The Württemberg *Hofkapelle*
c.1680-1721

by

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Abstract

Today the prosperous reign of Duke Eberhard Ludwig IV (r. 1693-1733) at the court of Württemberg is principally associated with the construction of the magnificent palace of Ludwigsburg, some fifteen miles north of Stuttgart. His quest for prestige also resulted in a major expansion of the ducal *Hofkapelle*, and while much is known about music at other German courts at this time (such as Dresden, Berlin, and Vienna) that at Württemberg, which was comparable in size and importance, has been largely overlooked.

This study aims to redress the situation through close examination of the wealth of archival documents dealing with the everyday life of the court musicians c.1700. The original employment contracts offer insights into the duties of the *Kapellmeister*, while the registers of musicians record the evolution of a clear division between the ordinary *Hofmusici* and the more select and specialized *Cammermusici*.

The development of specialization came about as the direct result of foreign influence, and a period of foreign study was a prerequisite for a successful career as *Kapellmeister*. Although in the final decades of the seventeenth century French style had dominated the music at court, by the turn of the eighteenth century Italian music had begun to rise markedly in popularity.

Contemporary documents show that a wider selection of instruments came into regular use following the appointment of Johann Christoph Pez as *Rath und Oberkapellmeister* in 1706. Between 1684 and 1714 the membership of the *Hofkapelle* had risen from twenty-three to thirty-five.

In addition to the *Kapelle* there was a quite diverse range of other musical groups present at the court—the trumpeters and kettledrum players, the court and regimental oboe bands, and the *Bock-music*, an ensemble with origins in Eastern European folk music. Again the archival documents throw considerable light on the daily lives, musical standards, and relative status of these musicians.

We are particularly fortunate that a sizeable selection of the music owned by the Württemberg court during this period of increased musical activity can now be found in a collection held by the Universitätsbibliothek in Rostock. Included are around 400 instrumental pieces dating from approximately 1680 up until the death of the Prince Regent, Friedrich Ludwig, in 1731. While the majority of composers represented are German, works of French and Italian origin are also included.

Perhaps most interesting are the compositions by two contemporary Württemberg *Kapellmeister*, Theodor Schwartzkopff and Johann Christoph Pez, whose obscurity is due largely to the relative inaccessibility of the Rostock collection in recent years. These works were written or at least adapted for the forces of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*. Together with the archival documents these pieces furnish a fascinating picture of a once-flourishing musical establishment, one which provided entertainment for a Duke who hoped in his own corner of Germany to emulate the court of Versailles.

Preface

This dissertation began as an attempt to uncover more about the early history of the French *hautbois*, as it spread from its place of origin to Germany during the latter decades of the seventeenth century. The court of Württemberg based at Stuttgart was well-positioned geographically to receive direct influence from France and therefore may be considered a possible candidate for the earliest German centre to have acquired the new instrument. Furthermore the existence of a selection of music featuring the oboe in a prominent role by two of the *Kapellmeister* employed in Stuttgart around this time prompted closer examination of this repertoire and promised insights into the way German composers approached the instrument in its early stages.

With these thoughts in mind I travelled to Stuttgart hoping to find traces of evidence detailing the introduction of the *hautbois* at the court. Having been warned by various sources that the state archives had been badly bombed during World War II, it was with some amazement that I found a wealth of archival material documenting the history of the musical establishment at the Württemberg court from around 1680 onwards. This unexpected discovery significantly changed the focus of my topic and led to a more general look at the musicians (in particular the instrumentalists) employed during the consecutive reigns of the *Administrator* Friedrich Carl (r.1677-1693) and his nephew, Eberhard Ludwig (r.1693-1733).

It was thanks to Bruce Haynes that I learned that the court's music collection had been transferred virtually in its entirety to the top of

former East Germany. Following in his footsteps I visited the Universitätsbibliothek in Rostock during October-November 1993—unfortunately too short a period to fully investigate the profusion of genres and instrumentation the collection contains. Largely unknown to Western scholars due to the political situation which followed World War II, this important group of music manuscripts provided the perfect opportunity to combine in a practical way the information available in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart with the original repertoire of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*. The result is in many ways a more interesting study than one focusing purely on the use of the oboe in Germany during the late Baroque era and incorporates a diverse spectrum of primary source material.

My transcription of the archival documents has adhered to the original spellings, punctuation, as well as the Roman lettering used for foreign words in eighteenth-century Germany in both handwritten and printed sources. The common symbol for abbreviation when shortening long words in the manuscript sources has been preserved as "l:", while a "?" in parentheses indicates the presence of an illegible word.

For the most part musicians who are mentioned in *Grove* 6 are referred to by the form of their name given there. However, as is more frequently the case, the names of German musicians are generally given as listed by Pfeilsticker (see *Abbreviations*), while those of Italian descent are returned as far as can be ascertained to their original spellings (instead of retaining the peculiar versions of their names provided in contemporary German documents—subsequently used by Pfeilsticker). Unless cited otherwise Pfeilsticker is also the source for dates of birth and death,

although such information is unavailable for the majority of the *Hofmusici*. I have preferred to keep the original usage of the letter "C" in people's names, rather than the modernized "K", as for example "Carl Alexander."

Regarding dates it should be noted that the Gregorian calendar was not introduced to Württemberg until 16 November 1699.¹ For the most part I have retained the use of saints' days and other holy days, commonly used in contemporary official documents—while providing the equivalent date in brackets—for example, *Jacobi* (25 July), *Georgii* (25 April), *Martini* (11 November), *Lichtmeß* (2 February), and *Laetare* (fourth Sunday of Lent). The currency system has been kept as the original *Gulden* and *Kreutzer*. Abbreviations for musical instruments are those which appear in *Grove 6* and the Helmholtz system of pitch notation is used. Unless otherwise noted the German translations are my own, while Peter Walls translated the French version of the 1684 rules of Duchess Magdalena Sibylla.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the help of the following people: Victoria Boyack (Reference section of the Victoria University of Wellington Library), Herbert Bech (German Embassy in Wellington), Dr Greer Garden, Judith Geare (Goethe-Institut Wellington), Dr Bruce Haynes (who very kindly allowed me to browse in his personal library), Barbara Linnert (*Musikabteilung* of the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock), the Sängerschaft Schwaben of Stuttgart, Monika Smith (Victoria University of Wellington's German Department), Elisabeth Weinland.

¹F. Kübler, *Die Familiengalerie des Württembergischen Fürstenhauses im Kgl. Residenzschloß zu Ludwigsburg* (Ludwigsburg, 1905), 75.

(*Musikabteilung* of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek), and the staff of the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. This version of my thesis has benefited greatly from the fact that I have been able to incorporate suggestions made by my examiners: Dr Greer Garden, Dr Warren Drake, and Professor Neal Zaslaw.

Both Chapters 7 and 8 owe a great deal to the work of Dr Ortrun Landmann of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden. I would like to thank her for allowing me to use, and cite directly from, her unpublished conference paper "Zu den Musikhandschriften des 18. Jh. in der Rostocker Universitätsbibliothek." In addition the following institutions provided me with copies of music: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden; Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv, Kassel (from the Wiesentheid collection of the Graf von Schönborn); and the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock. I would also like to offer my thanks for the monetary support I received from Victoria University of Wellington in the form of an Internal Grant and a Victoria University of Wellington Postgraduate Scholarship, in addition to funding provided by a William Georgetti Scholarship.

Finally I would like to say how much I have warmly appreciated all the help and support given to me over the past three and a half years by my family, flatmates, and friends, but particularly by my supervisor, Professor Peter Walls, who not only translated eighteenth-century French and played Brescianello with me, but was also wonderfully enthusiastic and continually encouraging.

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D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹¹ 536

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Abbreviations

AnMc	<i>Analecta musicologica</i> (some volumes in series <i>Studien zur italienisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte</i>).
Bopp	A. Bopp. "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stuttgarter Stiftsmusik." <i>Württembergische Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde</i> 1910 (Stuttgart, 1911), 211-250.
Brockpähler	Renate Brockpähler. <i>Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland</i> (Emsdetten, 1964).
DDT	Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst.
D-Sa A21	Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, <i>Oberhofmarschallamtsregister</i> .
DTB	Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern.
DTÖ	Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich.
EDM	Das Erbe deutscher Musik.
EM	<i>Early Music</i> .
Grove 6	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> .
GroveMI	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments</i> .
GSJ	<i>The Galpin Society Journal</i> .
IDRS	<i>Journal of the International Double Reed Society</i> .
JAMIS	<i>Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society</i> .
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i> .
Landmann	Ortrun Landmann. <i>Auszüge aus dem Referat: Zu den Musikhandschriften des 18. Jh. in der Rostocker Universitätsbibliothek</i> (unpublished conference paper, Rostock, 1967).
MGG	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> .

ML	<i>Music and Letters.</i>
MMg	<i>Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte.</i>
MQ	<i>The Musical Quarterly.</i>
MT	<i>Musical Times.</i>
NDB	<i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i> (Berlin, 1957).
Pfeilsticker	Walther Pfeilsticker. <i>Neues Württembergisches Dienerbuch</i> (Stuttgart, 1957-1974).
Pöllnitz	Baron Carl Ludwig von Pöllnitz. <i>Des Freyherrn von Pöllnitz Briefe Welche Das merckwürdigste von seinen Reisen und die Eigenschaften derjenigen Personen woraus die vornehmsten Höfe von Europa bestehen, in sich enthalten. Aus der letzten vermehrten französischen Auflage ins deutsche übersetzt.</i> ¹ 1st Part (Frankfurt am Main, 1738).
Rapp	Regula Rapp. <i>Musikstädte der Welt.</i> Stuttgart (Laaber, 1992).
Scholz	Hans Scholz. <i>Johann Sigismund Kusser: sein Leben und seine Werke</i> (Leipzig, 1911).
Siedentopf	Henning Siedentopf. "Dokumente zur württembergischen Musikgeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts." <i>Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte</i> 36 (1977), 339-346.
SIMG	<i>Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft.</i>
Sittard	Josef Sittard. <i>Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Württembergischen Hofe</i> (Stuttgart, 1890-91) 2 volumes.
SMw	<i>Studien zur Musikwissenschaft.</i>

¹Letters of the Baron von Pöllnitz which contain the most curious of his travels and the characteristics of those people who exist at the most distinguished courts of Europe. Translated into German from the last expanded French edition.'

- Vann James Allen Vann. *The Making of a State: Württemberg, 1593-1793* (Ithaca, 1984).
- Wallner Bertha Antonia Wallner. "Biographie" in *Ausgewählte Werke des alt-münchener Tonsetzers Johann Christoph Pez* DTB 35 (Augsburg, 1928), p. xiv-xliv.

Library Sigla

GERMANY

D-B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.
D-Dlb	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek.
D-HRD	Herdringen, Bibliothek des Freiherrn von Fürstenberg, private collection administered by D-Kdma.
D-Kdma	Kassel, Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv.
D-ROu	Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek.
D-Sa	Stuttgart, Hauptstaatsarchiv.
D-Sl	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek.
D-SWl	Schwerin, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek (former Mecklenburgische Landesbibliothek).
D-DS	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek.

FRANCE

F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
F-Sm	Strasbourg, Archives et Bibliothèque Municipale.

AUSTRIA

A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
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SWEDEN

S-Uu	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket.
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UNITED KINGDOM

GB-DRc	Durham, Cathedral.
GB-LBl	London, British Library.
GB-T	Tenbury, St. Michael's College.

Documents

1684 <i>Specificatio</i>	D-Sa A21 Büschel 607: <i>Specificatio der gesambten Hof-Musicorum Besoldung</i> , 1684.
1684 Rules	D-Sa A21 Büschel 609: Rules of Magdalena Sibylla regarding the organisation and duties of the <i>Hofkapelle</i> , 10 April 1684, French version copied 30 June 1686.

- 1692 Schw S&O D-Sa A21 Büschel 612: *Staat und Ordnung . . . der Jetztige Cappelmeister Theodorus Schwartzkopff*, 16 February 1692, updated *Georgii* (25 April) 1711.
- 1699 Verz D-Sa A21 Büschel 607: *Verzeichnüß*, 1699.
- 1699 Schw Gut Sittard I, 68-73: Theodor Schwartzkopff, *Ohn Vorschreiblich Einfältige Gutachten*, 16 January 1699.
- 1700 Kusser S&O Scholz, 233-238: *Staat und Ordnung*, 17 April 1700.
- c.1702 Verz Scholz, 202-205: *Hochfürstl. Capell Partie*, c.1702.
- 1711 Pez S&O D-Sa A21 Büschel 612: *Staat und Ordnung*, 25 April 1711.
- 1711 HM S&O D-Sa A21 Büschel 611: *Concept Staats vor die Sambtl: Hoff Musicos*, 25 April 1711.
- 1714 Pez Lista D-Sa A21 Büschel 607: J. C. Pez, *Lista*, 14 January 1714.
- 1715 Lista D-Sa A21 Büschel 607: *Lista. Der ganzen Würtenbl: Hftrl: Hof Music*, c.December 1714-July 1715—the "1720" *Verzeichnis*.
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- 1715 Pez 21/x Sittard I, 87-89: letter of J. C. Pez to Duke Eberhard Ludwig, 21 October 1715.
- 1717 Schw 27/v D-Sa A21 Büschel 609: Theodor Schwartzkopff, *Die Hoff und Capell Music*, 27 May 1717.
- 1717 Störl 19/v D-Sa A21 Büschel 607: J. G. C. Störl, *Consignation Über die fürstl. Hoff Capell*, 19 May 1717.
- c.1717 Störl D-Sa A21 Büschel 609: J. G. C. Störl, *Zu einer vollständig und Wohlbesetzten Kirchen Music*, c.1717.
- 1717 Schw 5/viii D-Sa A21 Büschel 607: Theodor Schwartzkopff, letter, and *Consignation* for Friedrich Wilhelm von Grävenitz, 5 August 1717.

- 1718 Castenbauer D-Sa A21 Büschel 609: Sigmund Castenbauer, *Inventarium*, 24 November 1718.
- 1720 Brescianello D-Sa A21 Büschel 609: G. A. Brescianello, report on the *Hoff Music*, 2 March 1720.
- 1722 *Consignation* D-Sa A21 Büschel 607: *Consignation Samthis beÿ Fürstl: Hoff-Capell engagirter Persohnen*, February 1722.
- 1724 *Inst Mus* D-Sa A21 Büschel 631: *Samtliche Hof Musiq die sollen beÿ die Instrumentahl Musiq dienst*, 23 August 1724.
- 1729 *Inst Mus* D-Sa A21 Büschel 609: *Oberhofmarschallamt Report, Wegen der Instrumental-Music*, 29 January 1729.
- 1736 Brescianello D-Sa A21 Büschel 609: G. A. Brescianello, *Specification . . . der Fürstl: Camer- und Hoff-Music*, 13 November 1736.

Introduction

The musical establishment of the Württemberg court in the years around the turn of the eighteenth century, from c.1680-1731, has been neglected in modern studies of Germany's music history.¹ Josef Sittard's pioneering work *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Württembergischen Hofe* (Stuttgart, 1890-91) stands virtually alone in this field. Subsequent musicologists working in this area are greatly indebted to him, being largely forced to cover much of the same ground and make use of his evidence and conclusions. The findings detailed in Sittard's study are based upon material uncovered at the, then, Geheimen Staatsarchiv, Stuttgart. But given that his book spans the extensive period of 1458-1793 it is perhaps not surprising that a significant amount of original source material has remained in obscurity.

Since the appearance of Sittard's monumental volume it has been apparent that the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* was of a comparable size and importance, to similar ensembles at other German courts, such as Dresden and Berlin.² Figures for the musical establishment at Dresden,

¹Even relatively recent publications are content to mention the period only briefly, see for example: Regula Rapp, *Musikstädte der Welt. Stuttgart* (Laaber, 1992); Hans Martin Decker-Hauff "300 Jahre Instrumentalmusik am Stuttgarter Hof", *350 Jahre Württembergisches Staatsorchester* (Stuttgart, 1967), 25-42; and Norbert Stein, "Musik und Theater im Ludwigsburg des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts", *Ludwigsburger Geschichtsblätter* 38 (Ludwigsburg, 1985), 61-87.

²Although there were numerous important studies of the musical life of eighteenth-century German centres published during the first half of the twentieth century, more often than not these works tended to be of a rather broad and (to late twentieth-century readers) inadequate nature, see Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1861-2); Friedrich Walter, *Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am Kurpfälzischen Hofe* (Leipzig, 1898); Curt Sachs, *Musik und Oper am kurbrandenburgischen Hof* (Berlin, 1910); Ludwig Schiedermair, "Die Oper an den bädischen Höfen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts", *SIMG* 14 (1912-13), 191-207; Clemens Meyer, *Geschichte der Mecklenburg-Schweriner Hofkapelle* (Schwerin, 1913); Fritz Stein, *Geschichte des Musikwesens in Heidelberg bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1921); Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* (Leipzig, 1926); Erich Rosendahl,

long considered by modern researchers to be one of the principal German *Hofkapelle* at this time, reached fourteen instrumentalists in 1694; twenty-four in 1697; twenty-four in 1709; thirty-one between 1712-16; and thirty-four in 1717.³ At the Württemberg court the number of instrumentalists available to successive *Kapellmeister* came to sixteen in 1684; twenty in 1699; twenty-six in 1709; twenty-four in 1714; twenty-three in 1717, and expanded even further after the appointment of Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello as *Oberkapellmeister* in 1721.⁴

It seems that the Württemberg court has largely been ignored by musicologists because it was the centre of a primarily Lutheran region. However, despite the common assumption that music at eighteenth-century Protestant courts paled in significance when compared to those ruled by Catholic monarchs, this was not true in the case of Württemberg. In fact, the reigns of both Friedrich Carl zu Winnental (1652-1698; r.1677-1693) and subsequently of his nephew, Eberhard Ludwig (b.1676; r.1693-1733), proved to be ideal situations for the growth of music at the court—as both Dukes strove to emulate the model of Louis XIV and the French court at Versailles. Such behaviour, similar to the manner of Catholic rulers at other German and foreign courts, much distressed the majority of their pious subjects—who frequently complained about the rate of spending on items they considered to be unnecessary luxuries. The foremost extravagance was the construction of

Geschichte der Hoftheater in Hannover und Braunschweig (Hannover, 1927); Walter Serauky, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Halle* (Halle, 1939); and Ernst König, "Die Hofkapelle des Fürsten Leopold zu Anhalt-Köthen", *Bach-Jahrbuch* 46 (1959), 160-167.

³Ortrun Landmann, "The Dresden Hofkapelle during the lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach" *EM* 17 (1989), 21.

⁴These figures, based on the extant *Verzeichnisse* discussed in Chapter 3, include those singers who were frequently used as instrumentalists, as well as the trumpeters who played other instruments (such as Fenchel on the viola da gamba) and whose rates of salary reflected this—being of the same level as the ordinary *Hofmusici*.

a palace at Ludwigsburg—to house Eberhard Ludwig's long-standing mistress, the Countess von Würben, Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz (1686-1744).

Among the minor German principalities at this time Württemberg was rather unusual owing to the fact that it had a constitution, the Treaty of Tübingen, which had been instituted in 1514 by Duke Ulrich. This document gave the estates (consisting predominantly of local burghers⁵) authority over the financial affairs of the duchy.⁶ However, as his reign progressed Eberhard Ludwig moved further and further away from the wishes of the local governing bodies: the estates, the *Hofrat* (court council), the *Geheimer Rat* (privy council), and the *Konsistorium* (church government).

The majority of eighteenth-century Germans believed that holders of royal rank had received their privilege directly from God and therefore must be given complete, unquestioning obedience.⁷ However the rights enshrined in the Treaty of Tübingen put a rather different light on the matter. The devout Protestants who sat on the Württemberg boards and

⁵C. Atkinson, *A History of Germany 1715-1815* (London, 1908), 49, the local burghers constituted an extremely powerful element of Württemberg society, while the local Swabian aristocracy were mostly Imperial Knights who owned their own small independent estates and therefore paid little attention to the affairs of the duchy as a whole.

⁶According to R. W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), 263, the 1514 Treaty of Tübingen "was regarded virtually as a civil constitution in Württemberg, the Junior Baliff in each district was responsible for investigating serious crimes, bringing suspects before the local court, and acting as prosecutor. He was supposed to investigate a crime and present his findings to the government in Stuttgart to obtain permission to arrest a suspect; he then had to present evidence for the prosecution before the court and to implement any judgement passed." See also Karl and Arnold Weller, *Württembergische Geschichte im südwestdeutschen Raum*, 7th ed. (Stuttgart/Aalen, 1972), 97-99.

⁷See W. H. Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival* (Cambridge, 1939), Part I Chapter II 'Benevolent Despotism', 11-43.

councils became increasingly incensed by the actions of their Duke, who publicly aped the moral standards of the French court rather than their own Lutheran traditions. In late 1707 the outcry which followed as a result of the Duke talking openly of his desire to marry Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz (he was already married to Johanna Elisabetha von Durlach, ∞1697) apparently caused him to stop attending privy council meetings. Instead he demanded that written summaries be made of all business discussed at these events, the *extracti protocolli*.⁸

While Eberhard Ludwig was successful in obtaining permission to set up his own standing army, as defence against the French (by establishing a special tax which went directly into the war-chest), he was by no means always so fortunate in his dealings with the estates. J. A. Vann relates an incident which occurred in 1713, when Eberhard Ludwig ordered the immediate execution of two women who had apparently shouted insults at him and his mistress. The privy council overturned the Duke's command and pronounced that no individual had the right to condemn others without first following proper judicial procedure.⁹

The ruling family of Württemberg had employed a *Hofkapelle* from the late fifteenth century at the seat of their ducal house in Stuttgart. Sittard gives 1486 as the date of the earliest mention of a *Hofkapelle* in archival records, consisting of five vocalists and six choirboys.¹⁰ It wasn't until 1493 that instrumentalists were listed in the service of the court—a lutenist, three trumpeters (along with their apprentices), and a harpist.¹¹

⁸Vann, 202.

⁹Vann, 204.

¹⁰Sittard I, 3.

¹¹Sittard I, 3.

Prior to those appointments instrumental music at the court had probably consisted of performances given by itinerant musicians.

The reign of Duke Ulrich, from 1503-1550, was to be an important one for the development of the *Hofmusik*. Sittard writes "Nach dem Beispiele der Herzoge von Baiern schaffte er alle Arten von Instrumenten an und berief Sänger wie Instrumentisten aus Frankreich und Österreich."¹²

Ulrich's *Kapelle* had numbered around thirty singers and instrumentalists up until 1519, when he was excluded from the Swabian Alliance and forced into exile at Hohentwiel and subsequently Mömpelgard. It was during this time that Ulrich converted to Protestantism and on 16 May 1534, the day following his return to Stuttgart, the first Protestant church service was celebrated in the *Stiftskirche*—thus signalling the start of the Reformation in Württemberg.¹³ The *Hofkapelle* was reinstated and towards the end of the sixteenth century secular instrumental music began to play an increasingly important role at the Württemberg court.¹⁴

An inventory of the instruments belonging to the *Hofkapelle* was made in 1576 and included among the list were thirteen sackbuts, thirty-five cornets, nine alto shawms, two bassoons, one racket, fourteen crumhorns, sixteen recorders, one *Concertflöte*¹⁵, thirty-five fifes, two shawms, twenty-four violins, three viols, two citterns, nine lutes, three

¹²Sittard I, 8.

¹³Rapp, 17.

¹⁴For further information regarding the early history of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* see the series of articles by G. Bossert on the *Hofkapelle* and *Hofkantorei* in *Württembergische Vierteljahrsheft für Landesgeschichte*, volumes 7-25 (1898-1916).

¹⁵As I can find no other use of this term, it is unclear whether this instrument was of the recorder or flute variety.

clavichords, four virginals (including one personally owned by the Duke), plus a large and a small organ in the court church.¹⁶ By 1578 it had become necessary for the *Hofkapelle* to have its own instrument workshop.¹⁷

During the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) the *Kapelle* led a sporadic existence, up until the defeat of Nördlingen in 1634 when it was completely disbanded.¹⁸ The first *Kapellmeister* after the war was Johann Christoph Froberger (probably the brother of the more famous Johann Jakob Froberger). Unluckily however, shortly after his appointment he was fatally suffocated in an assault which took place in Tübingen and the *Hofkapelle* appeared without a *Kapellmeister* at the Stuttgart celebrations marking the end of the war in 1648.¹⁹ Froberger's successor, Carl Michael Linder, was also less than fortunate as certain members of the court were convinced that he was a Jesuit (who apparently said the rosary with his housekeeper and sold reports to Catholic courts).²⁰ He was dismissed from office in 1655 having been accused of breaking the collarbone of a noble woman.²¹

On 6 May 1657 Samuel Friedrich Capricornus (1628-1665), formerly *Musikdirektor* at Preßburg²², was given the post of *Kapellmeister*. He is

¹⁶Sittard I, 25-6.

¹⁷Rapp, 21.

¹⁸Eberhard Stiefel, "Stuttgart", *Grove* 6.

¹⁹Friedrich Baser, *Musikheimat Baden-Württemberg, Tausend Jahre Musikentwicklung* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1963), 90.

