Hiller did not pursue music studies with a single goal in mind. A variety of activities attracted him, ultimately leading him to a much diversified career as an editor, musical director, conductor, composer, critic,
theorist, and teacher. While the Seven Years War, which had started in 1756, dampened cultural activities both in Dresden and in Leipzig, Hiller, undeterred by the impact of political events, continued his involvement in music, furthering his career by establishing important social contacts. Thus, he befriended Karl Wilhelm Müller, the future Mayor of Leipzig, who many years later was instrumental in providing a new facility for Hiller’s Gewandhaus Concerte in 1781, a milestone in the history of public concert performances.

Hiller suffered all his life from headaches and hypochondria, ailments that time and again interfered with his plans and activities. When his headaches became insufferable for a period in 1760, he left Count von Bruhl’s service. Despite his ill health he managed to realize his idea of publishing the first weekly music periodical, the Musikalischer Zeitvertreib, which was brought out by Breitkopf & Härtel in the same year. However, at the time that this anthology of small musical compositions was received with acclaim, Hiller’s health problems again became more acute and forced him to discontinue publication of his innovative serial.

The real turning point in Hiller’s career came in 1762 when he was asked to set up a series of subscription concerts which had been discontinued during the Seven Years War. With it came the opportunity to play a major role in Leipzig’s musical life by way of concert activities. In his earlier years in Leipzig, Hiller had ventured into musical composition, writing a Passionskantate, some chorale melodies for his teacher Gellert, and a collection of songs dedicated to his canary, a dedication made in jest that he withdrew in the second edition.21 Not unaware that he could not excel in composition save for the later Singspiele and cognizant that he also could not compete with such successful peers as C. P. E. Bach, Georg Benda, and Johann Joachim Quantz,22 Hiller shifted his interest to editing and musical directorship, compiling the anthology Loisir musical, which included some piano sonatas. But when he began the new concert series in 1763, opening it with a cantata of his own, he marked the beginning of his most significant career as musical director and leading figure of music life in Leipzig.

Public concerts had a certain tradition in Leipzig, where one of the first groups to appear in public was the Collegium musicum of the University, a student society which had been founded by Georg Philipp Telemann in 1704 when he was a student of law and modern languages. After Telemann’s departure for Sorau, Melchior Hoffmann took over this post in 1704 and devoted himself not only to performance, but to practice, teaching, and educating the participants as well.23 As it turned out, the foundation for the future conservatory was being laid. By the time Johann Sebastian Bach became the Director of the Collegium musicum in

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23 Melchior Hoffmann (c. 1685–1715): German composer and conductor, who held the posts of director of music at the Neue Kirche, the opera, and the Collegium musicum – with the exception of a year’s stay in England (1710–11) – until his death.
1729, these concerts were being offered in the coffee houses of Leipzig. As of 1746 there were three such music groups or Collegia weekly in town, indicating the proliferation of these musical activities and the growing interest among the city’s population. One group was directed by the organist of the Neue Kirche, the second by the organist of the Thomaskirche, and the third was under the direction of the “Herren Kauflute und andere Personen in Drey Schwanen im Brühle.” This third group became known as the *Grosses Concert* and it was the direct forerunner of the *GewandhausConzerte*.

From the beginning the *Grosses Concert* was a great success. Hiller himself had previously been associated with the organization before he became its new director. From 1751 to 1754, while studying at the university, he had played flute and sung bass in the *Grosses Concert*. It is possible that he already at that time influenced the programming and selection of compositions performed, in particular the music of Hasse. In addition to heading the *Grosses Concert* and including as much vocal music as possible, Hiller gave private voice lessons to both boys and girls. When the number of students he was teaching grew considerably, he established his own *Musiklärende Gesellschaft*. Several women, respected in the community for their musical talents, joined as harpsichord players and other members of the orchestra. Subsequently, this *Musikchor* achieved such a high level of playing that Hiller was able to give concerts with them, and the works he selected became increasingly difficult and demanding. Originally the performances were thought of as rehearsals, but in order to give the group the opportunity to perform in public, Hiller founded another concert series, the *Concerts Spirituels*. During Advent and Lent, the *Musiklärende Gesellschaft* performed works in public which were appropriate to the season. In 1778, owing to a lack of funds, the *Grosses Concert* was forced to stop temporarily, while the *Musiklärende Gesellschaft* continued to flourish.

