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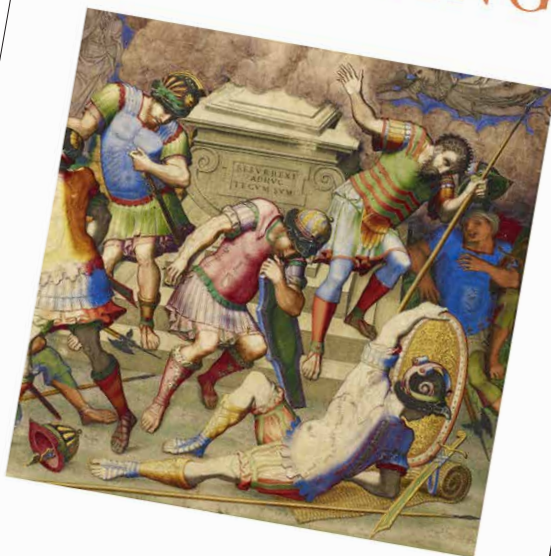
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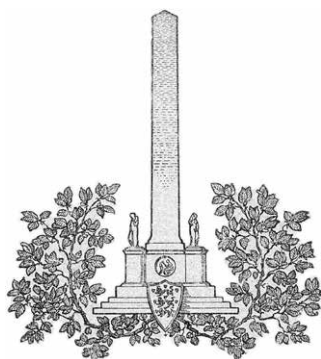
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*With summaries*

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COMPOSER, TRANSLATOR AND EDUCATOR  
Kapellmeister Scheibe and the Emerging Liberal Market  
during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century

BY  
PETER HAUGE

Scheibe's 36-years' stay in Denmark helps us understand how new directions as well as new opportunities for musicians developed during the eighteenth century: the liberation from ties to the court with other possibilities for survival than either employment as court musician or as one of the few city waits. Though the royal courts all over Europe still maintained the traditional, authoritarian modes of employment, as did the towns and cities to some extent, the rise of opera troupes led to more volatile yet freer and easier manageable arrangements. This trend is to some degree also apparent in Copenhagen and had far-reaching consequences for one musician and composer in particular: Johann Adolph Scheibe. After a few years as Kapellmeister of The Royal Orchestra, Scheibe and his family moved to the southern part of the country where he founded a music school and began working as a translator; finally he settled again in Copenhagen as a 'freelance' composer and teacher. Numerous questions arise, most of which are only answerable through an extensive contextual study as to the relation between the musical works Scheibe produced, the performances of his works, his theoretical writings, his ideas on child education, performance practice, and also his obligations as Kapellmeister at a court at times highly influenced by pietism. Scheibe played a very active role in Danish society and was not only associated with various musical circles and associations but also with the intellectual environment, in particular the German circle, who showed a keen interest in ancient Scandinavian history, education, religion, philosophy, literature and even music.<sup>1</sup> Scheibe's work as a composer is closely coupled with the possibilities society offered,

<sup>1</sup> For further references and a description of the German circle in Copenhagen, see Peter Hauge, 'Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–1776) and Copenhagen', *Fund og Forskning*, 50 (2011), pp. 315–43.

and he took advantage of the opportunities presented to him. There are also intriguing questions as to whether Scheibe's employment and various other duties had any influence on his musical production—that is, whether he felt freer to choose those assignments which he was inspired by rather than having to select those for which he would receive payment (commissioned work).<sup>2</sup>

Following the terrible fire that engulfed the new opera house at Amalienborg in 1689, The Royal Orchestra was reduced to merely four musicians. However, the royal trumpet band ('hoftrumpeterkorpset') consisting of twelve trumpeters and a kettledrum was still intact and participated as usual in purely musical events such as the inauguration of churches and the performance of church music as well as fulfilling its normal military duties. During the early years of the eighteenth century The Royal Orchestra was gradually extended, and the so-called 'expektanter' or trainees, who served the ensemble or small orchestra though without receiving a wage, made it possible to perform cantatas and operas as well as 'Taffelmusik'. In 1702 Bartolomeo Bernardi, whose music was later criticised by Scheibe, was employed at the court and later served as Kapellmeister until his death in 1732.<sup>3</sup> In 1721, Frederik IV invited an ensemble from Hamburg to perform German opera; the director of the ensemble was Reinhard Keiser, an original and prolific opera composer who experimented with adapting an opera-like genre—the Italian cantata—to private amateur performance purposes. In 1730, when Christian VI and his wife Sophie Magdalene ascended the throne, musical life at court came rather to a standstill due to their religious convictions. Following the death of Bernardi in 1732, the position as leader of the orchestral institution was left vacant because the old Christiansborg Castle had been demolished in 1731 and a new was

<sup>2</sup> Much of the information on which the present article is based derives from working on the forthcoming Peter Hauge, *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, yet it is merely one small aspect of the information that the catalogue offers.

<sup>3</sup> Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig, 1745; rev. edn. of *Der Critische Musicus*, Hamburg, 1737–40), p. 760, n. 7: 'Seine Arbeiten sind ganz von allem Geschmacke entblößet. Sie sind ohne Zusammenhang und ohne alle Vernunft. Es ist kein Gesang und keine Harmonie vorhanden, ja die ärgsten und niedrigsten Scholarenschnitzer sind die Zierrathen aller Takte. Die Gedanken sind von Corelli und von Stefani entlehnet. Und ich finde so gar, daß er ganze Arien von diesem letztern gestohlen, und nur andere Worte darunter geleet hat. Mit einem Worte: Bernardi hat in seinem Leben nicht verdienet, weder Kaisern, noch Hassen, sein Schüler zu seyn, geschweige, daß man ihn diesen wirklich großen Männern an die Seite setzen sollte'.

being built: since there was no work for a Kapellmeister there was no reason to employ one, and it is also highly likely that the musical tastes of the new royal, pietistic couple did not agree with those which the deceased Bernardi had promoted.

According to his autobiography published in Johann Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740), Scheibe was living in Hamburg during the late 1730s, occupied with teaching, writing and composing.<sup>4</sup> Though only in his late twenties, Scheibe was already creating quite a stir in the musical and intellectual circles in Hamburg. Encouraged by his friends, and not least the famous Neuberin theatre troupe headed by Caroline Neuber, who sought to promote French drama in particular, Scheibe wrote incidental music to two French dramas seeking to revolutionise the approach to composing music for the theatre.<sup>5</sup> Scheibe argued that the purpose of incidental music should be to illustrate, sustain and emphasise the emotions expressed in the text. The overture, for instance, should reflect or induce emotions anticipating those of a theatrical play rather than merely being a bland introduction to the first act with no relation to the text. The new staging of these classical French dramas together with the music were performed in several towns in Germany, and the company was even invited to stage them at the court of Duke Karl Friedrich von Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf in 1738.<sup>6</sup> Around the same time, Scheibe also wrote his first opera, 'Artaban', which was planned for staging at the famous Gänsemarkt-Oper in Hamburg. Scheibe also sought to renew the opera genre, especially German opera. Unfortunately 'Artaban' created quite a few problems with the opera company; the singers, especially, seem to have complained.<sup>7</sup> The staging and rehearsals progressed but everything was cancelled at the last moment when the company went bankrupt in April 1738.<sup>8</sup> One of the great patrons of the Gänsemarkt-Oper was Bendix von Ahlefeldt, who was a member of the Danish government ('Danske Kancelli') and

<sup>4</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), p. 314.

<sup>5</sup> Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, pp. 611–18; Neuber also knew Johann Christoph Gottsched with whom she discussed new approaches to German drama. The dramas to which Scheibe wrote music were Pierre Corneille's 'Polyeucte' and Jean Racine's 'Mithridate'; for further information on Scheibe's production, see forthcoming *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*.

<sup>6</sup> Fr. Joh. von Reden-Esbeck, *Caroline Neuber und ihren Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 229–32.

<sup>7</sup> Lorenz Christoph Mizler, 'Der vollkommene Capellmeister. Erstes Stück', *Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek*, 1/6 (1738), p. 81.

<sup>8</sup> Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, pp. 700–08.

'Landesgerath' of Schleswig-Holstein. According to Mattheson, Ahlefeldt had a vast collection of opera librettos in his library, and it is certainly possible that he was one of the instigators of the performance of 'Artaban', which 'was recently performed for connoisseurs at some court'.<sup>9</sup> During the same period, Scheibe, assisted by G. Ph. Telemann and Mattheson, also issued a fortnightly journal, *Der Critische Musicus* (1737–40), which indeed provoked some serious disputes among intellectuals.<sup>10</sup> Thus Scheibe was an 'infamous', rebellious character and intellectual, a person who drew attention from the musical circles of Hamburg as well as from members of the aristocracy in Schleswig-Holstein.

It is therefore no surprise that in 1739 Scheibe found employment at the court of the Danish king's brother-in-law and governor of Holstein, Friedrich Ernst von Brandenburg-Kulmbach, who lived in Gottorf.<sup>11</sup> The following year Scheibe was requested to attend the court in Copenhagen. Though the palace Christiansborg was far from being completed, it had been decided that the newly finished royal church built beside it was to be inaugurated with festivities. They therefore needed someone to lead the musical part of the celebrations which were to take place during late November 1740. In the second edition of *Der Critische Musicus* (1745), Scheibe claims that the Danish king had apparently noticed his critique of the present state of music (composition) and the performance of it; he wished to know more and invited Scheibe to Copenhagen.<sup>12</sup> Many years later, Scheibe recounts that

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 708; Mattheson, *Die neueste Untersuchungen der Singspiele* (Hamburg, 1745), is dedicated to Ahlefeldt, and the author mentions on sig. A3v that the patron had been collecting librettos of operas performed in Hamburg for the past sixty years. On Ahlefeldt and the Gänsemarkt-Oper, see J. F. Schütze, *Hamburgische Theatergeschichte* (Hamburg, 1794), pp. 181–82.

<sup>10</sup> The most famous dispute was concerned with J. S. Bach's compositional style, but Scheibe also heavily criticised other composers and musicians. It should be noted that *Der Critische Musicus* (1737–40) should be distinguished from *Critischer Musikus* which is a revised second edition published in 1745.

<sup>11</sup> A brief description of Scheibe's arrival in Copenhagen is also dealt with in Hauge, 'Johann Adolph Scheibe', pp. 319–20.

<sup>12</sup> Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, p. 1051: 'Die Tonkunst und ihre gegenwärtige Verfassung reizten einen Musikgelehrten, welchen der bewundernswürdige Monarch in Norden, des Königs zu Dännemark und Norwegen Majestät, als Capellmeister nach Copenhagen berufen hat, seine Gedanken zur Verbesserung der Musik bekannt zu machen'; dated 2 March 1741.



