UDK 78.071.1

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'B-Composers' or: How can you become a 'Kleinmeister'?*

Skladatelji druge kategorije ali kako lahko postaneš »Kleinmeister«

Prejeto: 2. marec 2010
Sprejeto: 1. maj 2010

Ključne besede: »Kleinmeister« - pojem in značilnosti, premislek o socialnem položaju skladatelja v glasbenozgodovinskih spisih, karieri Luigija Gattija in Johanna Baptista Schiedermayerja kot predstavnikov vzorčnih študij

Izvleček

»Polnila« med »velikimi skladatelji« – t.i. »mali mojstri« - povzročajo različne probleme pri pisanju glasbene zgodovine. Na eni prihaja do enostranskega gledanja na dela »malih mojstrov«, dokler jih obravnavamo po kriterijih, ki smo jih razvili za »vrhunske skladbe«. Na drugi strani pa pomanjkljiv vpogled v vire komplicira vrednotenje tistih skladateljev, ki niso dosegli izstopajoče pozicije v glasbenem repertoarju, pred katerim se, pa čeprav kot ozadje, profilirajo »velika« dela. Te in take metodološke in arhivske težave se prvič obravnavajo ob salzburškem okolju Wolfganga A. Mozarta in linškem Antona Brucknerja. Iz česar naj bi izšel katalog kriterijev, po katerih se določen skladatelj obravnava kot »mali mojster«, kar bo lahko rabilo kot podlaga muzikološkim študijam pri utemeljevanju njihovega pomena in priljubljenosti.

Received: 2nd March 2010
Accepted: 1st May 2010

Keywords: 'Kleinmeister' – term and characteristics, the consideration of a composers' social standings in writings on music history, the careers of Luigi Gatti and Johann Baptist Schiedermayr as representative case studies

Abstract

Filling gaps between the 'Great Composers' so called 'Kleinmeister' cause various problems in writing about the history of music. On the one hand one-sided perspectives will be the result as long as the works of 'Kleinmeister' are to be discussed with standards of qualities that have been developed with regard to 'top compositions'. On the other hand a deficient sighting of sources often complicates the estimation of those composers, who certainly have not reached an outstanding position within the common repertory, however as a foil of contemporary artistic work allow the 'great' works of the prominent ones to stand out.
Such difficulties in methodical and archival accesses will firstly be considered by examining the Salzburg surroundings of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart and the Linz surroundings of Anton Bruckner. A catalogue of criteria determining a composer's being treated as a 'Kleinmeister' shall arise and make up the basis to discuss significance and liking when speaking about 'Kleinmeister' in musicological studies.

* This paper has first been given at the Conference "Der Künstler in seiner Welt", organized by the Anton Bruckner Institut, Linz, Brucknerhaus, September 25th–27th 2008. A German version will be published within the proceedings of this Conference. Thanks to the generosity of the Anton Bruckner Institut's presidency the printing of an English version in advance is possible. Translations of quotations have been made by Michaela Schwarzbauer and by the author.

I. A case study of the 18th century

'Kleinmeisterei' – frequently understood as a filler between the 'masters of music' – raised several problems for those writing about the history of music. On the one hand we are confronted with one-dimensional perspectives, as long as we meet the work of so called 'Kleinmeister' with (quality) standards developed in the description of 'masterpieces'. Then a work y a 'Kleinmeister' will rarely be the better one. On the other hand an inadequate examination of source material usually or often makes it difficult to estimate the significance of those composers whose compositions have not gained an outstanding position in the repertoire, whose work must however be considered as a necessary echo of each contemporary art, only making possible to set off great works.

The problem that therefore affects both methodological as well as philological considerations will first be discussed in an exemplary way, taking up the case of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart and his surroundings in Salzburg. Composers like Johann Ernst Eberlin, Anton Cajetan Adlgasser, Giuseppe Lolli and Luigi Gatti – fairly neglected in the writings on music history[1] – in wide-spread opinion could not even compete with the 'Salzburger Haydn' Johann Michael as real rivals of the Mozarts. However – with the exception of Adlgasser – they all achieved a higher position at the court of the Archbishop than the Mozarts or Haydn... Shouldn't this fact make us think?

The reasons for the profiles of such a musical reception must be examined. Is it the result of selective notions or standards of quality of later times? Were departures from the standardized repertoire missing, changes that caused something strange, special which could stir up the interest of future generations? Were artistic achievements retrospectively measured by later standards? Did judgements to be found in the letters of the Mozarts influence later descriptions? The correspondence elucidates in any case the fact that Leopold and his son did not renounce on a leading position and its administrative tasks because of a striving for artistic freedom. Even if such ideas were sometimes taken up: They were nothing but an inadequate transfer of Romantic ideals into the 18th century. The Mozarts did not achieve such a leading position as a consequence of futile applications and disappointed hopes.

In Agnes Ziffer's study *Kleinmeister zur Zeit der Wiener Klassik* with the subtitle *Versuch einer übersichtlichen Darstellung sogenannter „Kleinmeister" im Umkreis von Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven und Schubert zur Quellensicherung ihrer Werke*[2] Johann

[1] Even in the recently published *Salzburger Musikgeschichte* the names of Giuseppe Lolli and Luigi Gatti only appear in a cursory manner, being mentioned only twice resp. four times, without further commentary, which seems to be a backward development compared with Constantin Schneiders' *Geschichte der Musik in Salzburg von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Salzburg 1935. However, the fact that the the chapter 'Leopold Mozart – Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Michael Haydn' referred to has also served as a basis for a respective monography on the Mozarts' Salzburg times should have motivated this simple cue of insignificance; see Manfred Hermann Schmid: 'Leopold Mozart – Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Michael Haydn', in *Salzburger Musikgeschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis ins 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Jürg Stenzl, Ernst Hintermaier and Gerhard Walterskirchen, Verlag Anton Pustet, Salzburg – München, 2005, pp. 255–331, as well as Manfred Hermann Schmid under collaboration of Petrus Eder OSB: *Mozart in Salzburg. Ein Ort für sein Talent*, Verlag Anton Pustet, Salzburg, 2006.