²⁰Certainly the *Dienerbuch* states that Linder was Jesuit, Pfeilsticker, 884.

²¹Rapp, 32.

²²Today known as Bratislava.

credited with the reorganisation of the *Hofkapelle*²³ and his compositional output written specifically for the Württemberg court included a selection of music for the stage. Between the years 1580 and 1593 a *Lusthaus* was constructed in the court pleasure garden which adjoined the castle from a design by Georg Beer.²⁴ It was there that numerous theatrical performances took place, until the building was replaced by a new *Komödienhaus* (play house) in 1674.²⁵

Quite a number of *Singballet* are presumed to have been composed by Capricornus; the *Ballett der Natur oder Fürstliche Frühlingsluft* of 1660, *Der sieghafte Amor*, and *Der Raub der Proserpina* both performed in 1662. Unfortunately no music survives for these works, but the title-page for the libretto of *Der Raub der Proserpina* indicates that music played an important part in the entertainment: "RAPTUS PROSERPINAE. In einem singenden Schau-Spiel vorgestellt durch SAMUELEM CAPRICORNUM Fürstl. Württembergischen Capell-Meistern und gesampte Fürstl. Hof-Musicos . . ." ²⁶ By the end of Capricornus's life the

²³Eberhard Stiefel, "Stuttgart", *Grove* 6.

²⁴Rapp, 21.

²⁵According to Rapp, 33, the new building was officially opened with a performance of *In der Fremde erworbene Lavinia* in 1673, however the title-page of the original libretto (D-Sl W. G. fol. 244) reads, "In Hochfürstlichen Comædien-Hauß zu Stuttgart den 17. Hornung Anno 1674 durch die Fürstl. Württembergische Hof-Musicos außgeführt" (Performed in the most Royal play-house at Stuttgart on the 17 February in the year 1674 by the Royal Württemberg court musicians). This actually makes the date February 1675, since the Gregorian calendar had yet to be introduced to Württemberg (see page iii fn. 1).

²⁶D-Sl D. D. qt. K. 202; 'Raptus Proserpinae. Presented as a sung play by Samuel Capricornus Ducal Württemberg *Kapellmeister* and all the royal court musicians . . .', the production was dedicated to Prince Georg Christian of East-Friesland and Princess Christina Charlotta of Württemberg.

Hofkapelle numbered twenty-two members²⁷ and following his death on 10 November 1665 no suitable candidate could be found to replace him.²⁸

In 1677 the pious Lutheran Duke Wilhelm Ludwig (b.1647) died, having reigned from 1674, and left the duchy to be ruled by his wife, Magdalena Sibylla (1652-1712) and his francophile brother, Friedrich Carl zu Winnental. In 1693 the as-yet under-aged son of Wilhelm Ludwig, Eberhard Ludwig, succeeded to the position of Duke, ruling for thirty years with the help of his wife, Johanna Elisabetha von Durlach (1647-1709; ∞1697), and his mistress, Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz. Eberhard Ludwig's only son, the *Erbprinz* (Crown Prince) Friedrich Ludwig (1698-1731) had married Henriette Marie von Brandenburg-Schwedt (1702-1782) in 1716, but had failed to produce a male heir (only a daughter, Louisa Frederica, b.1718). Unfortunately the Crown Prince died before his father, in November 1731, and when Eberhard Ludwig died in 1733, he was succeeded by the Catholic son of Friedrich Carl, Carl Alexander (1684-1737).²⁹

²⁷Sittard I, 58.

²⁸According to Pfeilsticker, 882, the entry in H. Moser's *Musiklexikon* (Berlin, 1932, 5/1943) is wrong in giving his death as 12 November 1665, this false information probably had its origin in Sittard I, 57.

²⁹For further information regarding the reigns of Friedrich Carl zu Winnental, Eberhard Ludwig, and Carl Alexander see Bernd Wunder, "Der Administrator Herzog Friedrich Karl von Württemberg (1652-1698)", *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 30 (1971), 117-163; Walter Grube, "Württemberg's erster Barockfürst: Im Zeichen des Absolutismus—Politische Aspekte der Regierung Eberhard Ludwigs", *Beiträge zur Landeskunde (Baden-Württemberg)* 6 (1976), 1-4; C. Belschner, *Ludwigsburg im Wechsel der Zeiten* (Ludwigsburg, 1933); Bernd Wunder, "Herzog Eberhard Ludwig (1677-1733)" and Hermann Tüchle, "Herzog Carl Alexander (1733-1737)" in *900 Jahre Haus Württemberg* ed. Robert Uhlend (Stuttgart, 1985); Klaus Merten and Alois Seiler, *Eberhard Ludwig (1676-1733) Gründer von Schloß und Stadt Ludwigsburg. Ausstellung zur 300. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstags 4. Sept. bis 17. Okt. 1976 im Schloß Ludwigsburg* (Ludwigsburg, 1976); and for a romanticized view of the life of Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz see Marie Hay, *A German Pompadour* (London, 1906).

Foreign Influence and Musical Style

The geographical position of the duchy of Württemberg lent itself easily to assimilation of the musical styles of both France and Italy. Around the end of the seventeenth century attention was firmly centred on emulating the grandeur of the French court. Despite frequent French invasions of Württemberg this focus continued into the early eighteenth century—with members of the ruling family continuing to visit Versailles, even when the duchy was officially at war with France, albeit incognito.¹

It was no doubt partly Eberhard Ludwig's first-hand experience of Louis XIV's court that led him to build a palace at Ludwigsburg, fifteen miles north of Stuttgart, as his new ducal residence. In doing so he was only one of a number of German princes who moved away from their traditional ruling seats around this time. The results of this trend were later noted by Charles Burney when travelling through Germany in the early 1770s, writing

It is no uncommon thing, in Germany, for a sovereign prince, upon a difference with his subjects, to abandon the ancient capital of his dominions, and to erect another at a small distance from it . . . among the princes who come under this predicament, are the Elector of Cologne, removed to *Bonn*; the Elector Palatine removed

¹*Abbildung Und kurtze Lebens-Beschreibung Aller biß dahin Regierenden Durchleuchtigsten Herzogen zu Würtemberg . . .* (Stuttgart, 1704), 246, from a description of the life of Eberhard Ludwig: " . . . einen guten Theil Franckreichs besonders *Pariß* und den Königl Hof zu *Versailles incognito* besehen; Als aber der allgemeine Reichs-Krieg wider Franckreich leider bald weiter angegangen . . . " ([he—Eberhard Ludwig] saw, incognito, a good deal of France, especially Paris and the royal court at Versailles; For the general, Imperial war against France was unfortunately still being fought . . .).

from Heidelberg, to *Manheim*; and the duke of Württemberg, from Stuttgart to *Ludwigsburg*.²

Around the turn of the eighteenth century the artistic sphere turned more and more towards Italy. Numerous Italians were employed as architects and craftsmen in the construction of Eberhard Ludwig's palace—much to the indignation of the pious Lutheran Württembergers.³ Music at the court was similarly influenced at this time, with several promising young musicians from Stuttgart sent to study in Italy⁴, and the appointment of the first Italian ever to lead the *Hofkapelle* in 1721.⁵

These events did not, however, signal an end to French-style music at the Württemberg court. In 1700 four hundred Huguenots received permission to settle in Cannstatt (today an outer suburb of Stuttgart)⁶ and in 1723 Eberhard Ludwig inherited the estate of Mömpelgard (or

²Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces* Volume I, (London, 1775/R New York, 1969), 99-100.

³See Vann, 176. Certainly the situation remained much the same when the Mozart family visited Ludwigsburg in 1763—Leopold Mozart wrote in a letter to Lorenz Hagenauer, 11 July 1763, "Wie sehr aber [Oberkapellmeister] Jomelli für seine Nation eingenommen ist können sie daraus schlüssen, weil er und andere seiner Landsleute, deren sein Haus immer voll ist, um ihm aufzuwarten, sich vernehmen liessen, daß es zu verwundern und kaum galublich seye, daß ein kind deutscher Geburt so ein Musik: genie und so viel geist und feuer haben könne, ridete amici!", W. A. Bauer, O. E. Deutsch, and J. H. Eibl (eds.), *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe*, Volume 1 (Kassel, 1962), 76; trans. E Anderson (ed.), *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 2nd ed. (London, 1966), Volume 1, 32; 'Indeed you can judge how partial Jommelli is to his country from the fact that he and some of his compatriots, who are ever swarming at his house to pay him their respects, were heard to say that it was amazing and hardly believable that a child of German birth could have such unusual genius and so much understanding and passion. *Ridete, amici!*'

⁴Johann Georg Christian Störl (1675-1719) and Daniel Gottlob Treu (1695-1749), see pages 24-25.

⁵Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello.

⁶Friedrich Kübler, *Die Familiengalerie des Württembergischen Fürstenhauses im Kgl. Residenzschloß zu Ludwigsburg* (Ludwigsburg, 1905), 75.

Montbéliard) in France itself. Both these occurrences would have supplied the court with direct contact to French culture. The following year three French musicians were appointed to the *Hofkapelle*, including one who apparently tutored the Crown Prince, Friedrich Ludwig, in the art of composition.⁷

Naturally the training of each successive *Kapellmeister* was an important factor in the type of music performed by the *Hofkapelle*. Not a great deal is known regarding the musical education of Johann Friedrich Magg (fl.1655-c.1690), who led the *Hofkapelle* in the final decades of the seventeenth century. The son of the *Ratsverwandten* Johann Caspar Magg of Kaufbeuren, he was probably a choirboy prior to receiving an appointment as a bass-singer with the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* around 1655.⁸ At the time of his marriage on 22 September 1657⁹ he held the title of *Hofmusicus*, but by July 1666 had been promoted to the position of *Vizekapellmeister*.¹⁰ Contemporary sources claim that he possessed none of the qualities or requirements of a *Kapellmeister*, although he was good singer.¹¹ However, despite this apparent unsuitableness for the post, in 1677 he was elevated to the rank of *Kapellmeister* (no doubt owing to his ten years of experience).¹² Magg was a convert to the Catholic faith and this factor

⁷D-Sa A21 Büschel 615, appointment of Haumale Des Essarts, Lelong, and Barre, decree of Eberhard Ludwig, 3 June 1724.

⁸Pfeilsticker, 924.

⁹Pfeilsticker, 924, to Agnes Maria Hormold of Heilbronn.

¹⁰Sittard I, 58.

¹¹Sittard I, 61.

¹²Sittard I, 59, fn. 1.

possibly contributed to his unpopularity among the predominantly Protestant *Hofmusici*.¹³

As early as 1670 members of the ruling family expressed a preference for the fashionable French style in music. In that year Duke Eberhard III complained that the "dißmals befindliche Instrumentisten nicht einen *Courrant* nach französischer *manier perfect* aufführen könden."¹⁴ His son, Friedrich Carl no doubt developed a taste for French music when on his *Kavallierreise*¹⁵, which was a obligatory part of the education of German nobility at the time. The sixteen-year old travelled incognito under the title "Freiherr von Hellenstein" and during a journey that lasted almost three years (1 July 1669 to 3 March 1672) he visited western Europe, England, and Scandinavia—including a two month stay in Paris.¹⁶ Upon his return to Germany Friedrich Carl probably encouraged the *Hofkapelle* to emulate the performance style current at the French court, even down to the institution of a special 'French Band' (see page 15).

There can be no doubt that *Kapellmeister* Magg would have fitted well into the francophile court of Friedrich Carl, who in 1677 took up the role of *Administrator* following the death of his elder brother, Duke Wilhelm Ludwig. The *Kapellmeister* is possibly the "Magg" who is mentioned as taking part in the 1684 ballet production, *Le*

¹³Sittard I, 62, fn. 1.

¹⁴Sittard I, 59; 'the current instrumentalists can't even play a *Courrant* in a perfect French manner.'

¹⁵The German equivalent of the English term *Grand Tour*.

¹⁶Vann, 121. Members of German ruling families generally travelled incognito, not only in order to save on expenses but also to suspend normal protocol and thus avoid having their rank ignored (see Vann, Chapter 4, fn. 10).

*Rendez-vous des Plaisirs*¹⁷—which features in the *Premier Acte* an "Entrée [*sic.*] de 6. Cyclopes Les S[ieu]rs de Monicart, Reinsal, Moser, Bakmeister, Rose, & Magg."¹⁸

In 1682, twelve years after Duke Eberhard III's criticism mentioned above, the same reproaches were still being made regarding poor performances of French music, especially of "Entréen, Ouverturen, Courante und dergleichen" (Entrées, overtures, courantes, and the like).¹⁹ Perhaps in response to these remarks the next year saw court positions being granted to three French musicians. A resolution dated 3 July 1683 appointed Daniel Rousselin (d.1728) as a "musicalische Trompeter" (musical trumpeter) and made "Rinsal" (presumably Claude Reinsal) a *Hofmusicus*.²⁰ Then, on 31 October 1683, the "Französl. Bassist La Ros" (French bassist [François] La Rose) was appointed to the *Hofkapelle*. While they were by no means the first French musicians to be employed at the Württemberg court, their appointment is an indication of the prominence of French musical style in Germany at the end of the seventeenth century.²¹

Further evidence supporting the importance of this trend can be found in a lengthy announcement written in 1684 under the auspices

¹⁷A joint production combining the talents of the *Hofmusicus* Theodor Schwartzkopff and the court dancing-master François Courtel.

¹⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 187, libretto for *Le Rendez-vous des Plaisirs*, 1684 ("Jean Weyrich Rösslin, Imprimeur"); 'Entrance of the six Cyclops; the gentlemen de Monicart, Reinsal, Moser, Bakmeister, Rose, and Magg.', although this may also have been Felix Friedrich Magg (see page 55).

¹⁹Sittard I, 63-64.

²⁰Pfeilsticker, 874 and 927.

²¹Although the compiler of the 1684 *Specificatio* is quite clear about these two dates, it is worth noting that Sittard claimed these Frenchmen were included in a list of *Kapelle* members compiled in 1678, Sittard I, 63.

of Magdalena Sibylla of Württemberg, as joint *Administrator* of the duchy along with Friedrich Carl. Magdalena Sibylla was certainly interested in music; she is known to have patronised Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706), who abandoned his position as organist in Erfurt to serve her as a *Hofmusicus* and organist at the Württemberg court. His appointment is recorded in a decree of 1 September 1690. However, it was to be short-lived; Pachelbel left Stuttgart in 1692, forced to flee before a French invasion.²²

Written entirely in French, the Duchess's 1684 proclamation reads as a summary of instructions. These were perhaps originally issued verbally to the *Kapellmeister*, differing from the more common ducal resolution or decree composed in German and signed by the reigning monarch. This report supplies us with a much clearer picture of the nature of the *Hofkapelle* at this time than any other archival evidence available. It exists in two versions, French and German²³, and includes comments on a wide variety of topics relating directly to the day-to-day running of the *Hofkapelle*.

Given the wide ranging and often serious nature of the complaints in this report, it is obvious that earlier reprimands had had little permanent impact on the musicians. Echoing previous ducal commands the German version gives the rehearsal of French music particular importance: "Und nachdeme, sehr vihl, an denen *Exercitijs Musicis* Gelegen ist, welche eine Zeithero absonderlich in frantzösischen Sachen, welche doch Insonderheir eines Täglichen

²²Sittard I, 66-67; Ewald V. Nolte, "Pachelbel, J.", *Grove* 6.

²³Both found in D-Sa A21 Büschel 609, generally I have chosen to quote from the French document due to the poor legibility of the German version.

exercirÿ nöthig haben . . . "²⁴ Both language versions make it clear that these rules have not always been obeyed, much to the displeasure of Her Highness, and efforts must be made to improve the situation.

A practical application for this French music was in the provision of music for the dance exercises of the young Prince Eberhard Ludwig and his two sisters Eberhardina Louisa and Magdalena Wilhelmina, which took place early every Wednesday and Friday morning. This highlights the importance of French courtly style in the education of the children of the Württemberg royal family and, furthermore, we learn that one of the principal set ensembles of the *Hofkapelle* was a special French band—presumably established in imitation of the *Vingt-quatre Violons du Roi* at Versailles:

4. Et de plus que pas un des violons ne soit exempt de jouer en cas de besoin dans la Bande Françoise [*Ger: dem frantzösischen Bande von dero Violisten*], mais qu'ils s'y trouvent sans contradiction sous peine de cassation; S. A. S. cependant pretend que l'on tire de la bande entiere une bande separée, pour servir à la Danse françoise, et aux exercices ordinaires de Monseigneur le jeune Prince et les Princesses.²⁵

The importance of this ensemble is confirmed by the threat of dismissal as a punishment for truancy. The fourth point of the report seems to suggest that from a larger French band only a small number of musicians were chosen expressly for the purpose of accompanying the weekly dance lessons of the young royals. Interestingly enough

²⁴1684 Rules; 'And since rehearsals in music matter a great deal, recently of French pieces especially, which, however, actually require daily practice . . .'

²⁵1684 Rules; '4. And further that none of the violins may be exempt from playing if needed in the French Band [*Ger. of violins*]; absences will without exception result in termination of employment; Her Highness, however, claims [the right] to draw from the complete band a separate ensemble for use with the French Dancing and the ordinary exercises of the Monseigneur the young Prince and the Princesses.'

this select group did not consist solely of violins or even strings alone but included a number of wind instruments, at least on Wednesdays and Fridays. A discussion of woodwind players (specifically the oboe, recorder, and bassoon) leads onto the eighth point in the document, which states "8. Qu'on en tire quelques uns d'entre eux, qui se trouvent tous les Mecedys et Vendredys de bonne heure à la Cour, pour pouvoir estre employés à la Danse de Monseignl: le Prince et des Princesses."²⁶

The court musician Theodor Schwartzkopff composed music for a series of French-style ballets produced at the Württemberg court in the 1680s, but unfortunately only the libretti for these works survive. The first of these (mentioned earlier in connection with J. F. Magg) was *Le Rendez-Vous des Plaisirs*, performed in October 1684, only a matter of months after the death of the *Vizekapellmeister* Johann Albrecht Kreß. The title-page reads as follows:

LE RENDEZ-VOUS
DES PLAISIRS
BALLET,
Representé devant leurs Altesses
Serenissimes de Wirtemberg
A Stuttgart le Four
d'Octobre 1684.
Composé & ordonné par le Sieur
COURTEL Maistre a Danser de S. A. S.
&
Tous les airs de la Simphonie du Ballet
Par le Sieur Theodore Schwartzkopff,
Musicien de la Cour.

²⁶1684 Rules; '8. That some of them [woodwind players] be selected every Wednesday and Friday to present themselves early at court in order to be employed in the dancing of *Monseigneur* the Prince and the Princesses.'

A STUTTGART,
Par JEAN WEYRICH RÖSSLIN,
Imprimeur ordinaire de S. A. S. Monseigneur le Duc
de Württemberg.²⁷

Obviously the role of the court dancing-master, François Courtel²⁸, was considered more important than that of Schwartzkopff, who merely composed the music. The only instruments mentioned in the stage directions of the libretto itself are "les trompettes & les timballes Viennent prendre part a la feste."²⁹

According to George J. Buelow, in 1685 Schwartzkopff travelled with a court entourage to Paris³⁰, although this seems a little unlikely given that in 1674 the Holy Roman Empire, of which Württemberg was a member, had declared war on France.³¹ The political situation only returned to a complete peace following the Treaty of Utrecht, which was signed in 1713. On 10 December 1686, a little over two years after *Le Rendez-Vous des Plaisirs*, another theatrical production was presented. *Paradis-Urthel* was described as "einem Singenden Schauspiel mit Entreen von Balletten vermenget"³² and the title-page

²⁷D-Sa A21 Büschel 187; '*Le Rendex-vous des Plaisirs* Ballet, presented before their Royal Highnesses of Württemberg at Stuttgart on the 4 October 1684. Made-up and arranged by *Monsieur* Courtel Dancing-master to His Royal Highness and all the airs that the instrumental ensemble plays for the ballet by *Monsieur* Theodor Schwartzkopff, Court Musician. At Stuttgart, from Jean Weyrich Rösslin, Ordinary Printer to His Royal Highness *Monsieur* the Duke of Württemberg.'

²⁸Pfeilsticker, 970, appointed 5 June 1680.

²⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 187, libretto for *Le Rendez-vous des Plaisirs*; 'the trumpets and the kettledrums who come to take part in the celebration.'

³⁰George J. Buelow, "Schwartzkopff, T.", *Grove* 6.

³¹Although individual members of the royal family sometimes travelled incognito to countries with which they were officially at war (see page 12 fn. 16), it is unlikely that they would have been accompanied by an entourage of servants on such visits.

³²D-Sa A21 Büschel 634; 'a sung play mixed with ballet *entrées*'.

continued with the following statement "*Repræscentirt zu Stuttgart . . . Componirt und auffgeführt von THEOD. Schwartzkopff Fürstl. Würtemb. Vice-Capellmeistern und Courcelln, Dantzmeistern.*"³³

In addition to the acknowledgement that Schwartzkopff had been promoted to the position of *Vizekapellmeister* by this time, the title-page for *Paradis-Urthel* indicates that the two main creative roles had reversed in their importance, with Schwartzkopff's name now appearing first—having both composed and taken part in the performance of the work. This order may have had more to do with a question of seniority, as the dancing-master was only a very recent appointment (through a decree of 30 August 1686), replacing François Courtel who had been released in May 1686.³⁴ Both Charles Courcelle and his son, Jacques, took part in the dancing, as did the two Princesses, Eberhardina Louisa and Magdalena Wilhelmina.

The text for *Paridis-Urthel* contains a great deal more information regarding the type of music included than any other remaining libretto. The statement "wird ein *Trio* gespielt" (a trio shall be played) frequently appears, sometimes *Trio* is replaced with "Praelude" or "Air", while the fourth page features the instruction "Die *Ouverture* wird noch einmahl gespihlt" (The *ouverture* shall be played once more). A *Trio* "von *Hautbois*" (of oboes) is mentioned, as is one of "Flöten" (recorders), while the final musical item is described as "eine *Symphonia* von *Trompeten* und *Violons*."³⁵

³³D-Sa A21 Büschel 634; 'Presented at Stuttgart . . . Composed and performed by Theodor Schwartzkopff, Royal *Vizekapellmeister* of Württemberg, and Courcelle, Dancing-master.'

³⁴Pfeilsticker, 970.

³⁵D-Sa A21 Büschel 634; 'a symphony of trumpets and violins.'

Even if Schwartzkopff had not had the opportunity to visit France in 1685, it is certain that he came into contact with Johann Sigismund Kusser during the early 1680s. In June 1674 Kusser's father, Johann, had gained the position of *Informator und Director musices* (Instructor and Musical Director) at the *Pädagogium* and the *Stiftskirche* in Stuttgart.³⁶ In a letter written in May of that year, supporting Kusser's application for the post, his son was described as a seventeen-year old who was "bereits ein guter Musiker, der einen tüchtigen Generalbaß schlagen und einen Baß streichen kann."³⁷

Sometime between 1674 and 1682 the young Kusser went to study music in Paris and it is highly likely that this trip was sponsored by the *Administrator* Friedrich Carl.³⁸ The fruit of this sojourn was his *Composition de Musique Suiuant la Methode Francoise Contenant Six Ouvertures de Theatre*³⁹, published in 1682. In the preface Kusser describes himself as a "Musicien de Son Altesse Serenissime" (Musician of His Royal Highness) and dedicates the work to Friedrich Carl. The preface also states that Kusser had studied with Lully while in Paris and that these pieces were composed in imitation of the

³⁶Bopp, 226.

³⁷Bopp, 225, letter from the *Konsistorium* of Preßburg to the Duke of Württemberg; 'already a good musician, who can play a capable thorough-bass and can play the string bass.'

³⁸Scholz, 11.

³⁹D-SI Sch. K. Musik Mus 80/80; 'Musical Composition according to the French method, containing six theatre overtures.' For a modern edition of this work and Kusser's *Apollon Enjoué* (of 1700, see page 367) see R. Bayreuther (ed.), *Johann Sigismund Kusser, Suiten für Orchester* (Schott: Mainz/New York, 1994) in the series *Musikalische Denkmäler* Bd. 11.

"fameux BAPTISTE".⁴⁰ This is confirmed by the entry in J. G.

Walther's *Musikalisches Lexikon*:

Cousser (Joan. Sigismund) *Johannis Cousser*, eines zu Preßburg in Ungarn *renommirten Cantoris* und Componisten Sohn, hat sich fürnehmlich auf die Instrumental-Music und Composition anfänglich *appliciret*, in verschiedenen Capellen als *Musicus* und Componist gedienet, sich auch zu Paris sechs Jahr lang aufgehalten, und das Glück gehabt, vom dem weltberühmten *Lully* geliebt zu werden, und von ihm die Frantzösische Art zu *componiren* zu erlernen . . . ⁴¹

Kapellmeister Magg evidently felt a greater affinity with France than with the duchy of Württemberg, for when the French invaded Stuttgart in 1688 (the first in a series of such attacks) he sided with the aggressors. A contemporary *Dienerbuch* from the Württemberg court includes the following statement: "Johann Friedrich Mack, Bassist vorhin, ein proselyt, hat sich 24. Dezember 1688 mit den Franzosen von Stuttgart retirirt und selbstentsetzt, ist aber wieder gefangen und lang arrestirt worden, lebet jetzo kümmerlich und vagirt herum." ⁴²

Around the turn of the century a shift in focus from French to Italian musical taste coincided with the brief return to the court by J. S.

