



MUSIC AT GERMAN
COURTS, 1715–1760
Changing Artistic Priorities

Edited by SAMANTHA OWENS, BARBARA M. REUL,
AND JANICE B. STOCKIGT

Foreword by MICHAEL TALBOT

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edited by

Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, *and* Janice B. Stockigt

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Foreword

Michael Talbot



TO ANYONE WHO COMES from one of Europe's older monarchies – I am thinking here of such states as Spain and Denmark – it seems almost axiomatic that there is only one court, a royal court, per realm. As if by definition, the principal seat of this court is always in, or adjacent to, the capital city. Such states, and the linguistic and cultural communities that they govern, can be described as monocentric. All of them exhibit – even today, when some have become republics – a clear-cut difference between metropolitan and provincial, centre and periphery.

Two major European communities ran, and even today still run, counter to this model: the Italian and the German (from which one should detach the Austrian, or Habsburg, realm, which in most respects belongs to the first type). Such communities were, until well into the nineteenth century, polycentric: divided into a number of different states governed in different ways by rulers of different types and ranks, and always subject – through the vagaries of warfare, marriage, or dynastic succession – to change of boundaries and allegiance. Here, one can speak of a number of different courts of varying size and opulence, each occupying a different principal location, which, in the case of Germany is termed a *Residenz* or *Residenzstadt*. All the courts within a common language community to a great extent share a lifestyle and protocol, even if, in the case of Germany, the availability of alternative foreign models – principally, the French and the Italian – provide the opportunity for significant local inflection and personal initiative on the part of rulers.

What is the nature of the relationship between this plurality of courts, large, small, and intermediate? Is it competitive or is it co-operative? The answer, as this book shows, is that it is both at the same time. Each court, including its dependent institutions, such as its *Hofkapelle* and in some cases its opera, seeks to outdo its neighbours. But those whose admiration is to be earned and who are the ultimate arbiters of a court's success are the competitors themselves, so these are not to be permanently antagonized or belittled. What evolves in such a situation – and I have seen a comparable process develop in an area with which I am more familiar, that of the Venetian *ospedali* – is a tacit, but nonetheless efficacious, *system* wherein co-operation and competition are finely balanced. Courts allow their musicians,

where this is not too inconvenient to themselves, to travel to other courts for specific purposes, especially ones connected with state festivities. Senior musicians at different courts lend one another music so that it can be copied and utilized elsewhere. Music-loving rulers exchange tips on the capacities and characters of singers and instrumentalists. *Hofkapellen* keep a close watch on each other to ensure that they stay up with the latest trends and tastes. Jokingly (or at least half so), one might liken this complex, many-sided relationship to that between modern British – and, I am sure, not only British – universities, where from one perspective a zero-sum game is being played (one university's failure is another's opportunity), but from another perspective all stand in mutual support against outsiders.

The present book, with its distinguished international cast of authors, provides a conspectus of music at selected German courts in the central decades of the eighteenth century. To some extent, it revisits territory familiar from Renate Brockpähler's celebrated and invaluable *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland* (1964), but its area of coverage is much wider, ranging over the full spectrum of music at court: sacred and secular, large-scale and intimate. By its very nature, it extends beyond music to describe courtly life in general. It reminds us that the history of musical institutions is no less important than that of the musicians themselves: indeed, we cannot understand a Pisendel, a Quantz, or a Fasch without first having a rounded picture of their places of work. It is also a celebration of Germany's reacquired unity, which has, paradoxically, brought fresh opportunities to study and assimilate intellectually the variety and significant contrasts within the German cultural and professional experience during the century before the one that witnessed the country's first unification.

Preface



THIS VOLUME – first conceived in early April 2005, when the three editors presented papers at the conference held during the 9. Internationale Fasch-Festtage (Ninth International Fasch Festival) in Zerbst/Anhalt, Germany – is the outcome of a round table titled ‘Changing Artistic Priorities of German *Hofkapellen*, 1715–1760’, given during the Twelfth Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music in Warsaw (2006). Michael Talbot, chairperson of the session, suggested we publish and enlarge our findings, and in the months that followed the basic structure and contents of the book gradually emerged, as we approached potential authors and received their reactions to the project. John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw’s excellent book on *The Birth of the Orchestra* (Oxford University Press, 2004) had filled many previous gaps, but we wanted to provide English-speaking readers with a series of detailed case studies of German *Hofkapellen* based on a close reading of archival sources. The final selection, a mixture of fifteen Protestant and Catholic courts of varying sizes with different artistic priorities, was largely dependent upon the willingness of scholars to share the results of their archival research, and, of course, in the first instance on the existence of relevant primary source material.

This book would not have been published without the encouragement and advice of Michael Talbot, together with the support of Peter Holman and Wolfgang Ruf, especially during the planning and preparation stages. We are also grateful for the direct financial assistance received from the Faculty of Music, the University of Melbourne, Luther College, University of Regina, and Jane Hardie, on behalf of the Network for Early European Research, funded by the Australian Research Council. Many other individuals lent their expertise, most importantly Sandra Borzikowski, who proofread the tables; Piotr Szymczak, who translated the chapter on the Saxon court in Poland; Konstanze Musketa, who helped with numerous points of German translation; Szymon Paczkowski and Robert Curry, who checked diacritics for us in Chapters 2 and 3; and Jóhannes Ágústsson, who kindly clarified citation issues for primary sources held in Dresden. Thanks also go to John Griffiths (University of Melbourne), Christine Thomas (Abteilung Musikwissenschaft, Institut für Musik, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg), Susan Lochran (School of Music) and Sarah Evans (Architecture and Music Library), both of the University of Queensland, and the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn. The work of each contributor to this project is acknowledged with

gratitude, and we thank the staff at Boydell & Brewer, especially Catherine Larner, Michael Middeke, and Caroline Palmer, who have been the most solicitous and helpful of editors. Finally, Jeffrey Dean deserves much praise for his attention to detail when copy-editing and typesetting the manuscript.

*Samantha Owens
Barbara M. Reul
Janice B. Stockigt*

*Dedicated to the memory
of
Andrew D. McCredie*

Editorial notes



ORIGINAL TEXTS

Original spelling has been maintained wherever possible; however, words entirely in uppercase letters have been regularized as appropriate and ‘/’ signs indicating line breaks or commas (in *Fraktur* texts) have been modernized. In historical texts the equal sign has been replaced with a hyphen. Italics are used to represent roman type in a *Fraktur* context.

TRANSLATIONS

The initial translation of Alina Żórawska-Witkowska’s chapter (in Polish) on the Saxon court of the Kingdom of Poland was undertaken by Piotr Szymczak, while the chapters originally written in German (by Dieter Kirsch, Ursula Kramer, Michael Maul, Rashid-S. Pegah, Bärbel Pelker, Bert Siegmund, Wolfgang Ruf, and Rüdiger Thomsen-Fürst) were translated into English by Barbara M. Reul and Samantha Owens. The authors who wrote in English (Mary Oleskiewicz, Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, Janice B. Stockigt, and Steven Zohn) provided their own translations of source material originally in foreign languages.

ORTHOGRAPHY AND TERMINOLOGY

The first names and surnames of individuals which are spelt variously in the primary source documents cited by authors have been regularized throughout the book as appropriate. Commonly used alternative versions of names in brackets have been provided immediately after the first mention of the chosen standardized form. When only surnames are given, the first name or names are unknown. Single quotation marks have been used consistently to denote a direct quotation (or translation, especially in the tables) from an original source. With regard to instruments, the terms kettledrums and timpani are used interchangeably throughout this volume.

PITCH

The Helmholtz pitch notation system, which designates middle C as *c'*, is used.

LIBRARY SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

For reasons of consistency and ease for our largely English-speaking readership, we have adopted the RISM system of sigla (see also *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>). All sigla used in this volume – some of which were newly devised – can be found in the List of Abbreviations, on pp. xviii–xix. For our German readers, we have occasionally also provided the German equivalent at the initial listing in the relevant chapter (for example, ‘D-DSsa; in German sources usually HStAD’).

TABLES

All tables are given at the end of the chapter to which they pertain. Sources are given in the notes following each table, followed by specific endnotes; these may recur within a table.

The information provided by authors in the tables that detail membership of individual court music establishments is typically drawn from a number of primary or secondary sources and, therefore, should not be understood as strict transcriptions. The generic designation ‘Court Music Establishment’ was chosen to emphasize the contributions made by individuals and groups of performers who were active as musicians at the court but not regular members of the *Hofkapelle*. These included, for example, trumpeters, kettledrummers, and *Hautboisten* as well as persons who carried out musical duties while holding other appointments. The category ‘Additional personnel’ draws attention to individuals who provided general and specific support to various aspects of courtly musical life, including copyists, *Calcanten*, poets, and *Tanzmeister*.

In the numeric overview, every person listed in a specific column is counted only once; if he or she was skilled on more than one instrument, or both sang and played, references such as ‘See Violin and Oboe’ denote their other area(s) of expertise. Within individual categories (for example, ‘Violins’ or ‘Flutes’), the musicians have been listed in order of hierarchy wherever possible. In the case of individuals who served over extended periods of time and thus appear more than once in a table, this means that they are not necessarily listed in the same row across columns. Specific salaries have only been included in the tables for Chapters 2, 3, and 4; otherwise, readers are referred to the individual chapters for relevant information on this topic.

Contributors



Dieter Kirsch studied German literature, history, and musicology in Munich prior to finishing a graduate performance degree in lute in Cologne. From 1968 to 2004, he was a faculty member at the Hochschule für Musik Würzburg, which he directed from 1995 to 2003. His scholarly work has focused on the history of music in Mainfranken as well as instruments of the lute family and their literature. Recent publications include the *Lexikon Würzburger Hofmusiker* (Würzburg: Echter, 2002), a classification of the mandora, and editions of works for lute by Santino Garsi da Parma (1542–1604?) and Sylvius Leopold Weiss (1686?–1750).

Ursula Kramer is a graduate of the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz. Her doctoral dissertation (1992) focused on the function of the opera orchestra in the nineteenth century, while her *Habilitationsschrift* (2001) was published as *Schauspielmusik am Hoftheater in Darmstadt, 1810–1918* (Mainz: Schott, 2008). Between 2001 and 2004, Kramer taught in Mainz as a university lecturer and subsequently held a temporary professorship at the Universität Göttingen. She returned to Mainz in 2007, where she was promoted to ‘Auserplanmäßiger Professor’ and elected president of the Christoph-Graupner-Gesellschaft (Christoph Graupner Society), Darmstadt.

Michael Maul studied musicology, journalism, and business administration in Leipzig between 1997 and 2002. From 2003 until 2006, he undertook a doctoral dissertation on baroque opera in Leipzig (1693–1720), supervised by Christoph Wolff at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, which has recently been published by Rombach (2 vols., Freiburg im Breisgau, 2009). Since 2002, under the auspices of the Bach-Archiv Leipzig and the Ständige Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik, he has systematically investigated the extant archival sources of central Germany, revealing much musicologically relevant material, including important Bach documents. He has worked on the staff of the Bach-Archiv Leipzig since 2004.

Mary Oleskiewicz, Associate Professor at the University of Massachusetts Boston, specializes in music and performance practice at the eighteenth-century Dresden and Berlin courts, the works of the Bach family, and the history of the flute. She is also an internationally acclaimed performer on historical flutes. As a Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, she resided in Berlin as Visiting Professor at the Universität der Künste from 2006 to 2008, while researching monographs on Quantz and music at the court of Frederick ‘the Great’. Her publications include numerous scholarly essays, articles, and critical editions of music by Quantz for A-R Editions and Steglein Publishing, and music by Emanuel Bach for *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works* (Los Altos, Calif.: Packard Humanities Institute); her recordings of Baroque music appear on Naxos and Hungaroton Classic.

Samantha Owens graduated in 1996 with a PhD from Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand) and currently holds a senior lectureship at the University of Queensland (Brisbane, Australia). In 2009/10 she was a Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung based at the Institut für Musik, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, and from 2011 to 2017 is an Associate Investigator with the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. Her research focuses on early-eighteenth-century German court music, seventeenth-century *Singballett*, and the life and works of Johann Sigismund Cousser (1660–1727) and has appeared in a variety of publications, including *Early Music*, *Music & Letters*, *Eighteenth-Century Music*, and *Grove Music Online*. A-R Editions (Middleton, Wisc.) published her critical edition of *Adonis*, a German-language opera probably by Cousser, in 2009.

Rashid-S. Pegah has worked extensively in the field of early music in radio and as a freelance researcher. His numerous publications include articles on a variety of topics, including the operas of Georg Philipp Telemann and musical life at the courts of Sophie Charlotte of Brandenburg-Prussia and Christian Ernst of Brandenburg-Culmbach-Bayreuth. He was co-author of the entry on Ruggiero Fedeli in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2nd edn) and in 1999 acted as co-curator for an exhibition on Sophie Charlotte for the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg. Currently, he is undertaking study in history and philology at the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg.

Bärbel Pelker joined the Forschungsstelle Mannheimer Hofkapelle in 1990 after finishing her doctoral thesis, which focused on the German concert-overture in the nineteenth century, and since 2006 has worked at the Forschungsstelle Südwestdeutsche Hofmusik, both hosted by the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft (Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities). Her scholarly activity includes numerous contributions to the series *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mannheimer Hofkapelle* and *Musik der Mannheimer Hofkapelle*, while her facsimile edition of *Günther von Schwarzburg*, a *Singspiel* by Ignaz Holzbauer, appeared as the first volume of *Quellen zur Musikgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg* in 2000. She was the specialist adviser for music in southern Germany during the eighteenth century for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2nd edn).