‘Bey dieser Gelegenheit aber mache ich mir eine Ehre daraus, Ihnen und dem Publiko zu bekennen, daß ich schon von vielen Jahren, noch ehe ich auf allerhöchsten Königlichen Befehl im Jahre 1740 nach Kopenhagen gerufen wurde, und also auch lange vorher, ehe man hier von schlechten welschen Componisten etwas wußte, mich bemühet habe, in dem Geschmacke eines Hassens und eines Grauns zu denken und zu arbeiten, ob ich schon zugleich jederzeit meinem eigenen Genie und meiner eigenen Denckungsart gefolget bin.’<sup>13</sup>

Scheibe and his friends were taken by surprise by the royal request, and for his departure from Hamburg one of his friends named ‘F.’ published a farewell poem in September 1740, praising Scheibe’s happy fortunes.<sup>14</sup> It seems highly plausible that the close connections between the courts of Friedrich Ernst and his sister, the Danish Queen Sophie Magdalene, played an important role in Scheibe’s transferral to the post as Kapellmeister in Copenhagen. When browsing through the Royal Archives, it is evident that three high-ranking persons connected to the Danish court may also have been responsible for the promotion of Scheibe: Johann Christoph von Reitzenstein — ten years senior to Scheibe — who had started as valet at the Brandenburg-Kulmbach court and arrived in Copenhagen the same year as the new Kapellmeister, and through the influence of Queen Sophie Magdalene became Marshal of the Court; Hans Gram, an important promoter of the arts, archivist and the royal librarian amongst other things, who was very supportive of Scheibe; and the diplomat and courtier, Ludwig Casimir von Isenburg (Ysemburg), who was the same age as Scheibe, showed a keen interest in his works and had sponsored him for the position as Kapellmeister at Friedrich Ernst’s court.<sup>15</sup> Isenburg most likely also played an active part in the promotion of Scheibe at the Danish court: in a letter sent shortly before the journey to Copenhagen, Scheibe writes to his acquaintance, the renowned philosopher and theatre critic Johann

<sup>13</sup> Scheibe, ‘Schreiben an die Verfasser der neuen periodischen Schrift, die in Sorøe unter der Aufschrift: Samling af adskillige Skrifter’, *Samling af adskillige Skrifter til de skjønne Videnskabers og det danske Sprogs Opkomst og Fremtarv* (Copenhagen, 1765), p. 43.

<sup>14</sup> Anonymous, *Als der Hochedle und Hochgelahrte Herr Johann Adolph Scheibe Als König. Dänischer Capelldirector Von Hamburg nach Copenhagen reisete* (n.p., September 1740).

<sup>15</sup> See Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p. 314; another patron of Scheibe’s was the general Friedrich Ehrenfried Amthor in Schleswig-Holstein. In the 1750s, it is evident that Count Frederik Raben as well as Count Johan Ludvig Holstein were among Scheibe’s patrons; cf. Scheibe, *Abhandlung vom Ursprung und Alter der Musik* (Altona & Flensburg, 1754), pp. xiii–xiv.

Christoph Gottsched, that Isenburg ‘arbeitet sehr stark an einer ganzlichen Verbesserung und Vermehrung der kgl. Capelle’.<sup>16</sup> This certainly seems to be true, for the previous year Isenburg had apparently been contacted by the court musician Johan Nikolai Winter, a highly talented violinist who wished to travel abroad and therefore sought a recommendation. In June 1740, he received a grant from the king’s private purse towards travel expenses and in order to buy music for The Royal Orchestra.<sup>17</sup>

Scheibe’s letter to Gottsched also explains that as there is no Kapellmeister at the moment, he will be leaving for Copenhagen around 12–13 September in order to start employment immediately. Scheibe adds that he has all the freedom he needs in order to prepare the celebrations and to heighten the reputation of music and poetry in Denmark to that it had held in earlier times.<sup>18</sup> Though he had planned to be in Copenhagen by mid-September, he did not arrive until a month later.<sup>19</sup> He found The Royal Orchestra in complete chaos and had to use precious time trying to bring things in order for the celebrations. According to Scheibe he had only three weeks to accomplish this, as two weeks before the inauguration everything had to be in place and finished so that they could start on the rehearsals. His first assignment seems to have been to compose music for the inauguration of the new royal church, Christiansborg Slotskirke, for which a Danish text by the court musician Peder Sparkiær had been chosen, and in addition he also had to compose two cantatas for the celebrations of the royal birthdays.<sup>20</sup> These events were to take place on 27, 28 and 29 November. The music for the first occasion must already have been completed by the beginning of November, for the text booklets were produced by the

<sup>16</sup> Detlef Döring et al. (eds), *Johann Christoph Gottsched: Briefwechsel* (Berlin, 2013), vol. 7, p. 72, letter dated 3 September 1740.

<sup>17</sup> *Rigsarkivet, Rentekammeret, danske afdeling, dansk-norsk assignmentskontor: kgl. resolutioner, 1739–1740*, no. 23.

<sup>18</sup> Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 7, p. 74, letter dated 3 September 1740.

<sup>19</sup> ‘Ich bin in der Mitten des Octobers allhier glücklich angekommen’, letter dated 9 December 1740; in Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 7, p. 268.

<sup>20</sup> *Cantate ved den nye Slots=Kirkes Solenne Indvielse d. 27. Nov. 1740* (Copenhagen, 1740); *Als Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten und Großmächtigsten König und Herr Christian Der Sechste König von Dännemark und Norwegen... Sein Hohes Geburtstfest* (Copenhagen, 1740); and *An dem Hohen Geburtstfeste Der Allerdurchlauchtigsten und Großmächtigsten Königin und Frau Sophie Magdalena Königin von Dännemark und Norwegen* (Copenhagen, 1740); cf. *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:407, B2:400, B2:402, respectively. Only the text booklets published at the event have survived.

5 November and Sparkiær handed in the list of expenses for the printing of the cantata text.<sup>21</sup> Besides composing and being responsible for the performances, Scheibe also had to engage the singers who were to be given 400 ‘Dukaten’. Not only were cantatas and other vocal music performed during the period of celebration, the orchestra also often had to play ‘Taffelmusik’ for which Scheibe most likely was obliged to compose at least some of the music. Scheibe explains that for the performance of sacred music more than sixty musicians (presumably including the singers) had participated and for the ‘Taffelmusik’ more than forty, which is a large number when taking into account that Copenhagen was a small city. Furthermore, The Royal Orchestra had not been nursed in any way for a long period of time and thus the newly arrived Kapellmeister must have found the task of organising the events overwhelming—if not frustratingly chaotic.<sup>22</sup>

The celebrations were a great success and the royal couple were pleased with Scheibe’s work, so on 1 December 1740 he received an official contract.<sup>23</sup> Already two weeks later, however, an addition was appended to the contract, stating that he would also be paid for ‘strings, *Calvonio* and the help of a copyist’ as well as an extra allowance for purchasing new ‘Musiqve Piecer’; in all, he was to receive an extra 150 Rigsdaler.<sup>24</sup> Thus besides his salary as Kapellmeister which was 600 Rigsdaler, corresponding to the yearly wage of the previous Kapellmeister Bernardi, he would get an additional 150 towards expenses in relation

<sup>21</sup> *Rigsarkivet, Partikulærkammeret, 1706–1848, bilag til partikulærkammerregnskaberne, 1740, no. 1905.* In connection with the birthday celebrations, Scheibe certified the list of expenses. It should also be noted that the title page of the booklet printed for the inauguration of Christiansborg Slotskirke mentions Scheibe as Kapellmeister. In the letter dated 3 September 1740, Scheibe explains briefly that ‘die bevorstehenden Geburtstage und die Einweihung des neuen Schloßes werden mit der größten Pracht begangen werden. Und da ich zugleich durch meine Bedienung alle Freyheit erhalte... so werde allen Fleiß anwenden’, Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 7, pp. 72–73. In the following letter of 9 December 1740 complaining about the chaos, he continues: ‘und ich bekam folglich keine geringe Arbeit, wegen bevorstehender Solennitäten [i.e. inauguration of the church] alles in gute Ordnung zu setzen. Es wurde mir aber außer der Musicken noch die Poesie zu denen beyden deutschen Singegedichte aufgetragen [i.e. for the royal couple’s birthdays], die ich denn auch alles Wiederstrebens ungeachtet, auf allergnädigsten Befehl des Königes verfertigen mußte’, Döring et al. (eds.), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 7, pp. 269–70.

<sup>22</sup> Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 7, p. 270, letter dated 9 December 1740.

<sup>23</sup> For a transcription, see Anders Monrad Møller, ‘Instruks for en kongelig kapelmester anno 1740’, *Danske Magazin*, 52/1 (2014), pp. 101–09.

<sup>24</sup> It has not been possible to determine the meaning of ‘calvonio’.

to his job.<sup>25</sup> Apparently there were some problems as Gram had to write a letter to the administration reminding them of the appendix to the contract.<sup>26</sup> In early February 1741, he was instructed to write ‘ein Bogen Verse’ for the birthday of Christine Sophie, who was the wife of Scheibe’s previous employer, thus suggesting that he still had ties—and perhaps even obligations—to the court of Brandenburg-Kulmbach.<sup>27</sup> In early spring 1741 Scheibe obtained instruments for the orchestra according to the king’s ‘specifications’. From the widow of the deceased court musician, Poul Christian Schindler, Scheibe inspected and bought ‘Ein Clavcymbel, Eine Viola da Gamba, Eine Violino, Eine Bandora’ for which he was reimbursed 200 Rigsdaler by the king’s private purse (see Ill. 1).<sup>28</sup>

The viola da gamba, and in particular the bandora, were basically not orchestral instruments and they must therefore have been purchased with a view to chamber music. Around that time, two sets of horns (‘Waldhörner’) made by the instrument maker, Johann Gottfried Elffe of Hamburg, finally arrived in Copenhagen, expressly ordered for The Royal Orchestra; Isenburg was of course involved in the acquisition and again it was Reitzenstein who signed the receipt.<sup>29</sup> At the same time the court musician Johan Winter was also busy purchasing instruments for

<sup>25</sup> *Rigsarkivet*, Rentekammeret, dansk afdeling, kammerkancelliet, 1679–1771, bestallingsprotokol, 1732 januar 31 – 1750 november 3, pp. 59–60 (copy); and appendix in Rentekammeret, danske afdeling, dansk-norsk assignationskontor: kgl. resolutioner, 1739–1740, no. 77, dated 1 December 1740. Carl Thrane, *Fra Hofviolonernes Tid* (Copenhagen, 1908), p. 411, argues that Scheibe received his contract on 15 December 1740 though a salary already from October; however, the contract that Thrane obviously consulted was the appendix to the original contract. That the 150 Rigsdaler was an extra supplement to his contract is implied when he writes to Gottsched on 9 December explaining that the singers had received ‘400 Ducaten’ and ‘Mir aber ist an meiner Besoldung ein ansehnliches zugeleget worden’; see Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 7, p. 270. As was custom with all official court employments and promotions, the newspapers published announcements on Scheibe’s employment as Kapellmeister; cf. e.g. *Kjøbenhavns Maanellige Post-Rytter*, 1 (1741), p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> *Rigsarkivet*, Rentekammeret, danske afd., dansk-norske assignationskontor, 1730–1770: indkomne breve ang. civiletaten, 1740, 28 December 1740.

