

Todd Gilman, Yale University  
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Project Title: The Evolution of Charles Burney's Musical Taste Between 1770 and 1811

In sharing his preferences repeatedly with his English readership over the course of some fifty years, Charles Burney, the great eighteenth-century English critic and historian of music, did much to shape English taste in music. This much is well known. Less well known is that through his published—and surviving unpublished—writings, Burney proved himself to be a mass of contradictions, paradoxically extremely conservative and wildly progressive in his assessments of the music and musicians of his day. Burney's taste in opera, for example, was so conservative that to the end of his long life (he lived to be 88), or at least until age 85 (1811) when he stopped writing, he was still championing the Neapolitan school of Italian opera of the early-to-mid-eighteenth century as the pinnacle of the genre. He despised nearly all French opera. He also grew increasingly hostile to George Frideric Handel's operas, to Christoph Willibald Gluck and the opera reform that began in the 1760s, and, with the notable exceptions of André Grétry, Giovanni Paisiello, Domenico Cimarosa, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, to the modern *opéra comique*.

By contrast, Burney's taste in instrumental music was quite liberal and progressive, so that from the 1770s forward he wrote enthusiastically for his English audience about the "excellencies" not just of contemporary German composers whose reputations were long established in London such as Carl Philipp Emmanuel and Johann Christian Bach, Carl Friedrich Abel, and Johann Stamitz, but also of such relative unknowns at the time in England as Franz Joseph Haydn, Johann Baptist Vanhal, the adult Mozart, and finally the young Beethoven. His taste in sacred music, particularly oratorios and masses, admitted of both extremes: he loved on the one hand the old Neapolitans such as Alessandro Scarlatti, Francesco Durante, Leonardo Leo, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Niccolò Piccinni, Antonio Sacchini, and Niccolò Jommelli, the old German Handel for his oratorios, and the new Germans Haydn and Mozart.

In the early 1980s Kerry S. Grant astutely demonstrated how Burney's biases affected his writings about certain composers and musical styles and thus how his English readership *received* those composers and styles. Writing of Burney's four-volume *General History of Music* (1776-1789), Grant states:

The duality of Burney's aims in writing his *History* resulted in certain contradictions. He wished both to fill a 'chasm in English literature' by writing a history of music, and to instruct in the formation of taste. As Burney saw it, a good and true taste was developed by instruction from those possessed of the ability to notice, judge, and appreciate what is beautiful, appropriate, harmonious and excellent in art. He felt, therefore, that it was his obligation to clearly present those models worthy of approbation and to exclude the rest. This critical system, based as it was on such an indeterminate concept as taste, was susceptible to the prejudices inherent in modernism and progressivism. As such, it did not serve well the objective ordering of an art. However, it did contribute to the creation of an audience in England receptive to the confluence of ideas that crystallized in the

Classical style. (Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, p. 300)

Of course, Burney continued to shape English musical taste long after the completion of his *History* via a series of anonymous articles on music and musicians written between 1802 and 1808 but published over a longer period in the thirty-nine volumes of Abraham Rees's *Cyclopaedia: or, Universal Dictionary of the Arts, Sciences and Literature*—as late as 1819, five years after Burney's death. (Although no complete list has been compiled, Roger Lonsdale once estimated that Burney authored as many as two thousand articles for the *Cyclopaedia*. See his "Dr. Burney's 'Dictionary of Music,'" *Musicology* 5 (1977): 159-71.) Burney also maintained his voluminous correspondence with friends and associates through old age. Thus, in order to take full account of the progress of Burney's opinions on music and musicians, we must look well beyond the year 1789, and beyond his published statements to such private writings as have survived, fragmentary as many of these are. Grant certainly did some of this work, but the topic needs to be revisited and extended, especially in light of the many significant advances in musicology since 1983, to say nothing of the sheer volume of Burney's surviving writing.

Because Burney's tastes became so influential in England, gaining a better understanding of the evolution of those tastes over time will afford us new insights into the reception of various composers and schools of composition in England from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. In light of England's—particularly London's—centrality to the European musical scene at the time, such insights will lead in turn to a more complete picture of the history of western music during this fascinating period of rapid and significant developments.

At the Burney Centre in June 2014 I examined Burney's various published and unpublished writings from 1771 through 1811 with a view toward documenting and analyzing the evolution of his musical tastes during these decades of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It had seemed to me that an effective approach would be to examine Burney's various comments on individual composers, musical styles, and musical genres, taking account of both their context (e.g., published versus private) and

their variations over time, as a series of case studies. For example, one particularly interesting case concerns Burney's opinion of Mozart. He went from considering Mozart as merely the equal of now-obscure composers such as Vanhal to championing Mozart's unique genius, but not until a decade after the composer's premature death. Another case concerns Burney's views of Gluck. He went from respecting Gluck's music in the 1770s to condemning him as an enemy of opera late in life. A third case involves tracing Burney's exposure to the music of young Beethoven, and seeing how he came to promote Beethoven, both predicting and contributing to this composer's success in England.

Before beginning work at the Burney Centre, I had already identified, photocopied, and read many of the relevant articles in Yale Library's complete set of Rees's *Cyclopaedia*. I had been able to put these to good use along with Burney's other relevant publications in preparing a paper on Burney's musical tastes for the 2013 annual meeting of NEASECS (the Northeast American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies) here at Yale in early October of 2013. In order to advance this study, which I envision as an article-length work to be submitted for publication in a journal such as *Music & Letters*, I needed access to the Burney Centre's vast collection of archival materials related to Charles Burney. Of particular interest were the materials once in the possession of the late Alvaro Ribeiro, SJ, and the scans and transcriptions of manuscript materials held in important Burney archives, especially those of the British Library and the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library.

To give you a sense of my line of inquiry at the Burney Centre in June 2014, I shall first report on the materials I examined, gathered, took notes on, and transcribed. Then I shall relate some of my findings, specifically my tracing of the fascinating evolution of Burney's opinion of three influential musical figures of his day: Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach (1714-1788), and Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809). I trust you will agree based on this report that I enjoyed a highly productive month at the Burney Centre.