Barbara M. Reul is Associate Professor of Musicology at Luther College, University of Regina (Canada). She is the recipient of the 2005 Fasch Prize of the City of Zerbst, has served as president of the Internationale Fasch-Gesellschaft (International Fasch Society), Zerbst since 2008, and maintains the Society's bilingual website, <www.fasch.net>. Recent publications include *Musik an der Zerbster Residenz*, *Fasch-Studien*, 10 (co-edited with Konstanze Musketa; Beeskow: Ortus, 2008), *The Unknown Schubert* (co-edited with Lorraine Byrne Bodley; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), and an article on employment practices at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst during the eighteenth century (forthcoming in a volume edited by Sterling Murray; Ann Arbor, Mich.: Steglein, 2010).

Wolfgang Ruf studied musicology in Freiburg im Breisgau under Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Rolf Dammann, graduating in 1974 with a doctoral thesis on the contemporary reception of Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*. Between 1974–83, he was an academic assistant at the Universität Freiburg's Institute of Musicology and in 1983–85 directed the project *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*. He completed his *Habilitationschrift* on *Modernes Musiktheater: Studien zu seiner Geschichte und Typologie* in 1984 and subsequently held posts as Professor of Musicology at the Universität Mainz (1985–94) and the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg (1994–2007). From 1998 until 2007, Ruf served as editorial director of the *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe* (with Terence Best).

Bert Siegmund studied musicology at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg with Bernd Baselt and Günter Fleischhauer, graduating in 1990 with a *Diplomarbeit* (MA thesis) focusing on the instrumental works of Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel. At present he is working as a musicologist for the Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, preparing a thematic catalogue of Stölzel's works, carrying out regional musicological research, and preparing performing editions.

Janice B. Stockigt is a Principal Fellow of the University of Melbourne, where her PhD was awarded the inaugural Chancellor's Prize (1994). Since then she has held two research grants from the Australian Research Council. Her monograph *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford University Press, 2000) was awarded the Derek Allen Prize for Musicology of the British Academy and the Woodward Medal of the University of Melbourne. Her continuing investigations into the musical life of Dresden during the first half of the eighteenth century have led to several publications.

Rüdiger Thomsen-Fürst holds an MA degree from the Universität Hamburg in historical and systematic musicology, as well as modern German literature. His doctoral dissertation examined the musical life of Rastatt during the eighteenth century. In 1996, he joined the Forschungsstelle Mannheimer Hofkapelle and since 2006 has worked at the Forschungsstelle Südwestdeutsche Hofmusik, both hosted by the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft (Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities). His research focuses on *Hofkapellen* in southwestern Germany during the eighteenth century.

Michael Talbot is Emeritus Professor of Music at the University of Liverpool and a Fellow of the British Academy. He has published extensively on Italian music of the first half of the eighteenth century and takes a special interest in the life and music of Vivaldi. He has edited several of Vivaldi's instrumental and sacred vocal works for the new critical edition published by Ricordi.

Alina Żórawska-Witkowska studied musicology at the Uniwersytet Warszawski (University of Warsaw) between 1967 and 1972 under Zofia Lissa, completing a doctoral dissertation on music at the court of Stanisław August Poniatowski in 1985 and, in 1998, a postdoctoral dissertation on music at the Polish court of August the Strong. She is currently a professor at Warsaw University's Musicological Institute, where she directs the general music history department. In 1984/85, she held a residential scholarship from the Italian government at the Università degli Studi di Bologna. Her research focuses on baroque and classical music history, in particular the musical culture of Poland and the dissemination of Italian opera, and she has undertaken extensive archival work in Dresden.

Steven Zohn is Associate Professor of Music History at Temple University (Philadelphia) and a noted performer on historical flutes. He is the author of *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works* (Oxford University Press, 2008), and of numerous studies focusing on music of the German late baroque. Among his most recent publications is an edition of C. P. E. Bach's flute and keyboard duos for *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works*.

List of Abbreviations



INSTRUMENTS

bn	bassoon	rec	recorder
cb	contrabass	timp	timpani (kettledrums)
cl	clarinet	tpt	trumpet
fl	flute	va	viola
hn	<i>Waldhorn</i>	va d'am	viola d'amore
hpd	harpsichord	vc	violoncello
kbd	keyboard	vdg	viola da gamba
ob	oboe	vn	violin
org	organ		

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

D-AN	Ansbach, Staatliche Bibliothek (Schloßbibliothek)
D-B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz
D-Bga	Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Geheimes Staatsarchiv
D-BAa	Bamberg, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv
D-BHa	Bayreuth, Stadtarchiv
D-BHu	Bayreuth, Universitätsbibliothek
D-Ddpa	Dresden, Dompfarramt
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
D-Dla	Dresden, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
D-DEla	Dessau, Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Abteilung Dessau
D-DS	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
D-DSa	Darmstadt, Stadtarchiv
D-DSsa	Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv
D-DÜha	Düsseldorf, Nordrhein-Westfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
D-ERu	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek
D-FRu	Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek

- D-Gs Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
- D-GOI Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung
- D-GOTsa Gotha, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv
- D-HAF Halle an der Saale, Hauptbibliothek und Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftung
- D-HAu Halle an der Saale, Martin-Luther-Universität, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
- D-HEu Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek
- D-KA Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek
- D-KAg Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv
- D-Mbs Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
- D-Mhsa Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
- D-MGs Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg
- D-MHrm Mannheim, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Theater- und Musikgeschichtliche Sammlungen
- D-MHsa Mannheim, Stadtarchiv
- D-MHu Mannheim, Universitätsbibliothek
- D-RT Rastatt, Bibliothek des Friedrich-Wilhelm-Gymnasiums
- D-RUhb Rudolstadt, Historische Bibliothek
- D-RUkb Rudolstadt, Stadtbibliothek
- D-RUI Rudolstadt, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv
- D-Sha Stuttgart, Hauptstaatsarchiv
- D-SI Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek
- D-SHm Sondershausen, Schloßmuseum
- D-SHs Sondershausen, Stadt- und Kreisbibliothek 'Johann Karl Wezel' (in D-SHm)
- D-SHst Sondershausen, Evangelisch-lutherisches Pfarramt St Trinitatis, Bibliothek
- D-W Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek
- D-Wa Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv
- D-WERa Wernigerode, Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Zweigstelle Wernigerode
- D-WÜd Würzburg, Diözesanarchiv
- D-WÜsa Würzburg, Stadtarchiv
- D-WÜst Würzburg, Staatsarchiv
- D-ZEo Zerbst, Gymnasium Franciscum, Historische Bibliothek
- D-ZEsb Zerbst, Evangelisches Pfarramt St Bartholomäi, Bibliothek
- I-Bc Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (before 2004, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale)
- I-Rar Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
- PL-Kc Cracow, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich

PL-Kj	Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska
PL-KO	Kórnik, Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademii Nauk
PL-Wagad	Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych
US-Wc	Washington, D.C., Library of Congress

‘Das gantze *Corpus* derer *musicirenden* Personen’:
An Introduction to German *Hofkapellen*

Samantha Owens and Barbara M. Reul



WHAT WAS MUSICAL LIFE at German courts really like during the first six decades of the eighteenth century? Securing a permanent post in a court music establishment could mean job security, as well as a steady income and a host of other benefits – such as Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Philipp Telemann had enjoyed in Weimar and Köthen and in Eisenach respectively prior to their appointments in the *Freie Reichstädte* (Imperial Free Cities) of Leipzig and Hamburg. And yet despite the fact that the political landscape of what we now call Germany featured countless small-to-medium-sized courts similar to those experienced first-hand by Bach and Telemann, general music histories tend to focus on the *Hofkapellen* of Berlin and Dresden, primarily because of an interesting connection to the *Thomaskantor* and his oeuvre.¹

In his pioneering study of court society during the early modern period, the so-

¹ Recent case studies which have focused on music at German courts during this period but are not covered in this volume include, for example: Christiane Engelbrecht, ‘Die Hofkapelle des Landgrafen von Hessen-Kassel’, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 68 (1957), 141–73; Gustav Bereths, *Die Musikpflege am kurtrierischen Hofe zu Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein* (Mainz: Schott, 1964); Robert Münster, ‘Die Musik am Hofe Max Emanuels’, in *Kurfürst Max Emanuel, Bayern und Europa um 1700*, ed. Hubert Glaser (Munich: Hirmer, 1976), 1: 295–316; Klaus Häfner, ‘Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer und die Rastatter Hofkapelle: Ein Kapitel südwestdeutscher Musikgeschichte im Zeitalter des Barock’, in *J. C. F. Fischer in seiner Zeit: Tagungsbericht Rastatt 1988*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mannheimer Hofkapelle*, 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 137–79; Ute Omonsky, *Musik am Rudolstädter Hof: Die Entwicklung der Hofkapelle vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Rudolstadt: Thüringer Landesmuseum Heidecksburg, 1997); Christofer Schweisthal, *Die Eichstätter Hofkapelle bis zu ihrer Auflösung 1802: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hofmusik an süddeutschen Residenzen* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1997); Claudia Valder-Knechtges, ‘Die kurfürstliche Hofmusik im 18. Jahrhundert’, in *Der Riss im Himmel: Clemens August und seine Epoche*, ed. Frank Günter Zehnder (Cologne: DuMont, 2000), 151–70; Juliane Riepe, “Essential to the reputation and magnificence of such a high-ranking prince”: Ceremonial and Italian Opera at the Court of Clemens August of Cologne and Other German Courts’, in *Italian Opera in Central Europe*, 1: *Institutions and Ceremonies*, ed. Melania Bucciarelli, Norbert Dubowy, and Reinhard Strohm (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag,

ciologist Norbert Elias noted that the term ‘court’ changed its meaning depending on the period.² Different types of court emerged in the German-speaking lands of the Holy Roman Empire during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; the historian Volker Bauer has categorized these as the ‘zeremonieller Hof’ (ceremonial court), the ‘geselliger Hof’ (sociable court), the ‘Musenhof’ (court of muses), the ‘Kaiserhof’ (imperial court), and the ‘hausväterlicher Hof’.³ Similarly, John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw have concluded that ‘orchestras . . . meant many things to many people, and their meanings changed over time’. It is, therefore, no surprise that the birth of the orchestra was ‘not an event, but a process’ – the practical, day-to-day aspects of which took varied forms, as can be seen in this volume.⁴

At first glance it might seem that musical ensembles at German courts were as diverse as the Empire’s kaleidoscopic political landscape; however, set against this complex backdrop, there were certain commonalities between the music establishments employed at individual courts, as well as differences. A brief description of how *Hofkapellen* generally functioned in the German-speaking lands during the first half of the eighteenth century, touching upon key terminology used in the volume, will also expose a number of popular misconceptions that surround the nature of musical life at German courts.⁵

Although the term ‘Kapelle’, like its parent word in Italian, ‘cappella’, was used in a variety of senses in the context of German court music throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with or without the prefix ‘Hof’ (court) it

2006), 147–75; and Maik Richter, *Die Hofmusik in Köthen: Von den Anfängen (um 1690) bis zum Tod Fürst Leopolds von Anhalt-Köthen (1728)* (Saarbrücken: Müller, 2008).

² Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 36 n. 2 [German original, *Die höfische Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1969)]. For a critique of Elias’s theories, see Jeroen Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), and the same author’s ‘Norbert Elias und der frühneuzeitliche Hof: Versuch einer Kritik und Weiterführung’, *Historische Anthropologie*, 6 (1998), 370–87.

³ Volker Bauer, *Die höfische Gesellschaft in Deutschland von der Mitte des 17. bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts: Versuch einer Typologie* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1983), 55–80. The term ‘hausväterlich’ generally denotes a court characterized by prudent expenditure, in which the ruler assumes the role of a responsible patriarch, with his household acting as a model for both his courtiers and his subjects more generally; see Bauer, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, 66 ff.

⁴ John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 530–31. Their volume was preceded by only one other specialized study in English, Adam Carse’s *The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1940).

⁵ The decision to focus this volume on German courts to the exclusion of music establishments elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire was determined by the present authors’ own areas of expertise. Readers interested in the imperial *Hofkapelle* in Vienna are referred to Ludwig von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna, 1869); Friedrich W. Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hof Karls VI. (1711–40): Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Zeremoniell und musikalischen Stil im Barockzeitalter* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1977) [Diss., Universität Mainz, 1971]; and Eleanor Selfridge-Field, ‘The Viennese Court Orchestra in the Time of Caldara’, in *Antonio Caldara: Essays on his Life and Times*, ed. Brian W. Pritchard (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987), 115–51.

first and foremost referred to a musical venue – the chapel – rather than to an ensemble. As Julius Bernhard von Rohr explained in 1733 (perhaps partly tongue-in-cheek),

Die Hof-Capellen sind von vielen Jahren her an den allermeisten Orten also erbauet, daß Fürstliche Personen aus ihren Gemächern sich trockenes Fusses in die Kirche begeben, und dem Wort Gottes daselbst zuhören können.