⁴⁰D-Sl Sch. K. Musik Mus 80/80; 'famous [Jean-] Baptiste [Lully].'

⁴¹Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732), 189; 'Cousser [Kusser] (Johann Sigismund). The son of Johann Cousser [Kusser], renowned as the *Kantor* at Preßburg in Hungary and a composer, originally applied himself to instrumental music and composition, served as a musician and composer in various chapels, also he spent six years in Paris and was lucky enough to be a favourite of world-famous Lully, from whom he learnt the French manner of composition . . .', the spelling of Kusser as Cousser is presumably a French affectation.

⁴²Sittard I, 62, fn. 1; 'Johann Friedrich Mack [Magg], formerly a bass [singer], a proselyte, on 24 December 1688 he retreated with the French and provided assistance to these same [the French], however, he was captured again [by Württemberg] and taken into custody for a long time, at present he lives in misery and wanders hereabouts as a vagrant.'

Kusser in 1698. In a *Verzeichnis* dating from around 1699 virtually all the musicians employed in the *Hofkapelle* were German in nationality, with the only foreigners represented being of French origin—La Rose, Rousselin, and the soprano Bex (1699 *Verz*, see Appendix A, pages 419-425).⁴³ However, by the early years of the eighteenth century a noticeable change had occurred: a report of 1702 features four Italian names, Campioli, Ricci, Venturini, and Rubini (c.1702 *Verz*, see Scholz, pages 202-205). These were, however, by no means the first Italians employed as musicians at the Württemberg court. Around the turn of the seventeenth century three Italian lutenists held positions in Stuttgart: "Benedict Rubineti" (from 13 April 1584- d.1602), "Thiberio Balamaunto" (from St. Bartholemew's Day 1596-d.1605)⁴⁴, and "Gioseppo Biffi" (from 1 August 1597-at least 1600⁴⁵).

On 3 June 1623, in the midst of the Thirty Years War, two Italians were appointed as musicians—"Francisco Franchini" and "Casparo Sacratio."⁴⁶ In the second half of the century a number of singers were given positions, including "Paulus Muzzachelli" (from 28 September 1652), "Nicolao Grancini" (11 November 1668-1670), and the castrato "Angelo Maria de Marchesini" (11 November 1670-25 April 1671), presumably appointed as a replacement for Grancini.⁴⁷

⁴³D-Sa A21 Büschel 607.

⁴⁴Pfeilsticker, 907 and 886.

⁴⁵B. K. Ansbacher, "Biffi, G.", *Grove 6*, his *Madrigali libro terzo* (Nuremberg, 1600) identifies him as composer to Frederick, Duke of Württemberg.

⁴⁶Pfeilsticker, 896 and 908.

⁴⁷Pfeilsticker, 925, 921, and 903, Marchesini boarded with the *Vizekapellmeister* J. F. Magg.

The four Italians listed the c.1702 *Verzeichnis* had been engaged by Kusser in 1701. They were all specialists in a particular field, as opposed to the normal German tradition of *Hofmusici* who could be expected to play a variety of instruments. The alto castrato, Giovanni Antonio Campioli, was born in Germany of Italian parents, but had studied music in Italy. He achieved some fame in his own time, working in Berlin, Darmstadt, Venice, Dresden, and Wolfenbüttel. Around 1722 he joined the Hamburg opera and it was there in 1725 that he sang the lead role in Handel's *Giulio Cesare*, later appearing in the London 1731-32 season.⁴⁸ The *Dienerbuch* records that he remained in Stuttgart until the summer of 1707.⁴⁹

The other Italian vocalist employed at this time was Giovanni Maria Ricci. In the opinion of the *Oberhofmarschallamt* official responsible for writing the c.1702 document Ricci "Singt einen schönen Bass" (sings a lovely bass).⁵⁰ He had been in the service of the Württemberg court from *Georgii* (25 April) 1701⁵¹ and is last mentioned in a document dated 1722.⁵²

As might be expected the two Italian instrumentalists employed at this time were both string players. Francesco Venturini, although not yet personally acquainted with the compiler of the c.1702 document, had the reputation to merit the comment "Es ist der Francesco, ein

⁴⁸Winton Dean, "Campioli", *Grove* 6.

⁴⁹Pfeilsticker, 916.

⁵⁰c.1702 Verz.

⁵¹Pfeilsticker, 927.

⁵²1722 *Consignation*.

trefflicher Violist."⁵³ It seems that he was not related to another musician of the same name who merits a sizeable entry in *Grove* 6. This other Francesco Venturini, a composer and violinist at the court of Hannover, was (perhaps rather implausibly) possibly of Walloon descent.⁵⁴ But in a document preserved in the Württemberg archives the Venturini resident in Stuttgart is described as "Francesco Venturini Italiano" (Francesco Venturini, Italian).⁵⁵

Bartolomeo Rubini was appointed along with Campioli on the 5 April 1701, as a violoncellist. He was finally released at the end of May 1704⁵⁶, and must have been extremely talented to be retained for so long despite the veritable torrent of complaints regarding his conduct which are recorded in contemporary documents (see page 173-174).⁵⁷

Kusser had, in fact, travelled to Italy around this time⁵⁸, presumably with the specific intention of securing a number of musicians to aid in the performance of Italianate music at the Württemberg court—an official letter mentions the "von Ihme [Kusser] in Italien gdst. Herrsch. kosten an Musicalien und Instrumenten erkaufft worden."⁵⁹

⁵³c.1702 Verz; 'He is [the] Francesco, an excellent violinist.'

⁵⁴Michael Talbot, "Venturini, F.", *Grove* 6.

⁵⁵Scholz, 221.

⁵⁶Pfeilsticker, 908.

⁵⁷The official records which detail the complaints levelled at Rubini are reproduced in Scholz, 208-232, and stem principally from his lack of understanding of the cultural and social differences between Italy and the highly organised hierarchy of a German ducal court.

⁵⁸See Scholz, 43, for further details.

⁵⁹Scholz, 239, letter from *Secretarius* Carl Scheinemann to the Duke, 31 May 1702; 'the music and instruments that were bought by him [Kusser] in Italy at the expense of our most gracious ruler.'

According to surviving records he visited Bologna and Venice bringing back with him Rubini and Campioli. A similar trip was undertaken fifty years later when, in 1753, the Württemberg *Konzertmeister* Franz Joseph Pircker (d.1786⁶⁰) was sent to Venice with orders to engage a number of Italian virtuoso musicians.⁶¹

The rise in interest of things Italian manifested itself in other ways. Of the musicians listed in c.1702, the entry for Johann Georg Christian Störl (1675-1719) bears the comment: "Hat einen guten anfang zur Composition, tractirt auch ein feines Clavir. Wan er wieder auss Italien komt, wird man seine profectus sehen."⁶²

Störl was a native of Württemberg who must have displayed immense musical talent from an early age. In 1697, as a member of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*, he was sent by Duke Eberhard Ludwig to Nuremberg for the purpose of studying composition and keyboard, with Johann Pachelbel. In 1701 he furthered his studies in Vienna—spending time under the instruction of Ferdinand Tobias Richter (1651-1711).⁶³ Following this Störl travelled through Italy, visiting Venice, Ferrara, Florence, Bologna, and staying in Rome for

⁶⁰Pfeilsticker, 884.

⁶¹C. H. Mahling's article "Zu anherbringung einiger italienischer Virtuosen: ein Beispiel aus den Akten des württembergischen Hofes für die Beziehungen Deutschland-Italien im 18. Jahrhundert.", *AnMc* 12 (1973), 193-208, discusses the remaining archival sources which document this trip—the cost of which totalled 4453 *Gulden* 47 *Kreutzer*.

⁶²c.1702 Verz; 'Has made a good beginning in composition, he plays also a refined keyboard. When he returns from Italy, one will see his proficiency.'

⁶³Rudolf Schnitzler, "Richter, F. T.", *Grove* 6, Richter was first organist at the court chapel of Emperor Leopold I.

approximately ten months—where he met, among others, Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710) and Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713).⁶⁴

A few years later another promising young Württemberg musician, Daniel Gottlob Treu (1695-1749), was sent by the ducal family to study in Italy. His uncle J. S. Kusser had taught him the basics of composition and by the age of twelve Treu had published three *Ouvertures sur le violon avec quatres parties d'instrumens*.

Following a successful performance of a birthday cantata for Duke Eberhard Ludwig in c.1716 he travelled to Venice and studied with Antonio Vivaldi and Antonio Biffi. However, it seems that he did not return to Stuttgart to pass on his experience to the *Hofmusici* as his name fails to appear in any Württemberg *Verzeichnisse*.⁶⁵ Treu is next heard of in 1725 when he attained the post of *Kapellmeister* in Breslau, followed by a string of similar appointments in Prague, Vienna, and Silesia.⁶⁶

It appears that it was not only the younger generation of Stuttgart musicians who were travelling in pursuit of musical knowledge. In 1706, Schwartzkopff, not wanting to be outdone by his former pupil, Störl, felt it necessary to write that " . . . er Störlen, alß der sich nicht rühmen Kan daß Er dergleichen zu Pariß, Venedig, Kayserl. und Churfürstl. Höfen gesehen habe, wie Ich ohne aigene Ruhmbs-Beymessung solche und dergleichen vñhle gesehen, und derselben

⁶⁴Günter Thomas, "Störl, J. G. C." *Grove* 6, this visit to Rome was some twenty years after Georg Muffat's sojourn in the same city.

⁶⁵Although the majority of his music is now lost, one work is included in the Württemberg collection held at Rostock; a *Serenata. à Soprano 2. Violini 1. Viola 2. Corno di Caccia. et Cembalo* (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII: 60⁸).

⁶⁶G. J. Buelow, "Treu, D. G.", *Grove* 6.

arth und manier gelernet habe, so wohl auf Italianisch, als
Frantzösische manier zumachen . . . "67

The next *Oberkapellmeister* to be appointed at the Württemberg court, Johann Christoph Pez (1664-1716) in 1706, had excellent credentials in the form of an extended period of study in Italy. Around the middle of 1689, while in the service of the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian II Emanuel (1680-1725), Pez was sent to study music in Rome, leaving behind his wife and child. Unfortunately few details of this trip are known—no doubt in Italy Pez experienced first-hand the music of such masters as Arcangelo Corelli. He is believed to have returned to Germany in 1692 and, significantly, Italian influence remained an important aspect of his compositional output throughout the rest of his career. While musicologists tend to consider Georg Muffat's sojourn in Rome during 1680-1682 almost as an isolated occurrence, the examples of Pez, Störl, and Treu suggest that he was only one of an unknown but presumably sizeable number of Germans who studied with Corelli and other Italian musicians in Italy both during and following the final decades of the seventeenth century.

Despite the supremacy of Italian music at this time certain aspects of French taste remained very important. In a report on the *Hofkapelle* written in 1714 (1714 Pez *Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 443-450) Pez expressed his pride regarding of the variety of instruments which each *Hofmusici* could play and his confidence in their ability to play in the fashionable French style:

⁶⁷Sittard I, 328, letter of Schwartzkopff to Duke Eberhard Ludwig, 22 February 1706; 'he, Störl, cannot boast that he has seen such things in Paris, Venice, Imperial and Electoral courts, while I, without attaching any such glory to myself, have seen the same things and have learnt of the same styles and manners—that is particularly Italian and French . . .'; Pfeilsticker, 880, notes that Schwartzkopff visited Venice during the carnival season, 1695.

Wann Eur Hochfürstl: dhrtl: dise *Lista* gdgst betrachten, so werden seÿe finden, das schon alle in 3: 4: biß 5:^{er} beÿ *sorten* der *instrumenten versirt* sein, streichen auch mit sauberen französischen Zug so net und *unit: te* zusammen, das ich ein *Music* in ganzem Römhl: Reich mir getraue heraus zufordern, seÿe möchte noch 5: mahl so starkh sein, die es der Unserigen beuor thuen solte.⁶⁸

This is perhaps a reference to the pioneering work done by Jean-Baptiste Lully with the *Vingt-quatre Violons du Roi*, which made the performance practices of the French court, especially with regards to string playing, the model to be aimed for by string ensembles elsewhere in Europe. This French style of performance was not only a positive attribute in string playing, but also on other instruments, given that the accompanying of the court organist, Isaac Seidel, was described by Pez as being French in manner.

Of the thirty-three members of the *Hofkapelle* in 1714, only three men came non-German speaking areas: Ricci and Venturini from Italy, and La Rose from France. Seidel and Glockhart both came from Saxony, the *Altist* Gabrielis from Preßburg (today Bratislava), and another eight men from cities in the immediate area of southern Germany: Freudenberg, Frankfurt am Main; J. N. Nicolai, Anthonÿ Meister, and F. A. M. Pez, Munich; Fenchel, Durlach; Gumprecht, Straßburg; Schwartzkopff, Ulm; and Sigmund Castenbauer, Neuenstein.⁶⁹ The remaining nineteen members of the *Hofkapelle* probably came from

⁶⁸1714 Pez *Lista*; 'When Your Royal Highness has most graciously looked at this list, then you will find, that all [the musicians] are experienced on 3, 4, to 5 different types of instruments, that they also bow with clean French characteristics so nicely and unitedly together, that I dare to challenge any musical establishment in the Roman Empire, should they be five times the size of us, to be better than us.'

⁶⁹The majority of this information is gleaned from the relevant entries in Pfeilsticker.

Stuttgart itself or at least the surrounding region and those who were former choirboys almost certainly fall into this category.⁷⁰

By September 1716 Pez had died and less than one month following his death a new appointment was made to the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*.⁷¹ The *Dienerbuch* states that Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello (c.1690-1758) was made *Musikdirektor und Maitre des concerts de la chambre* (Music Director and Master of Chamber Concerts) through a decree dated 19 November 1716.⁷² Apparently he was not employed as a direct replacement for Pez, for his title did not correspond to that of *Oberkapellmeister*, despite what Sittard has written to the contrary: "Im Jahre 1617 [1716] scheint Pez gestorben zu sein, denn zum ersten Male finden wir da in den Akten Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello als Oberkapellmeister erwähnt . . . Er wurde zunächst mit fl 1200 Gehalt und dem Titel „Musique Directeur, Maitre des concerts de la chambre“ angestellt."⁷³

Significantly Brescianello was the first Italian to take a leadership role in the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*. In 1715 he had come to Munich from Venice to work as a violinist in the employ of Pez's major patron, the Elector Maximilian II Emanuel, and was mentioned in a contemporary document as "Bressanelli: Unter der Suite Ihrer Churf. Durchlaucht unser gnadigsten Frauen ist auch Joseph Bressonelli

⁷⁰For example Georg Albrecht Kreß, Zahn, Schwahn, and Susanna Margaretha Scharnizgin.

⁷¹Wallner, p. xliii, 25 September 1716.

⁷²Pfeilsticker, 882, Brescianello held this position from 19 October 1716.

⁷³Sittard I, 95-96.

Violinist von Venedig alhero khomen . . . "⁷⁴ Unfortunately nothing is known about his early origins or training in Italy.⁷⁵

We cannot be sure exactly what Brescianello's position at Württemberg entailed, but the inclusion of the phrase "Maitre des concerts de la chambre" in his official title corresponds with the growth in the importance of chamber music at the court which occurred at this time. Interestingly, Brescianello is mentioned only once in a collection of contemporary documents which describe the *Hofkapelle* in some detail. These date from between May to August 1717 and include two major reports compiled by Schwartzkopff and Störl respectively (1717 Schw 27/v; 1717 Störl 19/v; c.1717 Störl; and 1717 Schw 5/viii—see Appendix A, pages 453-473).

The fact that Brescianello is not listed in the 1717 documents indicates that he was probably not yet considered an official member of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*. Störl fails to even give his name, while Schwartzkopff only cites him when discussing the capabilities of Anthony Meister: "Antoni Maister, ein Catholique, ist mit den verstorbenen Ober Cappellmeister Petzen, alß *Notist*, anhero komen, streicht eine mittelmäßige *Viol*, und läst sich alß *Notist* beÿ dem *Concertmeister Brescianello* gebrauchen, komt aber selten zur *Cappell Music*."⁷⁶

⁷⁴Adelmo Damerini, "Sei Concerti a Tre sconosciuti di G. A. Brescianello", *SMw* 25 (1962), 97, citing A. Sandberger, *E. F. Dall'Abaco, Ausgewählter Werke*, DTB II/1 (Leipzig, 1900), XXIII, fn. 4—the document is now held by the *Kreisarchiv München*; 'Among the entourage of Her Highness the Electoral Princess, our most gracious Lady, the violinist Joseph Bressonelli [Brescianello] has arrived here from Venice . . . '

⁷⁵Damerini, "Sei Concerti", 96, states "Brescianello è nato a Bologna verso il 1690", but Rudolf Lück, "Brescianello, G. A." *Grove* 6, suggests Florence as a possible birthplace.

⁷⁶1717 Schw 27/v; 'Antoni Maister [Anthony Meister], a Catholic, came here with the deceased *Oberkapellmeister* Pez as a copyist, plays an average viola, and is needed

Whatever the exact nature of Brescianello's position at the court during this time, it is obvious that he sought a promotion to the rank formerly held by Pez. The one remaining copy of a theatrical piece by Brescianello, now held by the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, is definite evidence of this desire. The work is an *opera pastorale* based on the subject of *Pyramus und Thisbe* and the title-page of the manuscript score reads as follows: "OPERA Pastorale, dédiée A Son Altesse Serenissime EBERHARD LOUIS Duc Regnant de Wurtemberg par Giuseppe Brescianello son Directeur de la Musique. Stouttgarde ce. 26. de Janul: MDCCXVIII."⁷⁷

The preface to this work takes the form of a letter addressed to Eberhard Ludwig. In it Brescianello stated that he had composed this *pastorale* during the past summer, that is 1717, in order to please His Highness, and asked that it be performed, if at all possible:

Monseigneur.

Voicy une Pastorelle, que i'ay mis en Musique Theatrale pendant cette été, pour montrer à V. A. S. mon talent dans la pareille sorte de composition. I'ose donc dedié ce petit ouvrage à V. A. sous l'esperance, qu' Elle l'acceptera gracieusements, come i'ay l'honneur d'etre regardé tous le jours avec mes autres services de Musique. Si cette piece d'Opera pourroit avoir le bonheur d'etre executé sur le Theatre, ie me flattois d'une agreable reüssite, ayant cherché soigneusement dans les airs le gout du Theatre. Je me recommande enfin à la Clemence de V. A. S. demeurant toute ma vie avec un tres prostonde Respect de V. A. S.

Le tres-humble et tres-obeissant

as a copyist for the concertmaster Brescianello, however he seldom attends the music in the chapel.'

⁷⁷D-SI, Cod. mus. II Reihe 2^o 3; 'Opera pastorale, dedicated to His Royal Highness Eberhard Louis, reigning Duke of Württemberg by Giuseppe Brescianello, his Director of Music. Stuttgart 26 January 1718.'

Giuseppe Bresicanello.⁷⁸

The opera itself consists of three acts, in all a total of fifty-one itemized numbers—a mixture of arias (including two Trios and a Duetto), recitative, ritornelli, and two choruses. The four principal singers take the roles of Tisbe, Licori, Alceste, and Piramo. Overall the information given on the score itself is rather sparse as far as the staging and instrumentation of the work is concerned. No general instrumentation is ever specified but oboes, violins, horns, and "Flauti" (presumably recorders) are mentioned. It must therefore be assumed that strings formed the basis of the instrumental accompaniment.

A pair of horns, "Corno da Caccia 1.^{ma}" and "2^{da}", feature in the two choruses of the opera. The first of these was probably a chorus of shepherds and shepherdesses, No. 8 "Triforme Dea che in Cielo", and is followed by a dance with music entitled: "Rittornello per il Ballo" (Ritornello for the dance). The second chorus occurs in the final scene of Act II and must have featured the chorus dressed as hunters since it opens with a recitative sung by Alceste, No. 34 "Questo apunto è quel luoco", alongside which appear in the score the words "accompagnato da cacciatori" (accompanied by the hunters). The use of horns in these two pieces matches not only the increased number of vocalists in each, but also the subject matter. What must have been the climax of

⁷⁸D-SI, Cod. mus. II Reihe 2^o 3; 'Sir, Here is a *Pastorelle* which I have set as theatre music during this summer to show Your Highness my talent in a similar kind of composition. I take this liberty then, of dedicating this little work to Your Highness in the hope that you will accept it graciously, as I have the honour of being esteemed daily with my other musical duties. If this operatic piece could have the good fortune to be performed on the stage, I flatter myself that it would have a pleasing success, since I have carefully striven for the theatrical style in the airs. Finally, I commend myself to Your Highness's mercy, living all my life with a very profound respect for Your Highness, Your very humble and very obedient Giuseppe Bresicanello.'

the entire work followed, with Piramo declaring in a recitative, No. 36, "Questo è sangue", and the stage directions then indicating "Piramo combatte il Leone", "Caduto il Leone dirà'", and "Finisce d'uccider il Leone."⁷⁹

Brescianello must have written the horn parts to match the skills of the court *Waldhornisten*, Johann Christoph Biener (d.1748) and Sigmund Castenbauer (d.1736). The music, simple in style, consists mostly of stereotyped fanfare figuration found in hundreds of baroque pieces:

Ex. 1.1 Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello, *Pyramus und Thisbe* (1718), No. 35 Chorus 'S'in gombri la selu', bars 1-7 (D-Sl, Cod. mus. II Reihe 2^o 3).

⁷⁹'Piramo fights the lion'; 'He will say: Fallen is the lion', and 'He finishes [kills] the lion.'

There is little evidence to prove that Brescianello was successful in receiving permission to stage his work at this time.⁸⁰ Only one document remains which indicates that Brescianello had begun to seriously consider the logistics of such a production—a proposal which lists the necessary costumes and appendages. This document is signed by Brescianello, although the date at the head of the page, 1718, is in another hand. However, the fact that Brescianello describes himself as "Musices Director" proves that the document must date from around that time.

Zu einer haltende: und spihlend *Opera* hat Unterzogener von
nöthen

Vor die *Acteur*

2 Weiber Kläyder, alß Schäferin

2 dergleichen Manns Kläyder

4 guthe Kläyder.

Vorhanden

2 ohngnarirte Rockh mit weissen falbulen. 1 grun der 2. Rosenfarb.
seynd 10. Stuckh aber schlechte.

Vor die *Coer*.

[Vorhanden]

seynd genugsame Kläyd vorhanden, müssen *reparirt* werd.

[von nöthen]

3 Weiber Kläyder.

9 Manns Kläyder.

12 schlechte Kläyder.

Die 12 Kläyder wären doppelt nöthig, einmahl Schäfer und die
ander Jäger aber vor noth kan manns halbiren.

⁸⁰Rudolf Lück, "Brescianello, G. A.", *Grove 6*, states categorically that Brescianello did not gain a performance.

6 Schäfer und 3 Jäg Kläyd müsen aber auch erst *reparirt* werd.⁸¹

Es seynd nöthig 2 dantz mit Schäfer und Jäg Kläyder, aber wievahl Personen, steth in belieben.

Ist nicht vorhanden, und müste dahero alles neu gemacht werd.

Federn zu denen *Plomages* seynd zwar welche dar, aber alt, welche nach vorherigen tauler vor die *Chöer* gebraucht werde können, vor die danzende müste neü angeschafft werd.

Das *Theatrum* kan bleiben in einer Vorstellung, in diser aber wird Kleine veränderung vorkamen.

N: obiges Kläyd alle müste vorhero durch Ehre *Musique director* besehen werd.

Brescianello

Music Director.

P: S: das buch zu trudchen und in das teutsche zu übersezen, damit es beßer zu verstehen, steht in Belieben.⁸²

⁸¹This information suggests that the chorus consisted of twelve members, three to each part.

⁸²D-Sa A21 Büschel 163; 'In order to decorate and perform the opera the undersigned would need: For the actors: two female costumes, as shepherdesses; two male costumes of the same=four good costumes. Already in existence: two undecorated skirts with white *falbale* [a type of pleated band, from the Italian *falbala*], one green and the other pink—there are ten rather poor items

For the chorus: [Already in existence:] there are enough costumes but these have to be repaired. [There are needed:] three female costumes, nine male costumes=twelve poor [i.e. not as good as those for the actors] costumes. These twelve costumes really need to be doubled, once as shepherds and the others as hunters, however in real need one could halve them. However, the costumes for six shepherds and three hunters must be repaired first.

It is necessary to have two dances with the costumes of shepherds and hunters, however the number of people needed can be left up to you. There are none [of this type] to hand and they must therefore be all made from scratch. Feathers for the plumages are there, but are rather old, these can be used for the chorus, but new ones must be bought for the dancers. The theatre can remain with the same backdrop as is there at present, but a few small changes must be made. Note: the above costumes must all be looked at beforehand by the Music Director.

Brescianello, Music Director.

P. S. The printing and translation of the book into German, so that it may be better understood, is left up to you.'

The presentation of the manuscript score, complete with its optimistic dedication (dated 26 January 1718), was obviously linked to a letter written by Brescianello to the Duke only four days later, on 30 January 1718. In it Brescianello requested that he be appointed to the post of the recently deceased Pez, along with the accompanying rise in salary.