### **Materials Examined**

I began by identifying and collecting into a single Microsoft Word document every letter Burney wrote in which he relates his opinions on music and musicians: I wanted to have a keyword-searchable file of all Burney's unpublished writings on music. This task entailed painstakingly transcribing a number of important letters printed in the late Alvaro Ribeiro, SJ's Volume I: 1751-1784 of *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). Fortunately, after that I was able simply to copy and paste typescripts of almost all relevant letters from 1784 to 1811, since so many of these letters, mostly transcribed by the late Professors Slava Klima, Alvaro Ribeiro, SJ, and others from the originals, had conveniently been entered into Microsoft Word files by research assistants at the Burney Centre during the past decade or so. In some cases the typescript of a transcribed letter had annotations (footnotes) that had not been copied into Word, so I added those annotations by typing them into my file myself. By the time I was done, my Word document was well over 400 pages long!

The other crucial item that I quickly discovered I needed to examine and from which I would have to transcribe significant material is Burney's notebook entitled "Materials Towards the History of German Music & Musicians" [1772-ca. 1790]. This is a mostly unpublished source that is as revealing of Burney's literary techniques as of his opinions on music and musicians: a notebook he kept in preparation for writing his

entries in both his *General History of Music* and Abraham Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, now part of The James Marshall and Marie Louise Osborn Collection at Yale, Osborn Shelves c 100. The notebook, while dated 1772, contains alternative opinions, often with later alterations and additions, all the way to about 1790. I found it frequently difficult to read, so it took me quite a long time to decipher and transcribe. Nevertheless, by the time I had finished transcribing materials from this notebook I had about thirty-three pages of (to me) new Burney material with which to understand his evolving opinions on matters musical.

## **Brief Report of Findings: J. S. Bach, C. P. E. Bach, and Haydn**

### **J. S. Bach**

In the latter two volumes (1789) of his *General History of Music*, Burney delivered harsh criticisms of J. S. Bach, particularly regarding his canons and fugues:

The very terms of *Canon* and *Fugue* imply restraint and labour. Handel was perhaps the only great Fughist, exempt from pedantry. He seldom treated barren or crude subjects; his themes being almost always natural and pleasing. Sebastian Bach, on the contrary, like Michael Angelo in painting, disdained facility so much, that his genius never stooped to the easy and graceful. I never have seen a fugue by this learned and powerful author upon a *motivo*, that is natural and *chantant*; or even an easy and obvious passage, that is not loaded with crude and difficult accompaniments. (Mercer ed., Vol. 2, p. 96)

While acknowledging the merits of Bach's organ-playing and composition, Burney criticizes the master's harpsichord writing, stating that "the harpsichord Music of these great masters [i.e., Handel and Bach] gave way, about the middle of the [eighteenth] century, to the more elegant and expressive compositions of C. P. Emanuel Bach, who was soon imitated so universally in Germany by writers for keyed-instruments, that there have been few works published for them since, which are not strongly tinctured with his style" (Ibid., p. 951). Burney sums up his criticism of Bach in the following lengthy sentence:

If Sebastian Bach and his admirable son Emanuel, instead of being musical-directors in commercial cities, had been fortunately employed to compose for the stage and public of great capitals, such as Naples, Paris, or London, and for performers of the first class, they would doubtless have simplified their style more to the level of their judges; the one [i.e., J. S.] would have sacrificed all unmeaning art and contrivance, and the other [i.e., C. P. E.] been less fantastical and *recherché*, and both, by writing in a style more popular, and generally intelligible and pleasing, would have extended their fame, and been indisputably the greatest musicians of the present century. (Ibid., p. 955)

Indeed, as early as November 1771 Burney had written in a letter to the Hamburg professor Christoph Daniel Ebeling (1741-1817), the writer and historian who would in 1772 collaborate on the translation of Burney's 1771 *Italian Tour* into German, and who had recently sent Burney a copy of his important work of music history, the *Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek* (1770), that he (Burney) was "no less surprised than pleased to find Mr C. P. E. Bach get out of the trammels of Fugues & crowded parts in which his Father so excelled. Domenico Scarlatti did the same at a Time when a Fugue followed every passage like its Shadow." Similarly, in his notebook entitled "Materials Towards the History of German Music & Musicians" [1772-ca. 1790], p. 58 under music writer [Friedrich Wilhelm] "Marpurg" [1718-1795] and a discussion of the fugue subjects quoted in his writings, Burney wrote, "It is remarkable that of all the subjects given of Sebastian Bach, there is hardly one that is pleasing, or easy to work; he seemed to think difficulty the chief merit of Music. whereas those of Handel, without seeming common or barren, are all natural & striking." On p. 94 he wrote:

Sebastian Bach

Qu. When did he die?

This Musician was so fond of Polyphonic Music & full harmony that besides a constant & active use of Pedals, he is said to have had a stick (some say a short Tobacco-pipe) in his mouth, by wch. he put down such notes as neither feet nor Hands cd. get at.

Burney largely recycled these opinions, especially the praise of his playing and writing for the organ, in his entry on J. S. Bach written for Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, which appeared in Vol. 3, section 2, part 6 (unpaginated), published in February 1804. Yet he seems, during the years between these publications, to have decided that Bach's organ writing is less praiseworthy than he had previously stated, for here he also repeats the charge of novelty and difficulty but now ascribes it to Bach's organ writing specifically:

Sebastian Bach is said by Marpurg, in his 'Art de la Fugue,' to have been 'many great musicians in one, profound in science, fertile in fancy, and in taste easy and natural;' he should rather have said, original and refined, for to the epithets easy and natural many are unwilling to assent; as this truly great man seems by his works for the organ, to have been constantly in search of what was new and difficult, without the least attention to nature and facility.

It is thus surprising that Burney radically altered his opinion of J. S. Bach in the last years of his life, owing mainly to his relationship with composer and organist Samuel Wesley (1766-1837), who along with several friends, became a great advocate of Bach's music in England during the spring and summer of 1807. As Philip Olleson has noted, in the fall of 1807, in a letter now lost, Wesley wrote to Burney about his study of Bach and his almost religious enthusiasm for Bach's music; he may also have voiced his disagreement with Burney's writings on Bach in his *General History* and Rees's *Cyclopaedia* (see "Dr.

Burney, Samuel Wesley, and J. S. Bach's *Goldberg Variations*," in *The Rosaleen Moldenhauer Memorial: Music History from Primary Sources: A Guide to the Moldenhauer Archives*, ed. Jon Newsom and Alfred Mann, 169-75 [Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2000]).