<sup>27</sup> *An dem frohen Geburtsfeste der Fürstin und Frau Christine Sophie... ward folgende Sere-nate aufgeführt* (Gottorf, 1740), text booklet; cf. *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:401.

<sup>28</sup> *Rigsarkivet*, Partikulærkammeret, partikulærkammerregnskaber, 1741, ‘56. An diversen Ausgaben’, and Partikulærkammeret, 1706–1848, bilag til partikulærkammerregnskaberne, 1741, no. 338.

<sup>29</sup> *Rigsarkivet*, Partikulærkammeret, 1707–1848, bilag til partikulærregnskaberne, 1742, no. 369.

No 338. zum Ausgab der Königl. Chammers Rechnung pro A<sup>o</sup> 1741.

Dasß mir furbeykommens, Lichte Dato  
 von Madame Schindlers, geliebet wurd,  
 für Clavymbel, für Viola da gamba,  
 für Violino, für Lardora und noch  
 für Parthe Schupfalien ein solch  
 in dem an H. Maj. unsern allgnädigsten  
 König ein sind Specificatio bezogen  
 wurd; Delsß wird fürlich geliebet  
 bescheinigt. Copenhagen d. 3ten März 1741.

Joseph Ludvig Scheibe  
 K. K. Capellmeister

Dasß die von dem Herrn Capellmeister Scheibe für vorstehende  
 Musicalische Instrumenta, und eine Partij Compositiones, mir ac.  
 cordirt sind von H. Maj. allgnädigst genehmigt 250  
 Rthl. an mich und der Königl. Particulär Cassa von dem Herrn  
 Caspiter Linte, mit gedachter Summa von 250 Rthl. gegen  
 zwei Hundert und fünfzig Rthl. in Courant baar und richtig  
 bezahlet worden. Delsß wird fürmit von mir quitionirt befi  
 niget. Copenhagen d. 3ten Martii 1741.

Charlotta Maria Vogetz  
 Wittwer Schindlers

Schindlers  
 d. 2. Martii 1741.

Ill. 1: Scheibe's statement and Mrs Schindler's receipt; Rigsarkivet, Partikulærkammeret, 1706-1848, bilag til partikulærregnskaberne, 1741, no. 338.



the orchestra. In March 1740 he got hold of a viola and in October he managed to convince Isenburg to recommend the purchase for The Royal Orchestra ('Daß dieses sier vigtigkeit hat, attestire ich') so that he could be reimbursed; in October the following year, Winter purchased an expensive viola da gamba.<sup>30</sup> At the instigation of Reitzenstein the restoration of the queen's chamber organ was finished in April 1742,<sup>31</sup> and during the summer a new harpsichord built by Scheibe's father arrived from Leipzig.<sup>32</sup> From letters sent to Gottsched in 1742, it is evident that Scheibe was still working on the enlargement of The Royal Orchestra in terms of both musicians and singers.<sup>33</sup>

Besides providing the court with new instrumental music, which took up a great deal of his time as nobody in The Royal Orchestra had bothered to purchase the latest music, he also had to help with the royal collection, slowly expanding the repertoire of foreign music, for as Scheibe remarks: 'denn die Veränderung ist in der Musik das angenehmste'.<sup>34</sup> He also purchased music from the estates of deceased musicians: when he visited Schindler's widow in 1741, Scheibe found some music ('Partie musicalien') which he added to the collection (see Ill. 1); and he used time going through the collection carefully studying among other things the works of the previous Kapellmeister Bernardi.<sup>35</sup> On the recommendation of Reizenstein, Scheibe bought some music from Gottwaldt in December 1741 and checked it against the 'catalogi' which most likely were the royal collection's music catalogues. Gottwaldt, who was a court musician but also owned a shop selling butter, coffee and music paper as well as music, received 150 Rigsdaler for the bundle of music, a considerable amount.<sup>36</sup> It appears that Gottwaldt had bought a substantial collection at an auction in 1732, which included works of composers such as Corelli, Bernardi, Albinoni, Heinichen and Keiser.

<sup>30</sup> *Rigsarkivet*, Partikulærkammeret, 1699–1848, partikulærkammerregnskaberne, 1740, fol. 289; Partikulærkammeret, 1706–1848, bilag til partikulærkammerregnskaberne, 1740, no. 2143; and Partikulærkammeret, partikulærkammerregnskaber, 1741, '56. An diversen Ausgaben'.

<sup>31</sup> *Rigsarkivet*, Partikulærkammeret, 1707–1848, bilag til partikulærkammerregnskaberne, 1742, nos. 756, 763, 765.

<sup>32</sup> Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 8, p. 253, letter dated 4 June 1742. On Scheibe's father, Johann, see for instance Mattheson, *Grundlage*, pp. 311–12.

<sup>33</sup> Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 8, p. 177, letter dated 27 March 1742.

<sup>34</sup> Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, p. 178, letter dated 18 April 1743.

<sup>35</sup> *Critischer Musikus*, p. 759; see also above n. 3; on Schindler's widow, see above.

<sup>36</sup> *Rigsarkivet*, Partikulærkammeret, 1707–1848, bilag til partikulærkammerregnskaberne, 1742, no. 134.

It may have been this collection or a major part of it that he sold to The Royal Orchestra nearly ten years later.<sup>37</sup> If the newspapers in any way are indicative of the activities of the musical life and the musical societies' activities in Copenhagen at that time, it seems that the arrival of a new Kapellmeister meant a much needed boost of energy; at least for the seasons of spring and autumn 1741 the number of performances rose tremendously.<sup>38</sup>

There is no doubt that Scheibe was busy with many very different assignments—so many in fact that he did not have any time to carry out his promised revision of *Der Critische Musicus* which therefore only appeared in a second edition in 1745. Yet, he did somehow find the time to supply Carl Gotthelf Gerlach in Leipzig with his most recent passion cantatas and sent him a good supply of other sacred music.<sup>39</sup> Scheibe had known Gerlach from the time when he was living in Leipzig from 1730 to 1735, most likely studying with Johann Sebastian Bach. Scheibe had composed many works such as church cantatas, passion music as well as magnificats, which all were performed by Gerlach, who was the organist and music director of Neukirche. Over the years, Gerlach amassed a vast collection of music performed by the town's collegium musicum of which Scheibe was also a member or music composed for the services at Neukirche. When he died in 1761, the publishers Breitkopf acquired the collection adding the music to their catalogues of master copies from which those interested could buy transcripts.<sup>40</sup> It might seem odd that Scheibe sent music to Gerlach in Leipzig. It should be kept in mind, however, that the position as Kapellmeister in Copenhagen did not necessarily entail providing music that was to be performed at church services; rather, his obligations were to supply music for the official events and celebrations at the court as well as 'Taffelmusik'. There was no immediate use for Scheibe's church or passion music, unless it could be performed in the musical societies. However, there are suggestions

<sup>37</sup> On the auction of Kenckel's music collection, see Jens Henrik Koudal, 'En musiksamling fra Helsingør i 1732', ed. Ole Kongsted et al., *A due: musical essays in honour of John D. Bergsagel & Heinrich W. Schwab* (Copenhagen, 2008), pp. 369–85; and Jens Henrik Koudal and Michael Talbot, 'Stephan Kenckel's collection of music and musical instruments: a glimpse of Danish musical life in the early eighteenth century', *Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), p. 61.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Kjøbenhavns Maanellige Post-Rytter, som bringer Nye Tidender* (1741) and *Kjøbenhavns Post-Rytter, som medfører Post-Tidender* (1741).

<sup>39</sup> Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, p. 178, letter dated 18 April 1743.

<sup>40</sup> See Hauge, 'Johann Adolph Scheibe', pp. 332–33.

implying that Scheibe did provide sacred music to the court. In March 1742, he composed a passion cantata which was performed at the new royal church, Christiansborg Slotskirke. According to Scheibe that was a special event since passion music had not been performed before in Denmark. During Passion Week he might also have played the organ trio sonatas which he wrote at the time. Later all these works were sent to Gerlach, and when he died the manuscripts ended up in the Breitkopf archives.<sup>41</sup> So Scheibe might rather have thought of killing two birds with one stone: first having them performed in Copenhagen and then in Leipzig.

Scheibe's duties as director of The Royal Orchestra were very diverse. Most importantly, he was head of the orchestral institution, and hence responsible for the orchestra, its repertoire and musicians. He had to be at the court's disposal whenever they needed it; and even when they travelled on their summer vacation, Scheibe had to provide the music, whether that be 'Taffelmusik' for the court or cantatas for official celebrations.<sup>42</sup> Besides composing music as well as writing texts for many of these occasions, he was also in charge of expanding the music archives with a repertoire of new foreign music in accordance with his contract. Another important project that he had been given was to raise the standard of the orchestra's performance and expand the number of its members—a task that was probably made difficult due to the scarcity of professional musicians available in Copenhagen during this period: it seems that at times Scheibe considered making use of German musicians.<sup>43</sup>

When Christian VI died in 1746, it was Scheibe's task as Kapellmeister to provide and lead the music for the funeral service.<sup>44</sup> On 4 October, a large funeral cantata in three parts with a Danish text by Sparkiær was performed in Christiansborg Slotskirke; on the same day, another

<sup>41</sup> See *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:304, A4:002; cf. Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (ed.), *Verzeichniß Musikalischer Werke zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für alle Instrumente* (Leipzig, 1761). See also Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 8, p. 177, letter dated 4 June 1742. However, Scheibe only mentions sending cantatas and larger works to Gerlach, and it is possible that he sent the organ trio sonatas directly to Breitkopf; that certainly seems to have been the case with other purely instrumental works.

<sup>42</sup> Döring et al. (eds), *Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, vol. 8, p. 177, letter dated 4 June 1742.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 270, letter dated 9 December 1740.