Brescianello stated that he had been *Music Director* with the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* for a whole year—which confirms the 19 October 1716 date for his arrival at the court. Furthermore he claimed that he had been led to believe by a senior government official, Caspar von Pfau (1686-1744), that he would soon receive a rise in salary. Therefore he asked that in order to maintain his reputation he be appointed *Sur-Intendant de la Musique* as a replacement for the *Obercapellmeister* Pez—apparently this same request had been made a number of times in the recent past. The main portion of the letter reads:

Zu Ewer Hochfrstl.ⁿ Durchl: Diensten als *Director Musices* bey Dero Hoff-Music hab ich würcklich ein Jahr, unter Genuß einer Gage von 1000. K. nebst Haußzinß zu stehen die hohe Gnade, welche in [?] bey meiner Gdstn. *reception*, wie Dero Regirungs Rath Pfau mich versichert, mit dem Beding gdst [?] geschöpft worden, daß ich mich darmit nur eine Zeit lang [?] gedulten, und derselben erhöhung alsdann erwarten sollte: Unter welcher Höffnung ich auch erwehtes *appointment* gehorsamst *acceptirt* und mich bißher darmit begnügt. Nachdeme aber, gdstr. Fürst und Herr, ich seit wärenden meinen unterthgtn. Diensten verhoffentlich genugsame probe gemacht, daß die gdst. *reglirte* Gages zu meiner *Character*—mäßigen Aufführung nicht zulänglich, da absonderlich die gdst. zugesagte *defrayirung* auf dem land in seine Bewürckung nicht kommt [Page 2] auch noch andere *accidentien*, die ein *Maitre* von der *Music* ehdessen bey denen *Music*-Diensten zu *gaudiren* gehabt, abgestrickt werden, da jedoch mir ohne eitle Ruhms-Zuschreibung *flattire*, Ew. Hochfrstl.ⁿ Dhl:

mit meinem *Music-talent*, nach Dero gdstm. bezeigen, alle *satisfaction* gegeben zu haben; Als finde mich *necessirt*, Höchsterleucht Dieselbe unterthg. zu bitten *Sie* geruhen, zu meiner beßern *subsistenz* und mehrerer *Authorität* zu vollziehung Dero gdstn. Befehl beÿ denen *Musiquen* mich auf den Fuß des verstorbenen Ober-Cappell-Meisters *Pezen* gdst. zu setzen, mithin mich eins theils wie schon etlichmahl unterthg. gebetten, so wohl denen Übrigen Cappel Meistern als auch sämtlichen *Camer-und Hoff-Musicis*, als *Sur-Intendant de la Musique* vorstellen zu lassen, wie die jüngst ergangene Hochfrstl.^e *Reductions resolution* und *Tabell* vorhin an sich selbst durch die Vorsetzung meines Nahmens *intendirt* . . .

Stuttgart d 30.^{ten} Janl: 1718.

unterthänigste verpflichtet gehorsamster,
Joseph Brescianel[lo].⁸³

Despite this earnest plea, the final decision was not to be in Brescianello's favour. The ducal decree written on the front cover of

⁸³D-Sa A21 Büschel 612; 'As I have now been in the service of Your Most Royal Highness [and] Eminence the Duke, as Music Director of Your court musical establishment for a whole year enjoying a salary of 1000 florins along with house rent and as I stood in such high favour at my gracious reception, that I was assured (by your *Regirungs Rath* [Senior Official in the Government] Pfau) that I only had to be patient for a time, and after waiting for a while a position would be created for which I would receive a rise in salary.

It was under this hope that I obediently accepted my above-mentioned appointment and up until now I have been content with it. Now however, gracious Duke and Master, I have hopefully undergone enough tests during this time in the most submissive servitude, that should pledge to my character—modest performance is not adequate, the graciously promised payment of expenses when in the country in your service have strangely never come, as well as other incidents which a master of music formerly earned in musical service have been wiped away, despite that however, without flattering myself with vain attributes of glory I believe I have given every satisfaction through my musical talents as Your Royal Highness and Eminence has shown.

Therefore I find it necessary, Your Highness, to submissively request that you deign to appoint me as *Sur-Intendant de la Musique*, for my better subsistence and greater authority for the fulfillment of Your commands over the musicians to graciously assume the role of the dead *Oberkapellmeister* *Pez*, as I have most submissively requested quite a few times already, as well as the other *Kapellmeister*, along with the collected chamber and ordinary musicians—just as the recently issued ducal *Reductions resolution* and *Tabell* just a while ago intended my name to be put forward . . . Stuttgart 30 January 1718, most submissive, obliging, obedient, Joseph [Giuseppe] Brescianello.'

this document reads as follows: "*Serenissimus Wissen deme unterthänigsten Supplicanten in seinem gethanen petito nicht zu Willfahren, weilen Dieselbe dem Capellmeister Schwartzkopffen dardurch keine *præjudicium* zuzeichnen lassen wollen. Decretum. Wildbaad den 30.^{ten} Martij Anno 1718. Eberhard Ludwig. Hz.*"⁸⁴

Brescianello's situation was further complicated during the first half of 1719 by the arrival in Stuttgart of the celebrated German opera composer Reinhard Keiser (1674-1739), who had high hopes of gaining an appointment at the court. From the evidence provided by a collection of contemporary writings it seems that the situation quickly deteriorated into a battle between two rival factions at the court: those who favoured the current Italian predominance in music and those who wanted a German musician to take over the direction of the *Hofkapelle*.

Keiser was well-suited for the post of Württemberg *Oberkapellmeister*. Following a period of study at the Leipzig *Thomasschule* he had worked at the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel court, producing several operas there in the early 1690s. Following the success of these works he continued to write numerous stageworks which were presented at the Hamburg Opera and in 1702 he joined in partnership with Drüsicke to direct the Hamburg *Theater-am-Gänsemarkt*. Unfortunately by 1707 he had accumulated large amounts of debt and was forced to relinquish the lease of the theatre to J. H. Sauberey.

⁸⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 612; 'His Serenissimus does not wish to satisfy the most submissive supplicant in his petition, because He does not want to incur any prejudice against *Kapellmeister* Schwartzkopff through such a move. Decree. Wildbaad 30 March 1718. Eberhard Ludwig. Duke.'

Keiser then worked briefly for a number of noble Holstein families before returning to Hamburg in 1709 to freelance as a composer and *Kapellmeister*, writing at least twenty-five new operas for the *Theater-am-Gänsemarkt*. In 1718 Sauberey's lease on the theatre expired and Keiser once more looked outside Hamburg for employment opportunities.⁸⁵ The last work of Keiser's to be presented in Hamburg at this time was the opera entitled *Das bey seiner Ruh und Gebuhrs eines Printzen frolockende Lycien unter der Regierung des Königs Jacobates und Bellerophon*, which was performed on 28 December 1717.⁸⁶

From Hamburg Keiser's next appearance was in Stuttgart during the second half of 1719, as documented in a collection of letters discovered by Sittard towards the end of the nineteenth century.⁸⁷ Sometime around 1700-01 Keiser had been made the *Kapellmeister* of the Mecklenburg court in Schwerin and it was probably through this appointment that he was able to find support in Stuttgart from the two members of the Grävenitz family. The Württemberg *Oberhofmarschall* Friedrich Wilhelm von Grävenitz and his sister, the Countess von Würben, Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz (mistress of Eberhard Ludwig) were members of the Mecklenburg aristocracy who had come to Stuttgart from Schwerin around 1706, so it is reasonable to assume that they had been acquainted with Keiser around the turn of the century.

⁸⁵This biographical information is based on articles by Andrew McCredie, "Keiser, R.", *Grove 6* and Heinz Becker, "Keiser, R.", *MGG*.

⁸⁶Heinz Becker, "Keiser, R.", *MGG*.

⁸⁷Josef Sittard, "Reinhard Keiser in Württemberg", *MMg* 18 (1886), 3-12.

It was to the *Oberhofmarchall* von Grävenitz that Keiser turned for official support for his plans while in Württemberg. In a letter dated Stuttgart 16 August 1719 Keiser requested patronage from Grävenitz in written form "weil dero Wichtige *affaires* mir Seinen persönlichen Zutritt nicht gegönet."⁸⁸ Keiser had obviously been in residence in Stuttgart for some time already (possibly even from 1718) and was desirous of impressing the Duke through a performance of music of his own composition:

Nachdem es meiner *convenienz* nicht mehr seyn will, in Stuttgart mich länger aufzuhalten, und ich aber jedoch die Gnade gehabt, Seiner Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht dem Hertzog Veranlasster massen mit einer Kirchen- auch einer Kleinen Theatralischen *Music* aufzuwarten, mithin mir nicht geziemen will, so stillschweigend weg zu gehen;
Als habe auf den bevorstehenden *Ludwigs-Tag* eine neue *Serenata* verfertigt, womit ich bey Höchstgnädigster Sr. Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht, die abschiedsaudienz nehmen möchte . . . ⁸⁹

In the same letter Keiser asked for permission to have performance materials printed and to conduct rehearsals. Such authorization was an important formality—especially given that there was no one officially holding the position of *Oberkapellmeister* at the court. Rather there was a selection of established musicians who were presumably all hoping for the appointment—Schwartzkopff, Störl, and Brescianello. The *Ludwigstag* (St. Ludwig's Day) referred to by

⁸⁸Sittard, "Keiser in Württ.", 4; 'because Your important business has not enabled me to gain permission for a personal audience with you.'

⁸⁹Sittard, "Keiser in Württ.", 4; 'Since it is no longer convenient for me to stay in Stuttgart any more and as I have, however, had the favour of being allowed to wait on Your Royal Highness and Eminence the Duke with a piece of church music, as well as a small theatrical, musical work, therefore it does not seem proper for me to go away without a word; As I have finished a new serenata for the upcoming St. Ludwig's Day, it is with that [piece] I would like take my farewell audience from Your Most Gracious Royal Highness and Eminence . . .'

Keiser was on 25 August, but unfortunately no indication remains to confirm whether or not Keiser did receive permission to perform his composition in 1719 for the event.

The next letter published by Sittard is dated one month later, 19 September 1719, from Keiser to the *Oberhofmarschall* Grävenitz. Keiser mentions that "weilen Euer Freiherrliche *Excellenz* bey meiner letzten Persöhnlichen Aufwartung gnädig versprochen mir und der gantzen Hoff *Music* nach möglichkeit zu *assistiren*"⁹⁰ It appears then that Keiser believed the majority of the *Hofkapelle* were supporting him in his bid for the post of *Oberkapellmeister*. He expressed the hope that a beneficial resolution would soon occur "falls Seine Hochfürstl. Durchlaucht dermahlen mich in dero dienste zu nehmen ohnverhofften Anstand hätten."⁹¹ In a most subservient tone Keiser promised that even if the outcome is not decided in his favour then he would continue to spread the word "des grossen Hertzogs zu Würtemberg weltbekandten *generosité*"⁹² and "von dem Fürstlichen Hauss Würtemberg in aller Welt grossen ruhm zu machen."⁹³

The next letter included in Sittard's collection was written by Johann Christoph Höflein, a secretary and tenor at the Würtemberg court. Unfortunately Sittard fails to provide an exact date for this document, but given the subject matter it must come from around the same time

⁹⁰Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 5; 'because at my last personal audience Your Baronial Excellence did most graciously promise to assist me and the entire court musical establishment wherever possible.'

⁹¹Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 5; 'in the case His Royal Highness should presently take the unhopd-for trouble and take me into his service.'

⁹²Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 5; 'of the world-renowned generosity of the great Duke of Würtemberg.'

⁹³Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 5; 'to sing the praises of the Royal House of Würtemberg throughout the whole world.'

as the others and is probably also addressed to Friedrich Wilhelm von Grävenitz. It appears that Höflein had been ill recently since he opened with the statement: "Wann mich nicht die gehabte hier *grassirende Fiebermaladie* so schwach gemacht hette, so wollte ich mir gratuliren, den inschluss von dem berühmten Capellmeister *Keiser*, Euer Freyherrl. *Excellenz* persönlich zu überweisen . . ."94

Höflein's letter continued in a similar vein, making it obvious that he was in full support of the possibility of Keiser gaining the *Oberkapellmeister* post at the Württemberg court. In his opinion the situation was clearly a battle between the 'good' Germans and the Italians, and the direct competition between Brescianello and Keiser was beginning to have a bad effect on the *Hofkapelle*:

. . . der welsche Director *Sigr. Giuseppe* nicht nur wirklich anfängt mit *scabiosen* reden unter die Hof-Capellisten öffentlich zu werfen, sondern auch jedem, den er vor den *Signr. Keiser* portirt weiss, *tort* anzuthun sucht, wie er dann dem *Cammer-Musico* Freudenberg, den er doch so nothwendig neben sich zur *Violin* braucht, am vergangenen Sonntag die *tour* gespielt, dass er ihn, alss jezigen vornehmsten von der *Instrumental-Music*, ohngeachtet er *remonstiren* lassen, wie er einer Beschwerlichkeit halber am Fuss nicht reuten könne, dannoch nicht in der Herrschafts-Gutsche nach Urach mitfahren, sondern eher einen alten ohnbrauchbaren catholischen Violinisten namens *La rose* einsizzen lassen, so dass gedachter Freudenberg nothgezwungen gar hier bleiben müssen, und sein *devoir* zu Urach nicht thun können, welches der *Signr. Giuseppe* wohl vermuthlich *malitiöse*

⁹⁴Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 6; 'If I had not been made so weak by the epidemic fever-illness here, then I would have wanted to to congratulate Your Baronial Excellency personally for the appearance [at the court] of the famous *Kapellmeister* Keiser . . .'

am Hof antrag und den guten Menschen unglücklich zu suchen machen wird.⁹⁵

This letter portrays Höflein as not only opposing the presence of Italians at the court, but generally anti-Catholic as well. He continued his remarks by stating " . . . weil bekanntlich die Italiener *vindicativ* sind, werden wir Teutsche in der Hof-Capell täglich zu gewarten haben, wobey nur zu befürchten, dass das Teutsche Herz dergleichen *chicanen* in die Länge nicht aufstehen, und sich zu Thätlichketen reizen lassen dürfte."⁹⁶ In his opinion Schwartzkopff was not worthy of being considered for the position since " . . . der Mons. Schwarzkopf *civiliter mortuus* bey uns ist, indem er schon viele Jahr nichts mehr componirt, und von langer Zeit her wegen seiner schlechten *conduite* keinen respect von Keinem einzigen Hof *Musico* hat . . . "⁹⁷ The main point of Höflein's letter consisted of the following plea:

So bitte ich Euer Freiherll. *Excellenz instantissime* und im nahmen braver Teutschen in der fürstlichen Capell, Sie haben doch Mitleid mit diesem *turbiten* fürstl. *Music-Chor* und helfen es

⁹⁵Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 6; 'the Italian *Director* Signor Giuseppe [Brescianello] has begun not only to actually cast salacious comments towards the *Hofmusici* in public, but also to seek to wrong those whom he knows are in support of Keiser, as he has done to the chamber musician [Stephan] Freudenberg, for despite the fact that he [Freudenberg] is indispensable because of his violin playing, on the tour that was played this past Sunday, he [Brescianello] made him (the best of all in the instrumental-music) miss out— he could not ride because of a difficulty with his foot and accordingly he was not allowed to ride with the ducal coach, but instead an old, useless, Catholic violinist by the name of [François] La Rose was allowed to sit in it, so that the said Freudenberg was forced to remain behind [in Stuttgart] and could not do his duty at Urach, [a fact] which *Signor* Brescianello probably maliciously reported at court seeking to bring about misfortune for that good person.'

⁹⁶Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 6; ' . . . as it is well-known that the Italians are vindicative, [and] as we Germans have to serve daily in the *Hofkapelle*, it is now only to be feared, that the German heart will not be able to stand such disagreements for very much longer, and will be agitated into using violence.'

⁹⁷Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 6; ' . . . *Monsieur* Schwarzkopff is *civiliter mortuus* with us, as he has not composed for many years and has not had any respect from any of the court musician for a long time due to his bad conduct . . . '

bey unsers gnädigsten Fürsten und Herrn dahin vielvermögen *dirigiren*, dass der in der ganzen Welt bekannte Virtuoso Signr. Keiser, unser Obercapellmeister werden möge, dann gewiss seines gleichen in Teutschland an Virtu inder Music nicht ist, und er noch darzu manchem Italiener in der Composition tête machen darf.⁹⁸

To add a sense of urgency to this plea Höflein noted that he had received information from a chamber secretary by the name of Orthmann, employed at the nearby court of Durlach, "dass man in Durlach nur auf diesen Mann wartet, wann er Stuttgart quittiren sollte und würcklich eine opera zu componiren einen auftrag habe . . ."⁹⁹ Höflein claimed that if this situation occurred then he and the "anderer wakkerer Teutschen" (other valiant Germans) in the *Hofkapelle* would be 'mortified' and, furthermore, that a large number of the *Hofmusici* would become "verlohrne Leuthe" (lost people).

Throughout these negotiations Keiser had been staying at the "Wirth-Haus zum Adler" (Eagle Guest House) and on 29 November 1719 the landlord of this establishment, Johann Georg Wagner, wrote directly to the Duke demanding payment for this accommodation. Wagner described Keiser as "der fürstl. Mecklenburgische Capellmeister" (the royal Mecklenburg *Kapellmeister*) and made it clear that he had been

⁹⁸Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 7; 'Therefore I ask Your Baronial Excellency if as soon as possible you could help us, in the name of good Germans in the royal *Kapelle*, as you are in sympathy with this disturbed royal *Music-Chor*, as you are more capable of guiding our Most Gracious Prince and Lord; for we would like as our *Oberkapellmeister* the virtuoso *Signor* Keiser [who is] famed throughout the whole world, for there is certainly no one else of the same virtuosity in music in the whole of Germany and he would even be ahead of many Italians when it comes to composition.'

⁹⁹Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 7; 'that in Durlach they are only waiting for the time when this man [Keiser] leaves Stuttgart and in fact have actually commissioned an opera from him . . .'

led to believe that Keiser was "auf Herrschaftliche Costen in meinem Wirth-Haus zum Adler zehren."¹⁰⁰

However, despite accumulating debts Keiser remained in Württemberg. On 13 February 1720 the *Hofrat* (Court Councillor) Caspar von Pfau wrote to the Duke regarding the situation and advised that either Keiser be released with a payment of 300 *Gulden* (on account of his long stay in Stuttgart) or that he be taken into the service of the court "mit einer leidenlichen gage . . . und die sache dergestalten gerichtet werden kann, dass denen jetzigen Capellmeistern kein *torte* dardurch zu wachse . . ." ¹⁰¹ Pfau made it quite clear that he was firmly in favour of the second of these scenarios.

Earlier in his letter Pfau had stated that Keiser had been in the region since the past summer (c. June 1719). He also provides some interesting information regarding performances which Keiser had been allowed to present before the Duke, these include "einige *Musiqpieces*, insonderheit zu Stetten als Höchstdieselbe Dero Hohen Geburtsttag *solenniter celebrirt*."¹⁰² Sittard speculates that the work performed in Stetten on 18 September 1719 was probably the serenata entitled *Der zur angenehmen Mayenzeit in Ludwigs-Auen entstanden*

¹⁰⁰Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 7; 'staying in my Eagle Guest House at the cost of the court.'

¹⁰¹Sittard "Keiser in Württ.", 9; 'with a reasonable salary . . . and with things arranged so that the current *Kapellmeister* are not wronged by the situation . . . '

¹⁰²Sittard, "Keiser in Württ.", 8; 'a few pieces of music, especially that which celebrated with solemnity the important birthday of the same [Royal] Highness at Stetten.'

Lust-Streit—unfortunately only the text remains for this composition.¹⁰³

Ten days later a ducal decree declared that "dem Mecklenburgischen Capellmeister *Kaiser* vor seine gänzliche abförttigung von Frstl. *Visitation* 200 Gulden gereicht werden sollen."¹⁰⁴ However, according to Pfau's letter, of 13 February 1720, there was to be a repeat performance of an unidentified work (presumably the serenata) at Ludwigsburg, although no date is mentioned. Furthermore, yet another letter written by Keiser to *Oberhofmarschall* Grävenitz indicates that the musician was still in Stuttgart at the beginning of November 1720. Keiser referred to the serenata in particular and wrote that at its last rehearsal, in the *Lusthause* (located in the middle of the Stuttgart castle pleasure gardens), eight of the *Hautboisten* failed to turn up—a fact which suggests that the instrumental forces featured in the work were sizeable if it was necessary to employ not only the *Hofkapelle* but members of an oboe band as well. The libretto was apparently still not complete, which suggests that this was a totally new work or at least that significant revisions were being made for the repeat performance.

Above all these problems Keiser continued to face resistance from the Italian musicians at the court, whom he described in this letter as "meine Feinde, die hiesigen Italiener."¹⁰⁵ The *Hautboisten* were not the only musicians causing trouble during the rehearsal of his

¹⁰³Published in its entirety, Sittard I, 111-118.

¹⁰⁴Sittard, "Keiser in Württ.", 9; '200 *Gulden* from the Royal *Visitation* shall be administered to the Mecklenburg *Kapellmeister* Keiser to allow him to prepare for his absolute departure.'

¹⁰⁵Sittard, "Keiser in Württ.", 10; 'my enemies, the local Italians.'

serenata, for Keiser wrote: "hat sich [Giovanni Maria] Ricci unterstanden, seine Parthie ohne *complimenten* wiederum zurück zu senden. Weil es aber ein solcher schlechter Sänger als ich zeit lebens nicht gehöret, ist er nicht gross von mit geachtet, hingegen die *musique* nunmehr so eingereicht worden, dass selbe ohne diesen *ignoranten produciret* werden kann."¹⁰⁶

Putting aside discussion of his serenata Keiser then turned to other instrumental music he had composed during his sojourn at the Württemberg court. This included a pair of suites scored for eight bassoons:

Euer Hochgräfl. *Excellenz* übersenden hierbey mit allem *respect* 2 *Suiten* vor 8 *Bassons*, so ich vor wenigen tagen erst componiret. Wenn die leute alle auf diesem *Instrument* so *exerciret* wären, thut solche *harmonie* einen besonderen *effect*. Die beyden *Bassonisten* unter Ihrer Bande gdst. Herr *Schäffer* und noch einer, haben mir die beste *Satisfaction* von allen geben. Und wenn selbe es *à propos* finden möchten, der gleichen Schnarr-Werk *Serenissimo* hören zu lassen müssten gedachte beyde *Bassonisten* von dero Regiment darbey sein. *La chasse* und ein *Granadier-Marsch* dürfften I. D. bei gutem *humeur* vielleicht *contentiren*. Freudenberger könnten E. Hochgrfl. *Excellenz* [jedoch unvorschreiblich] die *ordre* darzu ertheilen, welcher auch mit blasen muss, und auch die übrigen Weiss, so mit dazu gehören. Der König von Dänemarck hat 8 solche *Bassons* und *Bassonetten* bey Seiner *Granadier-Guarde*, welche überaus gravitatisch und angenehm zu hören.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶Sittard, "Keiser in Württ.", 10; 'Ricci had the audacity to return his score to me without compliments. However, because I have never heard such a bad singer in my entire life, on the whole I don't pay much attention to him, [and] however at this point the court musical establishment is constructed so that the same [the serenata] can be produced without this ignoramus.'

¹⁰⁷Sittard, "Keiser in Württ.", 10; 'To Your Baronial Excellency with all respect I herewith send two suites for eight bassoons, that I have composed only in the past few days. If people were all practised on these instrument, then such a harmony would have a very special effect. Both bassoonists in the Your band [*Hautboisten-Bande*],

This extract indicates that the regimental *Hautboisten Bande* contained only two members capable of playing the bassoon. In fact, these two are referred to as a pair, which in fact suggests that a standard oboe band required two bassoonists.

The use of such consort-like texture was not a new idea to Keiser, but rather was among a selection of varying techniques he regularly used in the orchestration of his operas. In his study of the instrumentation of the Hamburg opera during this period Andrew McCredie has written "In keeping with his treatment of other woodwind instruments in the decades 1705-1720 Keiser frequently called for the bassoon in consorts of three to five instruments. In *Octavia* [1705] I.8 when Octavia finds herself deceived, Keiser required a darkly coloured consort of five bassoons which was reinforced by continuo."¹⁰⁸

It is unfortunate that the manuscripts of these suites have not survived, so that it is difficult to determine the range of each bassoon part. Certainly the term "Bassonetten", which Keiser claims were used in the regimental band of the King of Denmark at this time, indicates a type of small bassoon with a high pitch range. These were probably octave-bassoons, also known as *fagottini*. Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow's (1663-1712) cantata "Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele", includes

Herr Schäffer and the other one have given me the greatest satisfaction. And if at the right time Your Highness would like to hear the same buzzing work [i.e. the suites] then both of the above-mentioned bassoonists from your regiment must be involved. *La chasse* and a *Granadier-Marsch* will probably please Your Eminence when in a good mood. Freudenberg can be given the order by Your Baronial Excellency to play [blow], as well the usual [musicians] who know [how to play the bassoon] can also be called. The King of Denmark [Frederick IV, reigned 1699-1730] has eight such bassoons and little bassoons in His Grenadier-Guard, which are solemn and pleasant to listen to above all else.'