Unfortunately, Burney's reply to Wesley is also lost. However, Wesley gives details of their exchange in a letter to his friend the organist Benjamin Jacob (1778-1829) on 17 September 1808. In this letter Wesley reveals that at Burney's invitation, Wesley visited Burney at his apartments at Chelsea College in order to play for him from the "very curious & beautiful Copy" of *Das wohltemperirte Clavier* that J. S. Bach's son C. P. E. Bach had given to Burney during his visit to Hamburg in 1772. Although Wesley soon found that Burney's copy was only of Book I of *Das wohltemperirte Clavier* and so error-ridden ("full of *scriptural* Faults") that it was difficult to play from, Wesley was able through his performance of the work to convince Burney of the error of Burney's former pronouncements on the worth of J. S. Bach. Wesley's letter to Jacob (as transcribed by Philip Olleson, *The Letters of Samuel Wesley: Professional and Social Correspondence, 1797-1837*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 74-77) reads, in part:

I am grieved to witness in my valuable Friend Doctor Burney's Critique (for he is a Man whom I equally respect and love) so slight an Acquaintance with the great & matchless Genius [i.e., J. S. Bach] whom he professes to analyze: & I have however much Satisfaction in being able to assure you *from my own personal Experience* that his present judgement of our Demi-God is of a very different Nature from that at the Time he imprudently, incautiously, and we may add, *ignorantly* pronounced so rash & false a verdict . . . as that which I this Day read for the first Time, upon 'the greatest Master of Harmony in any Age or Country.' . . . It is now (I think) nearly a Twelvemonth since I wrote to the Doctor respecting my profound Admiration (& Adoration if you like it as well) of Sebastian; I stated to him that I had made a Study of his Preludes & Fugues, adding that his Compositions had opened to me an entirely new musical World, which was to me at least as surprising as (when a Child) I was thunderstruck by the opening of the Dettingen Te-Deum [by Handel] at the Bristol Cathedral, with about an hundred Performers . . . .

Wesley continues, describing how he played from Burney's copy of *Das wohltemperirte Clavier* for Burney and how Burney "was extremely delighted, & the very first Part of his Critique expressed his Wonder *how such abstruse Harmony & such perfect & enchanting Melody could have been so marvelously united!*" Wesley further adds,

What a convincing Proof this is that his *former* Criticism upon our matchless Author was an hasty & improvident Step! I conceive that the Fact stands thus: When Burney was in Germany, the universal Plaudits & Panegyrics upon the Father of *universal Harmony* [i.e., J. S. Bach] were so interesting, that it would have been impossible for him to have avoided giving such a Man a Place in his Account of Musical Authors in his General History:--Nevertheless it appears very evidently from the erroneous Sentence he has pronounced therein upon the Comparative Merit of him & Handel, that he never could have taken due Pains to make himself Master of the Subject; otherwise his late candid Acknowledgement

would not have been made; and is Proof sufficient that he only wanted *Experience* of the *Truth* to make him ready & willing to own it.”

Wesley concludes by stating,

Ever since I had the Privilege of so great a Triumph (for I can call it nought else) over the Doctor’s Prejudice, he has evinced the most cordial Veneration for our sacred Musician, & when I told him that I was in Possession of 24 more such precious Relicks [i.e., Book II of *Das wohltemperirte Clavier*], he was all aghast in finding that there could be any Productions of such a Nature which he had not seen: this again is another proof of his having hastily judged, & also how remiss the Germans must have been, not to have made him better acquainted with the Works of their transcendent Countryman.

After witnessing Wesley’s performance of Bach’s of *Das wohltemperirte Clavier* in 1808, Burney became a convert to the cause of J. S. Bach, and, as subsequent letters reveal, did all he could to advise Wesley on how best to promote Bach’s music by performances, lectures, and the publication of editions. Although due to old age Burney seldom left his apartments by this time, Wesley kept Burney abreast of developments by letter, and Wesley and his friends also visited Burney to give him private performances of more of Bach’s music. As a letter from Wesley to Burney of 4 September 1809 (Olleson, *Letters of Wesley*, pp. 117-19) attests, on one such visit Wesley and Jacob performed from a collection of Bach’s violin sonatas (BWV 1014-1019) at Burney’s apartments, with Wesley playing violin and Jacob on the piano.

But surely the most interesting and important surviving document relating to Burney’s reappraisal of J. S. Bach is the letter that Burney wrote to Wesley around 15 July 1810 concerning arrangements for a private performance for Burney of Bach’s *Goldberg Variations* (BWV 988), by Wesley and the organist and music publisher Vincent Novello (1781-1861), which would take place five days later, on 20 July 1810. This document is one of four extant letters that discuss the arrangements that had to be made, and that reveal that the *Goldberg Variations* were apparently wholly new to Burney at that time. Taken together, the letters explain the events leading up to the performance on 20 July. By the time of the first letter, from Burney to Wesley of 27 June 1810, the three men had agreed that Wesley and Novello would visit Burney, and Burney had proposed a date in the following week.

Then in a letter by Wesley that is lost it was apparently suggested that Wesley and Novello should perform the *Goldberg Variations*. Since Burney lacked the needed double-manual harpsichord, Wesley suggested that he and Novello play the *Variations* as a duet on two pianos, using Burney’s Broadwood grand and another similar instrument that they could have delivered to Chelsea for the event. Burney at first rejected this suggestion fearing his apartments were too small and might be damaged; instead, he proposed the men might discover a suitable piano shop where they could play in his absence. On second thought, though, Burney decided that he really wanted to hear the men play the *Variations*, so he agreed to have a second grand piano brought to his apartments:

My dear Friend [i.e., Samuel Wesley]