<sup>44</sup> *Klage-Sang over Kong Christian den Siette ved Hs. Kongl. Majestæts Liøgbegiengelse i Christiansborgs Slots Kirke den 4. Oct. 1746. I Musiquen opført af Joh. Adolph Scheibe*; cf. *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:425.



of Scheibe's cantatas was performed at the university.<sup>45</sup> For the official event, he somehow managed to bring together a large orchestra as well as a choir, in all eighty amateurs and professional performers, which must have been one of the largest orchestral gatherings ever seen in Copenhagen. On the following day, when the deceased king was buried in Roskilde, another cantata was performed during the service.<sup>46</sup> However, a different version including an extra motet and a chorale was also prepared for a performance in The Musical Society ('Det musikalske Selskab') shortly after the official event.<sup>47</sup> Thus Scheibe had composed four different works which were performed at various places, in churches, at the university and even at the Musical Society. The large official funeral cantata made a great impression. The general public had access to some of the rehearsals that took place in one of the churches. The famous writer and professor at the University of Copenhagen, Ludvig Holberg, who was also a close friend of Scheibe's, was among the audience. Holberg had been so touched by a particular passage in the music that he apparently had to hide his face sniffing in a handkerchief.<sup>48</sup>

In November 1743, Frederik had been married by proxy to Princess Louise of Great Britain. While the crown prince left for Altona, Louise first arrived in Hanover where the ceremony took place before she continued to Hamburg. While there, they visited Hamburg's Gänsemarkt-Oper, which was patronised by members of the Danish court in Altona, among others. The couple attended several performances of Italian opera staged by the castrato Finazzi, the impresario Mingotti, and Scalabrini who was the head of the orchestra.<sup>49</sup> Their marriage was celebrated in Copenhagen when they arrived in December, and Scheibe composed both the music for the celebration in the church as well as a 'Singgedichte' which was performed during the official dinner.<sup>50</sup> Again he was able to gather a large orchestra — that is, The Royal

<sup>45</sup> *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:425, B2:443, respectively.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, SchW B2:444.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, SchW B2:426.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, SchW C4:009; tr. by Carl Ewald (ed.), *Johann Adolph Scheibe: Holbergs Levnet* (Copenhagen, 1883), pp. 99–100. The reason why Scheibe mentions this incident is probably due to the fact that Holberg was renowned for being somewhat distant and cold: Scheibe wished to show that Holberg certainly had feelings. See also Hauge, 'Johann Adolph Scheibe', p. 324.

<sup>49</sup> For a detailed study of Mingotti's company, see E. H. Müller von Asow, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti* (Dresden, 1917).

<sup>50</sup> *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:433; according to *Kjøbenhavns Maanedlige Post-Rytter*, 12 (1743), p. 93.

Orchestra consisting of twelve string players, twelve oboists (of whom some must also have been bassoonists and flute players), trumpeters, the city wait and his assistants, four servants who also played musical instruments, and three students, all in all forty participants.<sup>51</sup> However, it was only after the death of Christian VI in 1746 and after the year of mourning that Frederik V was able to invite Mingotti's Italian troupe to Copenhagen together with Scalabrini who was later to become the court's new Kapellmeister. Their arrival in December 1748 meant stiff competition for The Royal Orchestra led by Scheibe, as well as for The Musical Society in which Scheibe also played an active role. The Lord Chamberlain ordered the members of The Royal Orchestra to participate in the performances of Italian opera, for which they would be paid. The size of the court's permanent orchestra was still too small for it to participate in larger projects, however, and it was therefore necessary to extend it with extra violinists and musicians employed for military music (oboes, perhaps flutes, and horn players from 'Granderkorpset').<sup>52</sup> In addition Scheibe was ordered to find and engage extra musicians so that the Italian company could stage operas; he contracted seven in all, three violinists and four oboists. When the Italians left at the end of the season in April 1748, the musicians were thus available for The Royal Orchestra.<sup>53</sup> It is evident that Scheibe's position at the court had weakened, not only due to the royal couple's and the court's infatuation with Italian opera but also because the influential sponsors of Scheibe such as Isenburg, Gram and Reitzenstein had more or less left court. Following the death of Christian VI in 1746, Isenburg lost influence and resigned; Gram died in 1748; and Reitzenstein retired in 1749. The death of Christian VI meant a complete reshuffle of the court, diminishing the influence of the queen dowager, Sophie Magdalene.<sup>54</sup> There is no question that the relationship between Sophie Magdalene and the newly appointed Lord Chamberlain Moltke was cold and distanced: she

<sup>51</sup> The work in question is *Singegedichte an dem hohe Beylager Friedrichs Kronprinzens zu Dännemark und Norwegen... und der... Durchl. Fürstin Louise... Prinzessin von Grossbritannien*; cf. *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:433. See also Villads Christensen, 'Stadsmusikanten', *Historiske Meddelelser om København*, 5/1 (1915), p. 341; and Thrane, *Fra Hofviolonernes Tid*, p. 80.

<sup>52</sup> Niels Friis, *Det Kongelige Kapel: Fem Aarhundreder ved Hoffet, paa Teatret og i Koncertsalen* (Copenhagen, 1948), p. 57.

<sup>53</sup> *Rigsarkivet*, Partikulærkammeret, partikulærkammerregnskaber, 1748, no. 1194, signed by Scheibe.

<sup>54</sup> Regarding the new official employments and the reorganisation, see in particular *Kjøbenhavns Maanetlige Post-Rytter*, 11 (1749).

simply disliked the man. The pensions allocated the queen dowager's family, who were in fact living at the royal castle in Copenhagen, were reduced to half size, and they were more or less expelled from the royal residence. Those intimately connected with the family were dismissed from positions at court, and it is therefore no great surprise that even the Kapellmeister—in this case Scheibe—was reconsidered. In June 1748, the royal couple were in Altona again, presenting the opera company of Hamburg ('Operisterne i Hamborg') with a pecuniary gift of 200 Ducats for having entertained the visitors.<sup>55</sup> When the court returned from Altona, Moltke wrote on behalf of the king to the council of finances explaining that His Royal Majesty had decided to

'dismiss the hitherto Kapellmeister Scheibe and to place him somewhere else—until he may be given a convenient employment—most pleasantly with a yearly pension and in his stead most graciously hire again another Kapellmeister by the name Chalabrini.'<sup>56</sup>

This was entered the official records on the following day, signed by the king on 15 July, and on the same day Scalabrini received his official contract.<sup>57</sup> Other documents suggest, however, that Scalabrini was already contracted in February: a receipt of 22 July explains that he was paid a salary as of 11 February, and an order of 6 April signed by Moltke concerns the free lodgings of Scalabrini.<sup>58</sup> Scheibe was therefore pensioned, receiving 400 Rigsdaler, and Scalabrini was promoted to Kapellmeister but without Scheibe's extra 150 Rigsdaler. Though discharged, Scheibe apparently retained the right to use the title 'Königl. Dänis. Capellmeister', and throughout his life he was most often known as such, in his own publications as well as in newspapers and by court officials. The right to use the title of address might be explained by

<sup>55</sup> Rigsarkivet, Partikulærkammeret, chatolkassen, 1747–1748, bilag til chatolregnskaberne, 1748, no. 178.

<sup>56</sup> Rigsarkivet, Rentekammeret, danske afdeling, dansk-norske assignationskontor, 1720–1770, kongelige resolutioner, 1748–1749, no. 36: 'demitere dend hidtil værende Capellmester Scheibe og hanem, indtil hand med en *convenable emploi* kand vorde forsyned, med en aarl: *pension* andensteds allermildest at afligge, samt i hands sted igien en anden Capelmester, navnlig Chalabrini allernaadigst at antage.'

<sup>57</sup> Rigsarkivet, Rentekammeret, danske afdeling, dansk-norske assignationskontor, 1720–1770, kongelige resolutioner, 1748–1749, no. 36; and Rentekammeret, danske afdeling, kammerkancelliet, 1679–1771, bestallingsprotokol, 1732 januar 31 – 1750 november 3, pp. 539–40.

<sup>58</sup> Rigsarkivet, Partikulærkammeret, chatolkassen, 1747–1748, bilag til chatolkasse-regnskaberne, 1748, nos. 214, 219; and Rentekammeret, danske afdeling, Københavns hof- og militæretats kontor, 1740–1779, journal, nos. 1593, 1615.

their promise to consider whether perhaps he could be employed in another capacity. Scheibe complained that the pension was low and did not cover his expenses and debts, such as the 'patent' which he still had not paid for.<sup>59</sup>

Around two years before his retirement, Scheibe had been elected a member of the Masonic Lodge, Zorobabel. The newly established Lodge seems to have had a specific purpose in accepting or promoting Scheibe's membership, for approximately three months later a further four musicians were elected so that at the Lodge's inauguration in May 1747, they were able to play music.<sup>60</sup> During summer 1748, when Scheibe had been dismissed as Kapellmeister, he worked on a collection of sixteen songs which he proposed to dedicate to the Lodge. They accepted the offer and the songs were published in 1749 as *Neue Freymäurer-Lieder, mit bequemen Melodien. Verfertigt und herausgeben von einem Mitgliede der Loge Zorobabel*.<sup>61</sup> Following the publication, Scheibe decided to move to the southern part of Jutland to the Duchy of Schleswig. Together with his wife Ilsabel and their three sons, Scheibe settled in Sønderborg where he founded a music school for the education of children.<sup>62</sup> Besides teaching, Scheibe maintained an extensive correspondence with his colleagues in Germany while earning a living by translating learned books into German: during the next twelve years he translated what corresponds to more than 4,500 printed pages in addition to those

<sup>59</sup> Thrane, *Fra Hofviolonernes Tid*, p. 86.

<sup>60</sup> The four musicians were Johann Nikolai Winter, Adam Frederik Ortmann, Johann Erasmus Iversen and Casper Friedrich Fischer; they did not pay the usual fee for being admitted, implying that they perhaps were asked to join so that they could play music at the meetings. In the protocols of another Masonic Lodge, of which Scalabrini and later Sarti were members, it is mentioned that Sarti was encouraged to attend the meetings more often 'so that he with his competence in music could contribute to the common pleasure of the Brothers' ('for ved sin Dygtighed i Musikken at bidrage til Brødrenes fælles Glæde'); see K. L. Bugge, *Det danske frimureries historie* (Copenhagen, 1910), vol. 1, p. 199. That Scheibe was not elected earlier might be due to the fact that Christian VI did not approve of Masonic Lodges, and it was not until after the king's death that Scheibe would be able to apply, or be requested to apply, for membership.

<sup>61</sup> *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B5:coll.004; see also Bugge, *Det danske frimureries historie*, p. 150.