¹⁰⁸Andrew McCredie, *Instrumentarium and Instrumentation in North German Baroque Opera* (diss., Hamburg, 1964), 183.

scoring for "Bassonetto" I and II and according to H. O. Koch "Aufgrund des Tonumfangs steht außer Zweifel, daß Zachow mit Bassonetto das Oktavfagott meint, das zwar selten besetzt wurde, aber, wie die zahlreichen in Instrumentensammlungen erhaltenen Instrumente beweisen, doch recht verbreitet war."¹⁰⁹ Another work which must have been similar in conception to Keiser's two suites is the wind partita by J. G. M. Frost (or Trost) scored for two horns, two "Fagotti-octavo", two "Fagotti-quarto" and two ordinary bassoons.¹¹⁰

Other works composed by Keiser during his residence in Stuttgart, presumably those referred to by Pfau in his letter of 13 February 1720 as "einige Musiqpieces" (a few pieces of music) possibly include three trio sonatas and a concerto which now form part of the music collection of the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock. The trio sonatas are all scored for flute, violin, and basso continuo and each bears the date 1720, as the titles attest:

Sonata 1^{ma} à 3. Flauto Traverso, Violino, con Cembalo; del R^{do}.
Keiser 1720 D#

Sonata 2^{da} à 3. Flauto Traverso, Violino con Cembalo del R.
Keiser 1720 G#

Sonata à 3 ex D# 1 Violino 1 Flut Travers. Cembalo: di Sigr R.
Keisser: Compos: Anno 1720¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹Hans Oskar Koch, *Sonderformen der Blasinstrumente in der deutschen Musik vom späten 17. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (diss., Heidelberg, 1980), 134; Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and their History* (London, 1957), 289, writes that such instruments were "about 25 inches tall and an octave above the ordinary."

¹¹⁰See Koch *Sonderformen*, 131-133; H. Jean Hedlund "Ensemble Music for Small Bassoons" *GSJ* 11, 78-84.

¹¹¹D-ROu, Mus. Saec. XVII:19^{2a-b} and 19⁶.

The concerto, scored for flute, "violino principale", two violins, two oboes, viola ("Braccia"), and continuo, can best be described as a work for violin, rather than flute, as the latter instrument plays only in the second movement—an 'Aria andante' which features solo sections for the flute accompanied by string pizzicato.¹¹² It is likely that these pieces, especially the trio sonatas, were composed for the flute-playing *Erbprinz* Friedrich Ludwig (see Chapter 7).

Despite the time and effort expended by Keiser his bid for the post of *Oberkapellmeister* was unsuccessful and by August 1721 he had returned to Hamburg.¹¹³ In February 1721, Brescianello was finally appointed to the much sought after position, despite the claims of Sittard and other more recent historians, that this promotion occurred in 1731. The relevant decree read as follows:

Nachdem Unsers Gnädigsten Fürsten und Herrn Hochfürstl: Dhl:t dem bißherigen *Music Directors Gioseppe Brescianello* den *Character* und Rang als Rath und Ober Cappellmeister, nebst genießung der *Gage* und übrigen *emolumenten*, wie solches der verstorbene Bez zu *gaudiren* gehabt, gnädigst beýgelangt haben, mithin wollen, daß derselbe in solcher *qualitat* solle vorgestallet werden; Alß laßen Dieselbe Dero Oberhof Marschall-Amt ein solches zu veobachtung des weitem in Gnaden nachschriftlich eröffnen. *Decretum Stuttgart den 1.^{ten} Februarij p. 1721.* Eberhard Ludwig Hz [his signature].¹¹⁴

¹¹²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:194.

¹¹³A. McCredie, "Keiser, R.", *Grove* 6 and H. Becker, "Keiser, R.", *MGG*.

¹¹⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 612; 'Since through Our Gracious Prince and Master, His Royal Highness and Eminence, the former Music Director Gioseppe [Giuseppe] Brescianello has graciously acquired the character and rank of *Rath und Ober Cappellmeister*, along with the acceptance of the salary and usual remunerations such as those formerly earned by the deceased Bez [Pez], he consequently desires that the same [Brescianello] shall be raised to that position. Therefore let the *Oberhofmarschallamt* graciously begin observations of this person and to report anything further.'

Various *Verzeichnisse* and other archival documents, serve to further prove that this promotion took place at this time. One report dated 1720 gives Brescianello as "Musices Director" (1720 Brescianello, see Appendix A, pages 481-483), while a document completed in February 1722 listing the musicians employed in 1717 and 1721 (1722 *Consignation*, see Appendix A, pages 484-489), described him as "Cappelmeister. Joseph Brescianello, Director Musices . . . Besoldung 1717 . . . 1150 G."¹¹⁵, implying that he changed title sometime between the two dates. On 15 February 1722 at the conclusion of a letter to the Duke, attesting the suitability of Caspar Heinrich Hetsch (formerly of the regimental oboe band) for the position of second oboist with the *Hof-Musik*, Brescianello signs himself "unterthänigst verpflichtet-gehorsamsten Brescianello Rath und Ober Cappell-Meister [*sic.*]."¹¹⁶

The victory was therefore clearly in favour of the Italians. And whereas the century had opened with a dominance of French musical taste, for the remainder of the eighteenth century the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* remained primarily in the hands of Italian musicians. The reign of Duke Carl Eugen (1744-1793) was described by C. F. D. Schubart (1739-1791) as:

Die eigentliche blühende Epoche der Wirtembergischen Musik . . . Er [Carl Eugen] verschrieb viele Sänger und Sängerinnen aus Italien, besetzte sein Orchester mit den trefflichsten Meistern, und nahm den grossen Jomelli mit einem Jahrgehalt von 10000 fl [*Gulden*] als Obercapellmeister in seine Dienste.—Von dieser Zeit an wurde der musikalische Geschmack in diesem Lande ganz

¹¹⁵1722 *Consignation*; 'Kapellmeister, Joseph [Giuseppe] Brescianello, Music Director . . . Salary 1717 . . . 1150 Gulden.'

¹¹⁶D-Sa A21 Büschel 615; '[your] most subservient, obligingly-obedient Brescianello, Rath und Oberkapellmeister.'

welsch . . . Unter Jomelli ward [sic.] die Wirtembergsiche Hofmusik eine der ersten der Welt.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷Ludwig Schubart (ed.) C. F. D. Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, (Vienna, 1806), 149-150; 'The most flourishing epoch in the music of Württemberg . . . He transferred many male and female singers from Italy, filled his orchestra with excellent masters, took the great Jomelli [Nicolò Jommelli] into his service as *Oberkapellmeister* with a yearly salary of 10,000 *Gulden*. From this time onwards musical taste in the region was totally Italian . . . Under Jomelli the Württemberg court musical establishment became one of foremost in the world.', Schubart was a Württemberg poet, writer on music and composer who was imprisoned in the fortress Hohenasperg by Duke Carl Eugen in 1777, apparently for insulting his mistress. He remained there for ten years and it was during that time, from 1784-5, that he wrote his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, David Ossenkop, "Schubart, C. F. D.", *Grove* 6.

The Duties of the 'Kapellmeister'

Of the wealth of archival documents which exist in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart relating to the musical establishment of the Württemberg court, perhaps among the most interesting are the *Staat und Ordnungen* (employment contracts). Although none survive from the 1670s or 1680s, they remain for each director of the *Hofkapelle* from around the time of Schwartzkopff's appointment as *Kapellmeister* in 1690.

Through these documents it can be seen that one of the most important duties of *Kapellmeister* was the composition of music for the *Hofkapelle* to perform, as a means bringing the Württemberg court into higher repute. Sittard suggests that *Kapellmeister* Magg may have composed the music for the "musicalischen Freudenspiel" *In der Frembde erworbene Lavinia* which was performed in the "Hochfürstlichem [sic.] Comœdien-Hauß zu Stuttgart"¹ in February 1675.² And although none of his music appears to have survived, the *Staat und Ordnungen* of succeeding *Kapellmeister* repeatedly request that an inventory be kept of all music belonging to the ducal chapel including "Capricornische, Kreßische, Maggische, Schwartzkopffische, Kußerische, und alle andere Kirchen, Tafel und *operen* stuck und

¹D-Sl W. G. fol. 244, libretto; 'Most Royal Playhouse at Stuttgart', the text was by Michael Schuster, a theology student at Tübingen.

²Sittard II, 233.

Compositionen, auch was von der Kirchnerischen *wittib*³ und sonst erhandelt . . . "⁴

While this may merely refer to all music added to the collection of the *Hofkapelle* under successive *Kapellmeister*, a document cataloguing the holdings of the Stuttgart *Stiftsmusik* actually lists several compositions by Magg, now unfortunately lost.⁵ The full title of the inventory reads "*Catalogus* deren jenigen Musikalischen Stücken, welche theils aus dem erkaufften Kirchnerischen *corpore*, theils aus der Hofkapell ausgeschossen und kraft ergangenen gndgst. Befehls zur Stifts Mußic geliefert worden. 4. Nov. anno 1695."⁶

Under the heading "Folgende Stück sind in der Cappel außgelesen und zur Stifts-Music gegeben worden"⁷ are listed:

J. F. Magg

113. Aria concertata: *Strahlt ihr lichter, Mond, Sterne und Sonne*
2 Alt. 2 Violin, 2 Viola, 1 Violonbass u. 4 da Gamba.

³Bopp, 229, "Aus einem herzoglichen Erlaß vom 4. April 1694 erfahren wir, daß die Witwe des Expeditionsrats und geheimen Sekretärs Kaspar Kürchner (Kirchner) die Musikbibliothek ihres Mannes zum Kauf angeboten habe und daß der Herzog dieselbe um 600 fl. für die Hofkapelle erkaufte habe. Diese Musikalien sollen nun von Konsistorialsekretär Rößler, Stiftsorganist Ph. J. Bödecker und Hofkapellmeister Theodor Schwartzkopff an der Hand des dabei befindlichen Katalogs genau eingesehen werden und davon das, was in der fürstlichen Kapelle schon vorhanden sei oder dort nicht verwendet werden könne, der Stiftsmusikbibliothek einverleibt werden."

⁴1711 *Pez S&O*; '[the compositions] of Capricornus, Kreß, Magg, Schwartzkopff, Kusser, and all other church, table, and opera pieces, and compositions, as well as those from the widow of Kirchner and others which have been bargained for . . .'

⁵The *Stiftsmusik* was the civic musical establishment associated with the *Stiftskirche*, the main city church in Stuttgart, see also Chapter 5, page 135ff.

⁶This entire document is reproduced in Bopp, 238-243; 'Catalogue of those musical pieces, which have been supplied to the *Stiftsmusik*, partly from those bought from the collection of Kirchner and partly those rejected from the ducal chapel, by the virtue of a most gracious command that was issued, 4 November, in the year 1695.'

⁷1695 *Stiftsmusik* catalogue; 'The following pieces are no longer required in the chapel and have been given to the *Stiftsmusik*.'

114. *Ach schwere Sündenlast*
8 voc. 8 Viola.

115. *Nun mein Gott*
S., A. u. 5 Viol.⁸

There also appears a composition "Stürmt abermahl" ("154 . . . 7 voc. 8 Instr."), composed by a "F. Magg".⁹ While this may have been the work of the *Kapellmeister* Johann Friedrich Magg, it is also possible that it was by Felix Friedrich Magg (probably his brother).¹⁰ An unidentified Magg was a choirboy c.1677-78¹¹, and this may have been Felix, given that a *Specificatio* of 1684 shows that he was officially appointed to the *Hofkapelle* on 31 March 1683—with a salary of 100 *Gulden* plus *Naturalien* (payments-in-kind).¹²

The tenth point of the 1684 rules of Duchess Magdalena Sibylla, in addition to indicating that the standard of woodwind playing was not high during these years, makes it clear that it was up to the *Kapellmeister* to organize regular rehearsals. Furthermore, it is specifically noted that these practices were to include works of their own composition: "10. Pour se mieux perfectionner à jouer du Hautbois, flutes douces, et d'autres Instrumens, les Maistres de la Chapelle auront soin de faire faire deux fois la Semaine l'exercice,

⁸Bopp, 240.

⁹Bopp, 241.

¹⁰See Pfeilsticker, 902.

¹¹Pfeilsticker, 943.

¹²1684 *Specificatio*.

pour faire les epreuves necessaires des pieces de leur propre Composition, ou de Celles, qu'ils auront fait apporter d'ailleurs."¹³

The fact that the *Kapellmeister* must ensure that all pieces are properly rehearsed is stressed again in a later paragraph and the German version of this section mentions that mistakes have occurred in the past: "11. Haben die Capellmeister darauff zusehen, daß alle Stück so in der Capell gemacht werden sollen, vorhero fleistigst probirt und beÿ deren aufführung, wie etwan bißhero Geschehen fürohin keine fehlen begangen werden . . . "¹⁴

The traditional relationship between the ordinary musicians, the *Kapellmeister*, and *Vizekapellmeister*, is stated near the opening of the document: "Qu'eux les Musiciens rendent tousjours le respect dehu à ceux que S. A. S. leur a donné pour presider â la Chapelle . . . "¹⁵

The death of the *Vizekapellmeister* Johann Albrecht Kreß in July 1684 left the way open for the career of Theodor Schwartzkopff to develop further than was formerly possible. Born in Ulm on 6 November 1659, Schwartzkopff was the son of a town musician and organist, and it is likely that he received his musical education from both his father

¹³1684 Rules; '10. In order to be better able to reach an advanced standard in playing oboes, recorders, and other instruments, the Chapel Masters should take care to have practice organized twice a week, to carry out the necessary trials of their own compositions or those which they bring in from elsewhere.'

¹⁴1684 Rules; 'It is up to the *Kapellmeister* to make sure that all pieces which are going to be performed in the chapel have been diligently rehearsed, so that no mistakes can occur in their performance as has happened previously.'

¹⁵1684 Rules; 'That the musicians should always pay the respect due to those that Her Royal Highness appointed to preside over the Chapel . . . '

and the organist at Ulm Cathedral, Sebastian Anton Scherer (1631-1712).¹⁶

As noted in Chapter 1 by at least 1686 Schwartzkopff had been promoted to the post of *Vizekapellmeister*, due in part to the succession of theatrical works he had produced. On 6 June 1688 yet another "*Ballet vermengten Sing-spiel*" (ballet mixed with a sung-play) had been given in Stuttgart with music by Schwartzkopff, this time in honour of the Landgrave and Landgravine of Hessen. The libretto gives the title as *Endymion* and contains a list which details the characters of the play. These include, under the 'singing' category, "Vier Träume die auf Flöten spielen"¹⁷, but this is the only time instruments are mentioned. The sole phrase "In die Musik gesetzt von THEODORO Schwartzkopff, Fürstl. Württembergis. *Vice-Capellmeister*"¹⁸ on the title-page indicates the importance of Schwartzkopff's role in the production and performance of the work, with the name of the choreographer no longer provided.¹⁹

In March 1690 Schwartzkopff was finally appointed *Kapellmeister*, replacing J. F. Magg who had not properly fulfilled his duties since deserting with the French in December 1688. Now assured of good future prospects Schwartzkopff married Maria Magdalena Pommer in May of that same year. Less is known about his career in the years immediately following his appointment in 1690. According to the ducal *Dienerbuch* he was still giving the two Princesses keyboard

¹⁶George J. Buelow, "Schwartzkopff, T.", *Grove* 6.

¹⁷D-Sl A21 Büschel 634; 'Four Dreams who play on recorders.'

¹⁸D-Sl A21 Büschel 634; 'Set to music by Theodor Schwartzkopff, Royal Württemberg *Vizekapellmeister*.'

¹⁹See Chapter 1, pages 17-19.

lessons in 1694/5 and he visited Venice during the carnival season of 1695.²⁰ It is probable that he was the composer of the "Musikalisches Dramate" entitled *Amalthea*, performed at court in April 1697 for the birthday of Duchess Magdalena Sibylla.²¹

Only one of Schwartzkopff's employment contracts as *Kapellmeister* is extant today (1692 Schw S&O, see Appendix A, pages 414-418). Originally dated 16 February 1692 it was revised at least twice after that time, with additions by two separate hands—one of which supplies the date *Georgii* (25 April) 1711.²² The terms included in this document are similar to both earlier and later *Staat und Ordnungen*, but are by no means as detailed as those of subsequent *Kapellmeister*.

As *Kapellmeister*, Schwartzkopff was required to pay the necessary respect and attention to his direct superiors. These personages are listed as the Duke, the *Landhofmeister* (country steward²³), *Hoff Marschall* (court chamberlain), *Hauß Hoffmeister* (house steward), *Burg Vogt* (castle steward), and most importantly the *Director und Kirchenrath* (Director and Church Councillor) who was appointed overall superintendent of the *Hofkapelle*. As Wallner has noted previously the *Hofkapelle* had been supported since their establishment by the *Kirchenrath-Directorum*, and the musicians' wages paid from church funds, even though it had long ceased to be a

²⁰Pfeilsticker, 884, Maria Pommer was the daughter of the *Landschreiberei-Verwalter*, Cornelius Pommer.

²¹D-Sa J1 Nr. 100f.

²²The original version is by far the easiest to read, while the two later additions are close to being indecipherable.

²³In the sense of travelling into the country, rather than a nation.

primarily religious institution.²⁴ Schwartzkopff could not leave the service of the Württemberg court without the permission of these officials and they were responsible for judging any misdemeanours he might commit.

As a figure of authority in charge of a large number of ducal servants, it was Schwartzkopff's responsibility to lead a pious, Christian mode of life, therefore setting a good example for his subordinates. He was in charge of the *Kapellknaben* (choristers) and expected to ensure that the *Hofmusici* did not indulge in carousing, gambling, or other extravagances. In return the *Hofmusici* were expected to pay the *Kapellmeister* all due respect and to obey every command he made with diligence. They were to turn up to performances punctually (at church, table, or anywhere else they were required) and attend rehearsals three times per week—it is made clear that these practices were especially important for instrumentalists. Any musician who was disobedient, frequently made mistakes, or simply did not attend, would be reported to Schwartzkopff's superiors and an appropriate punishment decided upon.

Another of Schwartzkopff's duties was to keep an up-to-date inventory (in duplicate—one copy being held by the *Visitations-*

for from the widows of the *Kapelle*, acquired from foreign locations, and brand new compositions. No one was allowed to borrow or copy from these works without permission.

²⁴Wallner, p. xli.

There can be no doubt that the triumphant return of Johann Sigismund Kusser to Stuttgart in 1698 and his subsequent appointment as *Oberkapellmeister* in 1700 caused more than a little disappointment, professional jealousy, and perhaps even anger on Schwartzkopff's part. Following his return from study in France in the late 1670s Kusser served at the court of Stuttgart and then at that of Ansbach. In 1690 he became *Kapellmeister* at Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and there composed several operas in collaboration with the court poet Friedrich Christian Bressand (c.1670-1699). In 1694, following several quarrels with Bressand, Kusser moved to Hamburg and by 1695 he was manager of the opera theatre. The next year he was replaced by Gerhard Schott (1641-1702) and responded by setting up his own travelling opera company visiting such diverse cities as Nuremberg, Kiel, and Augsburg.²⁵

Kusser's location during these years is difficult to establish several centuries later. However, in 1698 he resurfaced in Stuttgart, where he was found working once more for the Württemberg court. An entry in the accounts of the *Landschreiberei* informs us that Kusser (described as *Kapellmeister*) and a singer, Magdalena Sibylla von Bex, have been appointed to the *Hofkapelle* through a decree dated 4 January 1699 with a salary of 500 *Gulden* each (a substantial sum at that time). As they had been working unofficially from April 1698 they were also paid for that year.²⁶

²⁵George J. Buelow, "Kusser, J. S.", *Grove* 6; and Scholz, 7-51.

²⁶Scholz, 200.

Kusser quickly initiated a successful series of opera performances, including works by himself, Lully²⁷, Agostino Steffani (1654-1728), and Antonio Gianettini (1648-1721). In doing so he laid the foundations of opera in Württemberg which was destined to reach a brilliant climax during Duke Carl Eugen's reign (1744-1793) under the leadership of Nicolò Jommelli (*Oberkapellmeister*, 1754-1769).²⁸ As Schwartzkopff had gained some recognition as a composer of *Singspiel* this perhaps further increased the animosity between the two musicians.

The extant music from Kusser's operas displays a mixture of French and Italian elements typical of German musical style around this time. Selected pieces from his opera *Ariadne* (Bressand)²⁹, were published under the title *Heliconische Musen-Lust* (Stuttgart, 1700), and feature a combination of Italian arias and songs influenced by French dance-style.³⁰ The same description is valid for the forty-four

²⁷ Although the D-SI holds the largest collection of works by Lully (including many of Robert Ballard first editions, as well as manuscript copies) outside the F-Pn, it seems unlikely that these were in use by the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* around the turn of the eighteenth century; Waltraut Linder, "Musica practica in der Württembergische Landesbibliothek. Aus der Geschichte ihrer Bestände" *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 11 (1986), 120-122, comments "Wie sie in die Württembergische Landesbibliothek gelangt sind, wissen wir nicht. Sicher ist nur, daß sie in Frankreich eingebunden wurden, daß sie dann ein Adliger namens Henry Wingfield besessen hat, der sich in manchen Bänden nennt und sie also von Frankreich über England nach Stuttgart kamen.", she also suggests that Kusser may have been responsible for the transferral of the collection from England to Stuttgart—certainly it is known that at some stage he returned to Württemberg to visit his sister (probably following his appointment as *Music Master* at Dublin Castle in 1716—see page 68-69). For information regarding Kusser's arrangements of Lully's operas into German text versions, see Herbert Schneider, "Opern Lullys in deutschsprachigen Bearbeitungen", *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1981), 69-80.

²⁸Sittard I, 79.

²⁹First performed at the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel court in 1692.

³⁰D-SI Kus 80/150, this publication includes a "singenden Partie" consisting of the voice and basso continuo line, in addition to four further part-books: *Parte Prima*, *Parte Seconda*, *Parte Terza*, and *Violoncello*. The instruments indicated in the three upper parts include violin, *violetta*, oboe, flute, often in pairs—but the thirtieth aria in the collection contains perhaps the most interesting instrumentation of all; scored for violin, "Hauboys con sordino" (muted oboe), flute, and basso continuo.

arias from *Erindo oder der unsträfliche Liebe* (Bressand) published by Niclas Spieringk [sic.] in 1695, from the 1694 production at Hamburg.³¹

An official report written by Schwartzkopff on 16 January 1699, which bears the title *Ohn Vorschreiblich Einfältige Gutachten*, is largely devoted to complaints regarding J. S. Kusser (1699 Schw Gut, see Sittard I, pages 68-73).³² His presence at the court created a multitude of problems for the *Kapellmeister*, but principally caused a severe shortage of musicians available for the normal performance duties of the court. Instead Kusser employed them as his own personal copyists:

der Cappell-Knab Weidener . . . und der Rumpus . . . alletage von Morgens biß abends in seinem [Kusser] Haus geschriben, dar durch die Schule, und *Exercitien* zu Haus versäumen müssen, ohnerachtet der Herr Hof Marschall Ihme befohlen die Musicanten auch schreiben zu lassen weilen es den Kappellknaben zu viel wirdte, so hatt jedoch solcher nur damit Sie mir Nichts schreiben könnten . . . ³³

In addition to this lamentable state of affairs Schwartzkopff claimed that the virtuoso soprano Bex would perform only under the direction of Kusser.

Obviously an unusually complex situation had arisen regarding musical leadership at the court. Schwartzkopff wrote that he hoped had not come into disfavour and restated his seniority—which was

³¹J. S. Kusser, *Erindo oder der unsträfliche Liebe*, ed. H. Osthoff, EDM II/3 (1938).

³²1699 Schw Gut; 'Unprescribed Simple Report.'

³³1699 Schw Gut; 'the choirboy Weidener [Weidner] . . . and Rumpus . . . write all day from morning till night in his house, causing them to be absent from school and not able to practise at home, in spite of which the Court Marshall has ordered that the musicians also be made to write because it is too much for the choirboys, so therefore I have with me only those who cannot write . . . '

considerable, having been a member of the *Hofkapelle* for eighteen years and involved in its management for fourteen of those.

Furthermore he claimed that his rival: "... in Componierung nicht *habilior* alß ich"³⁴ and requested that in the future if Kusser or Bex want to perform they should let him know the details one or two days beforehand, so that he can avoid performing the same texts on the same day.

In this report Schwartzkopff also suggested that the organ-repairer sign an employment contract, as his predecessor had done before him. Such a step would hopefully ensure the diligent appearance of this individual in the chapel and at other court performances—thus fully earning the *Wartgeld* his salary included. It is probable that in the following year all the court musicians had their contracts revised, for there is an extant copy of a *Staat und Ordnung* written for Kusser, dated 17 April 1700, which promotes him to the position of *Oberkapellmeister* (1700 Kusser *S&O*, see Scholz, pages 233-238).