Now my French Packet is off my mind, I have time to think of your last plan of rehearsing the quips and q[u]iddities of the great S.B. [i.e., J. S. Bach] to the best advantage, concerning wch I must have seemed very cold (in spite of the heat of the weather) by the enumeration of difficulties that, at first, occurred to me for want of Room sufficient for 2 large instruments of equal force & magnitude; & Time in one day, to do justice to, and enjoy the effects of such learned and ingenious arcane—But, allowing the old adage, wch you have quoted, to be just: that “second thoughts are best”-- instead of sending you & Sigr Novello to a P.F. maker’s to find 2 Instrumts of equal magnitude, nicely tuned together; upon examining my little parlour, or keeping room, (in heal[t]h & warm weather) I find, when unbe-littered, that there wd be sufficient space for 2 such first-rate Giants to lie along side each other--& that when I thought of sending you & your Friend to a P.F. shop for trial of your 30 very *comical* pieces (as the most learned, ingenious, & original productions of Haydn, Mozart, & Beethoven, are often said to be, by ignorant and vulgar hearers) I never once thought of my sweet & precious self, to whom your performance wd be as inaudible as the music of the spheres—for I never intend going into the open air again—But now, though I have caught a fresh cold, and have 2 decayed teeth in my upper jaw, that give me a very acute twinge whenever I inhale fresh air; I beg, during the warm weather, your performance may be within my obtuse *ear-shot*, that I may acquaint the Larv[a]e I shall meet wth (post obit.) how the wonderful wonders produced by the pen of the great S.B. have been played, as a game at *all fours*, by the zealous and indefatigable Messrs. Wesley and Novello.

Therefore send your Instrument, name your day, or days, & your hours, before the end of the present month, & I hope nothing sinister will occasion a new procrastination of our promised pleasure.

C. B.

Suppose we decimate the 30 variations, & divide them into 3 Decads; performing 10 once, or twice, if we like or dislike them much, each day? wch will allow us time to breathe, digest, &d judge.

Since Burney had agreed to the plan, the piano could now be ordered. Wesley, in his answer, agreed to visit Burney three times as requested but declined to “decimate” the *Variations*. By the time Burney replied to Wesley and Novello two days later (19 July), the piano had been ordered for the 20<sup>th</sup> and all that need to be done was make the final arrangements. As Burney writes:

If you cd send your Lumber-d[a]y Instrumt sooner than 10, to-morrow mornng I shd be right glad; that it may be tuned in unison with mine: for its pitch shd be altered, the 2 Giants will not remain in perfect friendp an hour. While the weather continues warm, I had rather wait on ye at 11, than 12 or 1—I am now entirely for the performance of the 30 Waryations *de suite*: as you two virtuous gemmen, doubtless, are so *parfet* in all these pretty *chunes*, that you’ll go on as swimming

from beginning to end, as if wind and tide were both strongly in your favour. I think the forti, i.e., fortès, may begin to storm these works of Engineer Bach, before 12. And if we have any time to spare, after being played over, we can *talk* them over—or (what wd be shtill petter auch coot) if little i were to say *bis* there might, may-hap, be time for a Da Capo. So *fin Dimani*, at least, God bless ye!

I find no subsequent references in Burney and Wesley's correspondence to the performance of the *Variations*. However, it apparently entailed only a single visit, and all three men enjoyed themselves thoroughly, for, according to an article entitled "Wesley, Burney, and Bach," by Julian Marshall in his short-lived music journal *Concordia* (1875), Vincent Novello annotated Burney's letter of 15 July as follows:

My dear friend Sam Wesley, who has endorsed this Letter, having been sent to him by Doctor Burney (the Music Historian) was so kind as to present it to me, as it referred to the very pleasant meeting we had together at the Doctor's apartments in Chelsea Hospital, when I played the whole of '30 Variations' by Sebastian Bach, as Duets with Sam Wesley, to the great delight of Burney, who acknowledged to us both, that he had formed a very inadequate opinion of Sebastian Bach's fertility of invention and versatility of style, till he had heard our performance of those extraordinary specimens of counterpoint, called the '30 Variations.'

### **C. P. E. Bach and Haydn**

Burney's attitude toward C. P. E. Bach evolved as well, but in the opposite direction: from unqualified admiration to ambivalence in favor of Haydn. Burney's earliest praise of C. P. E. Bach occurs in his letter to Christoph Daniel Ebeling of November 1771. Burney writes:

Mr C. P. E. Bach, who stands so high in my opinion, that I should not scruple to pronounce him the greatest writer for the Harpsichord now alive, or that has ever existed as far as I am able to judge, by a comparison of his works with those of others, & by my own Feelings when I hear them performed . . . Grace, Fancy, Feeling & clearness, are to me superior to all other merits. There are Times for shewing learning & contrivance; but I think the best of all contrivances in Music, is to please people of discernment & taste, without trouble. A long & labored Fugue, *recte et retro* in 40 parts, may be a good Entertainment for the *Eyes* of a Critic, but can never delight the *Ears* of a Man of Taste. I was no less surprised than pleased to find Mr C. P. E. Bach get out of the trammels of Fugues & crowded parts in which his Father so excelled. Domenico Scarlatti did the same at a Time when a Fugue followed every passage like its Shadow. They both struck out a style of their own. Scarlatti's full of Enthusiasm fire & passion, Bach's every thing, by turns, that music can express. . . . I am extremely curious to see some of C. P. E. Bach's *vocal* Music. If you can get me the church music mentioned in your Essay, & any new Harpd Pieces of that Author, I shall receive [them] with great pleasure. (Alvaro Ribeiro, SJ's Volume I: 1751-1784 of *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991], pp. 102-6).

Burney subsequently takes up the subject of C. P. E. Bach in *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, 2 vols. (London: 1773; second edition, corrected, 1775). He descriptively subtitles this work “The Journal of a Tour through those Countries, undertaken to collect Materials for A General History of Music.” I quote from a facsimile of the 1775 London edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969). In Vol. I, pp. 348-49, Burney reports on a meeting with the Neapolitan composer Johann Adolph Hasse (1699-1783), whose compositions he greatly admired, in which he notes,

As he [Hasse] was born near Hamburg, he told me, that he was not only glad I was going thither, as it was his country, but, as I should see the great Emanuel Bach there, whom he very much respected, and hear the best organists and organs, of any part of the world, unless they were much degenerated since he was there. Above all things, he recommended to me the soliciting Bach, to let me hear him upon the clavichord; and likewise desired me to enquire after a symphony of that author in *E la mi*, minor, which he thought the finest he had ever heard.

In Vol. II, pp. 245 Burney continues,

Hamburg is not, at present, possessed of any musical professor of great eminence, except M. Carl Philip Emanuel Bach; but he is a legion! I had long contemplated, with the highest delight, his elegant and original compositions; and they had created in me so strong a desire to see, and to hear him, that I wanted no other musical temptation to visit this city.