<sup>62</sup> *Fortgesetzte Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Wissenschaften und Künste in den Kgl. Dänischen Reichen und Ländern*, 1/6 (1759), p. 557: 'Seit 1749 ist der H. C. zu Sonderburg, auf der Insel Alsen wohnhaft, allwo er eine musikalische Schule zur Unterweisung der Jugend eröffnet hat'. Regarding his wife and children, see Louis Bobé, *Die deutsche St. Petri Gemeinde* (Copenhagen, 1925).

books he wrote himself (380 pages). On the other hand, he wrote fewer compositions.<sup>63</sup> Scheibe also managed to visit Copenhagen quite often, especially during autumn and spring which was the concert season of the newly established Musical Society ('Det musikalske Selskab'), housed in 'Raadhuus-Strædet'.<sup>64</sup> The previous society, 'Det musikalske Societet', had unfortunately had to close down in spring 1748 when the recently arrived Italian troupe drew large audiences from the society. As with the previous musical societies, Scheibe was also associated with the new one, composing several works and even leading some of the performances.<sup>65</sup> The society had close ties to the court and several of the performers as well as other members belonged to the nobility.<sup>66</sup> The court often commissioned large works from Scheibe to celebrate official events such as the king's and crown prince's birthdays, as well as for instance a mourning cantata to the popular Queen Louise who unfortunately died in childbirth in December 1751.<sup>67</sup> And when the king remarried eight months later, Scheibe composed his 'Tempel des Ruhmes' which was commissioned by the Society and performed there in autumn 1752.<sup>68</sup> However, it was not only Scheibe who composed music for the court: also the new Italian Kapellmeisters, Paolo Scalabrini and Giuseppe Sarti (the latter was employed in 1755), supplied music, though they very often were on prolonged stays abroad and hence not available. They were deeply embedded in the Italian style and did certainly not speak or understand Danish as fluently as Scheibe, who therefore could tend to the needs of the Danish German-speaking audience.<sup>69</sup> However, when the Seven Years' War broke out in 1756, Scheibe seems to have sought

<sup>63</sup> Figures based on *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*.

<sup>64</sup> Thus in 1751 Scheibe seems to have attended the performance of Stölzel's passion music; see 'Stölzel, Gottfried Heinrich', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1965), vol. 12, col. 1384; unfortunately the authors of the entry do not provide a reference to the source of information.

<sup>65</sup> Scheibe, *Abhandlung vom Ursprunge und Alter der Musik* (Flensburg, 1754), pp. lxiii–lxiv.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxiii.

<sup>67</sup> *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:429, B2:431, B2:430.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, SchW B2:439.

<sup>69</sup> The poet and writer Johannes Ewald, who on several occasions collaborated with Scheibe, was aware of the difficulty for an Italian composer (i.e. Scalabrini) to write music to a text the composer did understand, see 'Johannes Ewalds Efterladte Papirer', *DK-Kk*, NKS 489e, fol., folder 21; see also Hauge (ed.), *Johann Adolph Scheibe: Passions-Cantate, 'Vor Harpe er bleven til Sorrig'*, Danish Centre for Music Editing (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 2012), pp. xii–xiii.

closer ties to Germany, especially the court of Frederick the Great, in quest of their patronage. It must have been during this period that he composed a birthday cantata for the Prussian king to a text by the royal Chaplain Johann Andreas Cramer who had recently arrived in Copenhagen and was closely connected to the court of the queen dowager Sophie Magdalene.<sup>70</sup> Scheibe also became fascinated with Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim's poems published in *Preussischer Kriegslieder in den Feldzügen* (1758) and used some of them to compose songs to the accompaniment of a harpsichord; however, they were never published but remained in manuscript throughout his life.<sup>71</sup> The political instability and not least the rising tension of conflict, especially between the Russian Tsar Peter III (who was also the Duke of Gottorf) and Frederick the Great which also threatened Denmark, were probably the main reasons why Scheibe and his family moved back to Copenhagen in 1761.

That same year, the Italian opera was merged with the comedy and the ballet into 'Den danske Skueplads' thus ending up with one single orchestra. Sarti was the theatre's Kapellmeister, and due to the death of the Count of Plön—the Danish king inherited the duchy—most of the musicians employed there were transferred to Copenhagen where they were requested to work, immediately improving the standard of performance in the capital city.<sup>72</sup> Having settled in Copenhagen, Scheibe placed an advertisement in a newspaper the following year, stating that he intended to provide teaching in composition and accompaniment:

'It is hereby announced to the connoisseurs of music that Kapellmeister Scheibe has decided to teach accompaniment and composition. The persons to whom it may concern should thus report to him and accord with him at "Vandkunsten" in the estate of the royal master chef Mr Alling, on the top floor.'<sup>73</sup>

Scheibe, who now became an honorary member of The Musical Society, participated in its activities also supplying it with music for various occasions such as a large work including text and music for the peace

<sup>70</sup> *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:434.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, SchW B5:coll.005.

<sup>72</sup> Thrane, *Fra Hofviolonernes Tid*, pp. 89–102.

<sup>73</sup> *Kjøbenhavns Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger*, 10 May 1762: 'Liebhaberne: af Musikken bliver herved bekendtgjort, at Kapelmester Scheibe er sindet at give Underviisning udi Accompanement og Composition. Vedkommende vilde altsaa behage sig hos hennem at melde, og med ham accordere, som logerer paa Vandkunsten udi den Kongel. Mester=Kokkes Sr. Allings Gaard, paa øverste Etage.'



celebrations following the end of the Seven Years' War.<sup>74</sup> He also continued translating books, though not to the same extent as previously. In the advertisement mentioned above, Scheibe sought pupils, and during the next years he taught Niels Schiørring, who later furthered his studies in Berlin becoming a pupil and a good friend of C. P. E. Bach's, and Atzer Friberg, who became organist at Holmens Kirke where he inscribed 'Atzer Friberg, pupil of Sarti and Scheibe' in the church organ.<sup>75</sup> Friberg also sang in Scheibe's cantatas performed at The Musical Society and later he even opened a music shop.<sup>76</sup>

There is no doubt that life as an independent music teacher and composer was hard at that time, forcing the 'freelancers' to exploit all possible means to earn a living. Johann Christoffer Kleen, for example, struggled to survive, though for a couple of years he played the violin in the orchestra of the Italian company; was employed at the Royal Theatre as accompanist; and provided singing and violin lessons in addition to working as a professional copyist.<sup>77</sup> Jacob Soltau is another case in point: like Kleen, he assisted in composing recitatives for operas and 'Singspiele' as well as performing as a singer in some of Scheibe's cantatas.<sup>78</sup> Scheibe must have found it much easier: in addition to his pension, he received several important commissions from the court and produced works such as 'Marte Schernito' — a cantata composed for the celebration of the marriage between Prince Wilhelm of Hessen and Princess Wilhelmina Carolina and the commission of which he accepted 'auf allergnädigsten Befehl'.<sup>79</sup> It is one of the very few works that Scheibe composed to an Italian text while he was living in Denmark, presumably because it was stipulated in the 'order' or contract that the

<sup>74</sup> *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:421.

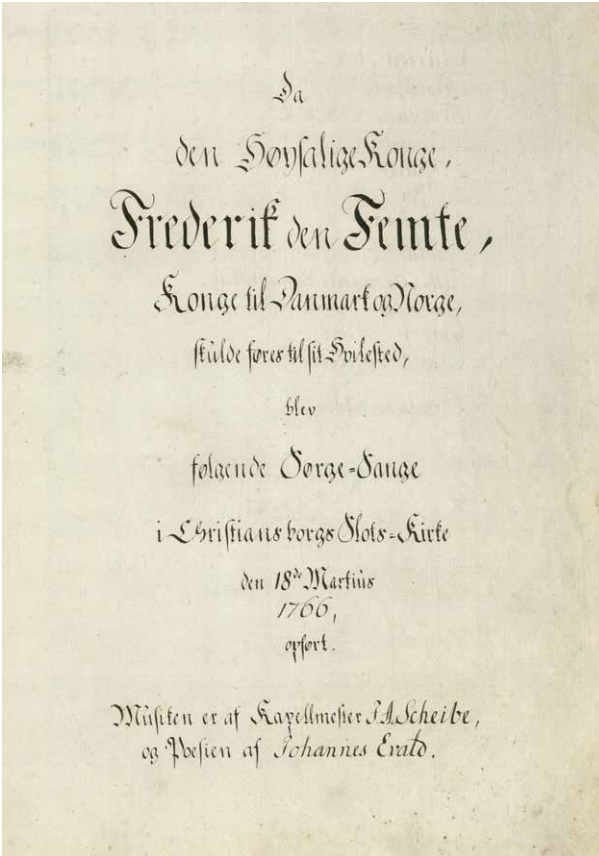
<sup>75</sup> 'Atzer Friberg, elev af Sarti og Scheibe'; see <[www.holmenskirke.dk/Historie/Musikalskeportraetter/HolmensKirkesorganister/ChristianRaehs.aspx?lg=print](http://www.holmenskirke.dk/Historie/Musikalskeportraetter/HolmensKirkesorganister/ChristianRaehs.aspx?lg=print)>, accessed August 2012.

<sup>76</sup> Hauge (ed.), *Johann Adolph Scheibe: Passions-Cantate, 'Vor Harpe er bleven til Sorrig'*, p. xiii; Friberg's music shop is briefly mentioned in Dan Fog, *Musikhandel i Danmark* (Copenhagen, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 19, 109.

<sup>77</sup> Thrane, *Fra Hofviolonernes Tid*, p. 98.

<sup>78</sup> Hauge (ed.), *Johann Adolph Scheibe: Passions-Cantate, 'Vor Harpe er bleven til Sorrig'*, p. xiii.

<sup>79</sup> Scheibe, *Marte Schernito, componimento Drammatico da cantarsi in occasione degli augusti Sponzalizi di S. A. S. Guglielmo, Principe ereditario Landgravio di Hesse-Cassel... con S. A. R. Guglielmina Carolina Principessa Reale di Danimarca, Norveggia etc.*, performed in 1764; unfortunately only the text booklet seems to have survived; cf. *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:428.



Ill. 2: Scheibe's funeral music for Frederik V in 1766, the costs of which created a stir in the administration; *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, Gieddes Samling, XI, 2, late eighteenth-century apograph.

work should be in an Italian style or taste.<sup>80</sup> For the effort he received 450 Rigsdaler.<sup>81</sup>

In 1766, two important official occasions took place: the funeral service of Frederik V at the beginning of the year (see Ill. 2) and then the marriage celebrations of Caroline Mathilde and King Christian VII in November. The documents regarding the first of these events reveal that Scheibe, besides composing music for the occasion, also had to take care of the practical arrangements such as rehearsals, hiring musicians and singers, negotiating salaries with the many performers as well as leading

<sup>80</sup> Scheibe, 'Schreiben an die Verfasser der neuen periodischen Schrift', p. 44.