In 1699 Kusser had been appointed *Kapellmeister* alongside Schwartzkopff and Störl. Obviously the problems this decision had created needed to be solved in some way. The third point of Kusser's *Staat* read as follows:

Drittens solle ich alss declarirter Obercappellmeister dero fürstl. Hoffcappell dirigiren, weil Ihre Hochfürstl. Dl. aber mit noch Einem Cappellmeister, nemlich dem Theodoro Schwartzkopff versehen seyndt, dem die Mitt-Direction derselben seinem Staat gemäs bleibet, mich mitt selbigem fried- und verträglich begehen, sonderlich wegen Aufführung der Stuck, warbey mir der Vorzug zu lassen, freundlich vernemmen, auch in allen Vorfällen der Cappell mit selbigem behörig communciren und damit die

³⁴1699 Schw *Gut*; 'is no more skilled at composition that I am.'

nöthige gute Harmonie zwischen unss Beeden dergestalt cultiviren, dass beederseits der nöthige respect bey denen Untergebenen erhalten, und Ihro Hochfürstl. Dl. mit Not sur ohnnöthigen Klagden ohnbehilliget bleiben mögen.³⁵

Predictably Kusser was required to pay the necessary respect due to his superiors and remain true to the faith of the Augsburg Confession, so that a good example may be set for the other musicians

. . . wie ich der Jugend u. gantzer Cappell selbst mit einem erbaren, aufrichtigen, fridlichen und christlichen Wandel geflissentlich vorzuleuchten hab, also solle ich auch meine sorgfältige und getreue Aufsicht auff Ihrer Hochfürstl. Dl. Hofmusicos und Cappellknaben haben, dass auch solche ein ehrlich und christliches Leben und Wandel führen, hergegen des zuvielen Zechens, umblauffens, Spielens und anderer exorbitantien sich allerdings bemässigen . . . ³⁶

If, in fact, the *Hofmusici* did not behave themselves then the *Oberkapellmeister* must either decide to speak to them himself (and report this to the Duke) or if the offence was of a serious nature to inform his direct superiors. The musicians were only to be given

³⁵1700 Kusser S&O; 'Thirdly as the declared *Oberkapellmeister* I shall direct Your Most Royal *Hofkapelle*, however as Your Royal Highness is also provided with another *Kapellmeister*, namely Theodor Schwartzkopff, with whom the direction of the same [the *Hofkapelle*] must be shared in accordance with his *Staat*, I will commit [to behave in a] peaceful and amicable way, especially of friendly questioning regarding the performance of pieces, which I have been given the preference to chose, also in all occurences of the *Kapelle* to always communicate with the same [Schwartzkopff] and through that to cultivate the necessary harmony between both of us, so that each receive the necessary respect from the other, and that Your Royal Highness can remain free of unchecked, unnecessary complaints.'

³⁶1700 Kusser S&O; 'as I must intentionally light the way for the young and all the *Kapelle* with a compassionate, honest, peaceful and Christian way of life, therefore I shall also have a careful and faithful supervision over Your Royal Highness's *Hofmusici* and *Kapellknaben*, to make sure that they lead a honest, Christian life and mode of living, guarding above all against too much carousing, circulating and gambling and other exorbitances . . . '

those instruments which they knew how to play and the cost of any breakages was to be taken out of their salary.

There are, of course, many similarities between the 1692 *Staat und Ordnung* of Schwartzkopff, Kusser's of 1700, and the regulations issued by Duchess Magdalena Sibylla in 1684. The *Oberkapellmeister* must ensure that the *Hofmusici* present themselves promptly at all performances, unless they have received special dispensation from attending. And in 1700, as was the case in 1684, rehearsals were to include "die neue Stuck, so ich [Kusser] oder der Cappellmeister Schwartzkopff von Zeit zu Zeiten componirt . . ." ³⁷

Kusser was expected to compose operas as well, for in the standard clause regarding the preservation of instruments and music belonging to the *Kapelle*, all new music must be entered into the inventory, but "Besonders auch meine von Zeit zu Zeit eigne neue Stück Opern und Compositionen." ³⁸ A related command made by the Duke required that numerous new compositions be written, including operas, that were 'never heard elsewhere'. The ninth point in Kusser's *Staat* spoke expressly of the Duke's desire to bring the *Hofkapelle* into greater esteem and for this reason the *Oberkapellmeister* was specifically instructed to recruit more musicians of a good standard to strengthen music at the court.

The anonymous official *Verzeichnis* written sometime around 1702 offers further information regarding the situation between Kusser and Schwartzkopff (c.1702 *Verz*, see Scholz, pages 202-205). Apparently not

³⁷1700 Kusser S&O; 'those new pieces, which I [Kusser] or *Kapellmeister* Schwartzkopff compose from time to time . . .'

³⁸1700 Kusser S&O; 'especially from time to time my own new pieces of opera and compositions as well.'

all members of the court agreed with the Duke's policy of employing renowned artists simply in order to raise the esteem of his court. The entry on Kusser in this *Verzeichnis* is worth quoting in its entirety:

Ist ein guter Mann in seiner Kunst und Wissenschaft, führt aber mehr stücke von andern alss von sich selber auf. Nun ist diese zwar nicht zu schelten, dann ich schwerlich glaube, dass er oder viele andere werden z. e. dem Lully oder andern Bekannten Componisten gleichkommen. Die Gage, die Er hat, ist sehr starck, ist in seinem Compartement etwas bizar, sonst erhält er seinen respect sehr woll bey denen Musicis und ist ein capabler Mann eine music zu dirigiren. Wir hier hätten eben nicht nöthig, eine solchen mann, der eine solche grosse Gage wegfrisst, zu halten, es thäte unss woll etwas geringeres, denn weder der Herr noch die meisten bedienten etwas ja gar nichts von der Music verstehen. Dissem aber ungeachtet, habe ich schon so viel von serenissimo vernommen, dass er Coussern behalten wolle, also stat pro ratione voluntas.³⁹

This certainly confirms that Schwartzkopff was not the only one to be a little sceptical regarding Kusser's abilities as a composer (see page 62). His skill at leading a group of musicians, on the other hand, was universally admired, as Johann Mattheson attests:

J. S. Cousser, formerly Capellmeister at Wolffenbüttel, possessed an incomparable gift in this regard, the like of which has not again been encountered by me. He was untiring in instruction; allowed all people, from the highest to the lowest, who were under his supervision, to come to his home; sang and played every note for

³⁹c.1702 Verz; 'He is good man in his art and craft, however he performs more pieces by others than of his own. Not that this is to be scolded however, while I hardly think that he or many others could match Lully or other famous composers. The wage that he receives is very considerable, he is rather strange in his behaviour, but in spite of that he receives a great deal of respect from the musicians, and is a man capable of directing a musical establishment. We just don't really need to keep a man here who consumes such a large salary, something more modest would do us just as well, for neither the master, nor most of the servants, actually understand anything of music. However, in spite of this, I have heard so many times already from His Serene Highness that he wishes to keep Kusser, therefore *stat pro ratione voluntas*.'

them as he would want such to be produced; and did all of this for everyone individually with such gentleness and charm that everyone had to love him and had to be highly grateful for his fine instruction. But when things moved from the direction to the public *production*, or rehearsal, then almost all had fear and trembling before him, not only in the orchestra but also on the stage; for he knew how to reproach a person for his errors in such a sharp manner that often the eyes of the latter were filled with tears. On the other hand, he calmed down again immediately, and diligently sought an opportunity to bind the thus-produced wounds through extraordinary politeness. In such a manner he *produced* things which no one before him had been able to undertake. He can serve as a paragon.⁴⁰

Unfortunately Schwartzkopff was left with very little to do and in the position of receiving very little respect from the members of the *Hofkapelle*. According to an *Oberhofmarschallamt* official: "der Ob. Capellmeister Cousser (deme disser Titul über Schwartzkopff zugelegt worden) sich angemasset so wohl die besten und meisten Kürchen-Stücke, alss fast alle Cammer und Nacht alss Tafel-Musiquen, auch alle Operen auff Zuführen, bleibt also Schwartzkopffen nichts übrig alss des Sonntags Nachmittag etwas hervorzubringen."⁴¹

He noted that Schwartzkopff was a good, honest man, but that he had no authority over the musicians. Therefore, due to the constant bickering taking place between him and Kusser, one or the other must go. The official suggested that Schwartzkopff be made a "Statt

⁴⁰Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister. A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary*, ed. E. C. Harris (Ann Arbor, 1981), 865.

⁴¹c.1702 Verz; 'the *Oberkapellmeister* Kusser (a title which has been given to him over Schwartzkopff) takes it upon himself to perform the the best and majority of church pieces, as well as almost all chamber, night, and table music, also all operas, therefore there remains little else for Schwartzkopff to produce but the [performances on] Sunday afternoons.'

Kapellmeister" (civic *Kapellmeister*) however, luckily for Schwartzkopff, this proposal was never put into action.

To further confuse the situation, on 25 April 1703 Johann Georg Christian Störl was granted the position of *Hofkapellmeister*, alongside his former teacher Schwartzkopff.⁴² The court authorities were obviously content with mere reports of Störl's musical ability, for this appointment was awarded twelve days before his return to Stuttgart from studying in Italy. While having two *Kapellmeister* had been difficult enough, life with three must have been especially tense. Certainly Kusser was continually involved in heated arguments with both the musicians and his direct superiors. A ducal resolution dated 3 September 1703 mentions that "bey befohlener Reduction der Hof Music . . . auff Wieder Einführung besserer Ordnung bey derselben abzielet . . ." ⁴³ Almost a year later, in February 1704, Kusser requested his dismissal and asked for an extra 100 *Speiesthaler*⁴⁴ "zu seiner Abfertigung und auf der Reysse."⁴⁵ The last recorded letter in Kusser's hand written from Stuttgart is dated 12 May 1704.⁴⁶

Kusser next turned to free-lancing in London, noting in his commonplace book "Ich bin zu London ankommen A. 1704. den 25.

⁴²Pfeilsticker, 959.

⁴³Scholz, 46-47; 'through the requested reduction of the court musical establishment . . . the introduction of better order shall again be aimed for. . . '

⁴⁴A *Speiesthaler* was worth approximately two *Gulden*, W. H. Bruford, *Germany in the eighteenth century: the social background of the literary revival* (Cambridge, 1939), 329.

⁴⁵Scholz, 240; 'in preparation for, and for his journey.'

⁴⁶Scholz, 241-242.

Dec."⁴⁷ Then in 1710 he was made *Composer of the State Musick* in Dublin and later *Master of the Musick, attending his Majesty's State in Ireland and Chappel-Master of Trinity College*. On 12 November 1716 he was finally awarded the title *Chief Composer and Music Master in Dublin-Castle*. At some stage Kusser made a trip back to Stuttgart where he visited his widowed sister and her son, Daniel Gottlob Treu (1695-1749) who was later to become a composer himself.⁴⁸ Kusser died in Dublin—probably towards the end of 1727—and was succeeded in his post of *Music Master* by the violinist, Matthew Dubourg (1703-1767).⁴⁹

Following Kusser's departure from Stuttgart Schwartzkopff no doubt believed that he had been given a second chance to improve his circumstances. Once more he was the highest-ranking *Kapellmeister* at court and only his former pupil J. G. C. Störl could be considered a possible threat to his security. Unfortunately events soon took another turn for the worse when Störl, recently back from Italy, began plotting against Schwartzkopff.

In 1706 Störl tried to gain permission to move into the *Kapellhaus*, which was by rights the residence of Schwartzkopff.⁵⁰ He outlined the reasons for this request in a letter to Duke Eberhard Ludwig written on 20 January of that year. His principal claim was that he should be

⁴⁷Harold E. Samuel, "John Sigismond Cousser in London and Dublin", *ML* 61 (1980), 160; 'I arrived in London in the year 1704, the 25th December.' See also H. E. Samuel, "A German Musician comes to London in 1704" *MT* 122 (1981), 591-593.

⁴⁸See Scholz, 49-50; Kusser's commonplace book (part of the James Osborn Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University) may contain some information on the date of this trip back to Germany, see H. E. Samuel, "John Sigismond Cousser . . ."

⁴⁹Brian Boydell, "Dubourg, M.", *Grove* 6.

⁵⁰Sittard I, 324-329.

allocated more comfortable and convenient housing to better accommodate rehearsals for the operas which he had been ordered to produce for the coming *Karneval* season. Störl described his present residence as a "Stuben" (room) which he had to share not only with his family (whose size had recently increased), but also with a number of choirboys. He held that it had become virtually impossible to hold rehearsals there, especially as he wanted to be able to compose in peace, in addition to providing enough room for the boys to do their daily practice.⁵¹

Schwartzkopff's reply, a month later, openly displays his outrage at the suggestion. In his view the insult was heightened by the fact that he had not been personally informed that Störl was to shift into his house, but only discovered this fact through reading a *Stifts-Verwalter* report: "und wenn es sich nicht thun ließe ich den Hauß zünß nehmen und Ihme Störl den das gantze Hauß überlassen solle . . ."⁵² In his letter Schwartzkopff also expressed disgust that he had been treated so poorly by a former pupil, having known Störl for seven years and brought him to such a level of instrumental playing, especially on the keyboard "daß Er nach Abkommen deß Organisten Bachhelbels noch alß ein Capel Knab bey mir die Orgel bei Hoff *ordinarie* versehen."⁵³

Schwartzkopff went on to explain that in the past there used to be two chapel houses and that when he was *Vizekapellmeister* (twenty years

⁵¹Sittard I, 324-325.

⁵²Sittard I, 325, letter of Schwartzkopff to Duke Eberhard Ludwig; 'and if that wasn't enough I read that I am to be charged rent and that the whole house is to be entrusted to Störl.'

⁵³Sittard I, 326; 'that after the departure of the organist Pachelbel when he was still a choirboy I ordinarily allowed him to play the organ at court.'

previously) a residence was supplied for him in the "Kleinen Herrschaft Kelter", while the *Kapellmeister*, J. F. Magg, remained in his own house. He also claimed that Magg had left everything up to him: "ich damahlen alle Tafel- Cammer Musiquen und Balletten bestellt und versehen, und habe ich in meine *Logiament* und dem großen Herrschaftl. Hauß auf dem Margdt meine Opern probirt, wiewohlen mich Keines wegs waigere . . . "54 In Schwartzkopff's view it should be no trouble for Störl to rehearse his operas in the "großen Capell Stuben" (large chapel room).

In his letter Schwartzkopff also took the opportunity to recount some of the varied activities he had undertaken in past years—apparently without receiving any extra remuneration. These included "mit der doppelten Harpfen Unterthgst. aufgewarttet, die *Musicos* Hautboisten und Capell Knaben in denen Hautbois, Flöten und andern Instrumenten ohne einigen Genuß oder Endgeltt *informirt* . . . "55

Obviously this letter had some effect for Sittard notes that the Duke decided in favour of Schwartzkopff. Therefore, in the meantime, his position as senior *Kapellmeister* was upheld. However, late in 1706 the final blow was dealt to Schwartzkopff's further career hopes, when a declaration dated 12 November appointed J. C. Pez as *Rath und Oberkapellmeister* to the Württemberg court with a salary of 2000 *Gulden*.⁵⁶ His wages, which appear astoundingly high when taken at

⁵⁴Sittard I, 328; 'at that time I organised and provided all table, [and] chamber music, and ballets, and I held rehearsals for operas in my lodgings and in the large estate house at the market[place], at the same time not complaining in any way . . . '

⁵⁵Sittard I, 327-328; 'performing for the nobility on the double harp, instructing the *Hautboisten*, musicians, and the *Kapellknaben* on the oboe, recorders, and other instruments without any pleasure or money for the results . . . '

⁵⁶Wallner, p. xxxviii.

face value, actually included payment for his daughter, Maria Anna Franziska, who served as a singer at the court.⁵⁷

Pez came from a long line of Bavarian civic musicians and had received his basic musical training from both his father and through his position as a chorister at St. Peter's in Munich. He played the violin and the lute, and as a pupil of the Jesuit *Gymnasium* had taken part as a vocal soloist in a number of school-plays, which were also performed before the electoral court.

By 1688 he had become a chamber musician at the court, which at that time was under the rule of Elector Maximilian II Emanuel. Soon after his appointment Pez accompanied the Elector to Hungary, where war was being waged against the Turks, and as a result of this service his salary was doubled to 200 *Gulden* on 1 October 1688. The following month he married Anna Maria Rosina Wagner, the daughter of a court tailor, and on 27 March 1689 their first child was born, Maria Anna Franziska.

Following his years studying in Rome (see page 26), in 1694 Pez shifted to Bonn where he reorganized the musical establishment of the Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, Joseph Clemens (1671-1723, brother of Maximilian Emanuel), and by 1696 he had been promoted to the rank of *Kapellmeister*. But with the advent of the War of Spanish Succession in 1701 Pez returned to Munich and requested a special *Wartgeld* as a composer of church, chamber, and table music—this privilege was granted on 1 September 1702 at the rate of 800 *Gulden*. The fortunes of the Bavarian court continued to disintegrate and in 1706 the entire *Hofkapelle* was released, but Pez was kept on to teach

⁵⁷Wallner, p. xl.

music to the three sons of Max Emanuel.⁵⁸ Duke Eberhard Ludwig of Württemberg spent the winter of 1705-1706 in Munich and no doubt this circumstance in some way aided the appointment of Pez to his new position in Stuttgart.⁵⁹

Schwartzkopff was not the only one to be unhappy about Pez's appointment as Württemberg *Rath und Oberkapellmeister*. In February 1707 Störl requested the position of organist at the *Stiftskirche* in Stuttgart with the condition that he retain his current title and rank of *Hofkapellmeister*. The church council decided to appoint him as organist but to assign him the title of *Stiftskapellmeister* and he took up his new role through a decree dated 8 April 1707.⁶⁰

As is the case for Schwartzkopff, only one employment contract is extant from J. C. Pez's term at the Württemberg court (1711 Pez S&O, see Appendix A, pages 432-438). In April 1711 the *Staat und Ordnungen* for the *Hofkapelle* were updated, and in addition to that relating to Pez, there also remains a contract for the collected *Hofmusici* (1711 HM S&O, see Appendix A, pages 439-442). The 1692 *Staat* of Schwartzkopff discussed earlier also features significant alterations bringing it up-to-date at this time. The contract of the *Hofmusici* states that they were required to follow all commands made by the two *Kapellmeister* who are listed as " . . . Rath und Ober Cappellmeister Betzen, nebst Unßerm Cappellmeister Schwartzkopfen

⁵⁸Wallner, p. xiii-xliv.

⁵⁹Klaus Merten, *Schloß Ludwigsburg* (Stuttgart, 1992), 2.

⁶⁰Bopp, 230. This does not agree with Günter Thomas's entry in *Grove* 6, which states that Störl was appointed to the position on 19 February and took up his post on *Georgii* (25 April) 1707.

die Oberaufsicht und die *Direction* Unßerer gantzen Hoff Cappel anvertraut . . . "61 Schwartzkopff is clearly described as the junior *Kapellmeister* in the opening paragraph, in which the difference between him and Pez is clarified by the phrase: "Unßern Rath und Ober und Unter *Cappellmeister*."62

As noted previously by Wallner, Pez's contract agrees almost word-to-word with the 17 April 1700 *Staat und Ordnung* of Kusser (1700 Kusser *S&O*, see Scholz, pages 233-238).63 There are however a number of differences and additions to the set formula. The most noticeable concerns religious beliefs, for while Kusser was expected to adhere to the Augsburg Confession, Pez and his family (who came from Catholic Bavaria), were guaranteed freedom from religious persecution. The relevant clause reads " . . . daß ich und die Meinige, wegen der von Unß *profitirenden* Römisch-Catholischen *Religion*, von niemanden angefachten, oder *toubirt* werde, sondern selbige in einen benachbarten Dorff *exercire* . . . "64

As mentioned earlier with reference to J. F. Magg, the predominantly Protestant citizens of Stuttgart were not renowned for their religious tolerance. Duke Eberhard Ludwig, however, took a liberal approach to religious matters, probably realising that in order to achieve an atmosphere which reflected a wealthy, cultured baroque court it

611711 HM *S&O*; 'Rath und Oberkapellmeister Pez, as well as our *Kapellmeister* Schwartzkopff to whom the overall supervision and the direction [conducting] of our entire *Hofkapelle* is entrusted . . . '

621711 HM *S&O*; 'Our Counsellor and Senior, and Junior *Kapellmeister*.'

63Wallner, p. xxxviii-ix.

641711 Pez *S&O*; 'that neither I nor my family will be attacked or troubled because of our profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and the same [R. C. religion] shall be practised by us in a neighbouring village . . . '

would be necessary to employ French and Italian artists.⁶⁵ The market square of Ludwigsburg features the two churches he ordered to be built there in the early eighteenth century: the main Protestant one and directly opposite it a smaller Catholic church (originally intended for the large numbers of Italian craftsmen and their families who were involved in building the palace at Ludwigsburg). At one point during Eberhard Ludwig's reign the clergymen in attendance at the Württemberg court included a Protestant preacher for the majority of the nobility, a Calvinist minister for the *Erbprinzessin* Henriette Marie, and a Catholic priest for the future Duke Carl Alexander⁶⁶ (son of the *Administrator* Friedrich Carl zu Winnental) and his wife, Marie Auguste von Thurn und Taxis (1706-1756).⁶⁷

In July 1715 an anonymous report containing a plan for the reorganization of chamber music for the ducal family while resident at their country estates made particular reference to the amount of food consumed by the *Oberkapellmeister* on such occasions (see page 311).⁶⁸ Three months after the appearance of this document, Pez wrote a letter to Duke Eberhard Ludwig in which he tried to refute

⁶⁵For information regarding religion in Württemberg at this time see Mary Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics. Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Württemberg and Prussia* (Cambridge, 1983).

⁶⁶According to C. Atkinson, *A History of Germany 1715-1815* (London, 1908), 370-371, Carl Alexander "... had gone over to Roman Catholicism in 1712 partly from pique at the refusal of the Committee to increase his appanage ..."

⁶⁷Pöllnitz, 372-373, "Die Prinzessin [Henriette Marie] ist der *Reformirten* Glaubens-Lehre zugethan, und hat Sie Ihren besondern Hof-Prediger, welchen Sie in Ihrem Zimmer predigen läst; solchergestalt, daß zu der Zeit, da der Prinz *Alexander* von Württemberg sich hier befindet, drey Capellen von unterschiedenen Glaubens-Genossen in dem Schloß gehalten werden." (The Princess is fond of the reformed doctrine and has her own special court-preacher, who is allowed to preach in her rooms; in this way, that at those times when the Prince Alexander of Württemberg is in residence here, three chapels for those of different religious beliefs are held in the palace).

⁶⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, 20 July 1715.

claims made in the proposal about the amount of food and drink he received daily (1715 Pez 21/x, see Sittard I, pages 87-89). What may have appeared a fairly mundane letter to eighteenth-century eyes is full of information describing the everyday life of a German *Kapellmeister* at that time.

Pez stated that the allegations were "nur ein erdichtetes Werckh Von einigen meiner Feindten"⁶⁹ and continued: "Daß erstlich mir auff dem land täglich 3 Maß Wein solte gereicht werden, ist *Falsissimum*, maßen ich mehreres nicht, alß andere meine *antecessores*, benamtlich der Capellmeister Schwarzkopff, Cousser, Und störle [*sic.*] auch genoßen, nemblich Vor die mal Zeit ein maß . . . Wein."⁷⁰

He then attempted to further prove his worth by describing a number of activities which he performed in the service of the Duke, which were officially not expected of him (in much the same way Schwartzkopff had ten years earlier—see page 70): "mein *officium* nichts anders alß componiren Und dirrigirren ist."⁷¹ In detailing these acts Pez wrote:

. . . ich streiche daß *Violin* auch die *Viola d'Amore* Wans Vonethen . . . gleich den geringsten *instrumentisten* mit . . .

Ich hab in 10 jahren, da ich die hoche gnad gehabt, E. F. Dl. Underthgst. zu dienen, daß *clavicembalo* auff dem land Vill 100 mahl gestimmt . . .

⁶⁹1715 Pez 21/x; 'only a piece of fabrication made by a few of my enemies.'

⁷⁰1715 Pez 21/x; 'That, first of all, I am given each day three measures of wine, is false, I don't receive any more than the others, who were my predecessors, namely the *Kapellmeister* Schwartzkopff, Kusser, and Störl took, that is for each mealtime one measure of wine.'

⁷¹1715 Pez 21/x; 'my official duties are none other than to compose and conduct.'