[2] Agnes Ziffer: *Kleinmeister zur Zeit der Wiener Klassik. Versuch einer übersichtlichen Darstellung sogenannter „Kleinmeister" im Umkreis von Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven und Schubert sowie Studien zur Quellensicherung ihrer Werke*, Verlag Hans Schneider, Tutzing, 1984 (Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Musikdokumentation 10). – By the way: Ziffer gains substantial merit concerning the investigation of 'Kleinmeister' by means of studies on the notation practice in autographs of the composers discussed in her publication.

Michael Haydn – surprisingly enough – is not mentioned; most probably Ziffer sees him somewhere in a grey area between the ‚Klassiker' (the classics) and ‚Kleinmeister'. Salzburg is however well represented in this book: with Anton Cajetan Adlgasser, Johann Ernst Eberlin, Sigismund von Neukomm and Joseph Wölfl. So as to exaggerate in my reflections I will turn my interest towards two first chapelmasters at the court of the Archbishop in Salzburg, who – according to Ziffer – not even reached the status of 'Kleinmeister': Giuseppe Francesco Lolli (Bologna ?1701 – Salzburg 1778) and Luigi Gatti (Lazise, at Lago di Garda 1740 – Salzburg 1817).

The suspicion that Lolli and Gatti might have been neglected as a consequence of nationalistic thinking in music history does not work. Constantin Schneider in his *Geschichte der Musik in Salzburg* – a pioneering contribution in the history of regional music-history-writing in Austria published in 1935 – at least mentions both composers and writes about Giuseppe Lolli:

> "Beside the three main representatives of the Rococo-period [Johann Ernst Eberlin, Leopold Mozart, Anton Cajetan Adlgasser] their contemporaries are far left behind. We get well informed about the situation of the chapel-music and the quality of its members by Leopold Mozart's accounts. As chapelmaster Joseph Maria Lolli from Bologna was engaged after Eberlin's death in 1744, an insignificant composer of whom some masses and sacred music have been preserved."[3]

Schneider refers to the source of his assessment: Leopold Mozart's *Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Musik Sr. Hochfürstlichen Gnaden des Erzbischoffs zu Salzburg* (an account of the situation of the chapel-music in Salzburg). Mozart dismisses Lolli's music with the words: "Apart from a few oratorios he has composed almost nothing for the chamber, and some masses and verse-psalms for the church."[4] And Mozart continues with extensive descriptions of the oeuvre of the vice-chapelmaster at that time – and thus unmasks himself as the author of the anonymous article.[5] Surprisingly Leopold neither here nor anywhere else refers to an event – most probably familiar to him – that shows Lolli in a bad light. The *Annotatione rerum gestorum* of father Otto Gutrather from St. Peter's Abbey tell that Lolli gained the position of vice-chapelmaster in 1743 because of a servile promise, i.e. not to ask for salary increase. Thus he pushed out the favourite Johann Ernst Eberlin – who later on was preferred to Lolli as chapelmaster.[6] Such 'discoveries' – in later times the brusque sentence of the music-loving

[3] Constantin Schneider: *Geschichte der Musik in Salzburg von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Verlag R. Kiesel, Salzburg, 1935, p. 111.

[4] [Leopold Mozart]: 'Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Musik Sr. Hochfürstlichen Gnaden des Erzbischoffs zu Salzburg', in *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, ed. by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, vol. 3, Berlin, 1757 (Nachdruck Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim – New York, 1970), pp. 183–198: 184

[5] Ibidem, pp. 184f.

[6] Archive of the Arch-Abbey St. Peter in Salzburg, Ms. *A 150*, fol. 235, translated from the Latin original by Doris Pellegrini-Rainer and Werner Rainer: "The decree for the post of the Vice Chapel-Master had already been issued by order of the sovereign [Duke-Archbishop Leopold Anton Baron of Firmian] in favour of Mister Eberlin and the matter had been considered as settled. There his contrahent, Mister Lolli (by far inferior in musical experience) took a last chance, worshipped the sovereign and promised, that in the case he would be promoted, he would serve without salary. Lolli finally got the job from the sovereign, who always tried to reduce the costs, to the other's disadvantage and under grumbling of nearly the whole court as well as others." – Doris Pellegrini-Rainer and Werner Rainer: 'Giuseppe Lolli (1701–1778). Ein biographischer Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte Salzburgs', in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, vol. 106, 1966, pp. 281–291: 285. This essay contains a biography of Lolli based on the scarcely preserved sources, and a catalogue of his ascertainable musical works.

Duke-Archbishop Hieronymus Duke Colloredo "should ever the famous Lolli decide to compose for the chosen ones in heaven" leave us with plenty of hints[7] – helping to consolidate the image of a minor competent composer and to sift out the make-up of the local musical life.

Schneider was unfamiliar with these sources. They would have confirmed his estimation. He ignored that Lolli was an immediate rival of Leopold Mozart for a position in the Archbishop's chapel-music. Obviously he firmly believed in the evidence of Leopold Mozart's text. Compared with this, Schneider's presentation of Gatti seems better reflected; in this case – due to missing sources – he was forced to form his own judgement.