<sup>81</sup> Rigsarkivet, Rentekammeret, danske afd., Københavns hof- og militæretats kontor, 1742–1775, journalsager, no. 5261, document B.



the orchestra.<sup>82</sup> The documents tell us about the enormous work that Scheibe invested and how even the minutest details were planned. The number of performers was around seventy-four, of which the orchestra consisted of fifty, and hence nearly all the professional musicians in town must have participated. Scheibe decided not to engage 'dilettantes' as he had done on previous official occasions: they did indeed play for free thus reducing the court's expenses, but their playing was not of the highest standard. Scheibe also decided not to use the pupils at the Latin school as their standard of singing had become very low during the last twenty years. He therefore found it necessary to engage professionals instead. According to Scheibe, he used more than thirty hours on rehearsals, that is, six main rehearsals of five hour's duration—a typical Scheibeian enterprise, which indeed seems to have been quite out of the ordinary at that time in Copenhagen but for which Scheibe seems to have been famous (or perhaps rather notorious). Not only was music performed at Christiansborg Slotskirke, but the whole orchestra with instruments, music stands, music and assistants had to be transported to Roskilde around 35 kilometres away and stay overnight so that they could also play at the funeral service on the following day. The rehearsals, to which the general public were invited, were advertised in the newspapers:

'This morning in the "Church of Our Lady", a rehearsal of Kapellmeister Mr Scheibe's previously mentioned funeral music was again performed, and on Wednesday afternoon at 1 o'clock, yet another rehearsal will be conducted in the same place.'<sup>83</sup>

A mourning cantata of Scheibe's was also performed at The Musical Society, the text of which was very similar to that of the cantata to Queen Louise of 1752.<sup>84</sup> The church services were a great success and impressed both court and society.

<sup>82</sup> *Da den Høysalige Konge, Frederik den Femte, Konge til Danmark og Norge, skulde føres til sit Hvilested, blev følgende Sørge=Sange i Christiansborgs Slots=Kirke den 18<sup>de</sup> Martius 1766, opført, DK-Kk, Gieddes Samling XI, 2, late eighteenth-century transcript (see Ill. 2); cf. Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works, SchW B2:415. On the dispute, see Rigsarkivet, Rentekammeret, danske afdeling, Københavns hof- og militæretats kontor, 1742–1775, journalsager, no. 5261; for a brief summary, see Thrane, *Fra Hofviolonernes Tid*, pp. 106–10.*

<sup>83</sup> *Københavns Adresse-Contoires Efterretninger*, 10 March 1766: 'I Formiddags blev i Frue Kirke atter giort Prøve paa Hr. Capellmester Scheibes forhen ommeldte Sørge=Musiqve og paa Onsdag Eftermiddag Klokken 1, bliver atter Prøve foretaget sammesteds.'

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works, SchW B2:437.

However, the Lord Chamberlain, Moltke, was shocked when he received Scheibe's invoice for the event, remarking that at the previous king's funeral in 1746, to which Scheibe also had composed the music, costs were only half the amount.<sup>85</sup> Moltke ordered the treasury to carry out some investigations and go through the accounts with a fine toothed comb. The auditors set up a table so it was possible to compare the expenses presented by Scheibe with those they found had been paid in connection with the funeral twenty years earlier. On that basis, the auditors proposed that the expenses should be reduced from 1,559 to 944 Rigsdaler, drastically cutting Scheibe's fee as well as those of the musicians. Scheibe was of course terribly dismayed and wrote an extensive and detailed report on all the expenses, defending in particular the musicians' payments. One of the main obstacles for the auditors was Scheibe's own reward which was to be 500 Rigsdaler, an amount nearly the same as the yearly salary of the Kapellmeister. However, as Scheibe argued, the amount of time he had invested in both composing the music and taking care of all the practicalities concerning the performance of the large cantata, was far greater than what he had used on the Italian work for the royal wedding two years earlier and for which he received 450 Rigsdaler. Scheibe also objected to Moltke's comparison of this event in 1766 with that of 1746 when Christian VI died, for as he argues:

'Die Ursachen entstehen aus der Veränderung der Zeiten, Personen und Umstände. Es ist bekannt, daß die Lebensart und die Ausgaben in vielen Dingen kostbarer geworden sind. Man muß alles theurer bezahlen, und eine einzelne Person, die sonst mit 200 rthl. ganz anständig ausgekommen ist, kann anitzt kaum mit 300 rthl. nothdürftig auskommen. Kann man sich daher wundern, wenn Leute, die sich auf die Musik geleet haben, sich *Information* und ihr Musik, wenn sie gefordert werden, auch theurer bezahlen lassen müssen, wenn sie in der Welt als ehrliche Leute leben wollen? Ferner ist ein jeder *Particulier* oder Liebhaber, der sich zu weilen mit einem Concert vergnügen will, nicht allein so billig, sondern auch genöthiget, einen Musikanten, den er sonst aus einen Abend für 2 Mark zu seinem Dienst bekommen können, wenigstens mit 4. Mark zu bezahlen eines andern geschielten *Musici* nicht zuzedenken; denn diesen kann er nicht unter 6 biß 8 Mark und einen Virtuosen nicht unter 1 Ducaten erhalten, und ist

<sup>85</sup> See n. 44.

dabeÿ gar oft noch verbunden, sie auch mit einer anständigen Mahlzeit zu tractiren.<sup>86</sup>

Scheibe maintained that he had done everything possible to cut expenses but also remarked that ‘a high quality in performance, demands better payments’.<sup>87</sup> Finally Scheibe ends his response of 28 May 1766 to the treasury by quoting Moltke’s written order regarding the ‘event’: ‘die zu dem obbemeldten Gebrauche /nämlich zur Trauermusik/ nöthigen Sänger und Sängerinnen, wie auch die ersonderlichen Musikanten und übrigen alles, was zu der Musik gehöret, selbst zu besorgen.’<sup>88</sup>

The commission began its deliberations, and though Scheibe’s arguments were convincing—and he certainly was very persuasive in his arguments—they concluded in agreement with the auditors on 22 July 1766 that his payment was to be reduced to half the amount. One of the arguments the treasury employed was that Scheibe already received a pension, and according to their interpretation of the contract of retirement he was indeed obliged to carry out those kinds of duties for free. The argument had apparently often been employed in other cases, but of course Scheibe did not accept the premise, and—as Moltke was aware—Scheibe was given the pension to enjoy wherever he wished and that as a pensioner he was certainly not obliged to work with projects which might have been part of his earlier employment.

One might reasonably ask what was going on: why did Moltke suddenly need to flex his muscles, as it were, in a way he had not done before? Scheibe and Moltke seem to have been on friendly terms earlier, even in spite of the fact that Moltke most likely played an important role in dismissing Scheibe in 1748. In Scheibe’s revised translation of Holberg’s *Peder Paars* (1764), which he dedicated to Moltke, he thanks the Lord Chamberlain for having shown both Scheibe and his eldest son ‘Gnadenbezeugungen’.<sup>89</sup> It should be noted, however, that following the death of his beloved king in January 1766, Moltke’s position at court became highly vulnerable with intrigues and accusations of misconduct in terms of administration of the king’s treasury. Moltke defended himself against the accusations; but his strong opposition to the marriage between Prince Carl of Hessen-Cassel and Princess Louise, sister to Christian VII, also led Moltke into deep trouble since the new king himself approved

<sup>86</sup> Rigsarkivet, Rentekammeret, danske afd., Københavns hof- og militæretats kontor, 1742–1775, journalsager, no. 5261, document B (Scheibe’s response).

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW C4:011.

of Carl's proposal. During spring and early summer 1766 Moltke's position at court was fragile, and on 16 July, while the commission were investigating Scheibe's list of expenses, Moltke was finally dismissed from court. It is likely that Moltke partly used Scheibe's case to show the court that he was taking its expenditures seriously. The wedding between Prince Carl and Princess Louise took place in August 1766; the composer of the music and the person who headed the performance was not Scheibe, but Frederik Christian Breitendich, who was the court's keyboard player.<sup>90</sup> Whether the incident between Moltke and Scheibe played any part in the Court's commissioning Breitendich to compose the work is an open question, but there is no doubt that Breitendich would have carried out the assignment as part of his employment and hence would not receive a fee. Nevertheless, the dispute was settled—or at least Scheibe seems to have accepted the outcome—for later that year Scheibe received a commission concerning the celebration of the marriage between the Swedish Crown Prince Gustav and the Danish Princess Sophie Magdalene. Thus during the official dinner at the residential palace a 'splendid music, which was composed by the renowned virtuoso, the Kapellmeister, Mr Scheibe, was performed'.<sup>91</sup> The festivities took place during the autumn concert season, and members of The Musical Society decided therefore to introduce the official event two days earlier by performing a new cantata by Scheibe which he had composed to a Latin text.<sup>92</sup>

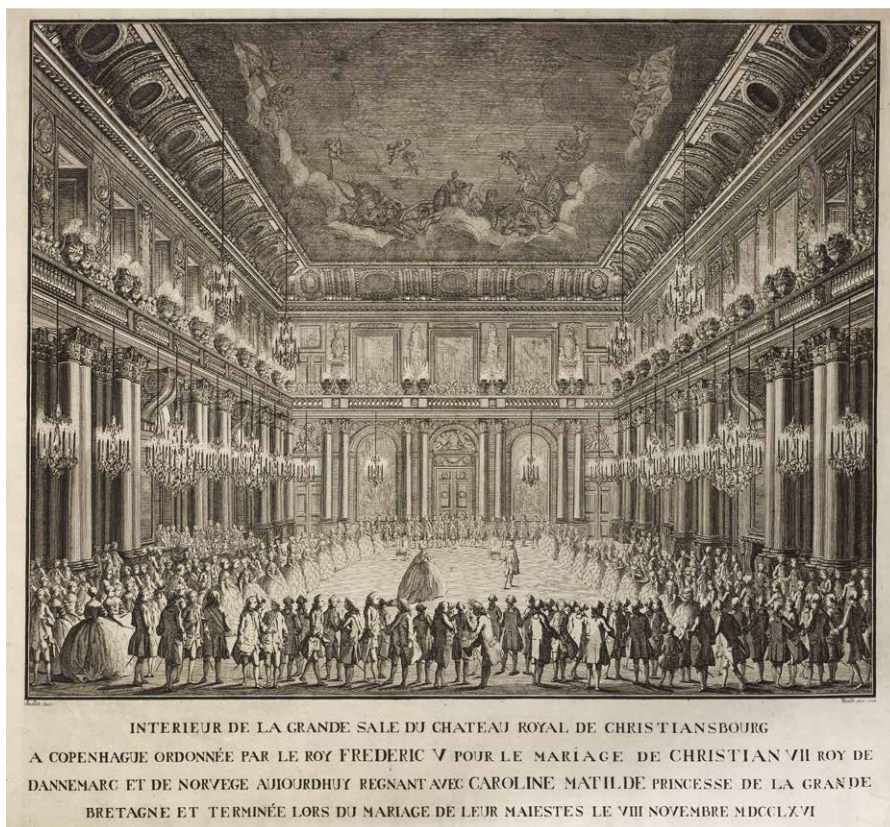
A month later, the English princess Caroline Mathilde arrived in Copenhagen and the festivities following her wedding to Christian VII began. For the church service one of Scheibe's earlier works, the psalm setting for choir and orchestra 'I Jesu Navn', was played. At the official banquet, Scheibe had collected an assortment of 'Taffelmusik' which was performed by a large orchestra consisting of eighty musicians (see ill. 3).<sup>93</sup> Scheibe's new cantata, *Il giudizio di Paride*—which was the

<sup>90</sup> Thrane, *Fra Hofviolonernes Tid*, p. 109.