Burney then (pp. 246-47), describes their meeting, which was facilitated by Ebeling, as follows:

M. Bach received me very kindly, but said that he was ashamed to think how small my reward would be, for the trouble I had taken to visit Hamburg. ‘You are come here, said he, fifty years too late.’ He tried a new piano forte, and in a wild, careless manner, threw away thoughts and execution upon it, that would have set up any one else. He desired me to fix a time for coming again, and said, that he must have me for a whole day to himself, which would not be half sufficient for the exchange of our ideas. He offered to accompany me to every church in Hamburg, where a good organ was to be found; said he would look out for me some old and curious things; and told me at my departure, that there would be some poor music of his, performed in St. Catharine’s church, the next day, which he advised me not to hear. His pleasantry removed all restraint without lessening that respect and veneration for him, with which his works had inspired me at a distance.

Later (Vol. II, pp. 266-272), Burney further reflects on C. P. E. Bach, defending him from his detractors:

It must be owned, that the style of this author is so uncommon, that a little habit is necessary for the enjoyment of it; Quintilian made a relish for the works of Cicero the criterion of a young orator’s advancement in his studies; and those of C. P. E.

Bach may serve as a touchstone to the taste and discernment of a young musician. Complaints have been made against his pieces, for being *long, difficult, fantastic, and far-fetched*. In the first particular, he is less defensible than in the rest; yet the fault will admit of some extenuation; for *length*, in a musical composition, is so much expected in Germany, that an author is thought barren of ideas, who leaves off till every thing has been said which the subject suggests.

*Easy and Difficult*, are relative terms; what is called a hard word by a person of no education, may be very familiar to a scholar: our author's works are more difficult to *express*, than to *execute*. As to their being *fantastical*, and *far-fetched*, the accusation, if it be just, may be softened, by alledging, that his boldest strokes, both of melody and modulation, are always consonant to rule, and supported by learning; and that his flights are not the wild ravings of ignorance or madness, but the effusions of cultivated genius. His pieces, therefore, will be found upon a close examination, to be so rich in invention, taste, and learning, that, with all the faults laid to their charge, each line of them, if wire-drawn, would furnish more new ideas than can be discovered in a whole page of many other compositions that have been well received by the public. . . .

Burney then (Vol. II, pp. 269-70) describes hearing Bach play the clavichord at home, a rapturous experience:

M. Bach was so obliging as to sit down to his *Silbermann clavichord*, and favourite instrument, upon which he played three or four of his choicest and most difficult compositions, with the delicacy, precision, and spirit, for which he is so justly celebrated among his countrymen. In the pathetic and slow movements, whenever he had a long note to express, he absolutely contrived to produce, from his instrument, a cry of sorrow and complaint, such as can only be effected upon the clavichord, and perhaps by himself.

After dinner, which was elegantly served, and cheerfully eaten, I prevailed upon him to sit down again to a clavichord, and he played, with little intermission, till near eleven o'clock at night. During this time, he grew so animated and *possessed*, that he not only played, but looked like one inspired. His eyes were fixed, his under lip fell, and drops of effervescence distilled from his countenance. He said, if he were to be set to work frequently, in this manner, he should grow young again. He is now fifty-nine, rather short in stature, with black hair and eyes, and brown complexion, has a very animated countenance, and is of a cheerful and lively disposition.

Now Burney reflects (Vol. II, p. 271) on Bach's particular genius as a writer for and player on the keyboard:

His performance to-day convinced me of what I had suggested before from his works; that he is not only one of the greatest composers that ever existed, for keyed instruments, but the best player, in point of expression; for others, perhaps, have had as rapid execution: however, he possesses every style; though he chiefly confines himself to the expressive. He is learned, I think, even beyond his father,

whenever he pleases, and is far before him in variety of modulation; his fugues are always upon new and curious subjects, and treated with great art as well as genius.

Burney concludes this discussion (Vol. II, pp. 271-72) with yet another defense of Bach's originality against his detractors:

He played to me, among many other things, his last six concertos, lately published by subscription, in which he has studied to be easy, frequently I think at the expence of his usual originality; however, the great musician appears in every movement, and these productions will probably be the better received, for resembling the music of this world more than his former pieces, which seem made for another region, or at least another century, when what is now thought difficult and far-fetched, will, perhaps be familiar and natural.

In a letter to his friend Thomas Twining (1735-1804) of 21 January 1774 Burney writes, "But for instrumental music, are you much acquainted with that of the Hamburgh Bach—of Haydn—Vanhall—Ditters—Hoffmann &c?—their compositions never consist of *Notes*, et *RIEN que des Notes*." In a response to Burney on 13 October 1774 Twining reports about the state of his piano, and his interest in C. P. E. Bach:

A warm room has, in part, restored my Piano Forte to the use of its faculties . . . I had a most comfortable musical week here, with my friend. You will respect his taste when I tell you, that he is charmed with Em. Bach, even thro' my imperfect scrambling, & tho' not at all used to him, I played: he sat with his hands over his eyes in a corner, & I heard him muttering at all the right places – We played Vanhall together, & he was much pleased with it. For my part, I find the *Carlophilipemanuelbachomania* grown upon me so, that almost everything else is insipid to me . . . . (*A Selection of Thomas Twining's Letters, 1734-1804*, ed. Ralph S. Walker [Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991], Vol. I, p. 97)

A year later Twining was avidly working on C. P. E. Bach's music, and he writes to Burney on 31 October 1775 that he has "been playing *Emanuel* on my Piano forte" (Ribeiro, ed., *Letters of Dr Charles Burney*, p. 192 n.11). Clearly in a missing letter Twining asks Burney's help in fingering a difficult passage, because in response Burney indulges in some criticism of Bach's compositional choices. He writes to Twining on 16(?) November 1775:

O! – the awkward scrawls you wish to have fingered, – where are they? – aye— here they are—what queer toads! – yet they are Bach's – would one not think they were written by a man who had never laid his hand on a keyed instrument? (Ibid., 192)

But Twining's appreciation of C. P. E. Bach persists, and he replies to Burney on 3 Dec 1775:

How good of you to send me these Concertos! These are your true "*dona mellita*" to me. I have an eager, craving appetite about me for that man's [i.e., C. P. E. Bach's] music, that I never felt for any other. There they lie upon my Piano Forte

with the red tape about them; I shall play with them as a cat does with a mouse for this week, before I eat them; take them up, lay them down – pat them with my paw – turn my back upon them as if I did not know where they were . . . at last I shall set my teeth into them, & gnaw, & swear like a tiger. – Thank you -- thank you. (*Selection of Twining's Letters*, ed. Walker, Vol. I, p. 104)

In the mid-1770s C. P. E. Bach's music was also a staple of the Burney household, for in a letter of 2 March 1775 to family friend Samuel Crisp (1707-1783), Fanny Burney (1752-1840) writes of entertaining the Italian soprano Lucrezia Aguiari or Agujari (1743-1783):

After Tea, we went into the Library, & Hetty [i.e., Esther, Charles Burney's daughter] was prevailed upon to play a Lesson of Bach of Berlin's, upon our Merlin Harpsichord. It was very sweet, & she [Aguiari] appeared to be *really* much pleased with it, & spoke highly of the *Taste & feeling* with which she [Hetty] played. Mr Burney sat down next. They all stared, as usual, at his performance. (*The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney, Volume II, 1774-1777*, ed. Lars E. Troide [Oxford: OUP, 1990], pp. 77-78)

But by the early 1780s a more palpable disappointment colors the correspondence between Burney and Twining; they invoke Haydn more often, both as the natural heir to C. P. E. Bach and as his replacement in their loyalties. On 10-12 November 1783 Burney writes to Twining:

I pack up in the Parcellina, a new set of Em: Bach's Pieces—chiefly Rondeaus—with many new *kicks, & detours*—But he seems reduced to *recherche* & caprice in order to be new—& to say the truth, his Eleve Haydn seems to have given him the *go by*, on his own ground. However, the great Man frequently appears, & there are charming things par-ci par-là in this collection. (Ribeiro, ed., *Letters of Dr Charles Burney*, p. 394)

Burney's use of the word “charming” reads like damning with faint praise.

Even here, though, we see a twinge of embarrassment foreshadowing what was later openly acknowledged in some circles: that an appreciation of C. P. E. Bach indicated sophisticated taste in music. Twining writes to Burney on 10 October 1781 that

I am sorry to say I am, & must be, very angry with Dr. Johnson for his unjust & narrow critique upon Mr. Gray [the poet]. I highly respect him [i.e., Johnson], on many accounts; but a *Poet* he never was, only a good Versifier; & every man relishes, in proportion as he can *do*. Dr. J. criticizes Gray, as a common Organist wou'd criticize Em. Bach. (*Selection of Twining's Letters*, ed. Walker, Vol. I, p. 216)

Moreover, in the final volume (1789) of his *General History of Music* Burney coins a neologism, “Bachist,” specifically to describe – in a complimentary way – followers and imitators of C. P. E. Bach in German keyboard culture:

The Harpsichord Music of these great masters [i.e., Handel and J. S. Bach] gave way, about the middle of the century, to the more elegant and expressive

compositions of C. P. Emanuel Bach, who was soon imitated so universally in Germany by writers for keyed-instruments, that there have been few works published for them since, which are not strongly tinged with his style; those of [Georg Christoph] Wagenseil, [Johann] Schobert, and Schultz [i.e., Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, 1747-1800] excepted; but Geo. Benda, C[arl]. [Friedrich Christian] Fasch, [Friedrich Gottlob] Fleischer, Ernst Benda, [Johann Friedrich] Reichardt, &c. &c. are strong Bachists (Mercer ed., Vol. 2, p. 951)

Nevertheless, after Burney had managed to bring Haydn to England in 1791 he is even more explicit concerning his preference for Haydn over C. P. E. Bach. He writes to one of his pupils, Mrs. Chambers, on 3 November 1797 complaining that Bach relies too heavily on chromaticism. He says the young composer Daniel Steibelt (1765-1823) “was a scholar of our old great favourite *Emanuel Bach*. But he is no imitator of Haydn, or even his Master. His melodies are always elegantly natural, and his rage for *half notes* is much tempered by better resources.” In a letter addressed to a Charles Butler, Esquire on 23 August 1798 “with a present of 7 sets of Sonatas by Carl Phil. Em. Bach,” the substitution has become a *fait accompli*, and C.P.E. Bach is now a way station on the road to the greater genius embodied by Haydn:

Whoever studies the productions of this author will discover him to have been the model of the admirable Haydn[,] particularly in writing for the P[iano]. F[orte]. & indeed Bach’s compositions we may sometimes see the germ of many of Haydn’s comic strokes & what may be called his musical *bons mots*. Modulation too had been greatly extended by Em. Bach before it was quite unchained by Haydn. I mean not however, by any means, to diminish the just title w<sup>ch</sup> H[aydn]. has to originality of w<sup>ch</sup> he has more perhaps in Melody & effects. Bach wrote well only for one keyed-Instrum<sup>ts</sup>. H[aydn]. has furnished every instrument worth cultivation with productions in its true genius; treating each as if he had studied that exclusively. & I own that in his mixture of all these, in his Symphonies, he seems to me so much the greatest composer that has existed since the Invention of the Scale by Guido, that I have no conception of better polyphonic Music ever being composed for the instruments in present use.

Burney’s entry on Haydn for Rees’s *Cyclopaedia*, clearly written after Haydn’s death in 1809 and published in 1811, is similarly effusive, as the following brief excerpt demonstrates:

[I]t is well known how much he contributed to our delight, to the advancement of his art, and to his own fame, by his numerous productions in this country; and how much his natural, unassuming and pleasing character, exclusive of his productions, endeared him to his acquaintance and to the nation at large. It ought to be recorded, that twelve of his noble and matchless symphonies were composed here expressly for Salmon’s [*sic*] concerts, and that it was from his spirit of enterprise and enthusiastic admiration of Haydn, and love of his art, that we were indebted for his visit to this country; besides these sublime symphonies, his piano forte sonatas, his quartets and songs, were sufficient to establish his reputation as a great and original composer upon a lasting foundation, if only what he produced during the few years which he remained among us was known.