> "Of the elder generation [after the death of Johann Michael Haydn] only the Italian Luigi Gatti, the last chapel-master of the episcopal court lived. [...] As a very prolific composer he contributed music in all fields. [...] His works reflect the stylistic change at the turn of the centuries. He started as an Italian musician of the Rococo, later turned towards classical music and developed into a Romantic composer as an old man."[8]

Lolli and Gatti belonged to two different generations following each other. Therefore their compositions can clearly be distinguished from a music-historical angle referring to a well-known border. Commonly the dividing line between baroque and classical music is drawn around (or with) the year 1750. Lolli at that time was about forty, Gatti only ten years old. Therefore a stylistic comparison would be inadequate. Most probably the two never got to know each other, and if they did meet after all, such an encounter must have taken place in Italy. When Gatti arrived in Salzburg in 1782, Lolli had already been dead for four years. A connection between the two can be established on the basis of their position as chapel-masters in Salzburg and by means of their points of contact with the family Mozart. As Lolli was a rival of the father and followed Eberlin as chapel-master in 1762, having been vice-chapel-master before wheras Leopold had been court-composer, Gatti at first was a rival of the son. First negotiations with the Archbishop in Salzburg, Hieronymus Duke Colloredo, go at least back to the year 1778, when Wolfgang Amadé was on his journey to Paris, accompanied by his mother and at the same time looking for a job.[9] When Gatti is harshly criticized later in the correspondence of the Mozarts in a letter of Wolfgang written in Vienna in autumn 1782, one should bear in mind Wolfgangs anger, looking back at his unsatisfying situation as a court musician in Salzburg with a chapel master Gatti who had been favoured above him.

> "that Gatti, the ass, has asked the Archbishop for permission to compose a serenade – makes him deserve his name [Italian gatto refers to a tom-cat and Wolfgang Amadé

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7 Pellegrini-Rainer and Rainer (as for footnote 6), p. 287.

8 Schneider (as for footnote 3), p. 142.

9 On June 11th 1778 Leopold Mozart writes to his wife and son staying in Paris: "Luigi Gatti of Mantua,who has been estimated as a distinguished pianist by the Archbishop of Olmütz, whom you know, who has copied your mass in Mantua, and to whom the Archbishop of Olmütz [on instruction of Duke-Archbishop Colloredo] was obliged to write, does not want to leave Mantua, but only intends to come for about two, three months" – *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, collected and annotated by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, by means of their preliminary papers annotated by Joseph Heinz Eibl, Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel and others, 1962–75, vol. 2, nr. 452, lines 158–162.

refers to the charming character of the animal]; and I suspect that it may also be applied to his musical capacities."[10]

We have to consider, however: Both Lolli and Gatti were chapel-masters in times of stylistic changes as well as in an obviously desolate era, politically as well as economically. Before Hieronymus Duke Colloredo took office the episcopalian Salzburg, still an autonomous territory, had got into tremendous economic difficulties due to the loss of Bohemian salt-markets. Colloredo on his part could rehabilitate the financial situation, but he could not stop the process of secularization.[11] These facts have to be considered and may 'correct' a judgement entirely based on artistic expectations. However – the 'myth Mozart' opposes all these reflections and makes it impossible to form a somehow unbiased judgement. Even the national element, fairly neglected in studies on Salzburg music history, was eclipsed by this myth. The nationality of Lolli and Gatti had certainly contributed in the development of their career; Italian composers were highly estimated almost everywhere in "Heiliges Römisches Reich deutscher Nation" and especially Archbishop Colloredo appreciated their contributions. As it was Colloredo who was frequently shown in a wrong light as 'enemy' of the Mozarts[12], the spiral of low regard begins to turn again, rubbing off on his chapel masters.

Neither Lolli nor Gatti deserved the ignorance they received. By arranging their work on the basis of regional and temporal requests and resisting the ideal of l'art pour l'art they simply behaved correctly as far as their position at court was concerned. Also Eberlin, Adlgasser and Johann Michael Haydn did not behave differently, nor did Leopold and not even Wolfgang Amadé before he finally quitted his employment in Salzburg in 1781. Lolli primarily composed church music, as this was appropriate for the chapel-master of an ecclesiastical principality. Furthermore, like elsewhere, in Salzburg a clear separation of duties had been established for the chapel-music, with chamber-music provided by specially appointed composers at court. Thus you may not wonder at the absence of Lollis contributions. His sacred compositions at any rate display solidness and hint at a change of concepts concerning instrumental music, especially within the area of the church-sonata.[13] A survey of relevant sources in the archive of "Salzburger Dommusik"[14] emphasizes his position as a link in the development of church-sonatas in one movement that become a habit in compositions by Wolfgang Amadé Mozart.[15]

[10] Wolfgang Amadé Mozart from Vienna to his father in Salzburg, October 12th 1782. – *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (as for footnote 9), vol. 3, nr. 702, lines 8–11.

[11] Cmp. Gerhard Ammerer: 'Von Franz Anton von Harrach bis Siegmund Christoph von Schrattenbach – eine Zeit des Niedergangs'; Ludwig Hammermayer: 'Die letzte Epoche des Erzstifts Salzburg. Politik und Kirchenpolitik unter Erzbischof Graf Hieronymus Colloredo (1772–1803)', in *Geschichte Salzburgs. Stadt und Land*, ed. by Heinz Dopsch and Hans Spatzenegger, vol. II/1, Universitätsverlag Anton Pustet, Salzburg, 1988, pp. 245–323 resp. pp. 453–535.

[12] Cmp. Thomas Hochradner: 'Kontur und Korrektur eines Feindbildes: Hieronymus Graf Colloredo', in *Mozarts Kirchenmusik, Lieder und Chormusik. Das Handbuch*, ed. by Thomas Hochradner and Günther Massenkeil, Laaber verlag, Laaber, 2006 (Das Mozart-Handbuch, vol. 4), pp. 381–395; Thomas Hochradner: 'Colloredo kontra Mozart: Tradícia omylov v dejinách bádania' ['Colloredo gegen Mozart. Traditionsverständnis im Fehlurteil der Forschungsgeschichte'], in *Slovenská hudba*, vol. 31, 2005, nr. 3/4: *Tradícia, inovácia, modernosť vo vývojových premenách*, pp. 320–329.