<sup>91</sup> *Kjøbenhavns Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger*, 3 October 1766: 'Over Taffelet opførtes en prægtig Musik, som dertil var komponeret af den bekendte Virtuos Hr. Capelmester Scheibe'. See also *Kjøbenhavns Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger*, 1 October 1766.

<sup>92</sup> See *Kjøbenhavns Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger*, 1 October 1766; cf. *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B2:427.

<sup>93</sup> The celebration is thoroughly described in *Kjøbenhavns Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger*, 10 November 1766, and in *De til Forsendelse med Posten allene privilegerede Kjøbenhavnske Tidender*, 10 and 14 November 1766. See also Christian Blangstrup, *Christian VII og Caroline Mathilde* (Copenhagen, 1890), pp. 84–86, 221–25.



Ill. 3: The royal wedding of Caroline Mathilde and Christian VII on 8 November 1766. Scheibe composed both a cantata and 'Taffelmusik' for the event. The orchestra is seated to the left; *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, Müllers Pinakotek 17, 45, III. fol.

theme of the celebration — was also performed during the festivities.<sup>94</sup> There is no indication that there were any remaining disagreements between Scheibe and the administration regarding his payment and the accounts, so it seems that the problems must have been settled satisfactorily, and Scheibe continued receiving commissions in the following years.

However, the court was getting rather annoyed with the situation, and the other retired Kapellmeister, Scalabrini, was ordered to return to

<sup>94</sup> Cf. *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW 417. Also a ballet, 'Paridis Dom' (the judgement of Paris) was staged at The Royal Theatre as part of the wedding festivities. See also Blangsted, *Christian VII og Caroline Mathilde*, pp. 224–25.



Copenhagen if he wished to receive his pension. Scalabrini's pension was terminated, and he finally arrived during summer the following year, receiving Sarti's salary instead. Sarti, the Kapellmeister at The Royal Theatre, had left the country together with the musicians from Plön in 1764, when they did not get their contracts renewed; he did not return until 1768. With Scalabrini having returned, Scheibe did not receive many official commissions, and he concentrated on his duties as teacher in composition and accompaniment and composing for The Musical Society. Yet he did not throttle down his activities: he continued with his translation of Danish learned books and plays, and he worked on a new comprehensive song book for the Masonic Lodge of which he was still a member. Already during his youth which he spent in Hamburg, Scheibe revealed a sharp pen and was not afraid of employing it. It was not only used in his scholarly publications but also when he wrote satire such as the popular *Misogynis wohlgegründete Ursachen das Weibliche Geschlecht zu verachten* (1750).<sup>95</sup> However, it was in particular employed when he participated in the impassioned political debates following Struensee's abolition of censorship in 1770. Using the popular framework based on a foreigner's (in this case a Russian's) travel diary to describe the Danish state and the character of its people, he issued a little pamphlet criticising the governments' overspending which had had serious consequences for the state finances. Apparently Scheibe also had a grudge against Danish women which he characterised 'as being dominant and ruling in the homes, wearing boots and spurs riding the wildest stallions, and will soon be wearing men's clothes; men, on the other hand, have become effeminate and soft'.<sup>96</sup> In general, he argued, the Danes are suspicious and ill natured against foreigners always commending their own ways yet so awed by all new and foreign that they forget to esteem their own products.<sup>97</sup> The pamphlet prompted immediately many responses which led to the publication of several improved editions, both in German and Danish.<sup>98</sup>

During his final years Scheibe worked on an extensive study on the art of composition. He started off by advertising in one of the most prominent newspapers of the day that he intended to establish a 'collegium' or an academy providing lectures on nearly all aspects of music

<sup>95</sup> *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW C3:002.

<sup>96</sup> *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW C3:001; Letter 11, quot. from introd. to SchW C3:002.

<sup>97</sup> *Anekdoten eines Reisenden Russen*, Letter 12.

<sup>98</sup> Briefly dealt with in Hauge, 'Johann Adolph Scheibe', pp. 329–30.

ranging from music's nature to taste as well as offering lessons in musical composition—a highly original idea. Indeed, such a musical academy had never been seen in Copenhagen before.<sup>99</sup> The academy began its seminars in August 1771, and Scheibe seems to have made a careful planning of the course and wrote texts for the lectures. Presumably based on his preparations, he decided to write a complete work on musical composition and asked a good friend in Leipzig to find a cheap publisher. The first part appeared in 1773, published by Schwickert. Though he had planned to have the second part ready within two years, Scheibe never seems to have completed the work (presumably because he passed away in 1776) which thus remained in manuscript. During his last years, he does not seem to have composed any large-scale works. Just as the famous composer Carl Heinrich Graun in Berlin was considered old-fashioned by the English music historian Charles Burney in 1789, so was Graun's great admirer in Copenhagen, Scheibe.<sup>100</sup> That same year, Carl Friedrich Cramer, whose father had been an acquaintance of Scheibe's, issued his journal *Musik* describing the late Kapellmeister Scheibe as

‘ein Mann ohne Erfindung und ohne Geschmack; voll musicalischer Gelehrsamkeit zwar, aber nie vom Genius der Musik angelächlet... Seine Fabricata sind indess, den Musen seys gedankt! schon eine Zeitlang vergessen.’<sup>101</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Scheibe's position at the Danish court was exceptional. Officially he was only employed as Kapellmeister for eight years and was dismissed with a pension of 400 Rigsdaler in 1748 ‘until he could be employed in other ways’—perhaps due to the court's promotion of Italian opera and to the absence of his earlier sponsors, who had been closely linked to the court of the queen dowager, Sophie Magdalene. Though it was only a relatively brief period, he worked hard on improving the conditions of The Royal Orchestra supported by Isenburg, Reitzenstein and Gram, who exerted their influence by signing Scheibe's bills for new instruments and music. This is not only clear from the letters Scheibe wrote

<sup>99</sup> See *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, CI:011, for a more detailed exposition.

<sup>100</sup> Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (London, 1789), vol. 3, ed. Fred Mercer (London, 1935), vol. 2, p. 954.

<sup>101</sup> Cramer, *Musik* (Copenhagen, 1789), ‘Erstes Vierteljahr’, pp. 153–54.

to Gottsched but also evident in the surviving documents held at the Royal Archives. When he was dismissed, Scheibe and his family moved far away from the capital with its cultural and social benefits, which were not available to the same extent in the southern part of Denmark where the family stayed for the next twelve years. One may wonder why he chose Sønderborg, a small town which had gone bankrupt in 1667 and was therefore crown property. On the other hand, Scheibe was closer to Hamburg and indeed to Flensburg, the second largest town in the Danish kingdom. In Sønderborg, he started a new career, establishing a music school for the education of children and concentrated his efforts on translating Danish authors into German, as well as keeping abreast with developments in Germany by corresponding with Graun, Telemann, C. P. E. Bach and Quantz among others.<sup>102</sup> However, he also found time to compose music — that is, commissioned works for which he was paid — and took a great interest in the activities of The Musical Society in Copenhagen with which he remained in contact.

Without an official connection to the court, Scheibe had to work ‘freelance’, as we would term it today. When he returned to Copenhagen in 1761, he supplemented his pension by offering lessons in music, spending less time as a translator. Through discussions with Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg, in whose house he stayed for some years, and the writer Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Scheibe was inspired to study and write extensively on how to express emotions of a text in music, that is the connection between music and rhetoric. The study was published in 1764–65 in three separate articles as well as in an extensive introduction to a collection of cantatas.<sup>103</sup> He also started collaborating with Johannes Ewald and tutored the young poet in music and text setting.<sup>104</sup> Only a handful of his musical works were ever published, those for

<sup>102</sup> Letters between Telemann and Scheibe which are preserved in the National Library, Estonia, are available at <<http://dSPACE.utlib.ee>>. Modern transcriptions appear in Hans Grosse and Hans Rudolf Jung (eds.), *Georg Philip Telemann: Briefwechsel* (Leipzig, 1972), pp. 328–35.

<sup>103</sup> Scheibe, ‘Abhandlung über das Recitativ’, *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*, 11/2 (1764), pp. 209–68; ‘Fortsetzung der Abhandlung übers Recitativ. Zweeter Abschnitt’, same journal, 12/1 (1765), pp. 1–41; and ‘Fortsetzung der Abhandlung übers Recitativ. Dritter Abschnitt’ same journal, 12/2 (1765), pp. 217–66; Scheibe’s introd. to *Tragische Kantaten für eine oder zwei Singstimmen und das Clavier* (Copenhagen & Leipzig, 1765). See also Hauge, ‘Johann Adolph Scheibe’, pp. 322–24.