Ich habe denen französischen *Comedianten* nit allein componirt,
selbige etlich stunde lang probirt . . . ⁷²

Pez also took grave exception to the fact that the author of the *Cammermusici* proposal had claimed that he received four dishes per day when in the country: "das mir malzeitlich 4 schüßlen gegeben Werden auff dem land, das ist abermahl *Falsum*."⁷³ His reply mentioned the fact that although he was entitled to eat at the gentlemens' table in the country, he was often not able to do so because of the *Tafelmusic* (which he presumably had to direct). Pez then continued with the following, extremely interesting, picture of what must have been a typical day in the life of a German *Kapellmeister*:

. . . ich in der frue die fragl. [*sic.*] *Comedianten* probiren mus, darauf noch dan zue ein tafl music folge, Welche sich Von 3 bis halbe 4 Uhr endet, so schon Willmahl geschehen, so kann ich gar nirgend speisen, in dem jederman Umb selbige Zeit sein Tafl genügt, da kombts das mir dero Ober Marschall, der ein gar *raisonable Cavalier* ist, nach dem dienst et Wan 4 schüßlen, so auch nur ein abfall Von anderen taflen ist, läßt in's Zimmer schickhen, Von Welchen ich öffters Wenig genießen kan, Weilen alles kald Und *extra tempus* ist, das ich mich also in gotts nahm mit eine stuckh brod Und Glas Wein *contentire*, dan ich ehe den gantzen tag nichts essen Vill, als in meine Underthe. diensten *manchiren*: da sechen (sehen) also E. Ud. D. (unleserlich), das dises ein aufgebracht sache von Meinen Feindten seyn.⁷⁴

⁷²1715 Pez 21/x; 'I play the violin and viola d'amore when necessary . . . the same as the least important musician; I have, during the ten years I have had the high honour to serve Your Royal Highness, tuned the harpsichord while in the country up to one hundred times; for the French actors I have not only composed, but also rehearsed them for actually hours at a time . . . '

⁷³1715 Pez 21/x; 'that I have been given four dishes each mealtime while in the country, is again false.'

⁷⁴1715 Pez 21/x; 'I have to rehearse the uncertain [or possibly a misreading of "franzl." = French] actors in the morning, then after that a table music follows, which

Even allowing for Pez's need to defend himself, this account, in conjunction with the information provided by the various Württemberg employment contracts, gives us some idea of the busy life of the eighteenth-century German *Kapellmeister*: ranging from composition, training choirboys, employing new musicians, disciplining subordinates, rehearsing instrumentalists and vocalists alike, acquiring and keeping inventories of music, to conducting and taking part in performances.

ends at around 3 to 3.30pm, so already so much has happened that I can hardly eat anything, during which time everyone else has been enjoying their meal. Then after the service the Court Chamberlain comes to me, he is a very reasonable gentleman, with around four dishes, which are actually nothing more than the scraps left over from the other tables and lets them be sent to my room, from which I can often eat very little, because everything is cold and *extra tempus*. So that in the name of God I have to content myself with a piece of bread and a glass of wine, as I have not eaten anything the entire day, because I would have failed in my service to Your Royal Highness: therefore Your Royal Highness can see that this is an outrageous allegation made by my enemies.'

The Organization and Discipline of the Württemberg 'Hofkapelle'

The earliest surviving document to discuss in some detail the structure of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* is undoubtedly the 1684 rules of Magdalena Sibylla.¹ The *raison d'être* for this set of instructions is explained by its opening statement: the Duchess has been obliged to issue a set of rules to counteract the recent "troubles et confusions" (disturbances and embarrassments) which have beset the musicians of the ducal chapel.²

The rules make it clear that the majority of the musicians played more than one instrument to an acceptable performance level and could be ordered to play any one of them regardless of their own personal preference: "2. Dieselbe [den Gesampten Hoff Musicis], sonderlich die *Instrumentisten*, schuldig sein sollen, nicht nur nach ihren belieben, etwa ein oder anders *Instrument*, wie Sie bißhero zur Ihnen Gewohnt gewesen, sondern alle die Jenigen, die Sie verstehen, und wissen, ohne underschid, wie es die vorgesezte Capellmeister von Ihnen verlange . . ."³ This idea had persisted from at least the middle of the century, when an official list of the duties of vocalists

¹D-Sa Büschel 609.

²1684 Rules, D-Sa A21 Büschel 609, the date 10 April 1684 is supplied suggesting that the report's final phrase "Donné a Stoutgard le 30 Juin 1686" indicates when the report was promulgated.

³1684 Rules; '2.. That these same [all the *Hofmusici*], especially the instrumentalists, should be sure to give due attention not only to those one or other instruments which they prefer and have in the past become accustomed to, but also to all of those which they understand, and know, without exception, as the *Kapellmeister* in charge should require from them . . .'

around 1657 related that there were weekly rehearsals in the chapel house and not only were the musicians expected to sing, but also to perform on all instruments they were capable of playing—as the *Kapellmeister* ordered.⁴

It is therefore not possible to consider the members of the *Hofkapelle* as a standardized orchestra or ensemble but rather as a resource from which the *Kapellmeister* was able to select a variety of different combinations as the circumstances dictated. On the other hand, it is also made clear that no musician should presume to play a instrument on which he is not yet skilled—the decision being left up to the *Kapellmeister*: "12. Que nul de nostre Chapelle ne s'opiniastre à ne vouloir jouer d'un Instrument, qu'il est capable de manier."⁵

Not surprisingly a comment is made on the importance of punctuality, especially with regard to *Tafel-Music*: "Et que Ceux, dont on aura besoin, pour le Service de la Table, s'y trouvent de bonne heure, pour accommoder leurs Instrumens, de sorte qu'ils ne se fassent pas attendre longtemps, mais qu'ils soyent d'abord prests à jouer."⁶ Perhaps absences had become commonplace:

3. Et comme pour le 3. on a observé, qu'une partie d'iceux se trouvent fort rarement à la Chapelle, les Jours que l'on celebre le Service divin; Elle à ordonné qu'ils ne s'absentent jamais à moins que quelque maladie ou autre raison relevant les en dispense, ce qu'ils seront obligés de faire sçavoir au Maistre de Chapelle ou à

⁴Sittard I, 52.

⁵1684 Rules; '12. That nobody in our Chapel should presume to want to play an instrument that he is incapable of managing.'

⁶1684 Rules; '9. And that those who will be needed for the service at the table, should be there early in order to tune [get ready] their instruments, so that a long wait should not be necessary, but that they should be ready straight away to play.'

Son Lieutenant, faute dequoy il sera ordonné de leur retenir quelque chose de leurs gages.⁷

Most probably those musicians who were frequently absent from the divine service were Catholics attending their own mass. This was certainly the case some years later, in 1717, when *Kapellmeister* Theodor Schwartzkopff complained specifically of this problem. Recurring absences could, in fact, result in the dismissal of a musician: "Que si un tel, qui doit estre du Service, s'en absentoit sans permission, on Luy rabattra quelque chose Sur ses gages, et s'il retomboit plusieurs fois en cette faute, il sera cassé sans exception."⁸

Finally, the last paragraph of the report indicates that drunkenness was not unusual in performances at the court. A call is made for a stricter watch of certain culprits:

14. Et en dernier lieu, comme il a fort souvent paru, que pendant le Service quelques uns des Musiciens se sont chargés de trop de vin, de sorte qu'ils vont pas este capables de s'acquitter de leur devoir, que mesme ils ont passés les bornés de la modestie et du respect dehu S. A. S. ne voulant en aucune façon plus souffrir de tels des ordres, fera espier soigneusement ceux qui pourroyent retomber en de telles fautes, pour en faire une punition exemplaire.⁹

⁷1684 Rules; '3. And in the third place it has been observed that some of those [musicians] are very rarely to be found in Chapel on the days on which divine service is celebrated. She has ordered that they never be absent unless some illness or other relevant reason gives them a dispensation from it, of which they would be obliged to inform the Master of the Chapel or his deputy. Failure to do this will result in some of their wages being retained.'

⁸1684 Rules; 'That if such a person who should be in service is absent without permission, he will have wages deducted, and if he offends several times of his own fault, he will—without exception—be sacked.'

⁹1684 Rules; '14. And finally, as it has very often appeared that during the service some of the musicians have been too full of wine, so that they are incapable of discharging their duty, and that they have even exceeded the bounds of [the] modesty and of respect; Her Royal Highness not wanting to have to put up with such disorders

By this time the *Hofkapelle* had steadily grown to a total of twenty-three musicians. A contemporary *Verzeichnis*, the 1684 *Specificatio der gesambten Hof-Musicorum Besoldung* (1684 *Specificatio*, see Appendix A, pages 402-413)¹⁰, groups the musicians into the following divisions: *Kapellmeister*, *Vizekapellmeister*, fifteen *Hofmusici*¹¹, an organist, three trumpeters who appear to be of *Hofmusicus* status, one military trumpeter, and a military kettledrum player.

The division of the *Hofmusici* into instrumentalists and vocalists, while not made apparent in the *Specificatio* itself, comes from information recorded in the court *Dienerbücher*. No indication is given of the instruments played by the ordinary *Hofmusici*, but, as has already been demonstrated, they were expected to perform on a variety of different instruments, as was common for German court musicians at the time¹², and as later documents in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart collection indicate (see Chapter 6). The *Specificatio* individually labels the trumpeters as such, presumably owing to the fact that they were not often considered part of the *Hofkapelle* itself, but seen as a separate group.

The composition of the *Hofkapelle* under Schwartzkopff's direction shortly before the arrival of Kusser and Magdalena Sibylla von Bex, can be seen in another extant *Verzeichnis* held by the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (1699 *Verz*, see Appendix A, pages 419-

in any way whatsoever, will have those who are most capable of falling back into such faults carefully watched in order to submit them to an exemplary punishment.'

¹⁰'Specification of the Salaries of the entire court musical establishment.'

¹¹Although the word *Hofmusicus* is not used in the 1684 *Specificatio*, contemporary Württemberg documents utilize the term to describe the ordinary court musicians.

¹²See Ortrun Landmann, "The Dresden Hofkapelle during the lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach.", *EM* 17 (1989), 19-20.

427).¹³ This document is set out in the form of columns and like the 1684 *Specificatio*, records the exact amount of money, rye, buckwheat, oats, wine, and wood given to each musician. Although a date, 1686, can be clearly read on the side of the first sheet, the difference in the constitution of the *Kapelle* when compared to the earlier *Specificatio* is astounding, suggesting a discrepancy in the dating of either report. Furthermore, the date '1686' is in a different hand from the remainder of the document.

Of those names appearing on the 1684 *Specificatio* only six remain listed as "Musicalische Bediente" (musical employees) on this *Verzeichnis*: Johann Bolch, Christian Klotz, Johann Frohmaÿer, Andreas Fischer, Daniel Rousselin, and François La Rose. There is some confusion regarding this last-mentioned musician, La Rose, as the entries in Pfeilsticker (based on information from the ducal *Dienerbücher*) suggest two different musicians with similar names. One of these men was a bass singer and the other an instrumental bass player, appointed in 1683 and 1697 respectively.¹⁴ However, a register of court musicians dating from 1714 describes La Rose as a "zwanzig jähriger, und fleißiger diener"¹⁵, thus suggesting the existence of only one La Rose. He is frequently mentioned as a player of the French *Bass Violon* and was still active to some extent in the early 1720s (receiving the relatively high salary of 300 Gulden in 1724).¹⁶

¹³D-Sa A21 Büschel 607.

¹⁴Pfeilsticker, 932 and 901.

¹⁵1714 Pez *Lista*; 'a hardworking servant for twenty years.'

¹⁶1724 *Inst Mus*.

By the following year, however, it seems the health of La Rose had deteriorated rapidly. In August 1725 a letter written by *Rath und Oberkapellmeister* Brescianello confirmed the fact that he had passed on "dero samtlichen Cammer und Hoff Music die *notification* . . . das selbige sich in der *Residenz* Ludwigsburg künftig wohnhaft nider laßen, und von beständig bleiben . . ."¹⁷, but added that La Rose wished to submit an individual declaration regarding this command. In an accompanying document La Rose described himself as "ein alter über etlich und 70. Jahr schon hinaus seÿender Mann, der keine Rapate mehr ausstehen kan . . ."¹⁸ By 29 January 1729 La Rose is described as "gantz unbrauchbar" (totally useless) in a document which listed the entire ducal *Instrumental-Music*, signed by three court officials (including the *Oberhofmarschall* Friedrich Wilhelm von Grävenitz) the report attempted to answer the question: "von was *Capacitet* und fleiß ein jeder derselben sich befinde?"¹⁹ Little over a month later his death was recorded in the *Dienerbuch* as 5 March 1729.²⁰

In all there are thirty-two musicians listed in this '1686' *Verzeichnis*, making twenty-three new members since the 1684 report (not counting the *Kapellmeister*, *Orgelmacher*, and *Kalkant* who are not named). When the names of these thirty-two are checked in the

¹⁷D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, letter of Brescianello to the *Oberhofmarschall*, 11 August 1725; 'to Your entire *Cammer* and *Hof Music* notification . . . that in the future they must shift their residences to the Ludwigsburg palace and remain there continually.'

¹⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, undated letter of François La Rose; 'an old man, actually already past the age of 70, who can endure no more separation'—the musicians presumably had to leave their families in Stuttgart.

¹⁹1729 *Inst Mus*; 'of what capability and diligence can each of these [members of the *Instrumental Music*] be deemed?'

²⁰Pfeilsticker, 901.

Dienerbuch it becomes immediately apparent that the supposed '1686' date is simply not feasible for this document. Four of the musicians listed were first appointed to the *Kapelle* on 30 August 1695: Johann Eberhard Hildenbrand (d.1731), Christoph Reinhard Schwartzkopff, Aegidius Mühlhäuser (d.1714), and Georg Matthäus Gauger (d.1706).²¹ The first twenty-eight names on the list, up to "dem Calcanten" (the bellows-blower), were possibly entered sometime around the end of 1697—at least after 17 October, when Philipp Sazger (d.1699) was appointed (listed just before the *Orgelmacher*).²²

The last four names (bringing the total to thirty-one) must have been added later, as Magdalena Sibylla von Bex and Johann Rudolf Fischer (d.1711) were first employed in April 1698²³, Christian Herbst (d.1702) on 1 June 1698²⁴, and finally Michael Reiff in April 1699.²⁵ The entire list may have been merely copied from an earlier *Verzeichnis*, thus allowing for the placement of the last four most recent arrivals. But it is clear that this '1686' *Verzeichnis* must certainly date from before autumn 1699—when Johann Philipp Beckherhem (the eighth name given) died.²⁶

The fact that no name is provided for the *Kapellmeister* on this *Verzeichnis* presumably indicates that the writer of the document occupied the position. In 1699 the office was held by Theodor

²¹Pfeilsticker, 899, 909, 904, and 897.

²²Pfeilsticker, 928.

²³Pfeilsticker, 933 and 896.

²⁴Pfeilsticker, 899, gives his first name as Christoph, rather than Christian.

²⁵Pfeilsticker, 907.

²⁶Pfeilsticker, 886.

Schwartzkopff and as his name appears nowhere else in the document, while those of several relations (Christoph Reinhard Schwartzkopff and Georg Michael Schwartzkopff) are included (suggesting a certain degree of influence in the matter of appointments), it is probable that he was, in fact, the author of the report. The handwriting too, when compared to samples known to be in Schwartzkopff's hand, serves to confirm this hypothesis.

By the end of 1697 the *Hofkapelle* consisted of a *Kapellmeister*, nineteen *Hofmusici*, four 'musical' trumpeters, a military trumpeter and kettledrum player, an *Orgelmacher* (organ repairer), and a *Kalkant*. In 1698 three more *Hofmusici* (two instrumentalists and a vocalist) were added, plus the French virtuoso soprano Bex. No mention is made of either J. S. Kusser or the lutenist Johann Gumprecht (d.1723)—so presumably that were not considered proper members of the *Hofkapelle*.

As with the 1684 *Specificatio*, the division of *Hofmusici* into instrumentalists and vocalists is not specified on the document itself, but the information can be gleaned from contemporary *Dienerbücher*. By 1699 the numbers of both these groups had risen significantly in comparison to 1684 figures, from eleven to fourteen instrumentalists and four to eight vocalists (including Bex). Although it is impossible to be explicit about the variety of instruments represented, one can at least say with some certainty that in 1699 the vocalists consisted of a soprano, a male *Discantist*, two *Altisten*, three *Tenoristen*, a *Bassist*, and another unknown male voice.

Following Kusser's appointment to the position of *Oberkapellmeister* in 1700 he obeyed the instructions of the Duke in his recruitment of

new musicians for the court (see his employment contract, page 65). The *Verzeichnis* of c.1702 compiled by an anonymous official of the *Oberhofmarschallamt* shows that the membership of the *Kapelle* had expanded significantly (c.1702 *Verz*, see Scholz, pages 202-205). The total number of twenty-three *Musici* (not including the *Kapellmeister*, *Orgelmacher*, *Kalkant*, trumpeters, and so on) in 1699 had risen to thirty by 1702 (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 c.1702 Members of the Württemberg Hofkapelle (from c.1702 *Verz*).

Oberkapellmeister Kusser
Kapellmeister Schwartzkopff

Vocalisten

Madgalena Sibylla von Bex
 Juliana Dorothea Sophia Glaser^a
 Maria Dorothea Fischer
 Giovanni Antonio Campioli
 Matthias Gabrielis (*Altist*, d.1768)
 Andreas Fischer (*Altist*)
 Michael Reiff (*Tenorist*)
 J. G. Schmidt baur (*Tenorist*)
 G. M. Ricci (*Bassist*)
 J. G. Horn (*Bassist*)

Trompeter

G. M. Fenchel ["Femsel"]
 J. Casimir Gundel
 J. J. Gremminger (d.1715)
 Daniel Rousselin
 Gregorius Linser ["Lenster"]

Instrumentalisten

Francesco Venturini
 Elias Zimmermann
 J. E. Hildenbrand
 Johann Rudolf Fischer
 G. C. Hildenbrand
 Christian Herbst
 C. R. Schwartzkopff
 G. M. Schwartzkopff
 Aegidius Mühlhäuser
 G. M. Gauger ["Grüger"]
 Bartolomeo Rubini
 N. Nicola
 La Rose
 Christian Klotz
 Johann Gumprecht
 Isaac Seidel
 J. G. C. Störl
 Gottfried Rumpus
 Carl Gustav Hirth

^aNée Fischer.

The full musical resources of the court are included in this *Verzeichnis*, for not only are the ordinary *Hofkapelle* members listed, but also "die 8 haubois von dem Bataillon der Grenad. Garde zu Fuss, welche nun ins künfftige auch müssen, zu unsrerer Capelle gebraucht, und ihnen lieber etwas weniges noch gereicht werden."²⁷

The quota of five trumpeters remained the same as in 1699, with Johann Jacob Gremminger and Gregorius Linser replacing Johann Bolch and Johann Balthasar Leichtlin. It is made clear that while a trumpeter may be judged as good this does not necessarily mean he is suitable for playing with the *Hofkapelle*. The rather mixed statements included in the 1702 *Verzeichnis* on this topic read as follows:

Femsel.	Trompeter. Bleibt bey der Music.
Casimir.	Ziemlicher trompeter, aber in der Music thut er schlechte that.
Kremminger.	Guter trompeter.
Rousselet.	Nichts nutz zur music, Zur trompete wird er auch alt.
Lenster.	blaset trompete. ²⁸

Interestingly, no kettledrum player is named.

Almost nine years later the employment contract of the collected *Hofmusici* of 1711 sets down in writing the standards of behaviour

²⁷c.1702 Verz; 'the eight oboists of the Grenadier Infantry Guard Battalion, who must now also be used by our *Kapelle* now and in the future, and to them there would be preferably a little something [payment] due.'

²⁸c.1702 Verz; '[Georg Melchior Fenchel] Trumpeter. Should remain with the musical establishment; [Johann Casimir Gundel] Reasonable trumpeter, but does poorly in the musical establishment; [Johann Jacob Gremminger] Good trumpeter; [Daniel Rousselin] No use to the musical establishment, his trumpet-playing is also deteriorating; [Gregorius Linser] Plays the trumpet.'

and duties expected of the court musicians (1711 *HM S&O*, see Appendix A, pages 439-442). This includes the customary paragraph which requires the musicians to lead a decent way of life: "Sollen auch alle Unßere Bereits in Dienstenstehende und noch hin künfftig darinn kommende Hoff *Musici* ein Christlich, erbar und züchtig leben führen, alles ebermäßigem spiehlen und *debauchirens* sich enthalten . . ." ²⁹ An earlier section in the *Staat* specifically asks the musicians to refrain from "alles unmäßigen trinckens" (all excessive drinking) prior to performances.

This *Staat* also provides detailed information regarding the day-to-day routine of the *Hofmusici*. As always each musician was expected to attend every rehearsal and performance. The frequency of these rehearsals is not mentioned, but a sentence added later to the main document reads: "welche Sie in Ihren Häußern, oder dem Cappelhauß halten würden." ³⁰ Presumably Schwartzkopff had been forced (this time successfully) to move out of the *Kapellhaus* to make room for the new *Kapellmeister* Pez and his family, but he was probably still able to hold rehearsals of chamber music in his own rooms.

By the time Pez compiled a detailed *Verzeichnis* of the *Hofkapelle* in 1714 (1714 Pez *Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 443-450), the size of the *Kapelle* remained much the same as it had been in 1702 under the leadership of J. S. Kusser. At that time there had been thirty musicians, including both vocalists and instrumentalists, but

²⁹1711 *HM S&O*; 'All of those *Hofmusici* who are presently in our service, as well as those who are to come in the future should lead a Christian, respectful and modest life, and abstain from all excessive gambling and debauchery . . .'

³⁰1711 *HM S&O*; 'which [rehearsals] shall be held in their houses or in the *Kapellhaus*.'

excluding the *Kapellmeister*, *Orgelmacher*, and other subsidiary members. In 1714 Pez also listed thirty names, composed of eight vocalists, twenty instrumentalists, and two horn-players.

Although in Stuttgart the role of court copyist does not seem to have been an official one (see page 266ff), a number of other official posts or titles were specifically mentioned in the 1714 *Lista*. Isaac Seidel is listed as "der Hoforganist" (the court organist) and apparently he "schlagt sehr wohl, und ist franc: im *accompagniren*."³¹ The *Dienerbuch* records that Seidel came from Saxony³² and this may indicate that he was related to Samuel Seidel (c.1610-1665), a German composer and organist who spent his life in Glashütte, Saxony and left a legacy of nearly one hundred works, mostly motets.³³

The court also employed an *Orgelmacher* in 1714, as it had done in previous decades, and as this position was so insignificant the person employed in this role was not mentioned personally in the *Verzeichnis*—his salary is listed as a paltry 63 *Gulden* per annum. The *Kalkant* (bellows-blower) was also unnamed and received 140 *Gulden* for his services. Although both these salaries were low in comparison to the "die ordinari Besoldung" (ordinary salary), when compared to the 1699 *Verzeichnis*, the salary of these two members of the *Hofkapelle* had improved markedly and their importance seems to have reversed. In 1699 the *Orgelmacher* had received 20 and the *Kalkant* only 13 *Gulden*.³⁴

³¹1714 Pez *Lista*; 'plays very well and is French in his [manner of] accompanying.'

³²Pfeilsticker, 958.

³³Karl-Ernst Bergunder, "Seidel, S.", *Grove* 6.

³⁴1699 *Verz*.

In 1714 Johann Gumprecht is still listed as a *Tutelarrath*³⁵ as his 1688 appointment document specified (see Chapter 8, page 303ff). This title refers to the fact that among his original duties was the tutelage of "die Hochfürstliche Prinzen Und Prinzeßinen"³⁶ on the plucked-string instruments that he specialized in. Originally from Straßburg and a former student of jurisprudence in Tübingen, Gumprecht was considered to be of a higher status when compared with the other *Hofmusici*, perhaps because of his university background.³⁷

Gumprecht was one of a number of instrumentalists whom Pez decided should not be included in the final count of the *Hofkapelle*. The c.1702 *Verzeichnis* listed Gumprecht as belonging in the chancellory, so he probably had another position at the court in addition to his musical duties. Pez also listed the court painter J. C. Grott and the trumpeter G. M. Fenchel as not properly belonging to the *Hofkapelle* among the final comments of the 1714 *Lista*:

Waß die *Instrumentisten* anbelangt, so finde ich in allen 17: den Feinchl, Grot, und Gumbrecht nicht darzu gerechnet, weilen den Feinchl ein Trompeter, und nur 75: G: von der *Music* hat dabey er

³⁵Although Pfeilsticker, 898, lists Gumprecht as a *Titularrat*, the spelling given in the extant documents, such as the 1714 *Lista*, is definitely *Tutelarrath*. In this context "Rat" literally indicates someone who gives advice, such as a counsellor or senior official. The full title of the *Oberkapellmeister* position at the Württemberg court was "Rath und Oberkapellmeister."

³⁶Siedentopf, 342; 'their Royal Highnesses the Princes and Princesses,' 12 July 1688.

³⁷Gumprecht must not be confused with his father, also named Johann Gumprecht, and a lutenist and composer, see the recently published *Œuvres de Gumprecht*, ed. Christian Meyer and Monique Rollin (Paris, 1993); Tim Crawford's review of this edition, *EM* 23, 513-514, summarizes the biographical information presented: "Johann Gumprecht settled in Strasbourg after studying at Basel University in the late 1630s. His marriage to the daughter of an eminent citizen in 1643 set him on the road of civil respectability. He became a member of the Tanner's Corporation within a few weeks, and worked for that body as a city politician for the rest of his long life, becoming an alderman in the 1650s and frequently holding the post of Master of the Corporation . . . Gumprecht died in 1697 a wealthy man, not the normal condition of a professional musician."

doppelte dienst thuen muß, anbeÿ aber beÿ der *Music* Höchst nöthig, und unentpöhrlich sein will.