[13] In effect his works do not offer more than solidness. Besides, as a matter of fact, Lolli did not compose very much during his tenure of office as Vice and later First Chapel Master in Salzburg. Cmp. Pellegrini-Rainer and Rainer (as for footnote 6), p. 288, as well as the catalogue of works, ibidem, pp. 288–290.

[14] Nowadays kept in the archive of the Salzburg Arch-Diocese, 'Dommusikarchiv'.

[15] Cmp. Thomas Hochradner: 'Im Spiegel lokaler Tradition. Zu den Kirchensonaten Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts', in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 81, 1997, pp. 95–123.

Sonatas composed by Giuseppe Lolli (?1701 – 1778)

(all A-Sd)

Shelf mark	title	movements			
A 822	Sinfonia	Vivace ed allegro C			1
A 823	Sinfonia	Allegro e presto C			1
A 824	Sonata	Allegro e spiritoso C	Amoroso C	Presto assai 3/8	3
A 825	Sonata	Allegro moderato mà presto C			1
A 826	Sonata	Allegro →	Adagio C	Allegro 3/4 → C	3
A 827	Sonata	–	Adagio cantabile C	Presto 3/8	2
A 828	–	Allegro C			1
A 829	Sonata	–	(Adagio) cantabile C	Presto 2/4	2
A 830	Sonata	(Allegro) 3/4			1
A 831	Sonata	(Staccato e) spiritoso 3/4			1

In a similar way Gatti's chamber-music – usually composed for the private use of Archbishop Colloredo who liked to dabble on the violin – combined different stylistic ideals. Conventions of performance-practice such as the instruction 'Ondeggiando' for string-instruments that can already be found in the sources for Lolli's church-sonatas – but they are accompanied by a kind of formal instability with a song-form overlying classical principles – foretaste of the Romantic era. The fact that virtuosity in Gatti's compositions rather served as ostentation than evoked technical problems for the players must be reflected against tendencies of the time – preferring solistic parts, like the Quatuor brillant – and also against the case that frequently Archbishop Colloredo himself played the second violin or viola.[16]

II. Case-study from the 19th century

When the musical centres shifted from aristocratic courts towards the Salons de musique, bourgeois drawing rooms and concerts, the conditions for musicians and composers changed together with the form of job. In Upper Austria, basically determined by a music-culture cultivated in monasteries and small towns, missing a centre of social and cultural life, the contours of this development seem somehow blurred. Nevertheless the field of activity of Johann Baptist Schiedermayr (1779–1840)[17] [Picture 1], organist in the Cathedral and the parish church in Linz and director of music at the local theatre, seems paradigmatic for a position a musician who wanted to achieve something extraordinary had to escape from. How was this paradigmatic position like? A multifunctional dimension can be observed in Schiedermayrs activities: He straight away can be described as a 'musical factotum', his obligations comprising tasks as musician, conductor and composer (Schiedermayr for example had to produce music for dancing events) and as

[16] Thomas Hochradner: 'Endstation Salzburg – über Luigi Gatti', in *Musikgeschichte als Verstehensgeschichte. Festschrift für Gernot Gruber zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Joachim Brügge, Franz Födermayr, Wolfgang Gratzer, Thomas Hochradner and Siegfried Mauser, Verlag Hans Schneider, Tutzing, 2004, pp. 25–37, esp. pp. 34f.

[17] All the following pieces of information on life and work of Johann Baptist Schiedermayr refer to Franz Zamazal: 'Johann Baptist Schiedermayr. Ein Vorgänger Bruckners als Linzer Dom- und Stadtpfarrorganist', in *Bruckner-Symposion. Musikstadt Linz – Musikland Oberösterreich* [...]. *Bericht*, ed. by the Anton Bruckner Institut Linz and the Linzer Veranstaltungsgesellschaft mbH, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Linz, 1993, pp. 119–160.

music teacher. Only could flee from this 'normal image', whoever succeeded in concentrating in his position as an artist. A borderline is formed with those that did not work as private music teachers but were employed by institutions. Schiedermayr in this context was successful: His additional salary as teacher of "Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde zu Linz" (the later "Musikverein") makes him stand out, wheras his basically baroque image as a composer for church, chamber and theatre does not. Like many others he did not specialize – whether Schiedermayr would have been able to do so or not cannot be answered; his position did not permit him to do so and deprived him of possibilities to prove himself. At that time Linz did not offer any possibilities for outstanding self-presentation. Forums for the performance of ambitious works were missing despite the fact that there were plenty of occasions to present oneself in public.

Picture 1. Johann Baptist Schiedermayr (1779–1840), aus: Franz Gräflinger, Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, in: Tages-Post, Linz, April 10th 1910, "Unterhaltungsbeilage"

With good luck Schiedermayr had evaded the fate of a Thurnermeister (a town musician who had to blow signals from the tower and to play on various official occasions) before: To achieve such a position it proved advantageous to possess and to be able to play several instruments as well as to own copies of musical works.[18] Schiedermayr came from a poor background and painfully had to work his way up, he would not have been able to compete with other rivals for the position of a Thurner in Schärding (a small town in Upper Austria) as far as necessary resources were concerned. However, he was offered despite these deficiencies thanks to his excellent musical performance in a presentation of the candidates. But getting employed would have implied his getting married to the eldest daughter of the deceased Thurnermeister. Schiedermayr resigned[19], and therefore did not have to experience how the position of a Thurnermeister soon shifted in the direction of a second occupation, out of professionalism. Frequently amateurs now replaced professional musicians, who found employment only in larger towns, a clear sign of urban life as the necessary surroundings for a successful musical career. The example of Schiedermayr, who despite his modest way of living was in debt at his death[20], makes it possible to show that even in a town like Linz the salary of a hardworking 'musical factotum' could not provide financial security for a family with children to be educated.