. . . His grand and sublime oratorio of the “Creation,” and his picturesque and descriptive “Seasons,” composed since his departure from England, if music were a language as intelligible and durable as the Greek, would live and be admired as long as the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. And we cannot help thinking that future ages will be as curious to know when and where he flourished, as the country and chronology of Orpheus and Amphion. (Rees’s *Cyclopaedia*, Vol. 17 [unpaginated])

In light of the preceding commentary, it might seem surprising that Burney’s ambivalence toward C. P. E. Bach and preference for Haydn is less pronounced in his 1804 entry on C. P. E. Bach in Rees’s *Cyclopaedia*. But this is easily explained. The prose is all recycled from much earlier work. He begins with the passage quoted above in my discussion of J. S. Bach from the *General History of Music*:

It was observed by Abel, that if Sebastian Bach and his admirable son Emanuel, instead of being musical-directors in commercial cities, had been fortunately employed to compose for the stage and public of great capitals, such as Naples, Paris, or London, and for performers of the first class, they would doubtless have simplified their style more to the level of their judges; the one [i.e., J. S.] would have sacrificed all unmeaning art and contrivance, and the other [i.e., C. P. E.] have been less fantastical and *recherché*; and both, by writing in a style more popular, and generally intelligible and pleasing, would have extended their fame, and been indisputably the greatest musicians of the eighteenth century. (Rees’s *Cyclopaedia*, Vol. 3, section 2, part 6 [unpaginated])

And he ends with this passage, also taken from the *General History of Music* (Mercer ed., Vol. 2, p. 955):

If Haydn ever looked up to any great master as a model, it seems to have been C. P. Em. Bach: the bold modulation, rests, pauses, and free use of semitones, and unexpected flights of Haydn remind us frequently of Bach’s early works more than of any other composer. But in writing for violins, he has surpassed his model in facility and invention; freaks, whim, and even buffoonery, appear natural to Haydn, which in the works of his imitators seem downright caprice and affectation. Em. Bach used to be censured for his extraneous modulation, crudities, & difficulties; but, like the hard words of Dr. Johnson, to which the public by degrees became reconciled, every German composer takes the same liberties now as Bach, & every English writer uses Johnson’s language with impunity. (Rees’s *Cyclopaedia*, Vol. 3, section 2, part 6 [unpaginated])

In his notebook “Materials Towards the History of German Music & Musicians 1772” Burney has more to say about C. P. E. Bach and Haydn between 1772 and about 1790, and the sequence of additions and emendations over time parallels Burney’s changing opinions found in his publications and letters. In the entry entitled “King of Prussia” Burney comments effusively, “He [i.e., Frederick the Great, 1712-1786] had certainly great professors abt. him, tho’ he never was partial to C. P. E. Bach[,] the greatest musician of them all.” (Compare to nearly identical sentence in final volume of *General History of Music*, Mercer ed. Vol. 2, p. 961.)

On. p. 21, following [Johann] “Kirnberger” [1721-1783] on a page headed “List of Eminent German Musicians living in 1772” he writes:

C.P.E. Bach, Chapel Master To Princess Amelia, Abbess of Quedlinburg & Music-Director at Hamburg[,] whose Merit is beyond all praise, whether he is considered in the light of a learned, an Elegant, an inventive Composer; or a neat, expressive, & perfect Performer; in every one of these Particulars he surpasses all his Cotemporaries as much as if he possessed no other excellence. Always original, bold & Masterly in his writings, he lets nothing escape from his pen, without stamping upon it the mark of his peculiar Genius, wch. is easily discoverable in some bold Stroke of modulation or new & graceful trait of Melody: in short, both as a Composer & performer, I shd. not a moment [p. 22] hesitate giving him the first place among all the writers & performers for Keyed Instruments that had ever existed. . . . [compare this passage to the one quoted above from *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*]-~~Complaints have been made~~ against him for being sometimes trop recherché in his Modulation & Melody, & generally, too difficult for moderate performers. but easy & difficult are relative Terms. his Compositions are calculated for great players & see p. 30 [continued on p. 30 as an “addition to C. P. E. Bach’s Character. p. 22”]

& cultivated Ears. & as he seems to have passed by all his Cotemporaries in refinement, it is possible that his Passages & Style may be rendered familiar to posterity, tho’ ~~portents may~~ this Age, pede Claudio [i.e., pede poena claudio or “retribution comes slowly but surely”], in vain attempts them.

Added later:

This prediction, made in 1772, has been since fulfilled -- in the works of Haydn, Geo. Benda of Brunswick; Pleyel, &c.

This passage was later crossed out:

Those who accuse him of being whimsical & Fantastical shd. remember that his Pieces are so rich in Invention, taste & Learning that ~~they~~ each line of these wd. wire draw/cut into slices & furnish more genius than is to be found in a whole page of many other Compositions that have been well recd. by the Public, where whole bars, nay Lines & even Pages frequently contain nothing but meer Notes without design or meaning.

P. 22 cont’d:

Charles Fasch, son of the Church Composer [of whose works see list in Breitkopf†], Musico di Camera to the King of Prussia at Berlin, seems by his

compositions to have been possessed of a great Hand, with Taste & Invention. His Style resembles much that of ~~the great~~ C. P. E. Bach, with whom he resided at the Court of Berlin, a considerable time. They used to wait monthly upon his late Prussian Majesty, alternately, & ~~monthly~~ as Chamber Musicians to that Prince.

See Breithopf's Catal. for 1769. See Kyrie & Gloria by Fasch wch Eb[e]ling says is very good perhaps by the Father of Chas.

†I am hardly enough acquainted with his works to speak of them with Cognition ~~decidedly~~, but by what I have seen, he does not seem to have been possessed of great fire or original Genius. His style is that of Vinci, polished, correct & elegant. His melodies natural, graceful & pleasing; and Harmony correct and pure. But in variety of subject [&] ingenuity of design in his accompts he was not only far inferior to Handel but to many younger composers. He died at Berlin 1759.