Encouraged by his success as music director and pedagogue, Hiller founded a conservatory for students and amateurs in 1776. A public performance three years later achieved much acclaim, and the *Musiklärende Gesellschaft* soon became one of the most esteemed groups in Leipzig, and their concerts “am Maríte” in the Thomahaus were in great demand among the public, as had been the former concerts in the Drey Schwanen. Lacking, however, was an appropriate concert hall. Hiller’s friend the Bürgermeister Karl Wilhelm Müller was able to fulfill the wish for a new facility. In 1781 the new Gewandhaus was completed.

24 For Bach’s involvement in the *Collegium musicum* see Eberhard Creuzburg, *Die Gewandhaus-Konzerte zu Leipzig* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1931), p. 11. For a more recent account see Christoph Wolff, *Bach: Essays on his Life and Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 30: “Bach’s directorship lasted into the early 1740s. Unfortunately we know nothing of the programs of the ‘ordinary’ weekly concerts, which took place in winter on Friday evenings from eight until ten o’clock in the Zimmermann coffee house, and in the summer on Wednesday afternoons from four to six in the coffee garden ‘in front of the Grimmische Tor’.”


and Hiller became its first musical director. He maintained this position until the winter of 1784–85 when he was appointed Kapellmeister to the Duke of Courland. Finally, having returned to Leipzig, Hiller, who first assisted Cantor Doles at the Thomasschule, took over this post in 1789 and held it until ill health forced his resignation in 1801.

Hiller is best remembered for his pivotal contribution to Singspiel and in his role as first conductor of the Gewandhaus Conzerte, which started a formidable tradition in music making. Another of the lasting effects of Hiller’s musical activities at the Gewandhaus is the concert format that he created after the design used for the Grosse Conzert: a two-part program, with an intermission to allow for the audience to refresh themselves and take in the second part of a concert with renewed attention and expectations. Both parts of the concert, largely parallel in design, were designed to provide a fairly symmetrical structure. Usually a symphony would open part 1, to be followed by a concert aria, a concerto for soloist (violin or piano), an aria from an opera, and some more ensemble playing in a divertissement. After the intermission break, the audience was greeted with another symphony, another aria and the final piece, usually another symphony for the entire orchestra. This format served as a model for the programming of the Gewandhaus Conzerte for years to come.27

In public concerts, Leipzig rivaled London and Paris. Most of the audience comprised wealthy burghers, merchants, churchmen, civil servants, and artisans who not only enjoyed listening to music but liked to perform it themselves. Thus, a demand arose for music simple enough for the modestly equipped amateurs to play in their homes. This type of music – Hausmusik – became increasingly popular and widespread. Entire families joined together, practicing and performing, enjoying each other’s company in the process. Soon they were giving concerts among themselves and for friends. The Hauskonzert became an important socio-cultural event: “A moderately well-to-do comfortable, somewhat educated German burgher family needed music through which to pour the overflow of its affections; it wanted to participate in music actively at home, even more than listen to it in passive admiration in church or elsewhere.”28 Naturally, keyboard instruments played a major role in Hausmusik together with singing. Hausmusik not only fostered Geselligkeit (socializing), it also, as Preußner has remarked, did much for the advancement of music: “The enrichment of music (Musikpflege) owes everything to house music and house concerts: it was the basis for a valuable group of listeners, for a musically enthusiastic youth, and the seed for musical talent.”29 While singing was an integral part of most Hausmusik, the German bur-

27 For a discussion of the concert format and examples of programs for the Grosse Concert and the first Gewandhauskonzert of November 25, 1781, see Creuzburg, Die Gewandhaus-Konzerte zu Leipzig, pp. 18f. and 23f.