All these observations would make it possible to outline the prototype of a 'Kleinmeister' in the 19th century. The circulation of Schiedermayr's church-music by means of printings but also in passing on handwritten music, that has not been restricted to one region, but spreading in the complete area of Southern Germany and Austria, in this context forms a clear contrast. His compositions were even performed in the monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland.[21] Considering the degree of innovation of Schiedermayr's work this resonance resets in relative terms. Those expecting novelty will be disappointed, however only as long as they do not bear in mind the general development of masses with orchestra in the 19th century. These masses – into which Schiedermayr's compositions fit harmoniously – were determined by a basic plan (unchanged since classical times) concerning the structure of the movements, the division of the different parts of the text, their allocation to soli, ensemble and choir.[22] Thus originality was regarded as unspecific, whereas satisfaction of needs was regarded as constitutive for a well-done composition.

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[18] E.g. when filling up the vacancy of the Thurneramt in Hallein in 1784; see archive of the Salzburg Arch-Diocese, records to Hallein, *6/78/13*.

[19] Zamazal (as for footnote 17), pp. 123f. referring to the necrology written by Schiedermayrs' son of having the same name Johann Baptist, published in *Museal-Blatt*, Linz 1840, nr. 4, pp. 16f.; nr. 6, pp. 26f. – Schiedermayr later got married to her younger sister Barbara (ibidem, p. 126).

[20] Oviously Schiedermayr had spent all his savings on the education of his six (or seven) children that reached the age of adults; see Zamazal (as for footnote 17), pp. 130, 140–145.

[21] Two elucidating examples: In the monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland some works by Schiedermayr were even performed at the so called 'Engelweihe', the most important local religious feast, in Hallein near the town of Salzburg Choir Master Franz Xaver Gruber disposed of a rather numerous stock of Schiedermayrs' church music; see *Musik für die Engelweihe in Einsiedeln*, ed. by Therese Bruggisser-Lanker, Giuliano Castellani and Gabriella Hanke Knaus, Edition Künzelmann, Adliswil, 2007 (Musik aus Schweizer Klöstern 1), Preface, p. V, as well as Thomas Hochradner: *Hallein zur Zeit Franz Xaver Grubers*, still to be published in the report of the Conference „Städtische Kirchenmusikgeschichte. Bestandsaufnahme und Ausblick", Leipzig 2007.

[22] Cmp. Frank Frederick Mueller: *The Austrian Mass between Schubert and Bruckner*, Diss. Univ. of Illinois 1973, esp. chapter III: 'The Austrian Orchestral Mass between 1800 and 1850', pp. 45–87.

All these reflections result in a collection of symptomatic constellations that elucidate the discrepancy between a usual and a specific job-outline, though they do not make it possible to distinguish between master and bohemian. A comparison of this 'catalogue of criteria' with Anton Bruckner's life and work seems promising, but surprisingly was hardly ever undertaken in Bruckner-biographies. Obviously other aspects, such as religiousness, unfortunately Germanness, post-classicism, and Wagnerianism and the appearance in public shaped attempts at characterizing the composer.[23] Most of these approaches find themselves expressed in an article by Guido Adler of the year 1924. Adler's almost psychographic reflections astonish because of his personal acquaintance with Bruckner. Of course – what cannot be done in this paper – they have to be examined as far as their validity is concerned. The following three quotations should be exemplary:

> "[...] one notices his [Bruckner's] great dependence on the South German Catholic way of composing, as it had spread as a subsidiary of the Viennese classical church-music in the course of half a century, had got shallow and simplified. His luck was that he could stand on the healthy solid soil of the region where he had grown up and remained there [mentally] throughout his life."[24]

> "One [...] could feel his [Bruckner's] character deeply rooted in a pure soul. The restrictions or rather restrictiveness – as already mentioned – were a result of exterior circumstances. Compared to the nobleness of his heart, firmly supported by family and religious instructions, the education of his mind was behind by far, and he never found the time to make up for things he had missed in his youth. Grown up he concentrated all his thoughts and his poetry on his compositions."[25]

> "His art will in the course of time give a touching evidence, how the simple, modest assistant of a pimary school teacher of rural descent [...] could rise up to the high regions of the most noble artistic achievements."[26]

Similar to Adler most of the other biographers saw no reason to connect Bruckner with 'Kleinmeistertum'. Instead the Romantic ideal of an artist as an unwordly genius not understood was applied: "the modest assistant could rise up to the high regions...", Adler points out.[27] Against this once widespread attitude Karl Gustav Fellerer in an article of the year 1964 set two ideas: "[Bruckners] belief in the religious obligations of all activities" and an initial broad effect of popular works Bruckner had composed for

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[23] Erich Wolfgang Partsch: „Halb Genie, halb Trottel" (Gustav Mahler). Auf der Suche nach dem „wahren" Bruckner', in *Vom Ruf zum Nachruf. Künstlerschicksale in Österreich. Anton Bruckner*, Catalogue of the Oberösterreichische Landesausstellung 1996, rev. by Helga Litschel, Veritas-Verlag, Linz, 1996, pp. 311–323, esp. p. 321; Manfred Wagner: 'Biographien', in *Anton Bruckner. Ein Handbuch*, on behalf of the Anton Bruckner Institut Linz ed. by Uwe Harten, Residenz-Verlag, Salzburg and others, 1996, pp. 96f.

[24] Guido Adler: 'Anton Bruckners Stellung in der Musikgeschichte', in *In memoriam Anton Bruckner*, ed. by Karl Kobald, Amalthea-Verlag, Zürich – Wien – Leipzig, 1924, pp. 7–20: 8.

[25] Ibidem, p. 11.

[26] Ibidem, p. 20.