Hofkapellen [court chapels] have for many years and in most places been built in a way that allows princely persons to proceed from their apartments to church without getting their feet wet, and listen to the Word of God there.⁶

Over time, however, ‘Kapelle’ came also to denote the musicians who commonly performed in that space, in much the same way that the orchestra derived its name. Thus the opening of the entry ‘Capelle’ in Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Universal-Lexicon* (1731–54) reads: ‘Capelle, bedeutet 1. In grosser Herren Hof Kirchen den Ort wo man *musiciret*[;] 2. Das gantze *Corpus* derer daselbst *musicirenden* Personen’ (*Kapelle*, means 1. In the court churches of grand lords, the place where one performs music; 2. The entire body of people performing music in that said place).⁷ The nomenclature used to describe the musicians in a collective sense could, and did, differ widely from court to court, but *Hofkapelle* and *Kapelle* were among the most commonly used labels.⁸ The phrase ‘Hof-Music’ or ‘Hof-Musique’, often rendered at the time (and in modern German) as *Hofmusik*, could also refer to this same group of vocalists and instrumentalists. It was, however, sometimes used in a slightly broader sense to include the *Hoftrumpeter und Hofpaucker* (court trumpeters and kettledrummers) and other musicians at court as well, where these were not considered official members of the *Hofkapelle*. But, as Martin Ruhnke has pointed out, there were simply no clear-cut definitions of these terms.⁹

Members of a *Hofkapelle* were appointed, officially at least, by the ruler of a court, whether *König* (king), *Kurfürst* (elector), *Herzog* (duke), *Fürst* (prince),

⁶ Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der grossen Herren*, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1733), 72, §22.

⁷ Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Halle and Leipzig, 1731–54), 64 vols., ‘Capelle’, v (1733): 623. This source contains numerous articles that had previously appeared in specialized lexicons.

⁸ The early ‘Kapelle’ had its roots in the ‘gemischte Kantorei’ (an ensemble that comprised singers and instrumentalists), see Erich Reimer, *Die Hofmusik in Deutschland 1500–1800: Wandlungen einer Institution*, Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft, 112 (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 1991), 22–9.

⁹ For a brief overview of the various terms used in this context, see Martin Ruhnke, ‘Kapelle’, III: ‘Von der Kapelle zum Orchester’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd rev. edn (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008), Sachteil, v: 1788–97, at 1794. As time went on, in Germany the term *Kapelle* ‘was applied to any organized musical group, of voices or of instruments, in the church, the concert hall, or the opera house’ (Alex Lingas, ‘Chapel’, *The Oxford Dictionary of Music Online*, <www.oxfordmusic.com>), and by the nineteenth century ‘denoted a small dance band or brass ensemble’ (Adele Poindexter and Barbara H. Haggh, ‘Chapel’, *Grove Music Online*, <www.oxfordmusic.com> accessed 8 October 2009).

Fürstbischof (prince-bishop), *Landgraf* (landgrave), or *Markgraf* (margrave). Lesser noblemen often also occasionally employed their own *Kapellen*, albeit on a smaller scale, as was the case with both the Saxon prime minister Count Heinrich von Brühl and field marshal Count Jakob Heinrich von Flemming, to name but two examples.¹⁰ While the latter ensembles were clearly of a superior quality and at times even served to reinforce music performed at the Dresden court, according to Johann Mattheson in 1725,

fast jeder *Grand Seigneur en diminutif*, und jeder Dorff-Herrscher gleich ein Paar *Violons, Hautbois, Cors de chasse &c.* zur Aufwartung um sich haben will, doch so, daß sie zugleich eine voll-jährige Livery tragen, Schuputzen, Perücken pudern, hinter der Kutsche stehen, und Laquaien Besoldung so wohl, als Bewirthing, geniessen; dabey bessere Musicanten agiren sollen, als alle Kunst-Pfeiffer. Da betrachte mir ein Mensch, ob solche Bediente wohl was rechtes wissen können?

almost every *Grand Seigneur en diminutif* and every village chieftain wants to have at his service a pair of violins, oboes, hunting horns, and so on, but at the same time requires that they wear an all-season uniform, polish shoes, powder wigs, stand behind the coach, and enjoy a lackey's salary as well as board; and yet, better musicians should be doing this, rather than all these *Kunstpfeifer*. That makes one wonder whether such servants really have the proper qualifications?¹¹

The majority of musicians employed at the larger *Hofkapellen* discussed in this volume were clearly of a considerably higher standard than those dismissed by Mattheson as glorified lackeys. Although the terminology used to describe them differed from court to court, among the main body of musicians the highest level of musical proficiency was expected from a *Cammermusicus* (chamber musician), a singer or instrumentalist whose rank allowed him (or her) to gain entrance to, and thus perform in, the private chambers of their patron. Lesser-ranked musicians were generally not permitted in these quarters, although there were undoubtedly exceptions to the rule. Lower down in the hierarchy were the regular *Hofmusici* (ordinary court musicians), followed by trainees and apprentices of various kinds (such as *Kapellknaben*, 'Accessisten', or 'Scholaren'), as well as others who augmented the *Kapelle* from time to time. The latter could include unpaid volunteers,

¹⁰ See Ulrike Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer (1703–55), Kapellmeister des Grafen Heinrich von Brühl am sächsisch-polnischen Hof und Thomaskantor in Leipzig*, ed. Wolfgang Ruf, *Schriften zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte*, 12 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2006), and Szymon Paczkowski, 'Muzyka na dworze marszałka Jakuba Henryka Flemminga (1667–1728)' [Music at the Court of Marshal Jacob Heinrich Flemming], *Środowiska kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku* [The Circles of Cultural Creativity in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Sixteenth until the Nineteenth Century], ed. Urszula Augustyniak (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2009), 67–82.

¹¹ Johann Mattheson, *Critica musica* (Hamburg, 1725), II: 169–70 n. a. A *Kunstpfeifer* was a civic musician required to be proficient on a wide selection of instruments, both wind and strings.

generally students instructed in music by the salaried court musicians, whose tuition fees were often subsidized by the court as a 'Lehrgeld'. Other individuals supporting the *Hofkapelle* on a regular basis (and integral to their continuing success) were music copyists (*Notisten*), instrument makers and tuners, *Kapelldiener* (general servants associated with the ensemble), the *Hofkirchner* (caretaker), and the lowly *Calcant* who operated the organ bellows.¹² Some of these employees may have occasionally performed with the *Kapelle*, as was also the case with the court *Tanzmeister*, who was sometimes called upon to serve as a violinist.¹³

Not all courts divided their principal musicians into *Cammermusici* and *Hofmusici*.¹⁴ One example of this approach is provided by an extant 'Hof-Ordnung' of the Elector-Archbishop of Cologne, Joseph Clemens (1671–1723), which details the ceremonial associated with, and the members of, his courtly household in Bonn for the year 1717.¹⁵ Recorded under the heading 'Die Churfürstl. Hof-Musicanten' (the electoral court musicians) are the names of ten to twelve 'Vocalisten' (vocalists) and sixteen 'Instrumentalisten' (instrumentalists), clearly not divided by rank, at least on the face of this evidence. This list, reproduced in Johann Christian Lünig's *Theatrum ceremoniale historico-politicum* (Leipzig, 1719–20), provides, in effect, a typical example of a German *Hofkapelle* in the early eighteenth century, albeit one in miniature. Two further categories of musicians employed at the court follow the 'Hof-Musicanten': one 'Ober-Trompeter' (chief trumpeter), six trumpeters, and a 'Paucker' (kettledrummer); plus six 'Hof-Hautbois' (court *Hautboisten*, see below). Then, almost at the very end of this hierarchy, comes the 'Calcant von der Hof-Musique'.¹⁶

To give an approximate indication of the overall status of these musicians, a summary of the 'Chur-Cöllnische Hof-Aufwartungs-Instruction' outlines the strict regulations regarding the extent to which individual courtiers (as well as

¹² Regarding the latter position, see Walter Salmen, *Calcanten und Orgelzieherinnen: Geschichte eines 'niedereren' Dienstes* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2007).

¹³ Generally not considered part of the *Hofkapelle*, the *Tanzmeister* nevertheless frequently worked in close proximity to the musicians; at the Württemberg court in 1711, for example, the dancing master's contract required his attendance at court balls in order to ensure the orchestra adhered to the proper tempos for each dance. See Samantha Owens, 'Not Always the Same Minuets': Dance at the Württemberg Court, 1662–1711', *The Court Historian*, 15.2 (2010), 133–44. See also Monika Fink, 'Die Bedeutung der Tanzmeister im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Tanz und Musik im ausgehenden 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert* (Blankenburg am Harz: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1993), 31–44, and Walter Salmen, *Der Tanzmeister: Geschichte und Profile eines Berufes vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1997).

¹⁴ See, for example, the discussions of the *Hofkapellen* of Saxony-Dresden and Hesse-Darmstadt in Chapters 2 and 12 respectively.

¹⁵ For a general discussion for the role of music in court ceremonial, see Juliane Riepe, 'Hofmusik in der Zeremonialwissenschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Händel-Jahrbuch*, 49 (2003), 27–52.

¹⁶ Johann Christian Lünig, *Theatrum ceremoniale historico-politicum, oder Historisch- und politischer Schau-Platz*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1719–20), II, 'Churfürst Joseph Clementis zu Cölln Hof-Ordnung zu Bonn de Anno 1717', 1512–21, under 'Verzeichnuß Der von Ihr. Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Cölln, u. Unsers gnädigsten Herrns Hof-Suite', at 1520–21. The exact number of vocalists is unclear, on account of the possible omission of two commas; see n. 25 below.

visitors) were permitted, according to rank, to venture within the palace.¹⁷ The six locations where members of the court were to wait upon the elector were:

1. Unter der Stiegen das *Vestibule*, oder Vorplatz des Haupt-Aufgangs.
2. Der Obere Vor-Saal vor dem Haupt-Saal oder Stiege.
3. Der *Guarde*-Saal.
4. Die Churfürstl. Ritter-Stube.
5. Die Churfürstl. *Antichambre*.
6. Das Churfürstl. *Retirade*-Zimmer.

1. Under the staircase [of] the vestibule, or forecourt of the main entrance.
2. The upper anteroom before the main hall or staircase.
3. The Guards' Hall.
4. The electoral Knights' Hall.
5. The electoral antechamber.
6. The electoral 'retiring' room.¹⁸

Among those given permission to wait in the *Ritterstube* were 'alle Churfürstl. Hof-Musicanten, Trompeter und Paucker' (all of the electoral court musicians, trumpeters and kettledrummers).¹⁹ This indicates that they held an intermediate-to-high ranking within the court hierarchy as a whole.²⁰

As was the case with the *Hofkapelle* in Bonn, the majority of German *Hofkapellen* employed vocalists, the number and nature of which were dependent upon numerous factors. These included the court's adherence to tradition, religious denomination (whether Lutheran, Catholic, or Calvinist) and level of religious observance, budgetary constraints, and – perhaps above all – the artistic priorities of the ruler in question, which in some cases displayed a sharp inclination towards

¹⁷ Lünig, *Theatrum ceremoniale*, 1513. On this topic, see also John Samuel Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendor: Ceremony, Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600–1800* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).

¹⁸ Lünig, *Theatrum ceremoniale*, 1513. The 'Retirade-Zimmer' appears to have been the private room of the elector-archbishop, although this sixth level is later also referred to in the 'Hof-Ordnung' as the 'Churfürstl. Stuhl-Zimmer, wo der Churfürstl. Thron oder Baldachin ist' (Electoral throne room, where the electoral throne or baldachin [canopy of state] is [located]), 1515. See also Christoph Brandhuber, "Recreatio Principis": Fürsterzbischof Franz Anton Fürst von Harrach [r. 1709–27] und seine *Retirade*, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 63.1/2 (2009), 118–25.

¹⁹ Lünig, *Theatrum ceremoniale*, 1514. Interestingly, this document also lists 22 November (St Cecilia's Day) as 'Der Hof-Musicanten-Fest[tag]' (the court musicians' feast day), which ranked as one of the nine church feast days among the fifth level of 'Churfürstliche Hof-Capellen-Täge' (electoral court chapel days), the sixth being the lowest level (1512–13).