<sup>104</sup> See, for example, their passion cantata of 1768, Hauge (ed.), *Johann Adolph Scheibe: Passions-Cantate, ‘Vor Harpe er bleven til Sorrig’*.



which there was a secure market. The most interesting among these is perhaps his collection of children's songs, *Kleine Lieder für Kinder zur Beförderung der Tugend. Mit Melodien zum singen beym Klavier*, which appeared in two volumes in 1766 and 1768, during some of his busiest and musically most productive years as a freelancer in Copenhagen.<sup>105</sup> According to Scheibe, he had been discussing the project with his publishers in Flensburg since 1763, and it seems plausible that he might have been inspired by Graun's *Zwölf Kindersonaten mit Liedern* (Berlin, 1762).<sup>106</sup> Scheibe must be considered one of the very first to have set children's poems to music. According to the author of the poems, Christian Felix Weiße, he had been approached by Scheibe who wished to compose music to moral or educational texts for children.<sup>107</sup> The two volumes of *Kleine Lieder für Kinder* that were printed in Flensburg by publishers whom Scheibe had employed while living in Sønderborg, were reviewed in several journals at the time, and created quite a commotion, inspiring other composers such as Johann Adam Hiller to experiment with the new genre of songs.<sup>108</sup> Besides the children's songs, Scheibe also carried out commissions, not only for The Musical Society but for the court, too. For some of the performances at the Society, Scheibe must surely have received at least part of the proceedings from tickets sold in subscription. That certainly seems to be implied in the newspaper advertisement of 1761 announcing that 'those gentlemen interested in attending one

<sup>105</sup> Among other publications are: *Oeuvres mêlées contenant VI. sonates pour le clavessin d'autant de plus celebres Compositeurs, rangés en ordre alphabetique. Partie III* (Nuremberg, 1757); *Oeuvres mêlées contenant VI sonates pour le clavecin de tant de plus célèbres compositeurs rangés en ordre alphabetique. Partie IV* (Nuremberg, 1758–59); *Tragische Kantaten für eine oder zwei Singestimmen und das Clavier. Nämlich: des Herrn von Gerstenbergs Ariadne auf Naxos, und Johann Elias Schlegels Prokris und Cephalus* (Copenhagen & Leipzig, 1765); *Neue Freymäurer-Lieder, mit bequemen Melodien. Verfertiget und hrsg. von einem Mitgliede der Loge Zorobabel* (Copenhagen, 1749); and *Vollständiges Liederbuch der Freymäurer mit Melodien, in zwey Büchern. Herausgeben von einem alten Mitgliede der Loge Zorobabel* (Copenhagen, 1776).

<sup>106</sup> See Scheibe's *Kleine Lieder für Kinder*, introd., p. [3].

<sup>107</sup> Letter from Weiße to Karl Wilhelm Ramler, dated 29 August 1765; in Carl Schüddekopf, 'Briefe von C. F. Weisse an Karl Wilhelm Ramler', *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, 41 (1887), vol. 77, p. 14.

<sup>108</sup> Johann Adam Hiller, *Lieder für Kinder. Mit neuen Melodien* (Leipzig, 1769), the second edition of 1775 refers to Scheibe's collection. Reviews appeared in: *Jenaische Zeitung von gelehrten Sachen*, 83 (1767), p. 685; *Hamburgischen Neuen Zeitung*, 14 (25 January 1768); *Wöchentliche Nachrichten*, 2 (1768), pp. 359–60; *Dänisches Journal*, 1/2 (1768), pp. 254–58; and *Magazin für Schulen und die Erziehung überhaupt*, 3/3 (1769), p. 270.

of the passion concerts may subscribe to tickets by contacting Scheibe between 8 a.m.–1 p.m. Each ticket includes a booklet and a free entrance for a lady'.<sup>109</sup>

That Scheibe also had to navigate in an increasingly liberal market, in which music and performers had to find new ways of surviving outside the secure walls of the court, is also evident: from predominantly being employed in ceremonial contexts and in order to support the royal symbolism so all-important for the absolute monarchy, musicians slowly gained new possibilities in terms of employment, which offered more freedom but, at the same time, less security. The problems, which Scheibe encountered in 1766 in connection with the funeral of the deceased Frederik V, when he was commissioned—or perhaps rather ordered to take care of the musical practicalities—by the Lord Chamberlain Moltke, may be considered from distinct points of view. Moltke did have serious problems and needed to show decisiveness and economical propriety when dealing with the expenses presented by Scheibe. It is also apparent that neither the auditors nor the commission acknowledged that Scheibe was not obliged to carry out requests of the court free of charge by supplying music for official occasions. They definitely underestimated the work of the Kapellmeister and found it difficult to resolve the issue concerning expenses of the scope that Scheibe presented to them; these were usually included in the running of The Royal Orchestra and part of the Kapellmeister's obligations. They were unable to distinguish between Scheibe's previous duties as an employed Kapellmeister at the court and his current position as a 'freelance' pensioner living in Copenhagen, and did not recognise that they had to pay for his services as a consequence. This was a new situation, for, as Scheibe argues, he had previously been paid for carrying out such work for official events and celebrations at court. Neither was the administration used to managing what we today would call 'the outsourcing of projects'. These conditions of employment are also evident in other places in Europe. Being a member of the conservative and paternalistic princely household at Esterháza, for example, meant restrictions on personal freedom and having to be present when and wherever the Prince wished, though at the same time receiving free board, lodgings and clothing in addition to social benefits throughout life and access to medical treatment and hospitals. A very useful example of the free market conditions prevailing at the time is of course London, where talented musicians

<sup>109</sup> See e.g. *Kjøbenhavns Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger*, 27 February 1761.

and composers could work freelance and achieve enormous incomes though they were not entitled to any kind of social benefits like those of court employees.<sup>110</sup> Scheibe's position was somewhere in-between. This was a period of transition, between being employed by traditional institutions such as the royal household, or by the town as city waits or town musicians, and relying on the emerging free market, working as a freelance musician or as a member of the various volatile opera companies, without the social benefits of the court or town.

There is no doubt that if Scheibe had not received his pension, he would have found it difficult to maintain a fairly comfortable and stable life with his family. Compared to other musicians at the time, who struggled to make a living by teaching and composing, Scheibe was lucky. He was more or less an independent composer, and it is evident that he wrote musical works on commission for both court and The Musical Society: music was a commodity by which Scheibe could earn a living in the same way as his translations supplemented his pension.<sup>111</sup> But there are signs suggesting that Scheibe constantly sought to extend the borders of limitations that cannot have been due to merely economical interests. Throughout his life, Scheibe intellectually challenged compositional and aesthetic approaches to musical genres such as incidental music, German opera, passion music, children's songs and even Masonic community singing.<sup>112</sup> His ideas and works often created debates among colleagues and intellectuals of the day. Music was also Scheibe's personal passion.

The court's and the king's adherence to pietism—especially Christian VI—also meant restrictions which Scheibe had to work within. That entailed a strict focus on official and ceremonial music for the court rather than the popular opera or even church music such as passion cantatas. That Scheibe only seems to have produced two operas is more likely due to the working conditions at the court rather than an aversion

<sup>110</sup> For a more detailed study of this subject, see especially John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The birth of the orchestra: history of an institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 398–435.

<sup>111</sup> For a general discussion on the subject but related to the early seventeenth century, see Hauge, 'Michael Praetorius's connections to the Danish court', Susanne Rode-Breymann & Arne Spohr (ed.), *Michael Praetorius—Vermittler europäischer Musiktraditionen um 1600* (Hildesheim, 2011), pp. 33–34.

<sup>112</sup> On Scheibe's reasons for publishing a collection of Masonic songs, see his introduction to *Neue Freymäurer-Lieder, mit bequemen Melodien* (Copenhagen, 1749); cf. *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B5:coll.004.

to the genre of the Italian sort in particular. He wished to promote a new approach to German opera, which indeed might have included Danish opera, avoiding the extrovert ‘primadonnas’ of the Italian kind—a promotion that was completely out of the question with the royal couple’s personal admiration for Mingotti’s and Scalabrini’s Italian opera troupe. Despite his apparent aversion to opera, Gottsched encouraged Scheibe to compose ‘Thusnelde’ based on the Hermann theme. When he finished the opera in 1749, Scheibe published the libretto including an extensive introduction on the genre and his reasons for writing an opera based on ancient German history. Apparently it had been considered for staging in Copenhagen though nothing seems to have come of it.<sup>113</sup> The libretto to ‘Thusnelde’ and Scheibe’s introduction led to several extensive reviews, and his ideas were mentioned throughout the eighteenth century in various encyclopaedias. It seems likely that the composer C. W. Gluck, who was part of the Italian opera troupe visiting Copenhagen in 1748–49, was inspired by Scheibe’s ideas when he later worked on his own opera reforms as is apparent in his introduction to ‘Alceste’ published in 1769.<sup>114</sup> Scheibe’s musical production might be seen as an accurate reflection of the working conditions in Denmark for a musician and composer who once was Kapellmeister but who, after having been discharged with a fairly good pension, had to rely on commissioned work in order to supplement his income. The working conditions for musicians in Copenhagen were not that different to those of other European capitals or larger towns in the eighteenth century.

<sup>113</sup> See V. C. Ravn, ‘Scheibe, Johann Adolph’, *Dansk biografisk Leksikon* (Copenhagen, 1887–1905), vol. 15, p. 99. Though the opera as a whole has apparently not survived, music excerpts of the work are found in his articles mentioned in n. 103.

<sup>114</sup> For further references, see forthcoming *Johann Adolph Scheibe: A Catalogue of his Works*, SchW B1:002.

## RESUMÉ

PETER HAUGE: *Komponist, oversætter og pædagog: Kapelmester Scheibe og det spirende frie marked i anden halvdel af det 18. århundrede*

Kapelmesteren Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708-1776), virkede det meste af sit liv i Danmark i en periode, hvor store sociale ændringer fandt sted blandt andet med hensyn til musikeres ansættelsesmuligheder. I nærværende artikel forklares Scheibes forskellige valg med hensyn til arbejde ud fra de muligheder, der bød sig i løbet af de 36 år han var i Danmark: Fra en fast stilling ved hoffet som kapelmester i få år pensioneredes Scheibe i 1748 og flyttede med familien til Sønderborg, hvor han oprettede en musikskole for børn og supplerede sin pension med blandt andet at oversætte bøger fra dansk til tysk; samtidig var han meget aktiv i de forskellige musikalske selskaber i København, hvortil han ofte rejste. Sandsynligvis på grund af de usikre forhold under Syvårskrigen (1756-1763), der også påvirkede Sønderjylland og de danske her-tugdømmer, besluttede han sig for at flytte tilbage til København, hvor han nedsatte sig som underviser i komposition og generalbas. Samtidig fik han ofte bestillinger fra hoffet om at komponere større musikalske værker til fejring af officielle begivenheder. Scheibe virkede altså som 'freelance' komponist og underviser – en ansættelsesform som i forbindelse med Christian 6.s død i 1766 skabte problemer, idet hoffet ikke ville anerkende, at Scheibe skulle betales for arbejdet. Man mente, at Scheibes pension, som han stadig fik, betød, at han stadig stod til rådighed for hoffet. Scheibes position i dansk musikliv er exceptionel og viser den grynende udvikling af andre mere liberale ansættelsesformer.