[27] "The poor, unworldly, and naive child of nature unfit for life, misunderstood by his contemporaries, that nevertheless, unperturbed by outward inconveniencies, creates his great works, is, especially in romantic thinking, a popular view of the artist. [...] As all great masters Bruckner too has been seen in this pretended contrast of man and work." – Karl Gustav Fellerer: 'Bruckners Persönlichkeit', in *Bruckner-Studien. Leopold Nowak zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Franz Grasberger, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Wien, 1964, pp. 21–26: 21. Also cmp. Partsch (as for footnote 23), p. 318.

the church and choral societies.[28] The second argument, referring to a satisfaction of needs typical for Kleinmeister, is extended by Georg Knepler. He regards Bruckner's socialisation as the decisive obstacle in the development of his personality and also his artistic qualities.[29] With this I don't want to agree. You have to consider: It is the kind of socialisation that Brucker lastingly tried to escape from. Erich Wolfgang Partsch, referring to Bruckner's "religious obligations", even hints at an at least temporary self-production of his image and explains:

> "Most authors did not understand that exactly in the inconsistency between outside and inside there was a niche for an extraordinarily original image of an artist that as a novelty could guarantee a really special position in the history of music. And in comments on Bruckner it seems paradoxical that the basically quite natural combination of rural descent and Catholic faith established the pronounced deviation from conventional images of artists and turned Bruckner into a composer of outstanding singularity."[30]

Does this combination of "rural descent" and "Catholic faith" convey a Romantic notion of the type of Kleinmeister in an exaggerated way? Could or did not Bruckner want to emerge from the cocoon of the world he had been born into in the urban surroundings of Linz and later Vienna? In contrast to speculations whether and in how far religiousness could replace an intellectual horizone the answer is close at hand: As far as the choice of the center of living, the way of realizing professional targets and the artistic distance from the satisfaction of immediate needs are constitutive for an artistic image (though by no means comprehensively), Bruckner's originality is not based upon some kind of Kleinmeistertum transferred.

III. Parameters of a musical 'Kleinmeisterei'

Neither in *Duden* nor in Kluge's *Etymologischem Wörterbuch* the term ‚Kleinmeister' is mentioned. This surprises in so far as Grimm's dictionary contains several references for ‚Kleinmeister' and 'Kleinmeisterei' and opens the range between a primarily pejorative and a sometimes also neutral usage.[31] An article in the *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* from the year 1885 still reveals positive semantics in the field of art-history:

> "Kleinmeister: This not quite appropriate term that merely considers the external form refers to a series of copperplate-engravers of the 16th century [succeeding

[28] Ibidem, p. 26 resp. p. 24.

[29] "Bruckner is being wronged when he is considered to be an unconsciously creative composer, not able of thinking. Bruckner absolutely knew what he did. Furthermore it would be short-sighted to overlook the limitations and misjudgements of his thinking, or to expect that they would not be expressed in his works. Bruckner's great heart and his productive genius have been narrowed down by the view of life the dominating class imposed on him. The lack of farsightedness and universality prevented Bruckner from becoming one of the greatest." – Georg Knepler: *Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Verlag Henschel, Berlin, [2]1961, vol. 2, p. 703.

[30] Partsch (as for footnote 23), pp. 316f., quoted from p. 316.

[31] *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, vol. 5, Leipzig, 1873, Nachdruck Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, München, 1984, vol. 11, col. 1118. I am indebted to Dr. Christian Neuhuber for this profitable hint.

> Albrecht Dürer] who in their works normally made use of a small format. In this moderate space, however, some of them succeeded in banning so rich an artistic content that they must be considered as representatives of the best of their profession. [...]"[32]

Often, even here, the term 'Kleinmeister' conveys a connotation somehow misty, but rather negative. This may have led to its temporary exclusion in a musicological vocabulary. In the volumes of *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* presented until World War II the term is not used; in the preface of "Wiener Instrumentalmusik vor und um 1750" Guido Adler uses the expressions "Lokalkomponist" (a composer of local significance, for Georg Mathias Monn) and "Wiener Meister des Übergangs" (Viennese masters in times of transition, for all composers working in Vienna at that time), and Adler concludes: "The farther we extend our interest, the deeper we penetrate, the richer the starry sky of our art turns and also the small stars begin to shine and enchant us."[33] In his article "Musik in Österreich" in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* the same author writes about the time after 1750: "At present composers in Vienna spring up like mushrooms" and continues, "then small people appear", these words referring to composers like Krommer, Eberl, Pleyel, Süßmayr, Wölfl and others.[34] Also Wilhelm Fischer does not use the expression 'Kleinmeister' in *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* edited by Adler but rather speaks of "kleinen Geistern", i.e. "people of limited intellect" (in this context referring to their artistic potential).[35] In this way it has been avoided to make use of the term 'Kleinmeister' as a – when compared with the Viennese classical trias – common expression referring to epigones, almost insignificant composers, limited talents and composers significant for a small region. An almost logical consequence in this context is that by contrast "greatness in music" is chosen as a starting point. In Alfred Einstein's still fascinating book having the same name[36], the term 'Kleinmeister' does not appear either, whereas Einstein regards it as necessary to 'trim' the ideal of "greatness" he wants to refer to.

> "If we want to define greatness in music we will – depending on our standards – throw light upon a more or less small number of names, behind those the more insignificant will sink into darkness. But first of all we want to eliminate the *merely* historical greatness and the *merely* regional greatness."[37]

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[32] *Allgemeinen Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. by J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, vol. II/37, Verlag Gleditsch, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 15f.: 15. Furtheron the term ‚Kleinmeister' has been explained in numerous encyclopedias and dictionaries, at all times exclusively in this art-historical connotation.

[33] Guido Adler: Preface to *Wiener Instrumentalmusik vor und um 1750*, ed. by Karl Horwitz and Karl Riedel, Verlag Artaria, Wien, 1908 (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich XV/2 = vol. 31), p. X resp. XII.

[34] Guido Adler: 'Musik in Österreich', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 16, 1929, pp. 3–31: 16f.