²⁰ For a discussion of the social status of German court musicians around this time, see Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, 'The Origin and Social Status of the Court Orchestral Musician in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century in Germany', in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, ed. Walter Salmen, trans. Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), 219–64 [German original, 'Herkunft und Sozialstatus des höfischen Orchestermusikers im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert in Deutschland', in *Der Sozialstatus des Berufsmusikers vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971)].

either sacred or secular vocal music. It is clearly impossible to describe the ‘typical’ make up of the forces employed for sacred repertoire at German courts during the first six decades of the eighteenth century. Music presented in the *Hofkirche* could be performed by adult vocalists (at some courts a mixture of females and males, sometimes including falsettists and castratos) or young boys.²¹ The latter were generally labelled either *Choralknaben* or, more usually, *Kapellknaben*, and were sometimes expected not only to sing but also to perform on instruments when required. In certain locations, including, for example, the Catholic court of Dresden, *Kapellknaben* were primarily vocalists who were also taught instruments, and served as altar boys.²² Yet at a number of other German courts *Kapellknaben* were trained and employed first and foremost as instrumentalists. For this reason we have avoided the common English translation of the term *Kapellknaben* as ‘choir-boys’ throughout the volume. At least one court, that of Württemberg-Stuttgart, also employed young women as trainee vocalists, generally referred to by the title ‘Lehr-Discantistinnen’, but occasionally also as *Kapellknaben*. At Lutheran courts, one male vocalist usually held the position of *Hofkantor*.²³ The post of *Hoforganist* was also traditionally (but not exclusively) linked to service in the court chapel.²⁴

Among the various secular vocal genres in vogue at German courts during this time, opera and the serenata were particularly popular genres for the celebration of festive events such as princely birthdays and name-day celebrations, or *Heimführungen* (marking the arrival of a bride at her new court). It was on such occasions that vocalists and instrumentalists joined forces to present especially lavish performances of both sacred and secular music – although these two groups of musicians frequently performed together in the day-to-day life of the court as well, to varying degrees at different courts. As is the case with the 1717 listing of the Bonn *Hofkapelle* referred to above, which provides only the musicians’ surnames for the main body of vocalists and instrumentalists, extant primary sources frequently record the names of *Hofkapelle* members, but fail to specify their duties or name the instrument(s) they played.²⁵ Yet, as demonstrated by those more detailed documents which do survive, many musicians were proficient on at least two or

²¹ For further details, see the information regarding membership of court music establishments provided in the tables that accompany individual chapters in this volume.

²² See Janice B. Stockigt, ‘The *Kapellknaben* of the Catholic Court Church in Dresden, 1722–33’, *Studies in Music*, 29 (1989), 13–24.

²³ More research needs to be carried out in order to clarify the role of *Kantoren* at German courts. In 2007, a scholarly conference held in Erfurt, Germany, focused on ‘Der mitteldeutsche Kantor’ (The *Kantor* in Central Germany), with emphasis on the dual nature (musician/educator) of the position.

²⁴ On the role of the *Hoforganist*, see Siegbert Rampe, ‘Sozialstatus und Wirkungsbereich mitteldeutscher Hoforganisten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts’, in *Mitteldeutschland im musikalischen Glanz seiner Residenzen: Sachsen, Böhmen und Schlesien als Musiklandschaften im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter Wollny (Beeskow: Ortus, 2005), 171–82.

²⁵ Lünig, *Theatrum ceremoniale*, 1520: ‘Vocalisten. Herren Flaymanni, Kircher, Dhelphi Court [sic], Castelino, Ambrosini, Marquero, Du Croux, Rissack, le Long Kamter [sic] & Schwölger’ and ‘Instrumentalisten. Herren Havec, Deridder, Canta, Maximilien Augarthe, le Cerf, Van der Huque, Corniller, Thireur, Franz Augarthe, Graeb, Rubini, Sommerini, Stumpff der Aeltere, Stumpff der Jüngere, Maurice der Aeltere, Maurice der Jüngere.’

three instruments, or were both skilled singers and players, their various talents in this respect being utilized by court *Kapellmeister* when considering repertoire for performance at court. It is equally essential that this be taken into account when considering the overall constitution of a *Hofkapelle*. Depending upon the nature of surviving source material, the tables which accompany each chapter listing membership of court music establishments provide much or little information in this respect.

Further complicating this already complex situation is the existence of two additional, distinct groups of musicians at most German courts, referred to in Bonn as the 'Trompeter und Paucker' and the 'Hof-*Hautbois*'. The chief responsibility of the trumpet and kettledrum ensemble, which generally comprised around six to eight musicians, was to provide fanfares on a daily basis at court, as described by J. B. von Rohr in his chapter on 'Tafel-*Ceremoniel*':

Bevor man zu den Fürstlichen Tafeln anrichtet, wird gemeiniglich mit Trompeten und Paucken angekündigt, daß diejenigen, die die Speisen aufsetzen sollen, sich vor der Küche versammeln. Man findet in vielen Fürstlichen Hof-Ordnungen *disponirt*: Wenn zur Tafel geblasen wird, sollen sich so bald die *Pagen* und *Laqueyen* vor die Küche einfinden, dabey gebührlich verhalten und die Speisen vorsichtig auftragen, damit nichts verschüttet werde . . . Zuweilen lassen sich bey iedem Gange, der aufgetragen wird, Trompeten und Paucken hören.

Prior to serving [a meal] at the princely table, trumpets and kettledrums commonly herald that those who are to set out the dishes are to assemble before the kitchen. Many princely court regulations recommend: When the call 'to table' is sounded, the pages and lackeys must quickly gather in front of the kitchen, behave themselves properly, and take care when serving the dishes in order to avoid spills . . . On occasion, trumpets and kettledrums can be heard performing during every single course that is being served.²⁶

The rights of trumpeters and kettledrummers were protected by imperial privilege, which also stipulated that they serve exclusively 'Fürsten, Grafen und rittermäßigen Personen' (princes, counts, and persons of knightly rank).²⁷ Although all were required to participate in at least one military campaign before legally qualified to train an apprentice ('Lehr-Junge'), according to Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* the trumpeters were divided into three main types: 'Hof-Trompeter, die an Fürstlichen Höfen ihre Kunst exerciren' (Court trumpeters, who exercise their art at princely courts); 'Feld-Trompeter, die unter der Militz sind' (Field trumpeters, who are [in service] with the military); and 'Schiff-Trompeter, die sich auf den Schiffen und bey den Flotten hören lassen' (Ship trumpeters, who can be heard on ships and with the navy). Of these, the entry on 'Trompeter' went on to explain,

alle . . . sind entweder musicalisch, die die Music zugleich mit verstehen,

²⁶ Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft*, 93, §10.

²⁷ Zedler, *Universal-Lexicon*, 'Trompeter', XLV (1745): 1119–20.

und nach den Noten zu blasen wissen, oder nicht musicalisch, die nur so die Trompeter- und Feld-Stückgen erlernen. Die musicalischen Trompeter sind bey Hofe die angenehmsten[;] sie müssen zur Tafel blasen, in der Capelle mit aufwarten, wenn bey Solennitäten das Te Deum laudamus angestimmt wird.

all . . . are either ‘musical’, in that they understand music and can play from notes [that is, are capable of reading music], or they are ‘not musical’, and have only learnt [to play] trumpeter and field pieces [that is, by ear]. The ‘musical’ trumpeters at court are the most pleasant [to listen to]; they have to sound the call to table, [and] serve in the *Kapelle* [chapel], when the *Te Deum laudamus* is performed on solemn occasions.²⁸

Thus, although they were invariably operating as a separate unit that was almost completely detached from the *Hofkapelle* in administrative and practical terms, the trumpeters were sometimes considered part of a larger *Hofmusik*.²⁹

A further group of musicians who made an important contribution to the musical life at German courts during this period were the *Hautboisten*. Generally members of a court or military *Hautboistenbande* (oboe band), these men were either under the direct authority of the court or associated with it in some capacity, as, for example, was often the case with regimental bands. Led by a ‘Premier Hautboist’, the number of musicians in such ensembles differed from place to place, with an average of between six to nine members.³⁰ In 1704, Johann Philipp Krieger’s *Lustige Feld-Music*, scored for ‘Premier Dessus’, ‘Second Dessus’, ‘Taille’, and ‘Basson’, included three copies each of the first oboe and the bassoon parts respectively, with two copies of the second oboe part.³¹ Over two decades later, in 1726, Hans Friedrich von Fleming specified that ‘hat man jeztund sechs *Hautboisten* . . . zwey *Discante*, zwey *la Tailen*, und zwey *Bassons*’ (these days one has six *Hautboisten* [in a regimental band] . . . two trebles, two tenor oboes, and two bassoons).³² But these instrumentalists were not solely professional oboe or bassoon players; indeed, *Hautboisten* were routinely expected to be able to perform on a variety of different instruments, both wind and strings. Thus, to translate the term *Hautboist* (as used in German sources of this period) as ‘oboist’ would be misleading. In addition to

²⁸ Ibid., 1120.

²⁹ See also Andreas Lindner, *Die kaiserlichen Hoftrompeter und Hofpauker im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1999), and Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988).

³⁰ Regarding the number of personnel employed in *Hautboistenbanden*, cf. Achim Hofer, ‘Geburtsmomente der Harmoniemusik: Beispiele – Perspektiven’, in *Zur Geschichte und Auführungspraxis der Harmoniemusik*, ed. Boje E. Hans Schmuhl and Ute Omonsky (Blankenburg am Harz: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 2006), 37–52, at 43–4, 47.

³¹ Robert Eitner, ed., ‘Johann Philipp Krieger: Eine Sammlung von Kantaten, einer Weihnachts-Andacht, einer Begräbnis-Andacht, Arien und Duette aus seinen Singspielen, zwei Sonaten für Violine, Viola da Gamba und Bassus continuus und zwei Partien aus der Lustigen Feldmusik zu 4 Instrumenten’, *Beilage zu den Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte*, 29 (1897/8), 95–128.

³² Hans Friedrich von Fleming, *Der vollkommene teutsche Soldat, welcher die gantze Kriegswissenschaft, insonderheit was bey der Infanterie vorkommt* . . . (Leipzig, 1726), 181, §2.

performing as a unit in oboe-band formation (at court balls, military parades, or firework displays, to name but three examples), the versatility of individuals in the group meant that they substituted for, or performed alongside, the court musicians from time to time.³³ Their inferior rank carried with it the added advantage (at least in some eyes of some rulers and court officials) of being less costly in salary terms, but occasionally also led to noticeably lower standards of musical performance.³⁴

A pair of *Waldhornisten* (horn players) frequently performed with *Hautboistenbanden* at court and indeed was sometimes specifically employed as part of those ensembles. At many courts horn players were initially attached to the *Jagd* (hunt), but during the early decades of the eighteenth century they were increasingly required to perform alongside the court musicians.³⁵ Before long, the fashion for horns had spread beyond the courtly environment, with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu commenting on public balls held in Vienna in 1717, ‘They are magnificently furnished, and the music good, if they had not that detestable custom of mixing hunting horns with it, that almost deafen the company. But that noise is so agreeable here, they never make a concert without them.’³⁶ By the second half of the eighteenth century, if not before, horn players were considered an indispensable component of the orchestra.³⁷

The overall leadership of the *Hofkapelle*, as well as of the *Hoftrompeter und Pauker* ensemble and the *Hautboistenbande* (at least when individuals from these two groups were performing with *Hofmusici* and *Cammermusici*), was undertaken by the court *Kapellmeister*. As outlined in his employment contract, he was generally in charge of selecting music and rehearsing the musicians, and was expected not only to compose but also to carry out a host of other additional tasks, supported by deputies. As is evident from the tables in this volume listing membership of court music establishments, the responsibilities and titles of these executive members differed widely from place to place, with such designations as *Oberkapellmeister* (chief *Kapellmeister*), *Vicikapellmeister*, *Kapelldirector*, and, of course, concertmaster. The latter position, referred to in archival sources as, for example, ‘Concertmeister’,

³³ See also Renate Hildebrand, ‘Das Oboensemble in der Deutschen Regimentsmusik und in den Stadtpfeifereien bis 1720’, *Tibia*, 1 (1978), 7–12, and Samantha Owens, ‘Regimental & Courtly Oboe Bands in Early Eighteenth-Century Württemberg’, *ABA Journal of Band Research*, 34 (1999), 1–18.

³⁴ On the status of *Hautboisten*, see Werner Braun, ‘The “Hautboist”: An Outline of Evolving Careers and Functions’, in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician*, 123–58 [German original, ‘Entwurf für eine Typologie der “Hautboisten”’, in *Der Sozialstatus des Berufsmusikers*]. For a specific example of a complaint regarding the performance standards of *Hautboisten*, see Chapter 6, ‘The Court of Württemberg-Stuttgart’, pp. 165–95 below.

³⁵ Zedler, *Universal-Lexicon*, ‘Waldhorn’, LII (1747): 1366, notes that the horn was ‘ehemahls gantz allein auf der Jagd gebrauchet worden’ (formerly used exclusively for the hunt).

³⁶ *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Lord Wharncliffe, 3rd edn (London, 1861), I: 263.

³⁷ For further information, see also the relevant sections of Horace Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680 to 1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), and *Jagd- und Waldhörner: Geschichte und musikalische Nutzung*, ed. Boje E. Hans Schmuhl with Monika Lustig (Blankenburg am Harz: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 2006).

Maitre de concerts, or ‘premier de l’orgue’, was by no means restricted to violinists: gamba players, cellists, and even woodwind specialists were represented in this role as well. This should perhaps come as no surprise, since, as noted by Johann Joachim Quantz, an instrumental ensemble could in principle be led by any of its members; however, the best choice was a violinist.³⁸ At larger courts, a higher level of artistic leadership above even the *Kapellmeister* often took the form of an aristocrat specially appointed to take responsibility for musical matters, sometimes also for theatrical performances or festivities more generally. Examples include the *Directeur des plaisirs* in Dresden, the *Intendant* at Mannheim, the ‘Ober-Music-Director’ at the Württemberg court, and the ‘Director der Hofmusik’ in Würzburg. The degree to which these men actually involved themselves in artistic decision-making undoubtedly varied from court to court.