P. 31. Added later to the entry on Johann Christian Fischer (c. 1733-1800) but subsequently crossed out:

When he [i.e., Fischer] quitted Dresden he went to Berlin, & continued a Month with his Majesty of Prussia[,] with whom he played constantly 4 Hours, alone, each Day. This last Circumstance was occasioned by an offence having been given by C. P. E. Bach—who in going from Potzdam [*sic*] to Sans Soucy, had been so frightened by the bad Roads as to exclaim to one [p. 32] of the Household, on his Arrival, in rather strong Terms, tell your Master, sd he, that no Honour or profit will be a sufficient Compensation to me for such dangerous Service, & unless the roads are rendered less hazardous we (speaking in the Name of the Whole Band) can come here no more. It is true the roads were very bad, & it is as true that Bach was extreamly frightened in passing them, but Cowardice sometimes in desperate Situations gives a degree of Courage in remonstrance of wch the greatest Heros [*sic*] are not in possession, for Bach's boldness in this particular not only surpassed that of all his Brethren, but of all the Generals & great Captains in the Prussian Service[,] none of whom however they may have wished it, had the audacity to Complain of this Dangerous Pass ere they cd arrive at Sans Soucy, a situation in all Countrys [*sic*], & at all Times of difficult access!—the Consequence of the Transport wch. had escaped Bach, was disgrace & banishment from Court, for a considerable Time: & this accts for Fischer being the only musician during his residence there who accompd the K[ing]. in his musical recreations.

P. 33 in a passage on Johann Gottfried Müthel (1728-1788):

Müthel. I know not his Country, [inserted later: "he is settled at Riga & was scholar of J. Sebastian Bach."}] nor have I ever seen any of his Compositions

except 2 Harpd. Concertos printed at Riga. But so full of Novelty, taste, grace & Contrivance are they that I shd. not hesitate to rank him among the first geniusses of the present Age. his Style resembles that of C. P. E. Bach, & like him it abounds with difficulties & passages wch. to Common performers & hearers may seem Trop recherché--& his accompts. too, like those of the great Bach, require performers equal to himself—wch., in fact, is Expecting too much. It is requiring an army of Generals, instead not [*sic*] of Subalterns under one Leader. When Bach lived at Berlin he cd. have a great performer to every part he chose to write†—but as no other place in Europe can boast the same advantages, it was rendering his Concertos Local, & utterly impracticable elsewhere.

†or at least he cd. like his R[oyal]. Master place an able commander at the Head of each Corps.

Added later:

His duet for two Harpds. or Piano fortes, is one of the finest and most Masterly compositions I have seen, but so difficult that two performers able to execute it with precision will seldom be found in the same place.

P. 36, in the entry on the Bohemian composer Georg Anton (or Jiří Antonín) Benda (1722-1795):

George Benda, Chapel-Master to the D[uke]. of Gotha, at Altenburg, Brother of the preceding, his Compositions for the Harpd. are new, Masterly, & learned; but his fondness of singularity will, by some, be construed into Affectation, indeed such perpetual Disappointments to the Ear, can only be supported in the works & talents of the great Bach, where they seem to flow from Nature, whereas in all Others they have the appearance of Art & Labour. The Wildness of a Scarlatti [originally “Bach”] & the peculiarities of a Bach are but the Ebullition of Genius. These animated & firey [*sic*] Flights are cold & vapid when produced either by study or Imitation.

Following the passage quoted above under J. S. Bach, p. 58 under music writer [Friedrich Wilhelm] “Marpurg” [1718-1795] and a discussion of the fugue subjects quoted in his writings—see sentence below **in boldface**:]

It is remarkable that of all the subjects given of Sebastian Bach, there is hardly one that is pleasing, or easy to work; he seemed to think difficulty the chief merit of Music. whereas those of Handel, without seeming common or barren, are all natural & striking. **Those of Emanuel Bach are too recherchés & full of taste to admit of answers without Confusion, difficulty, & extraneous modulation.**

P. 105 [compare to published version in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* as quoted above]:

If Haydn has ever looked up to any great Master as a model, it has certainly been C. P. Em. Bach: the pauses; bold modulation; rests, free use of semitones, and unexpected flights of Haydn remind us of Em. Bach's Early works more than of any other composer. He has however surpassed his Model in facility, the knowledge of instruments & invention; freaks, caprice, & even buffoonery sometimes seem natural in Haydn. wch. in the works of others wd. appear downright Caprice & affectation. Em. Bach used to be censured for his extraneous modulation, crudities, & difficulties; but like the hard words of Dr. Johnson, the public by degrees grew reconciled to them: & now, every Germ. composer takes the same Liberties as Bach, & every English writers [*sic*] uses with impunity the language of Johnson.

Osborn Shelves c 97 p. 48 (reverse pagination) has the following reference:

[Johann Christian] Fischer says he [C. P. E. Bach] has the peculiar & unaccountable Power of affecting his hearers even to Tears upon the Clavichord, his favourite Instrument . . . C. P. E. is as original as he is learned & refined; his favourite Style is pathetic tho' occasionally he has no want of uncommon Fire. But his powers of Expression are unrivalled by any Performer on Keyed Instruments that I have ever met with in any part of Europe. these powers have been so much tasted & so deeply felt by his Countrymen that he may be called as much a Reformer in the music of Keyed Instruments as his Countrymen John Hus, Jerome of Prague, or Martyn Luther, were in religion. indeed he has proportionally more followers among musical practitioners, than the religious reformers among their Sectaries. Catholic, Lutheran & Calvinist; all have adopted his Doctrines or received some of his Tenets. All the German players of Keyed Instruments aim at Expression more than Brilliancy or feelings (the Chief objects of former Harpd players) & all greatly prefer the Clavicord or Piano Forte to the common Harpd as infinitely more favourable to their present Style.

Osborn Shelves c 101: "Remarks on Sr. J. Hawkins's General Histry. of Music 1776" has one reference (p. 246):

The delicate, refined, & original style of C. P. E. Bach, though universally imitated in Germany, has never been sufficiently known or familiar in England to supply food to predatory professors. It therefore forms no Aera in this Country, though it occasioned a memorable revolution in the Harpd. & Piano forte Music of his own [i.e., Germany].

It seems appropriate to end this report with Haydn's own comments concerning how he felt his teacher C. P. E. Bach's music had affected him, as reported by his friend and biographer Georg August Griesinger (1769-1845). On first encountering Bach's *Prussian Sonatas* of 1742,

I did not leave my clavier until I had played right through them; whoever knows me well must realize that I owe very much to Emanuel Bach, that I have

industriously studied and understood him. Emanuel Bach once paid me a compliment on that score himself. (*Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1810], p. 13)