[35] "Besides Haydn and Mozart numerous smaller minds operated on the same fields in all culturally developed countries [...]"; "However some contemporaries surpassed him in handling the orchestra and the harmonics after Beethoven [...]. Besides numerous smaller minds [...] four striking figures exist: Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann, Ludwig Spohr, Carl Maria von Weber and Franz Schubert." – Wilhelm Fischer: 'Instrumentalmusik von 1750–1828', in *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. by Guido Adler, quoted from the reprint of the second edition (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1930), Verlag Hans Schneider, Tutzing, 1961, reprint as a paperback Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, München, [4]1981, pp. 795–833: 814 resp. 829.

[36] Alfred Einstein: *Greatness in Music*, Oxford University Press, London – New York, 1941, first German edition as *Größe in der Musik*, Pan-Verlag, Zürich – Stuttgart, 1949, [2]1951.

[37] Einstein (as for footnote 36), p. 37.

It was Einstein's intention to discover 'artistic' greatness which he finally only attributed to Johann Sebastian Bach, Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven and Franz Schubert. The music of preceeding centuries to his mind lacked actuality: "Art that does no longer appeal to us, although it has displayed its historical significance, has become stony."[38] The new revival of old music had not yet begun and finally gave the lie to Einstein; however – it was maybe just the distance emphasized by Einstein and others that made it possible for composers of old music to escape the fate of 'Kleinmeister'. Who would apply this attribute to Johannes Ockeghem, based on the observation that he did not get to Italy in his lifetime? Even less significant names were met with a kind of respect that composers of the 18th and 19th century could not expect. Indeed Einstein regards any greatness in the 19th century as suspicious.[39] Rating them, composers are divided into those preserving a tradition, a heritage (like Johannes Brahms) and those promoting progress (like Franz Liszt). Both categories to Einstein's mind lack greatness. Bruckner – as may now be expected – gets a very minor role; he is hardly ever mentioned. For once quotations on part of Brahms replace Einstein's personal opinion[40], in another instance Einstein writes:

> "Schubert was sufficiently great so as to compose the 'completed Uncompleted or Unfinished' and the symphony in C major, the quartets in A and D minor or the first movement of the quartet in G major during his lifetime or about the year of death of Ludwig van Beethoven. They appear as works in which the whole Bruckner and more than Bruckner is already contained. He [Schubert] knew how to 'inherit'..."[41]

Einstein obviously tried to avoid a cultivation of the epigonic – this seems understandable when looking for 'greatness' – however he ignores the socialisation of an artist and starts from a selection of qualities. Besides, a concise catalogue of criteria for Einstein's ideal of greatness is missing. By chance the reader gets informed, that Einstein regards the co-existence of Apollinic and Dionysian, universality, the completeness of an śuvre, the establishment of an inner world (an intellectual demand), the opposition of contemporaries and unfavourable social conditions as constitutive.[42] Einstein is fully aware of the subjectivity of his approach.[43] Yet if one follows his ideas in a radical way, essential insights into musical-historical contexts get lost: "Weighed and found too slight, not being suited for extensive studies" is a constellation frequently repeated in the field of musicology when discussing 19th century music. This constellation will remain the unknown component in the history of 19th century music, as long as there are no thorough investigations, broadly drawn up.

Research into the life and work of the majority of the composers of the 19th century is still lacking. Reasons for this deficient situation are

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38 Ibidem, p. 16.
39 Ibidem, p. 79.
40 Ibidem, pp. 166f.
41 Ibidem, pp. 201f.
42 Ibidem, pp. 79, 15, 119, 128, 147, 205, 247f., in each case passim.
43 "And when there should be an objective history of music once upon a time, it is to be supposed that music has died." – Einstein (as for footnote 36), p. 234.

- surrender in face of an abundance of source material whose incorporation would consume too much time;
- an inadequate tradition in the acquisition of musical-sociographic relevant sources, as attention is basically focused on aspects concerning the history of composition, especially on novelty;[44]
- a concentration on specific persons, a 'canon' of prominence – you might say the continuation of heroic accounts in history writing;
- the domineering, sometimes 'careeristic' impulse of presenting scientific achievements focusing on greatness in the history of music, in the zenith of the field covered by musicological studies;[45]
- the interest of a society of consumers (concerning management, sponsorship but also public expectations) to put conventional, nostalgic worlds of imagination, again and again on the stage.

All these circumstances occur in the changeable course of reception. Also the word 'Kleinmeister' is used as an oscillating and even suspending attribute. In vain one will look for 'Kleinmeister' within the scene of contemporary composers; instead sometimes the more polite paradox 'regional greatness' or 'local greatness' will be used. From such terminological uncertainty result discrepancies in the evaluation. Thus Agnes Ziffer in her study *Kleinmeister zur Zeit der Wiener Klassik* refers to 184 Kleinmeister, among them Johann Christian Bach, Padre Martini, Ignaz Pleyel, Antonio Salieri, Louis Spohr and Georg Christoph Wagenseil. But a precise method for a definition, who is referred to as 'Kleinmeister' and why this term is used, is not offered by Ziffer – as neither does Einstein explain his criteria for 'greatness in music'.

As we have seen, musical 'Kleinmeisterei' can be defined differently – on the basis of existing sources, referring to the amount of innovation achieved by a composer or – as with Ziffer – in relation to 'greatness'. Would this mean that the Kleinmeisters of the 19th century are even smaller than those round 1800, measured according to the classical trias? And shouldn't we then introduce the category 'Zwergmeister' (of dwarfish relevance) for those composers not mentioned in Ziffer's catalogue?

All these ideas force us to reflect on the great variety of strategies used in the act of writing about music, also with regard to the speech-areas. In German spoken countries one hesitates to refer to Haydn, Mozart or Beethoven as 'Großmeister' (which would hint at the superior of an order of knighthood or an expert in international chess); however one tends to adorne them with the attribute of greatness. In analogy to Einstein's book on greatness in music a study on smallness ought to be written, not about 'Kleinmeister'. Then there would not be any terminological paradox any longer, because the addition 'Meister' (master) in the context of everyday language takes away some severity and helps to avoid an insulting tendency when speaking of a 'Kleinmeister'. At

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[44] To catch the relevance of this circumstances cmp. e.g. Adolf Ehrentraud: 'Ignaz Joseph Pleyel: Weltbürger aus Niederösterreich', in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, vol. 62, 2007, pp. 6–14.