For the ordinary court and chamber musicians on the ground, differences in capability, but not necessarily in seniority, typically translated into higher wages. These generally featured a component of payments in kind in addition to money, including food, beverages, firewood, grain, candles, and similar items. Other much sought-after benefits involved the permission to travel and the possibility of a pension in retirement. Regardless of the size of the court where they were employed, musicians were often forced to supplement their incomes as clerks, secretaries, valets, and lackeys, while others took on music-related duties such as the copying of music or the writing of poetry to be set to music (although many courts also retained their own court poets, some specifically employed within the *Hofkapelle*). In addition to the official court composers (particularly common at the larger courts such as Dresden or Berlin), selected *Hofkapelle* members besides the *Kapellmeister* were also accomplished in this field and could sometimes earn bonuses for their efforts. Even the *Kapellmeister* could seize the opportunity to augment his salary by providing another court with his compositions as ‘Kapellmeister von Haus aus’ (*Kapellmeister* by proxy), although some locations had strict regulations – at least in theory – regarding the dissemination of music beyond the confines of their own court.³⁹

Otherwise, the *Kapellmeister* usually relied on the financial support of his employer to purchase new music or exchange his own works, as is illustrated by extant inventories of court music libraries. Naturally, it is not always possible to determine how and where this music was acquired, how and by whom it was transported, or what percentage was actually performed once the music arrived.⁴⁰ Many musicians maintained their own personal music collections, the importance of which cannot be overestimated: these collections represented a source of valuable

³⁸ Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752), 178–9, ‘Hauptstück XVII’, ‘I. Abschnitt: Von den Eigenschaften eines Anführers der Musik’, §3.

³⁹ Samantha Owens, “zum Fürstl: Hoff Staat gehörige Musicalien”: The Ownership and Dissemination of German Court Music, 1665–c. 1750’, in *Musik an der Zerbster Residenz*, ed. Konstanze Musketa and Barbara M. Reul, *Fasch-Studien*, 10 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2008), 103–15.

⁴⁰ Unfortunately, consideration of surviving court music collections (which sometimes include sets of vocal or instrumental parts) was largely beyond the scope of the present volume.

capital (both musical and financial) in times of difficulty, particularly when rulers changed and musicians were unexpectedly released. Those musicians lucky enough to gain permission to travel – many of whom were virtuosos who enjoyed great success abroad – on occasion became recruitment agents on their employer's behalf. Yet others, although not acting in this capacity officially, would have certainly (even if unwittingly) served as ambassadors for the reputation of their court and its working conditions. Records such as court account books, published calendars, and appointment decrees, indicate that musicians were recruited not only from throughout the German-speaking lands (from the surrounding region and often locally, with successive generations of the same musical family being a common occurrence) and across Europe, but, above all, from Italy, France, and Bohemia.⁴¹

Networks between individual musicians (some dating back to their school days) as well as dynastic links between ruling families were undoubtedly critical. That musicians frequently moved from one court to another, either permanently or as visitors (sometimes even 'on loan' from another court for extended periods), can be seen throughout the present volume. Significant court events, such as weddings or baptisms, were of particular importance in this regard. Not only did they provide an opportunity for the members of ruling families from different courts to mix socially and engage in politics of various kinds, but travelling in their retinues were often sizeable numbers of musicians. For the latter, these occasions offered the chance to meet colleagues from other locations, exchange music, hear one another perform, participate alongside one another in large-scale productions, and (presumably) take lessons from established masters. These myriad complex networks thus existed on numerous levels. But the nature and quality of music performed at any one court was first and foremost determined by the interaction between the musicians (regardless of rank) and the rulers, whose budgets varied as much as their respective attitudes towards cultural competition and regard for tradition, and their personal musical tastes. Naturally, both groups were also directly affected by circumstances largely beyond their control, above all the advent of war. In particular, the conflicts fought over the Spanish succession (1701–14) and the Polish succession (1733–38), as well as the Seven Years' War (1756–63), were to have a hugely negative impact upon German *Hofkapellen* during this period.

Through a series of individual case studies, this volume investigates the realities of musical life at fifteen German courts of varied size, religious denomination, and geographical location during the first six decades of the eighteenth century. In order to detail and at the same time map (in the form of tables) the significant shifts that occurred in the artistic priorities of each court, particular reference has been made to series of 'snapshots', or in effect 'core sample' years. Although the initial intention was to choose four evenly-spaced points in time, namely 1715, 1730, 1745, and 1760, the extent to which archival material survives has, in fact,

⁴¹ On this topic, see also Mahling, 'The Origin and Social Status of the Court Orchestral Musician', 224–6, and Norbert Dubowy, 'Italienische Instrumentalisten in deutschen Hofkapellen', in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm, *Speculum Musicae*, 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 61–120.

dictated a rather more diverse selection of dates.⁴² In any event, placing a variety of *Hofkapellen* under the microscope in respect of particular years serves to highlight both individual and shared patterns of development and decline. These institutions range from the relatively small Central German *Hofkapellen* of the duchy of Saxony-Gotha-Altenburg (Chapter 7), the three secundogeniture duchies of Saxony-Weißenfels, Saxony-Merseburg, and Saxony-Zeitz (Chapter 8), and the principality of Sondershausen (Chapter 10) to the more widely celebrated, large-scale music establishments of the kingdoms and electorates of Brandenburg-Prussia (Chapter 4) and Saxony-Dresden (Chapter 2), and of the electoral Palatinate in Mannheim (Chapter 5). A separate chapter deals with the Polish *Kapelle*, the travelling orchestra associated with the Saxon rulers of the kingdom of Poland (Chapter 3).

Four South German courts can be taken to represent medium-sized *Hofkapellen*, comprising the closely linked courts of the duchy of Württemberg-Stuttgart (Chapter 6), the landgraviate of Hesse-Darmstadt (Chapter 12), and the margraviate of Baden-Durlach in Karlsruhe (Chapter 13), together with that of the Catholic prince-bishopric of Würzburg (Chapter 11), which provides a telling example of how a series of elected regents (in contrast to one of hereditary rulers) could affect the long-term development of a *Hofmusik*. And last, but certainly not least, the principality of Anhalt-Zerbst (Chapter 9) and the margraviate of Brandenburg-Culmbach-Bayreuth (Chapter 14) demonstrate just how disparate the fortunes of German court music establishments could be even within the same year (1760) as a result of the ravages of war.

By way of conclusion, the final chapter in the volume tells the story from the perspective of the musicians themselves, drawing upon the writings of six prominent figures, each of whom had experienced the musical life of German courts at first hand. Their commentary provides an important counterbalance to the 'official view' represented by the primarily administrative archival documents upon which the volume is largely focused. For, as Jeroen Duindam has pointed out, 'the basis for any analysis of the court remains thin, as concrete data regarding numbers, costs, hierarchies, and routines are sorely lacking. Indeed, the early modern European court in many respects remains a world unknown to us.'⁴³ What emerges from

⁴² See the List of Tables, pp. vii–viii above. Occasionally, in addition to consulting primary sources, it has been necessary to draw upon the ground-breaking work undertaken by earlier scholars, including Moritz Fürstenau, Curt Sachs, Josef Sittard, Friedrich Walter, and Arno Werner. For a number of German court music establishments, such volumes remain the fundamental studies to this day, as, for example, Clemens Meyer, *Geschichte der Mecklenburg-Schweriner Hofkapelle* (Schwerin: Davids, 1913), and Gustav Friedrich Schmidt, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am herzoglichen Hofe zu Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* (Munich: Berntheisel, 1929).

⁴³ Jeroen Duindam, 'Norbert Elias and the History of the Court: Old Questions, New Perspectives', *Hof und Theorie: Annäherungen an ein historisches Phänomen*, ed. Reinhardt Butz, Jan Hirschbiegel, and Dietmar Willoweit (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 91–104, at 94. Duindam's desire to redress the situation led to his own in-depth archival research, resulting in his study *Vienna & Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

the wealth of primary source material examined in this volume is not only an in-depth picture of music making within the daily life of individual courts – *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities* also serves to illustrate the extraordinary diversity of eighteenth-century German court music establishments without losing sight of what these *Kapellen* had in common.

KINGDOMS AND ELECTORATES



The Court of Saxony-Dresden

Janice B. Stockigt



DRESDEN — SEAT OF TWO SUCCESSIVE Saxon electors from the house of Wettin and elected kings of Poland — exemplifies a brilliant European court whose cultural climate and musical excellence was, by the mid-eighteenth century, equal to the best then offered. Developments of this era owed much to the personalities, tastes, and change of confession of the rulers whose leadership covered the years of the snapshots.¹ For more than fifty years the music of Dresden reflected first the preference for French culture of Saxon Elector Friedrich August I (1670–1733; as king of Poland titled August II ‘the Strong’). On the other hand the highly developed musical tastes of his son and successor, Electoral Prince Friedrich August II (1696–1763), and his eldest surviving son and heir, Electoral Prince Friedrich Christian (1722–1763), veered towards Italy.² After election as king of Poland in October 1733 and coronation in January 1734, Friedrich August II — now titled August III — and his Habsburg-born consort Maria Josepha (1699–1757) provided powerful musical patronage in Dresden. They and family members often determined the selection of musicians and repertoire for Dresden, whose court witnessed musical advances that came to have far-reaching effects upon contemporary developments, musical standards, and continuing musical institutions.

The sons and daughters of August III and Maria Josepha contributed to this enlightened musical patronage, with strong musical connections established through marriages between Dresden and the courts of Naples, Munich, and Versailles.³

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¹ The conversion to Catholicism by Saxon Elector Friedrich August I in 1697 was followed in 1712 by the conversion of his son and heir, Electoral Prince Friedrich August. Neither ruler enforced the canon (established at the Peace of Westphalia, 1648) ‘Cuius regio, eius religio’ (whose realm, his religion).

² Important musical observations made by Electoral Prince Friedrich Christian during his *Kavaliersreise* to Italy (1738–40) are documented by Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, ‘Federico Cristiano in Italia: Esperienze musicali di un principe reale polacco’, *Musica e storia*, 4 (1996), 277–323.

³ In 1738 Maria Amalia (1724–1760) married Charles VII, king of the Two Sicilies (king of

Electoral Prince Friedrich Christian's wife (and cousin) Maria Antonia Walpurgis of Bavaria (1724–1780) was a notable musician in her own right, and catalogues of her music library (which later included her husband's collection), as well as other royal music collections, testify to her intense interest in the art. If the royal music holdings catalogued in Dresden are a guide, then the exchange of scores between members of this family must have enriched libraries of major European courts.⁴

Bird's-eye views of the most important Dresden music organizations during these snapshot years are given in the *Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender* (hereafter *Hof- und Staats-Calender*), published in Leipzig almost annually from 1728 until 1757, resuming in 1764 following the Peace (or Treaty) of Hubertusburg that marked the end of the Seven Years' War.⁵ These published lists do not reveal the complex situations of multitudes of musicians maintained by the Dresden court and by powerful court members.⁶ Despite compilation towards the end of the year prior to publication (and remembering that the number of musicians available did not always correlate with court records), these publications present the most consistent record of the Dresden court's musical establishments. A multitude of references to the numerous musicians who functioned in Dresden during this era are found today in the copious court records housed in the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden.

Throughout the years of this study the Dresden court was served by several ensembles, each with its own status, function, and internal hierarchy: all components were vital to the smooth functioning of a great musical machine. The most

Spain from 1759); in 1747 a double marriage saw Electoral Prince Friedrich Christian and his sister Maria Anna (1728–1797) wed their Bavarian cousins Maria Antonia and Maximilian III Joseph, elector of Bavaria (1727–1777); and in 1747 Maria Josepha ('Marie-Josèphe de Saxe', 1731–1767) married the widowed dauphin of France, Louis-Ferdinand (1729–1765).

⁴ Catalogues of the music libraries of Dresden court members include an incomplete and untitled volume (possibly of Maria Josepha's music collection), D-Dl, Bibl.-Arch. III Hb 787^c; a catalogue of the music collection of August III ('Catalogo della Musica e de Libretti di S. M. Augusto III . . .', into which is bound the final catalogue of the music collection of Maria Antonia), D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787^b; and the catalogue of the collection of Friedrich August III [King August I of Saxony, d. 1827] ('Catalogo della Musica, e de' Libretti de S. M. Augusto III. la quale si trova nella Biblioteca Musicale'), D-Dl, Bibl.-Arch. III Hb 787ⁱ.

⁵ Editions of the *Hof- und Staats-Calender* used for this chapter are kept in D-Dl, Hist. Sax., I 179. Because liturgical calendars and reports of court activities are mainly published without pagination, recent folio numbering is given in square brackets. From 1738, those pages that name *Hofkapelle* members are paginated.

⁶ The *Kapelle* of Saxon Prime Minister Count von Brühl has been examined by Ulrike Kollmar in *Gottlob Harrer (1703–55), Kapellmeister des Grafen Heinrich von Brühl am sächsisch-polnischen Hof und Thomaskantor in Leipzig*, ed. Wolfgang Ruf, *Schriften zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte*, 12 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2006). On the *Kapelle* of Count Jakob Heinrich von Flemming, see Szymon Paczkowski, 'Muzyka na dworze marszałka Jakuba Henryka Flemminga (1667–1728)' [Music at the Court of Marshal Jacob Heinrich Flemming], in *Środowiska kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku* [The Circles of Cultural Creativity in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Sixteenth until the Nineteenth Century], ed. Urszula Augustyniak (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2009), 67–82. Other Dresden court members (Count Sułkowski, for example) also maintained music ensembles and regimental bands.

prestigious group was 'Die Königlische Capell- und Cammer Musique' or 'Orchestre' (*Hofkapelle*) under the authority of a *Directeur des plaisirs*. It comprised a *Kapellmeister*, a court poet (first listed with the *Hofkapelle* in the *Hof- und Staats-Calender* of 1735), singers, instrumentalists, and support staff. A list of musicians dated 'Decembris 1711' refers to the ensemble as the 'Königl: Poln: und Churfürstl: Sächß: *Music und Orchestra*',⁷ and although another list of brief autobiographies of the musicians from 1717–18 divides them into '*Hoff und Cammer Musici*',⁸ this distinction is not observed in later documents: the ensemble was generally titled 'Orchestra' (or 'Orchestre') with hierarchical structures within each section, as demonstrated by salaries (see Table 2.1, pp. 38–40 below). In 1728 the musicians were listed in the first edition of the *Hof- und Staats-Calender* under the heading 'Hof Capelle'; from 1729 until 1756 the heading was 'Die Königl. Capelle und Cammer-Musique'. From 1730, the Jesuits from the province of Bohemia who staffed the royal chapel often referred to royal singers and instrumentalists as 'virtuosi'. After the Seven Years' War the group was named simply the 'Capell- und Cammer Musique'. Royal musicians were directed in the opera, church, and chamber by three outstanding *Kapellmeister*, Johann Christoph Schmidt (1664–1728), Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729), and Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783), and by the court and church composers Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745), Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692–1753, son of Tommaso Ristori), Father Johann Michael Breunich SJ (1699–1755; a former chaplain in the entourage of Maria Josepha), Tobias Butz (d. 1760), and Johann Georg Schürer (c.1720–86). Instrument inspectors and repairers, valets, porters, organ builders and attendants, and tuners as well as so-called *Aufwärter* (expectants) supported the royal musicians.

Attached to the *Hofkapelle* were music scribes, whose meticulous copy of performance materials and arrangements of woodwind parts ensured smooth and error-free performances.⁹ Moreover, their responsibility extended to the compilation of new musical scores of compositions acquired for Dresden that then became the working documents into which composers noted their alterations and additions (especially of a viola part if none had existed, and the addition of parts for ripieno oboes and bassoons). From the revised score new parts were drawn, and these might be further modified by copyists, whose abilities to sort out inconsistencies and problems of range contributed to the performance brilliance of Dresden. Members of the *Hofkapelle* taught younger players. The most noteworthy student of the court flautist Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin (c.1689–1768) was Johann

⁷ D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 910/1, 'Acta. Das Churfürstl: *Orchestre* und deßen Unterhaltung ingleichen das grosse Opern-Haus und andere zum *Departement des Directeur des Plaisirs* gehörige Angelegenheiten betr. Anno [1711, 1717], 1764, 65, 66, 67, 68': 'Die Königl: Poln: und Churfürstl: Sächß: *Music und Orchestra* . . . I. Decembris 1711', fols. 1^r–2^r.

⁸ D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K 11, No. 5, 'Königl: Poln: und Churfürstl. Sächs: Hof-Buch von 1717 bis 1720': 'Derer Königl Pohl und Churffl: Sächs. Hoff und Cammer Musici, wie alt Einjeder, wo er her ist, u: wie lang beÿ Hoffe alß . . .', pp. 90 ff.

⁹ Rousseau expected a good copyist to draw out from the violin part an oboe part suited to the instrument. See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768), 130–31. Examples of Dresden practices are given in Janice B. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 241–6.

Joachim Quantz (1697–1773); Zelenka instructed aspiring composers, including Gottlob Harrer (1703–1755), one-time *Kapellmeister* to the Saxon prime minister Count Heinrich von Brühl, who was appointed by the Leipzig town council to succeed Johann Sebastian Bach on 8 August 1750.¹⁰

Twelve trumpeters and two kettledrummers (*Hoftrompeter und Paucker*) served the court. They were sorted into ‘field’ and ‘musical’ players who performed with the *Hofkapelle* in the church and opera and were in constant attendance on formal occasions.¹¹ From this group were drawn players of the *Intraden* performed during processions of royal and electoral family members within the Catholic court church.¹² This *Hoftrompeter und Paucker* ensemble played for the ceremonial *Fackeltanz* (torch dance) on state occasions when the king led the polonaise (the principal Dresden court dance), and they were heard at outdoor entertainments, such as *Carousels* (tournaments). Numerous reports are given of court banquets being announced by trumpets and timpani, and of their playing during toasts. The presentation of various courses to the royal table during ceremonial dinners was ‘carefully orchestrated using kettle drums and trumpets as a means of delivering instructions and prompts to the guests and staff in other rooms.’¹³ *Hof- und Staats-Calender* entries and salary lists name trumpet and timpani *Scholaren* (apprentices) attached to this group.¹⁴

The Dresden court also kept ensembles of *Bock-* and *Jagd-Pfeifer*. If the *Bockpfeifer* ensemble of the Dresden court resembled the type employed at the court of Württemberg, it would have comprised Polish bagpipes (*Polnische Böcke*) and violins of various sizes.¹⁵ This would account for their music usually being heard out-

¹⁰ See *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. and enlarged by Christoph Wolff (New York: Norton, 1998), 245–8, documents 274–5.

¹¹ See Ortrun Landmann, ‘The Dresden Hofkapelle during the Lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach’, *Early Music*, 17 (1989), 17–30, at 23, who notes that the Saxon elector held the title of Grand Marshal (‘Erz-Marschall’), retaining trumpeters and timpanists as insignia of his rank, thus making the Saxon court trumpeters ‘the highest ranking group of their kind in the Holy Roman Empire’.

¹² Six fanfares attributed to Zelenka (ZwV 212) are held in D-DI, Mus. 2358-N-1. Perhaps these are the ‘6 Marcie per la Cavalleria’ for four trumpets and timpani entered into the ‘Catalogo della Musica, e de’ Libretti de S. M. Augusto III’, D-DI, Bibl.-Arch. III Hb 787ⁱ.

¹³ Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, ‘Innovations and the Ceremonial Table in Saxony, 1719–47’, in *Zeichen und Raum: Ausstattungen und höfisches Zeremoniell in den deutschen Schlössern der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter-Michael Hahn and Ulrich Schütte, Rudolstädter Forschungen zur Residenzkultur, 3 (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2006), 135–66, esp. 135.

¹⁴ Under the heading ‘Hof-Trompeter und Paucker auch Scholaren’ in the *Hof- und Staats-Calender* (1745), 8, for example, two ‘Trompeter-Scholaren’ are listed. See also D-DIa, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K II, No. 6, ‘Königl. Pohnlisches und Churfürstl. Sächsisches Hoff-Buch von 1721 usq. 1725’, p. 40, where two ‘Paucker Junge[n]’ and two ‘Trompeter Junge[n]’ were listed during those years.

¹⁵ See Samantha Owens, ‘“Gedanken für ein Gantzes Leben”: *Polnischer Bock* Music at the Württemberg Court c.1730’, *The Consort: European Journal of Early Music*, 54 (1998), 43–56. Although Fürstenau states that from 1748 this group was named ‘Hofpfeifer’, this title was not used in the *Hof- und Staats-Calender* until the edition of 1756. See Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Ge-*

doors at shooting competitions and in association with the hunt.¹⁶ But although the *Jagdpipeifer* provided outdoor music, they also played indoors. Following the performance of Hasse's opera *Demofonte* (Carnival, 1748), for example, music for dancing in the parade hall of the Dresden palace was played by the *Cadets- und Jagd-Pfeifer*, while the *Hautboisten* of the Swiss and Grenadier Guards played in another room.¹⁷

The few references to military ensembles in the *Hof- und Staats-Calender* present the tip of an iceberg, since countless unnamed wind and percussion players were active in and around Dresden, especially from the late 1720s. The calendars list a few of these, but a multitude of musicians from – among others – the *Garde du Corps*, the Dragoons, the *Grand Musquetairs*, and the Janissary Company was available in Dresden and its surrounds. The services of the *Jagdpipeifer* ensemble along with the *Janitscharen-Musicanten* (Janissary musicians) were called upon to provide *Tafelmusik* at Pilnitz when court members went there on a sleigh ride in January 1731.¹⁸ An example of a march (titled 'Aufzug, so die Hautboisten bey dem Caroussel 1738 geblasen') composed in three parts for 'Hautbois' 1 and 2 and 'Basso.' (the latter possibly an abbreviation for *basson*) to be played while jurors made assessments at a *Caroussel* held on 10 May 1738 in the Zwinger – that complex of open spaces, pavilions, and galleries adjacent to the Dresden court – gives an idea of the music played by military musicians.¹⁹ Great stability and numerous family connections are to be observed in each of the Dresden court ensembles throughout these years. For example, three generations of string players named Lehneis (or Lehneiß) are seen throughout Table 2.2 (pp. 40–49 below). Movement from one musical institution to another was possible: the rise of Quantz from the Polish *Kapelle* to the *Hofkapelle* is the prime example (see Chapter 3, 'The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland'). A musician might move from one instrument to another in the *Hofkapelle*, as seen with the horn player Johann Georg Knechtel, who became a member of the violoncello section. An example of a musician who had been trained as a *Jagdpipeifer* and then had a dual role in the Polish *Kapelle* and the *Hofkapelle* was the bassoonist Franz Adolph Christlieb (see Table 2.2). As a musician aged, the *Hofkapelle* could retain his expertise by allowing the player to take on different tasks: by 1764 Augustin Uhlig, a long-serving violinist of the *Hofkapelle*, was also listed as an instrument inspector.

In the Catholic court church (located in the renovated theatre of the Dresden

schichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen, 2 vols. (Dresden, 1861–2), II (reprint with commentary and indexes by Wolfgang Reich, Leipzig: Peters, 1979), 67 n. *.

¹⁶ See, for example, *Hof- und Staats-Calender* (1738), [fol. 3^r col. 2]; Fürstenau noted that this ensemble comprised sixteen players (*Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, II: 67), a number confirmed in lists published in the *Hof- und Staats-Calender* after 1731.

¹⁷ *Hof- und Staats-Calender* (1749), [fol. 7^r (p. 13) col. 2].

¹⁸ *Hof- und Staats-Calender* (1732), [fol. 19^v col. 2].

¹⁹ The music, composed by 'Capell Musicus Wilhelm' (Hugo), is kept in D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, B 28 A 'Königl: Sicilianische Vermählung 1738, Vol. 1' (indexed as 'Musique der Hautboisten'), fol. 199^r.

palace) magnificent music was heard on Sundays and feast days.²⁰ Foundation documents specified the duties of the mainly Bohemian *Kapellknaben* who were to play a vital musical role in this church.²¹ Initially the group was to consist of six choristers (named *clerics*), four instrumentalists, a choral director, and organist. This was the approximate number maintained until 1727, when a decision was taken to expand this ensemble.²² The musical training received by these boys and young men led many to become members of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*. The former *Kapellknaben* Johann Georg Schürer and Joseph Schuster became Dresden court musicians, while the organist to the choristers during the 1720s, Augustin Uhlig, became a violinist of the *Hofkapelle*.²³ The eminent violinist František (Franz) Benda (appointed to the *Kapelle* of Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich in 1733) was a former *Kapellknabe* of this church.²⁴ Although a small music ensemble was retained for the Lutheran chapel of the Dresden palace (the ‘Hof-Kirchen-Capelle’), in 1737 it moved to the Sophienkirche.

During these years French and Italian companies of musicians, actors, and dancers entertained the two elector-kings and their courts, whilst illustrious visiting performers – including those of touring operatic troupes such as the company of Pietro Mingotti – were welcomed in Dresden.²⁵ Throughout the reigns of August II and August III, the whole or part of the Dresden musical apparatus was required to follow the court to the Saxon palaces of Moritzburg, Pillnitz, and the hunting palace of Hubertusburg at Wermsdorf. In 1716 August II established the Polish *Kapelle* to accompany him to his kingdom (see Chap. 3, ‘The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland’). This present chapter is concerned with the distinguished Dresden *Hofkapelle* around the years of the snapshots.

²⁰ Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, II: 39, citing Iccander (Johann Christian Crell, 1723).

²¹ A copy of the ‘Reglements [*sic*] du Roy pour l’Eglise et Chapelle Royale, ouverte aux Catholiques’, each set signed ‘Augustus Rex’, is kept in I-Rar (ARSI), Fondo Vecchia Compagnia, Provinciae Bohemiae (hereafter Boh.) 205/1. See Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 26–9.

²² I-Rar, Fondo Vecchia Compagnia, Boh. 143, p. 19.

²³ Schürer, a ‘discantista’ (treble), is first mentioned in the ‘Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae’ as arriving to the Jesuit house from Bohemia on 16 May 1732; Joseph Schuster (‘altista et organista’, father of the composer of the same name), arrived on 3 June 1735. The Jesuit ‘Diarium’ is held in D-Ddpa, with extracts from 1712–38 published by Wolfgang Reich, *Zelenka-Studien II: Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (Dresden und Prag 1995)*, ed. Wolfgang Reich and Günter Gatterman, Deutsche Musik im Osten, 12 (Sankt Augustin: Academia-Verlag, 1997), 315–75; excerpts from 1739–42 are published by Gerhard Poppe, ‘Ein weiterer Faszikel aus dem *Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae* wiederaufgefunden’, in *Die Oberlausitz: Eine Grenzregion der mitteldeutschen Barockmusik*, ed. Peter Wollny, Jahrbuch der Ständigen Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 2006 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2007), 193–204.