[45] Cmp. Anselm Gerhard: '„Kanon" in der Musikgeschichtsschreibung', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 57, 2000, pp. 18–30. therein p. 29: "Academic teachers are by no means prevented from warning their students against a discussion of 'Great Masters' that – besides the sometimes well calculated effect for their career – only result in a confirmation of well-known historical insights. However this requires not only the willingness to dismiss learned prejudices, but also two qualities self-evident for the mental disposition of each researcher: modesty and curiosity."

the same time the expression 'Kleinmeister' accounts for a general reverence in front of the artist – in other words accounts for a perhaps inadequate cultivation of genius, a late tribute to Romantic ideals.

In effect the expression 'Kleinmeister' refers to the majority of composers who for different reasons – because of their talent, their surroundings, but frequently also because of their present reception – have not made a decisive impact with their compositions. Why not speak about 'typical' composers? The question "What's typical with..." will arise at once and you will be forced ti start thinking it over. Because the term 'Kleinmeister' and its alternatives basically refer to a momentary position and to those that use it. In this context a revival in an amateurish usage can be observed, when 'Kleinmeister' is understood as a composer that was underestimated for some time and is discovered once again. However – whoever estimates achievements that do not display progressive composing – can venture to do without the description 'Kleinmeister'. When Lydia Goehr discusses musical works in the sense of an "imaginary Museum", this opens a new access to the matter: Whereas the traditional conception of a canon of works of art will stick to normative, unchangeable ideals, the 'musical paintings' of such a museum can be exchanged on the basis of different perspectives and circumstances.[46] Why not with composers?

Povzetek

»Polnjenje praznine« med »velikimi skladatelji« z »malimi mojstri« postavlja zgodovinopisje pred dvoje problemov. Na eni strani se pokažejo enostranske perspektive, vse dokler se uporabljajo standardi kvalitete, ki so se razvili ob »vrhunskih« delih, na drugi strani pa pomanjkljivo obvladanje virov mnogovrstno otežuje vrednotenje tistih skladateljev, katerih dela niso izstopala v repertoarju, pa kljub temu predstavljajo nujno ozadje, pred katerim so se »velika« dela prominentnih ustvarjalcev lahko šele uveljavila.

Vprašanje avtor najprej vzorčno osvetli na podlagi salzburškega okolja, ki je obkrožalo Wolfganga A. Mozarta, in linškega ob primeru Antona Brucknerja, pri čemer se pokažejo različna izhodišča. Pri raziskovanju glasbene zgodovine Salzburga recepcijo Mozarta in v določeni meri tudi Johanna Michaela Haydna prekriva ustvarjanje množice drugih skladateljev, še prav posebej italijanskih kapelnikov na knezoškofijskem dvoru. Dva med njimi, Giuseppe Lolli in Luigi Gatti, sta se za svojega življenja dokopala do izjemne pozicije, ker sta se odlično prilagodila danostim in zahtevam dvornega življenja. Mimo in stran od razprave o umetniški ravni njunih del pa njuna sposobnost prilagajanja kaže na specifično kvaliteto, ki sicer spodkopava splošno razširjeno »vrednostno lestvico« in je v nasprotju z utečenimi potmi vrednotenja.

Z družbenimi spremembami, ki so sledila francoski revoluciji, se je bistveno spremenil položaj »malih mojstrov«. Uveljaviti se je kazalo ne na dvoru ampak v meščanski družbi. Niso bile razidence ampak urbane kulture tiste, ki so privlačile in osvajale prihajajoče skladatelje. Kariera Johanna Baptista Schiedermayrja v Linzu jasno kaže, kakšna polja obveznosti so bila postavljena zavoljo katerih so izostali finančni predpogoji, in temu ustrezni uspehi, ki bi sicer omogočali »svobodno« umetniško eksistenco. Cerkvene obveznosti, naloge v meščanskih glasbenih združenjih ter privatno poučevanje so goltale toliko ur, da je za skladatelje ostajalo le malo časa. Zagotavljanje preživetja je izoblikovalo tak umetniški profil, ki ga je »zanamski« ocenjujoči svet le redko dovolj upošteval. Anton Bruckner je, kot kaže, vraščen v linško okolje, le-temu s preselitvijo na Dunaj sicer ušel, vendar so mu njegovi poznejši biografi trdovratno očitali »image« tega in takega, grobega, podplačanega vsakdana in ga s tem družbeno uvrščali v sfero »malega mojstrstva«.

[46] Lydia Goehr: *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works. An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992. – In her broadly discussed book Goehr however directs this idea in another direction and deals with the development of the concept of 'work' in Western history of music.

Izhajajoč iz teh vzorčnih primerov avtor poizkuša izoblikovati katalog kriterijev za podrobnejše določevanje »malega mojstrstva«. Zgodovinski umestitvi pojma sledi razprava o njegovi povednosti, ki pokaže, da je muzikologija opustila začetno distanco do besede »Kleinmeister« prav v času, ko je Alfred Einstein izdal temu nasprotno knjigo »Veličina v glasbi«. Tam, kjer se je Einstein zavedal lastne subjektivnosti, so mnogi (premnogi) avtorji govorili o domnevni objektivnosti. Tako je nastala pejorativna podoba »malega mojstra«, ki je obveljala v glasbeni zgodovini, pa čeprav je ob podrobnejši obravnavi nevzdržna. Možno pa je, da se nekateri, ponovno odkriti »zakotni« skladatelji pod to označbo dobro podajajo. Pa tudi v tem primeru beseda »Kleinmeister« govori bolj o tistem, ki jo uporablja.