²⁴ Benda left Dresden for Prague on 5 May 1723; see D-Ddpa, ‘Diarium’.

²⁵ Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, II: 242–3.

1715: THE REIGN OF AUGUST II

In the first third of the eighteenth century the court music of Dresden reflected the French taste of August II, a predilection to be expected since part of his *Kavaliersreise* was spent in France (1687 and 1688) where he attended the French opera, the Comédie Française, and the Comédie Italienne in Parisian theatres, and plays at Saint-Cloud. Soon after his succession as elector of Saxony (1694), August employed a French oboe band ('Bande Hautboisten oder Kammerpfeifer'), the most up-to-date type of ensemble of woodwind instruments, which had recently undergone radical development within the French court orchestra.²⁶ Although all musicians of the Dresden court were dismissed at Easter 1707, most of the instrumentalists were re-employed, and certain members of the *Hautboisten Bande* became royal musicians. From 1708 an ensemble of French dancers, actors, and musicians was employed: in 1711 the musicians from this group performed Zelenka's *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* in the Catholic court church.²⁷ An ensemble of actors and singers skilled in the performance of the *commedia dell'arte* arrived in 1716 from Venice, headed by Tommaso Ristori.

Dresden *Hofkapelle* lists drawn up between 1711 and 1717 give a blueprint of an orchestra of thirty or more instrumentalists, for which coming generations of composers of symphonies wrote. The real beginning of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*, however, is seen around the year 1717. At least two orchestral lists were drawn up in that year; one is dated,²⁸ and the other is undated but signed by the king ('Augustus Rex').²⁹ Brief autobiographies provided in late 1717 and early 1718 by thirty-one members of the *Hofkapelle* demonstrate a fascinating cultural mix of German, Italian, and French-trained instrumentalists, with a sprinkling of players born in Austria, Bohemia, Brabant, Luxembourg, Poland, and Spain (see Table 2.1).³⁰ A strong Venetian element was introduced to Dresden as the result of Electoral Prince Friedrich August's *Kavaliersreise*. Following visits to Venice during 1712, and again in 1713, this prince was stationed in Venice from 1716 until 1717, when he appointed Heinichen as his personal *Kapellmeister*, engaged the violinist Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768), and hired an entire Italian operatic troupe under the direction of Antonio Lotti — a project that had been developing in Dresden and Warsaw for some time, and one requiring much fine-tuning.³¹ Not only do these engagements

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁷ D-Dpa, 'Diarium', 22 November 1711.

²⁸ D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 383/4, 'Die *Bande* Französischer *Comoedianten* und *Orchestra* betr. ao 1702 . . . [17]20': 'Die Königl. Pohl: und Churfürstl.-Sächß. *Music* und *Orchestra* . . . 1. Aug. 1717', fol. 182^{r-v}.

²⁹ D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 910/1, 'No: 1 Verzeichnüß derer *Muscorum* so in der Königl. *Orchestra* sich befinden, alß . . .' (c.1717), fol. 5^{r-v}.

³⁰ D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K 11, No. 5, fols. 90 ff.

³¹ John Walter Hill, 'The Life and Works of Francesco Maria Veracini', 2 vols. (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1972), 1: 59–62 and 75–8; and Alina Żorawska-Witkowska, 'Das Ensemble der italienischen Oper von Antonio Lotti am Hof des Königs von Polen und Kurfürsten von Sachsen August II. des Starken (1717–20)', in *IX International Musicological Congress 'Musica*

reveal the highly developed musical taste of this young prince: they demonstrate early planning of celebrations to mark his return to Dresden with a bride from the imperial family – an alliance desired and plotted for by August II. Full-scale operas composed by Lotti leading up to this homecoming included *Giove in Argo* (1717) and *Ascanio* (1718). Following the arrival of the electoral prince and Maria Josepha, Lotti's *Teofane* was given on 13 September 1719 in the newly built opera house, whose orchestra pit was capable of holding thirty-eight to forty-one musicians.³² A salary list of those who came from Venice in 1717 (the undated document signed 'Augustus Rex') shows annual payments to Lotti's musicians that must have caused resentment among *Hofkapelle* members. Lotti and his wife received 10,500 *Thaler*, salaries of singers ranged between 3,000 and 7,000 *Thaler*, the bass players Gerolamo Personelli and Angelo Gaggi (Gagi) received 1,000 and 400 *Thaler* respectively, while the *souffleur* (prompter) Felicetti (Giovanni Felice Maria Picinetti) received 200.³³

Between 1709 and 1728, the Dresden *Hofkapelle* was led by the Spanish-born concertmaster Jean-Baptiste Volumier (Woulmier or Woulmyer, 1670–1728), who had been educated at the French court, entering royal service in Dresden in 1709.³⁴ Under his direction, French performance techniques were introduced into the Dresden *Hofkapelle*. Documents report that in 1715 Volumier travelled to Cremona to take delivery from Antonio Stradivari of six violins, three violas, and three violoncellos,³⁵ a move probably designed to give the Dresden *Hofkapelle* a homogeneous string sound.³⁶ By the end of 1717 the string section comprised six violins (including Volumier), six or seven violas, four violoncellists, and one 'Contrebass' player – Zelenka, who in 1716 and c.1716–c.1719 was stationed in Vienna. Perhaps it was because of his absence that the Saxon prince, at Lotti's insistence, hired for Dresden Italian players of the 'grand violon', Personelli and Gaggi. Such players were considered necessary to accompany the voices (surviving parts from Dresden-based composers show that the violoncello usually accompanied recitatives and

Antiqua Europae Orientalis: Bydgoszcz, September 5th–19th, 1991, ed. Eleonora Harendarška, *Musica Antiqua: Acta Musicologica*, 9/1 (Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska im. Ignacego Paderewskiego, 1991), 477–504.

³² Ortrun Landmann, 'Topographische und aufführungspraktische Anmerkungen zu Hasses Dresdner Wirken', in *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Zeit*, ed. Reinhard Wiesend (Stuttgart: Carus, 2006), 317–42, at 321: 'Die Pöppelmann-Oper am Zwinger.'

³³ D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 910/1, 'No: 2 Besoldung der Italienischen Operisten', fol. 10^r.

³⁴ D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K II, No. 5, fol. 91^r: 'Entré au Service de sa Majesté L'année 1709; Natif Espagnol. Elevé a [sic] la Cour de France.'

³⁵ See Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2005), 280. Four letters held in a private collection in Warsaw (yet to be authenticated) signed by Don Alfonso Costanzi and dated between December 1714 and June 1715 (the first on behalf of Jean-Baptiste Volumier; the last on behalf of August II) document this order and purchase, and are described by Zbigniew Zawadzki, 'Korespondencja dworu Króla Augusta II Sasa z Mistrzem Antonio Stradivari', *Ruch muzyczny*, 7/20 (1963), 12. I am very grateful to Alina Żórawska-Witkowska for bringing these sources to my attention.

³⁶ Suggested by Brian Clark in his review of Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel in Early Music*, 34 (2006), 146–8.

vocal solos, with the violone or contrabass entering during ritornellos) and to provide both a harmonic foundation and rhythmic momentum for the orchestra.³⁷ An account dated 'di 16 Maggio 1719' shows a Venetian order signed by Alessandro Fedeli for two matching 'Violoni' and two matching 'Violette', cases (one case only for the two 'Violette'), as well as bows and strings for the 'Violoni'.³⁸ Personelli entered Dresden court employment in 1718,³⁹ while the name of the Venetian *souffleur* (and cellist) Felice Picinetti already had appeared on a payment list of the *Hofkapelle* dated 1 August 1717 as 'Felicetti, vom 1 May 1717'.⁴⁰

The wind section of 1717 included two or three flautists, four oboists, three or four bassoonists, and two horn players who, after the purchase in Vienna in 1718 of two *Waldbörner* with silver mouthpieces and two sets of six crooks, would be capable of playing in a minimum of six different keys.⁴¹ Although the term *Cammermusicus* was used in earlier years by certain musicians, this distinction evolved to denote a particularly special rank. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 reveal a small sub-section of instrumentalists with the title 'Cam[m]er Musicus' who, together with the *Kapellmeister*, concertmaster, and composers, constituted an elite musical core.⁴² Table 2.1 shows most of the musicians heard during the magnificent and widely reported celebrations surrounding the return to Dresden from Vienna of the recently-married electoral prince and Maria Josepha, a young woman who was to become a powerful patron of the court music, especially the music of the Catholic court church. The festivities planned by August II drew numerous visitors, among them Georg Philipp Telemann, George Frideric Handel, and Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749).

³⁷ D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc 383/2, 'Acta. Die Engagements einiger zum Theater gehöriger Personen u.s.w. betr. 1699 sq. ao ~~1747–1770~~ [dates crossed out]': 'Specification des pensionne accordées par Monsieur Le Prince Royal aux Musiciens et autres gens actuellement engages pour L'Opera . . .', fol. 53^v: 'Comme un homme qui joue du grand violon, et qui a la pratique pour accompagner les voix, et donne le mouvement, à tout L'Orgue, est absolument necessaire, Monseign^r, Le Prince à l'instance du Maitre [*sic*] Lotti a engagé un habil homme Girolamo Personelli . . .'. See Shelley Hogan, 'The Bass Ripieno Section of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century' (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, in progress). Personelli (also named Momolo Personé) remained in Dresden until his death in 1728.

³⁸ D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 907/3, 'Die Operisten, Musicos, Sänger und andere zur Opera gehörige Personen betr.: ao 1717, 18, 19, [17]20', fol. 124^r; this document to be reproduced by Hogan, 'The Bass Ripieno Section of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*'.

³⁹ D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K II, No. 6: salary lists, fols. 3^v–4^r.

⁴⁰ D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 383/4, fol. 182, and confirmed in D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K II, No. 5, fol. 92^v.

⁴¹ See Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, II: 58, and Thomas Hiebert, 'The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden: The Players and Their Repertory' (DMA diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989), 53–4, where it is suggested that these horns were ordered from the Lechnamschneider brothers by the electoral prince when in Vienna (1717–19).

⁴² Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, II: 91 n. *, noted that, until the mid-eighteenth century, the title *Cammermusicus* was bestowed as a special recognition upon certain Dresden court musicians. Yet many Dresden court musicians appear to have titled themselves *Cammermusicus*, as seen in their autobiographies of c.1717; see D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K II, No. 5, fols. 90 ff.

The Dresden opera came to a halt in 1720. After the return to Venice of Lotti and various members of his company in the latter part of 1719, the remaining singers – including the castratos Berselli and Senesino – caused a major disruption to a rehearsal of Heinichen's opera *Flavio Crispo*. This scandal led to the closure of the opera, and serious attention then turned to the music of the Catholic court church.⁴³ At the time of its foundation instruments purchased for this church included a large string bass, two violins with cases, four recorders with bassoon (possibly a *Chorist-Fagott*), and a viola; a small organ was built by Johann Heinrich Gräbner.⁴⁴ In 1712 a positive organ was acquired.⁴⁵

Although surviving sets of printed part books containing motets by French and French-based Italian composers hint at the style of sacred music considered most suited for a Catholic monarch during the early days,⁴⁶ this began to change after the arrival of Lotti's troupe, whose members occasionally performed in the Catholic chapel. On 27 November 1717, for example, the Jesuit 'Diarium' reported that the 'Musici Regii Itali' (the king's Italian musicians) had a solemn mass celebrated in honour of St Cecilia.⁴⁷ The mass was not performed on the day of the feast (22 November) because the organ was 'discordant' ('discordatum organum'), which suggests either that the principal instrument was out of tune with itself or that its pitch was at variance with the pitch at which the *Hofkapelle* then played. The organ was gradually brought into agreement with the *Cammerton* tuning used by the woodwind players. In 1722 Zelenka insisted that the organ be modified to *Cammerton* ('Cammer-Thon ut vocant'), an alteration paid for by Maria Josepha.⁴⁸ The tuning fork used for the Dresden *Kapelle* during Hasse's directorship sounded at $a' = 417$ Hz.⁴⁹

The discipline and execution of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* made a deep impression upon the young Quantz, who noted that when he first visited Dresden in 1716 he perceived that musical performance was much more than the mere playing of written notes.⁵⁰ Dresden musicians were given opportunities for development during court-ordered visits: between 1714 and 1718 Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) travelled to France, Italy, Berlin, and Vienna, visits that must have presented the

⁴³ This era of music in the Dresden Catholic court church is documented by Wolfgang Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720–45: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire* (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Carus, 1987).

⁴⁴ Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, II: 37, wrote: 'In der Rechnung von 1709 findet sich . . . einer [*sic*] großen Baßgeige (16. Thlr.), 2 guten Violinen mit Futteral (14. Thlr.), 4 Flauten mit Fagott (6. Thlr.), und 1 braggia (3. Thlr.)'

⁴⁵ The acquisition of the positive and its placement in the chapel is reported in the 'Diarium' (D-Dpa) on 13, 29, and 30 September 1712.

⁴⁶ The French prints held in D-D1 are of motets by André Campra, 1700 (Mus. 2124-E-1); Paolo Lorenzani, 1693 (Mus. 2021-E-1); Jean-Baptiste Lully, 1684 (originals missing; nineteenth-century copies held: Mus. 1827-D-1); and Pierre Robert, 1684 (Mus. 1718-E-1).

⁴⁷ D-Dpa, 'Diarium', 27 November 1717.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 24 March 1722.

⁴⁹ Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, II: 289–90.

⁵⁰ Johann Adam Hiller, 'Quanz [*sic*] (Johann Joachim)', *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten* (Leipzig, 1784; facs. repr. Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1979), 200–231, at 208–9.

future Dresden concertmaster with outstanding opportunities to create networks, to develop his technique and style, and to assemble a music collection. During his visit to Venice in 1716, for example, Pisendel became Antonio Vivaldi's student. There, he amassed a number of his teacher's violin sonatas and concertos (making Dresden the most important repository of Vivaldi's music in the German-speaking lands) and collected violin compositions by Tomaso Albinoni.⁵¹ Zelenka's studies with the imperial *Kapellmeister* Johann Joseph Fux and his access to Viennese musical sources presents another example of connections made by Dresden musicians.⁵² His acquisition of six part books in Vienna of trios from Lully's operas (*Les Trio des opera de Monsieur de Lully*, Amsterdam, 1690–91),⁵³ and copies of church music (including masses of Palestrina) must be viewed within the context of the taste for secular music of August II, and the style of sacred music regarded as appropriate for a Catholic monarch – especially a monarch whose son was about to visit Vienna in order to court an Austrian archduchess. In 1712, Zelenka had petitioned the king asking for a year of travel to Italy to perfect himself in the solid church style ('soliden Kirchen Stylo'), and to France to acquire good taste ('bon goust').⁵⁴

Two sets of manuscript parts of instrumental music from this era demonstrate the adaptability of Dresden's musicians to be organized to perform in the French manner and the Italian style. A set of eleven plus three parts for an overture with accompanying pieces from Lully's *Acis et Galatée* (LWV 73) – one of many sets of parts of Lully's incidental music kept in Dresden – comprises

'Premier Dessus De Violon' ('M^r Woulumier')

'Second Dessus De Violon'

'3^{me} Violon: Ripieno'

'Haute Contre De Violon'

'Taille De Violon'

'Basse et Basson' (two copies)

'Basse Continüe' (two copies; unfigured)

'1^r hautbois et flutes'

'2^{me} hautbois et flutes'

Prache de Tilloy, cellist and copyist of the *Hofkapelle*, prepared eleven of the fourteen parts (his name is given on the part for 'Premier Dessus De Violon': 'M^r Woulumier'). Three additional parts in the hand of another scribe are for 'Violon

⁵¹ On the Vivaldi and Albinoni sources in Dresden, see Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi* (London: Dent, 1993), 46–7, and Talbot, *Tomaso Albinoni: The Venetian Composer and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 168–75, respectively. Concerning Pisendel's travels to Venice see Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel*, 81–105. On Pisendel's collection of instrumental music, finally acquired by the Dresden court in December 1765, see Manfred Fechner, *Studien zur Dresdner Überlieferung von Instrumentalkonzerten deutscher Komponisten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, *Dresdner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1998), 12.

⁵² An overview of Zelenka's manuscript collection copied in Vienna ('Collectaneorum Musicorum', D-DI, Mus. 1-B-98) is given in *Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien*, 2 vols., ed. Wolfgang Horn et al. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), 1: 69–86.

⁵³ D-DI, Mus. 1827-F-27, 1–2.

⁵⁴ Horn et al., *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, 1: 103, document 2.

Ripieno', 'Bass de Viole', and 'Basse Continu'.⁵⁵ Despite the listing of 'Corni' on the catalogue label attached to the wrapper for these parts (and on covers to most Dresden sets of parts to Lully's suites), horn parts are not kept with these performance materials.

Seventeen performance parts for Telemann's concerto for two solo violins (TWV 52:e 4) with four-part string accompaniment (which became the norm in Dresden) are still held.⁵⁶ Each part bears the name of the musician who once played this work, which was copied – if not performed – after Volumier's appointment in 1709 and before the loss to the *Hofkapelle* in 1711 of violinist Carlo Fiorelli.⁵⁷ The parts are for:

- 'Violino 1 Concertino' (originally 'Concertato') – 'Sig^r Voloumier'
- 'Violino Pzio Concertino' – 'del Sig^r Fiorelli'
- 'Violino 1 in Ripieno' – 'Mons: Lotti'⁵⁸
- 'Violino 1 in Ripieno' – 'Mons: Rybitzky'
- 'Violino 1 in Ripieno' – 'Mons: D'Uc [edge of page cropped]'⁵⁹
- 'Violino 1 in Ripieno' – 'Mons: Le Gros'
- 'Violino 2^{do} in Ripieno' – 'Mons: [Gottfried] Heering'
- 'Violino 2^{do} in Ripieno' – 'Mons: Lehneis'
- [alto] 'Viola' – 'Mons: [Johann Heinrich] Praetorius'
- 'Viola' – player not named
- 'Violono in Ripieno' – 'Mons: la France'⁶⁰
- 'Violono [or Violone] in Ripieno' – 'Mons: Hennig'⁶¹
- 'Violono in Ripieno' – 'Mons: Hennig'
- 'Hautbois 2' – player not named (N.B. Hautbois 1 part missing)
- 'Basso Continuo' (figured) – 'Mons: Selencka' [Zelenka]
- 'Basso Continuo' (figured) – player not named
- 'Basso Continuo' (figured) – 'Mons: [Christian] Pezold'

Except for Zelenka, each named player is identified in an undated salary list

⁵⁵ D-Dl, Mus. 1827-F-31.

⁵⁶ D-Dl, Mus. 2392-O-56; discussed by Fechner, *Studien zur Dresdner Überlieferung von Instrumentalkonzerten*, 236–8.

⁵⁷ Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel*, 310 n. 11, where it is noted that Pisendel was appointed from 1 January 1712 to fill Fiorelli's place.

⁵⁸ Johann Friedrich Lotti, born c.1669 in Hanover (D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, K II, No. 5, fol. 92^v), where Matteo Lotti, Antonio Lotti's father, was *Kapellmeister*.

⁵⁹ Possibly Jean Baptiste D'Ucé, listed in 1711 as a player of the 'Flute Allemande'; see D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 910/1, fol. 1^r. He was dismissed from Dresden in 1713. See Mary Oleskiewicz, "'For the Church as Well as For the Orchestra": J. S. Bach, the *Missa*, and the Dresden Court, 1700–50', *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute*, 38/2 (2007), 1–38, at 4–5.

⁶⁰ Either Jean Baptiste du Houlondel ('Le France le Fils') or Robert du Houlondel ('Le France le Pere'), violoncellists with the Dresden *Hofkapelle*; see D-Dla, Oberhofmarschallamt, K II, No. 5, fols. 91^v and 92^v.

⁶¹ In 1711, Gottfried Heering was listed as a 'Braccist', and Daniel Hennig as a player of the 'Basson'; see D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 910/1, fol. 1^v.

(c.1710),⁶² while apart from Fiorelli, each player was named in the salary list dated '1. Decembris 1711'.⁶³

From 1717 the Dresden *Hofkapelle* continued to develop under the general directorship of *Kapellmeister* (soon to become *Oberkapellmeister*) Schmidt and *Kapellmeister* Heinichen, and the leadership of Volumier. With the deaths in 1728 of Volumier and Schmidt, followed by the passing of Heinichen in 1729, this era ended. Wolfgang Horn terms the years between 1729 and 1734 as the 'Interregnum'.⁶⁴

1730: THE END OF THE ERA OF AUGUST II

When August II died in Warsaw on 1 February 1733, Dresden had been elevated from a German city to a European centre.⁶⁵ The beginnings of a new musical regime, however, were evident in 1730 when the court witnessed the first fruits of a plan to re-establish opera seria in Dresden. In the mid-1720s, a project was put in place in which young singers were recruited and trained in Italy at the expense of the Dresden court.⁶⁶ Five members of this group were first heard in Dresden on 6 June 1730.⁶⁷ These singers were almost certainly among those who, accompanied by virtuosos and the entire *Kapelle*, performed Ristori's now-missing cantata *Egloga al Campo di Radewitz* on the river Elbe from Maria Josepha's replica of the Venetian state gondola, the *Bucantaurus*. This performance, given during military exercises organized by August II held at Zeithain, was preceded by an astonishing flotilla of numerous sloops, brigantines, frigates, and gondolas.⁶⁸ From each second vessel, military musicians played regimental marches. Among those listening from the riverbank was Crown Prince Friedrich – from 1740, Friedrich II, king in Prussia.

In July 1731 Hasse and his wife, the celebrated mezzo-soprano Faustina Bordoni-Hasse, first arrived in Dresden. The male alto Antonio Gualandi (known as Campioli), who had been involved in training the singers in Venice, also came to

⁶² *Ibid.*, fol. 7^{r-v}.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, fols. 1^{r-2^r}.

⁶⁴ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 88–92.

⁶⁵ Observed by Helen Watanabe O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden from Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 237.

⁶⁶ See Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Beitrag zur Bildungsgeschichte der italienischen Opernsänger: I Virtuosi di S. M. Il Re di Polonia, Elettore di Sassonia, 1724–30', in *10th International Musicological Congress 'Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis': Bydgoszcz, September 7th–11th, 1994*, ed. Eleonora Harendarška, *Musica Antiqua: Acta Musicologica*, 10/1 (Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska im. Ignacego Paderewskiego, 1994), 401–11.

⁶⁷ *Hof- und Staats-Calender* (1731), [fol. 30^v col. 2]; in this edition, sopranos Anna and Maria Rosa Negri, male sopranos Ventura Rochetti and Giovanni Bindi, and male alto Domenico Annibali are listed as members of 'Die Königl. Capelle und Cammer-Musique'. Fürstenau, however, stated that the soprano Maria Santina Cattaneo (sister of the Dresden *Cammermusicus* violinist Francesco Maria Cattaneo) and alto Casimiro Pignotti also arrived in 1730; see *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, II: 166. Maria Santina Cattaneo is first listed in the *Hof- und Staats-Calender* (1732), [fol. 30^r col. 1].

⁶⁸ Reported in the *Hof- und Staats-Calender* (1731), [fols. 36^v col. 2 – 37^r col. 1].

Dresden that year. The solo vocal strength available for the Dresden opera of 1730 is seen in Table 2.2. Beginning with the production in 1731 of Hasse's *Cleofide*, a steady stream of operatic performances placed Dresden in a pre-eminent musical position.⁶⁹ These were enhanced by intermezzos and ballets performed by an expanding ensemble of French dancers with music composed by Louis André (1682–1739). Although not formally appointed until 1 February 1730, Pisendel's authoritative leadership (his initials are often seen on violin parts of this era) began to be asserted after the death of Volumier.⁷⁰ Table 2.1 shows that by 1717 the practice of Dresden court musicians playing two or more instruments had almost died out – a fact noted in 1730 by Johann Sebastian Bach in his memorandum to the Leipzig town council. There, he observed that one only needed to visit Dresden to see how the musicians were paid, free from 'chagrin', and required to excel on one instrument alone.⁷¹ The highly successful musical association between Hasse – whose appointment as *Kapellmeister* was formalized by 1734 – and Pisendel led to great advances in orchestral discipline and performance style in Dresden. Hiller's biography of Pisendel claimed that Hasse discussed all details of his compositions with the concertmaster, who would then look through the parts prepared by court copyists and mark up performance details.⁷² Within this cosmopolitan ensemble Pisendel developed a style that fused French and Italian musical mannerisms and performance practices. Years later Quantz would term this the 'vermischter Geschmack' (mixed taste), a style embracing both performance and composition that Germans could claim as being their own.⁷³ Moreover, the continuing pan-European membership of the *Hofkapelle* is evident from the names of the players: of the close to thirty instrumentalists under Pisendel's direction in 1730 (see Table 2.2), seventeen were Germans, whose names were printed in *Fraktur* (Gothic) type while the names of the remaining non-German members were printed in a roman typeface.⁷⁴ On the other hand, by 1730 almost all, if not all, singers of the *Hofkapelle* were Italian.⁷⁵ From Harrer's autobiography it is known that in addition to vocalists of the *Hofkapelle* August II had kept a 'musicus chorus' of unnamed singers.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Operas performed in Dresden and Warsaw (between 1627 and 1763) are listed in Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, II, 'Sachregister', pp. xlvi–il.

⁷⁰ Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel*, 448–9.

⁷¹ David et al., *The New Bach Reader*, 145–51, document 151.

⁷² 'Pisendel (Johann Georg): Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Concertmeister', in Hiller, *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten*, 192–3; Pisendel's hand is seen in many manuscripts kept in D-Dl.

⁷³ Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, 3rd edn (Breslau, 1789; repr. Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1953), 332, 'Hauptstück XVIII', §87. See also Steven Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3–5.

⁷⁴ This differentiation ceased in the 1739 edition of the *Hof- und Staats-Calender*. Music composed for Dresden during this era shows French instrumental names either being replaced with Italian terms, or else used concurrently, for example: *hautbois/oboé*, *corne de chasse / corno da caccia* (or *Waldhorn*), and *basson/fagotto*.

⁷⁵ *Hof- und Staats-Calender* (1731), [fol. 49^r col. 2 – 49^v col. 1].

⁷⁶ See Wolfgang Reich, 'Jan Dismas Zelenka und seine Dresdner Kopisten', in *Zelenka-*