Der Grott ist ein Hofmahler, und muß zu gleich beÿ der Hof*Music* dienen, wie ein anderen: der Gumprecht ein *Tutelarrhat*, also finde ich in wahrheit mit, das ich den geringsten entpöhren khönne.³⁸

As Pez's career at the Württemberg court progressed there was less and less money available, probably due in part to the enormous expense of the new palace at Ludwigsburg—the construction of which was well underway by 1714. The sixth and final point in Pez's comments following the list of musicians in the 1714 *Lista* relates to a suggestion that had presumably been made by a court official calling for yet another reduction of the *Hofkapelle*. Pez responded in the following manner, at the same time giving us some idea of the durations of a selection of the performance duties of the *Hofkapelle*:

Wann einer wäre, der Eur Hochfürstl: Dhrtl: ungefahr vorbrächte, das mann die Hochfürstl: *Music* mit 8: *Musici* bestreithen Könnte, dem getraute ich mir zu antworthen, das er eintweder auß *paßion*, oder aus *ignoranz* dise råde, dann Eur Hochfürstl: Dhrtl: geruhen nur gnädigst zu *consideriren*, vierstundt taffel *Music*, zweÿ biß drithalbstundt *Camer Music*, widerumb Taffel *Music*, und biß weilen noch einer Ball darzu, das Khönnen 8: *Musici* ohne abwecplung nicht außthauen, welches doch Unser *Musici* mit grösten fleiß, und punctualität thuen;³⁹

³⁸1714 Pez *Lista*; 'As far as instrumentalists are concerned I have in all seventeen because Fenchel, Grott, and Gumprecht are not to be counted [in that amount], because Fenchel is a trumpeter and only receives 75 *Gulden* from the musical establishment and at the same time has to do double service, and as well is highly necessary to the musical establishment and is indispensable.

Grott is a court painter and has to serve at the same time with the court musical establishment; Gumprecht [is] a *Tutelarrat*, therefore I find truthfully that I simply can't manage without him.'

³⁹1714 Pez *Lista*; 'As it has been proposed roughly to Your Most Royal Serene Highness that one could provide a ducal musical establishment with eight musicians,

Pez made his final statement on the matter by proclaiming that "Mann khan zwar *Music* machen mit 2: und 3: Persohnen, das khan auch ein Burger haben, aber einem Durchleüchtigsten *regirenden* Herzogen von Württemberg seine Hochfürstl: Cappell- und Hof *Music* zu *fourniren* (verstehe ich nach *decor*, und Ehr Seines Hochfürstl: Hauses) da gehören mehreres alß 8: *Musici* darzu."⁴⁰

Just as Pez had been compelled to argue against calls for the reduction of the *Hofkapelle* in 1714, so too did Schwartzkopff and Störl several years later. Although towards the end of 1716 a significant sum had been spent securing Brescianello for the court, by May of the following year a review of the *Hofkapelle* had been called for. This corresponds to the findings of J. A. Vann regarding the rate of court spending during this era: between 1693 (the year of Eberhard Ludwig's accession) and 1718, ducal expenditure had risen by 114%. The debts of the Duke continued to rise alarmingly:

Crown expenses far exceeded revenue, either public or private. Rentkammer records for 1716 indicate a deficit for that year of 350,000 florins [*Gulden*]. An analysis of midyear reports preserved from 1717 projects a deficit for that year of an additional 450,000 florins. The cumulative effect of this kind of spending was disastrous: on 27 August 1718 the Rentkammer reported that the crown owed a sum total of 3 million florins.⁴¹

I would venture to answer him, that either he speaks out of passion or ignorance, for if Your Most Royal Serene Highness would deign most graciously to consider that eight musicians could not manage without alternation four hours of table music, 2-3¹/₂ hours of chamber music, more table music and from time to time a ball as well, which our musicians do with the utmost diligence and punctuality.'

⁴⁰1714 Pez *Lista*; 'One can, to be sure, make music with two and three people, a burgher can also have that, but a Most Serene ruling Duke of Württemberg providing for a ducal chapel and court music (as I understand the setting and glory of his ducal house) must have more than eight musicians belonging to his musical establishment.'

⁴¹Vann, 206.

It is hardly surprising then, that attempts were soon made to retrench wherever possible.

A collection of documents relating to structure of the *Hofkapelle* in 1717 show that the reductions threatened in 1714 continued to be planned and were subsequently put into effect (1717 Schw 27/v; 1717 Störl 19/v, and 1717 Schw 5/viii, see Appendix A, pages 453-473). *Verzeichnisse* compiled by Schwartzkopff and Störl in this year, in response to requests by the office of the *Oberhofmarschall* show that the number of musicians employed was much the same as it had been in 1714. A *Lista* dating from 1715 (but marked "1720") had listed Schwartzkopff as receiving a *Wartgeld* (1715 *Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 451-452), but following the death of Pez he must have been reinstated as *Kapellmeister*, since he signed himself "Fürstl: Cappellmeister zu Stuttgardt" (Royal *Kapellmeister* at Stuttgart) in the cover letter for his report on the *Hofkapelle* dated 27 May 1717 (1717 Schw 27/v, see Appendix A, pages 462-470). Addressed to the *Graf* Friedrich Wilhelm von Grävenitz, who held the position of *Oberhofmarschall* at the court, this document opens with the following statement:

Nach dem Ewl: Hoch Gräffl. Excell unter dem 15. May Gdgst befohlen, daß, weilen Ihro Hfrtl. Durchl. seithero in einem und andern Stück eine beßers *Menage* ein führen zu laßen Gdgst. *resolirt* seÿn, mithin auch wollen daß beÿ der mit vielen und ohn nöthigen leüthen übersetzen Cappell- und Taffel *Music* einige änderung getroffen werden solle, ich Cappellmeister die *Consignation* aller und jeder von Ihro Hfrtl. Durchl. dermahlen bestallten *Musicorum* zur hand nemen, und selbige nach der mir obligenden Pflicht genau *examiniren*, darbey aber Hauptsächlich dahin, wie fürohin solche große anzahl mehr gedachter Hoff-*Musicorum diminuiret*, hingegen die beste, und nöthigste *virtusoen, choisirt*, und solcher gestalten *Serenissimo* so wohl in

der Cappell, und Camer, alß beÿ der Tafel mit einer zwar *compendiosen*, doch aber wohl besetzten *Music* zu Dero *contentement* jedes mahlen auff gewartheet werden köne, sehen, hierüber aber meinen auß führlichen Bericht, und reiftlicher wogenes Guthachten, abfaßen, u: solches Ewl: Hoch Gräfflen *Excellen:* in aller geheim zusenden solle.⁴²

According to Schwartzkopff the total figure stood at nine vocalists, twenty instrumentalists, two horn-players, two choirboys, seven trumpeters, two pensioned instrumentalists, and a castrato, Frohmaÿer who was probably also receiving a pension.⁴³

The next stage of the planned reduction saw the *Oberhofmarschall* Grävenitz requesting a *Consignation* from each of the two *Kapellmeister*, listing the members of the *Hofkapelle*. This time the directive was slightly different—the list must number only twenty-five musicians in total. The two letters in response to this request, from Schwartzkopff and Störl respectively, are both dated 5 August 1717 (see Appendix A, pages 471–473 and 460–461). Störl opened "Auff der beliebeste an mich Untern 4 Augustj nochmahlen eine *Consignation* Wegen der Hoff Music, deren der Numerus auff 25 personen bestehen soll, eileand endzu schicken, haben nicht

⁴²1717 Schw 27/v; 'As Your Most High Baronial Excellency most graciously requested on the 15 May, that because His Royal Highness [Eberhard Ludwig], has for some time past (in one way or the other) resolved that a better state of affairs be introduced, as well as wanting to make a few changes amongst the many, unnecessary people who comprise the chapel and table music, and that I as *Kapellmeister* should take to hand all those who have up until now been appointed to the musical establishment by His Royal Highness and with the necessary care examine those same people; in addition however, most importantly, in order that in the future the mentioned court musical establishment, now of such a large number, shall be diminished, on the other hand the best and most necessary virtuosos shall be chosen, and these characters shall wait upon the *Serenissimo* in the chapel every time, and [in the] chamber, as well as at table with a compendious, but well-appointed musical establishment, regarding this I have drafted my detailed report, and thorough documents, and shall send them to Your Most High Baronial Excellency in all secrecy.'

⁴³1717 Schw 27/v.

manquiren wollen, hiebey solche zu übersenden . . . "⁴⁴ and his *Consignation* (1717 Störl 19/v, see Appendix A, pages 453-459) included the names given in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 c.1717 J. G. C. Störl, Proposed membership of the Württemberg Hofkapelle (from 1717 Störl 19/v).

<i>Vocalists</i>	<i>Instrumentalists</i>
Johanna D. S. Ruffin	Stephan Freudenberg
Maria D. Kornbeckin	Francesco Venturini
Christina L. Schmidtbour	J. E. Hildenbrand
Susanna M. Scharnizgin	G. C. Hildenbrand
Matthias Gabrielis	J. M. Glockhart
J. C. Arnold	J. G. Zahn
J. C. Höflein	J. P. Schwahn
J. G. Schmidtbour " <i>choralist</i> "	G. Albrecht Kreß
G. M. Ricci	Sigmund Castenbauer
G. C. Bleßner (d.1732)	Erhardt Eberlen
	La Rose
	Isaac Seidel
	Johann Nicolaus Nicolai
	J. C. Grott
	C. G. Radauer

Störl commented that the soprano Ruffin, "als die beste Stim bey der Capell meritirt eine beßer Gage."⁴⁵ He also noted that the *Hofkapelle* could do without the two younger women (the *Jungfrauen*) and that when they did leave (presumably to get married) they could be

⁴⁴1717 Störl 5 August; 'As I do not wish to fail in the request made of me on 4 August to send, as soon as possible, another *Consignation* regarding the court musical establishment, which should consist of twenty-five people in number, therefore find enclosed such [a list] . . . '

⁴⁵1717 Störl 19/v; 'as the best voice in the chapel merits a better salary.'

replaced with choirboys—thus bringing the numbers back up to twenty-five. Störl described Freudenberg as "der beste Virtuos" (the best virtuoso) and stated that he should also receive an improved wage. At the conclusion of his report Störl mentions the choirboys, Schmidtbaur and Mayer "so bißhero die *noten* geschrieben, die Stück zur *Music* hin und wiedergetragen"⁴⁶, as well as the copyist, Anthony Meister. A special note indicated that "*Trompeter, paucker u: Walthornisten* seyndt zur *Music* nicht zu rechnen."⁴⁷

Schwartzkopff's matching document (1717 Schw 5/viii, see Appendix A, pages 471-473) also gives a list of a twenty-five member *Hofkapelle* as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 1717 Theodor Schwartzkopff, Proposed membership of the Württemberg Hofkapelle (from 1717 Schw 5/viii).

<i>Vocalists</i>	<i>Instrumentalists</i>
J. D. S. Ruffin	Stephan Freudenberg
M. D. Kornbeckin	J. E. Hildenbrand
C. L. Schmidtbaur.	Francesco Venturini
Matthias Gabrielis.	J. M. Glockhart
J. C. Höflein.	Georg Christoph Bleßner
J. G. Schmidtbaur.	Georg Philipp Schwahn
G. M. Ricci.	Isaac Seidel
	J. N. Nicolai
	Erhardt Eberlen.
	La Rose
	C. G. Radauer
	G. A. Kreß

⁴⁶1717 Störl 19/v; 'who up until now have written music and carried pieces to and from performances.'

⁴⁷1717 Störl 19/v; 'Trumpeters, kettledrum players, and horn players are not counted as part of the musical establishment.'

J. G. Zahn
 J. C. Arnold
 Sigmund Castenbauer
 J. C. Grott
 G. C. Hildenbrand
 Anthony Meister

Like Störl, Schwartzkopff stated (in the letter accompanying his list) that, to make the total meet the stipulated figure of twenty-five, he had omitted the horn players: Lumpe and Biener, the two trumpeters: Fenchel and Otto ("die biß *dato* auch mit *violin*en dienst gethan"⁴⁸), and the choirboys: Mayer and Schmidtbour. However

Sollten aber diese alle auch unter der Zahl der 25. Würcklichen *Musicorum* seyn, so könnte statt der 2. Waldhornisten hinweg gethan werden Christoph Hildenbrand, und *Anthoni* Maister; anstatt der beeden *Trompter* Fenchel und *Otto*, könnte hinweg gethan werden Joh: Christoph Kroth und Sigmund Castenbauer; und an statt der beeden Cappell Knaben, die man Wegen abschreibung der Noten, und andern zu thun habenden diensten nicht wohl beÿ der Cappell entbehren kan, die auch sonsten beßer alß der Christoph Hildebrand und *Anth.* Maister zugebrauchen, und zumachen *ratione* ihres habenden *tractaments* nur von eine Persohn zu rechnen seynd, könnte hinweg gethan werden die Kornbeckin und abwohlen ich hier auch gern den Arnold bemerken wolte, so muß ich aber melden daß weilen Er wegen daß *Altisten Gabrielis* öfterer unpäßligkeit auß noht den *Alt* singen

⁴⁸1717 Schw 5/viii; 'who up until now have also served as violinists', it seems that the situation was much the same as in Salzburg shortly after the middle of the century, when Leopold Mozart wrote: "There is not one of the trumpeters or kettledrummers in the princely service who does not play the violin well. For performances of large-scale concerted at court, all of them must appear and join in playing second violin or viola . . .', N. Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies. Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford, 1989), 556, from [Leopold Mozart], "Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Musik Sr. Hochfürstl. Gnaden des Erzbischoffs zu Salzburg im Jahr 1757", in F. W. Marburg (ed.), *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (Berlin, 1757), iii/3, 183-98.

muß, und auch sonst sach zu der *viol* zustreichen, und *noten* schreiben gebrauchen last, nicht wohl zu entbehren ist.⁴⁹

No reply from the *Oberhofmarschallamt* survives. However, the *Dienerbuch* offers the information that both Anthonÿ Meister and Sigmund Castenbauer were dismissed on 22 September 1717.

Castenbauer was reappointed, apparently as a *Waldhornist*, on 16 May of the following year as a replacement for Lumpe.⁵⁰

By the end of the decade the situation of the *Hofkapelle* was recorded by Brescianello in a document written as the result of a request from the Duke. Dated 2 March 1720 this report lists seven vocalists⁵¹ and only sixteen instrumentalists⁵²—unfortunately no information regarding their salaries is provided, but Brescianello does briefly comment on the manner in which they perform their duties (1720 Brescianello, see Appendix A, pages 481–483). Some changes amongst the musicians had taken place since 1717: Glockhart and G. A. Kreß were no longer listed, the horn-player Lumpe had left sometime before May 1718, and Zahn had taken up the position of *Stiftsorganist*

⁴⁹1717 Schw 5/viii; 'Should all of these be included under the number of twenty-five of the actual musical establishment, then instead the two horn players could take the places of Christoph Hildenbrand and Anthoni[ÿ] Meister; instead of both trumpeters Fenchel and Otto, Johann Christoph Kroth [Grott] and Sigmund Castenbauer could leave, and instead the two choirboys, whom one cannot do without because of the writing out of music, and other services, [and] who are of better use than Christoph Hildenbrand and Anth[onÿ] Maister [Meister], and because of the nature of their *Tractament* they only count as one person, then Kornbeckin could be done away with, and at this point I would also like to remark on Arnold, I must report that he cannot well be spared because of the alto Gabrielis's frequent indisposition he has to sing alto, and also in some instances plays the viola, and can be used to copy music.'

⁵⁰Pfeilsticker, 904 and 889.

⁵¹1720 Brescianello; Ruffin, Kornbeckin (sopranos), Gabrielis, Arnold (male altos), Höflein, J. G. Schmidtbaur (tenors), and Ricci (bass).

⁵²1720 Brescianello; Seidel (organist), J. N. Nicolai, Freudenberg, Eberhard Hildenbrand, Venturini, A. A. Fischer (the younger), Bleßner, Biener, Eberlen, Radauer, La Rose, Schwahn, Grott, Castenbauer, Bellerroche, and G. C. Hildenbrand.

following Störl's early death in July 1719. Brescianello did not include the *Kalkant*, *Orgelmacher*, or any of the trumpeters in his list, even of the 'musical' type (such as Fenchel and Otto), and named only one kettledrum player, Schwahn.

New arrivals included the copyist Carl Coraro Bellerocche (d.1747), appointed through a decree dated 19 September 1718⁵³ and the former choirboy Andreas Fischer, the younger, on 27 June 1718 (from 16 May the previous year).⁵⁴ Sigmund Castenbauer is listed by Brescianello as *Instrument-Verwalter* and, although he had been dismissed in September 1717 and subsequently reappointed in May 1718 as a horn-player, by 1720 he no longer held this position—probably his skill on that instrument did not impress Brescianello. The entry for Biener in this report read "*Bener: der tractiret das Waldhorn garwohl, der mir gar nöthig in der taffel Music, und mein unterthänigstes bitten, ihme einen Cameraden gnädigst zu geben zu laßen, daß Er solchen Instrument beßer excerciren könnte.*"⁵⁵

From the remaining *Verzeichnisse* we can see that the membership of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* grew very slowly from c.1686-1720 and was forced periodically to endure major reductions, such as those which occurred in 1674, 1709, and 1717. Following his appointment as *Oberkapellmeister* in 1721 Brescianello must have received permission to expand the *Hofkapelle* to suit his needs. Certainly by 1736 in a *Specification* of "*der Fürstl: Camer- und Hoff-Music seyende*

⁵³Pfeilsticker, 886.

⁵⁴Pfeilsticker, 895 and 940.

⁵⁵1720 Brescianello; 'Biener, he plays the horn quite well, he is really necessary to me in the [performance of] table music, and I request submissively, that he may most graciously be given a colleague, so that he can be better exercised on this instrument.'

sämtliche Personen"⁵⁶ the number of musicians had reached sixty-three in total, including trumpeters and members of the court oboe band. Riccardo Broschi (c.1698-1756, brother of the famous castrato Farinelli), held the position of *Compositore di musica* and there were three *Concertmeister*⁵⁷, three organists⁵⁸, fourteen vocalists⁵⁹, fifteen instrumentalists⁶⁰, four horn-players⁶¹, eight trumpeters⁶², one kettledrum player⁶³, nine unnamed *Hautboisten*, a copyist⁶⁴, a *Kalkant*⁶⁵, and a single choirboy.⁶⁶

⁵⁶1736 Brescianello: 'all the people in the Royal Chamber and Court Musical establishment.'

⁵⁷1736 Brescianello: Freudenberg, J. D. Hardt, and A. Toeschi.

⁵⁸1736 Brescianello: Seidel, Stierlin, and Georg Friedrich Bamberg.

⁵⁹1736 Brescianello: Ruffin, "Mayerin" [Christina Louisa Mayer (d.1744), sister of Ludwig Friedrich], Furiosi, two "Dennerin" [a mother and daughter], Staggi [wife of the oboist Carlo Staggi], Cantelli, Ginepra Poli, Carlina Valvassori, Galletti, Gabrielis, Johann Friedrich Seemann, Richter, and Feez.

⁶⁰1736 Brescianello: Johann Michael Böhm, Carlo Staggi, Eisenhuth, Johann Wolfgang Kleinknecht, Sigmund Christoph Reutter, Ludwig Friedrich Mayer, Venturini, A. A. Fischer, Johann Caspar, Johann Michael Himmelreich, Johann Hasselbaum, "Spurny" [probably Wenceslaus Sporn], Georg Eberhard Duntz (d.1775), J. G. Zahn, and C. G. Radauer.

⁶¹1736 Brescianello: Johann Midlar, Biener, Johann Bernhard Ehrenhardt, and Albert Wildner.

⁶²1736 Brescianello: Johann Leonhard Dürr (d.1749), Dinger, Johann Christoph Hellwig, Otto, Johann Heinemann [the elder], Georg Andreas Steinmarck, Johann Michael Beumelberg (d.1738), and Beerlen.

⁶³1736 Brescianello: Vogel.

⁶⁴1736 Brescianello: Belleröche.

⁶⁵1736 Brescianello: Stauch.

⁶⁶1736 Brescianello: Philipp.

Conditions of Employment and Abilities of the Württemberg Musicians

Many of the *Verzeichnisse* in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart which list the members of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* around the turn of the eighteenth century also itemize the salaries awarded to them. Furthermore those compiled by the current *Kapellmeister* often describe the musical capabilities of the *Hofmusici*. The 1684 *Specificatio* is somewhat unusual in the extraordinary detail it provides regarding the salaries not only of the *Kapellmeister* and *Vizekapellmeister*, but also of the *Hofmusici* (1684 *Specificatio*, see Appendix A, pages 402-413). It was probably the direct result of the command for "une exacte recherche" (a full enquiry) into the matter which can be found in the thirteenth paragraph of the 1684 rules of Magdalena Sibylla:

Et comme S. A. S. a esté depuis quelque temps importunée d'un et autre pour le rehaussement des gages, ainsy qu'elle a jugé á propos d'en faire faire une exacte recherche, et de les mettre sur un tel pied, que personne n'aura plus aucun Sujet de se pleindre. Elle veut que dorsenavant un chacun se contante de l'appointement qu'on Luy a fait, sans s'emanciper de plus importuner Son A: Sous peine de cassation.¹

The contents of the *Specificatio* are summarized in Table 4.1.

¹1684 Rules; 'And since Her Royal Highness has been importuned for a long time by this and that person for an increase in wages, so that she has judged it appropriate to have a full enquiry made into it, and to put these matters on such a footing that nobody will have any further grounds for complaint. She wishes hereafter that each person will be happy with the appointment given to him without taking the liberty of further importuning Her Royal Highness under pain of dismissal.'

Table 4.1 1684 Wages of the Württemberg *Hokapelle* (from 1684 *Specificatio*).

Title/Name	Salary in <i>Gulden</i> (not including <i>Naturalien</i>)
<i>Kapellmeister</i> Johann Friedrich Magg	200
<i>Vizekapellmeister</i> Johann Albrecht Kreß	152
<i>Organist</i> Eberhard Jäger	140
<i>Hofmusici</i>	
Instrumentalists	
Johann Michael Nicolai	152
Paul Kreß	152
Christian Klotz	152
JohannPhilipp Dock	152
Georg Murr	150
Johann Christoph Stierlin	140
Theodor Schwartzkopff	140
Hans Conrad Schuckhardt	140
François La Rose	130
Felix Friederich Magg	100
Johann Caspar Hopf	75
Vocalists	
Andreas Fischer (<i>Altist</i>)	150
Johann Frohmaÿer (<i>Discantist</i>)	140
Niklaus Leonhard Steiner (<i>Altist</i>)	140
Claude Reinsal	100
<i>Trompeter</i>	
Johann Bolch (d.1706)	150
Johann Bertram	136
Daniel Rousselin	100
Hans Michael Weiß	30

Heerpaucker

Georg Peel

40

Eberhard Jäger is the only musician listed specifically as organist in this document, but according to the *Dienerbuch* J. C. Stierlin also held a post as organist at the same time—perhaps Jäger was the more senior of the two, although both were receiving the same salary of 140 *Gulden*.

The wages of Bolch (150 *Gulden*), Bertram (136), and Rousselin (100) indicate that they were 'musical' trumpeters, while Weiß with only 30 *Gulden* was either particularly inexperienced or still attached to a military company. He was probably a *Feldtrompeter* and therefore of a much lower status than the other trumpeters—but in the same category as Georg Peel, who is described as a *Heerpaucker* (army kettledrum player) receiving only 40 *Gulden* per year from the court.

The 1684 *Specificatio* confirms J. F. Magg's position as *Kapellmeister* and also provides a detailed description of his past and present employment at the Württemberg court:

Hat als ein *Bassist* bereits genoßen.

Geltt 177 G.

Liechtergelt 4 G.

Rockhen 4 scfl.

Dinckhel 18 scfl.

Wein 5 äyl.

Holz 8 Clafft

Und alß er zur einen V Capellmeister *in anno* 1666 angenommen Ist ihm *attirt* worden

23 G.

Habern 4 scfl.

Wein

1 äy.²

This document possibly provided the grounds for Sittard's assertion that on 9 November 1674 the newly-instated Duke Wilhelm Ludwig issued a resolution which resulted in significant wage reductions for the *Kapelle* members and also a decrease in numbers.³ Such an exercise can only have been a normal occurrence for an eighteenth-century court, where decades of lavish spending must have often necessitated a sudden retrenchment. The entry on Magg continues with the following:

Beÿ der in *anno*. 1674 mit der Hof Music vorgenomener
verenderung aber, wurde solch wieder *reduciert*, auf,
Geltt 175 G.
Liechtergeltt 4 G.
Dinckhel 18 scfl.
Habern 4 scfl.
Wein 6 äyl.
Holz zurr Besoldung 4 Clafft.⁴

Of the total twenty-three members of the *Hofkapelle* listed in the 1684 *Specificatio*, only ten appear to have been employed prior to 1674. Seven of these men had their salaries reduced in 1674⁵:

²1684 *Specificatio*; 'As a [vocal] Bassist he already enjoyed—Money 177 *Gulden*, Light-Money 4 *Gulden*, four bushels of rye, eighteen bushels of buckwheat, five *Eimer* [a liquid measure keg] of wine, eight fathom cords of wood. And when he was appointed as *Vizekapellmeister* in the year 1666, awarded [added to his salary] to him was 23 *Gulden*, four bushels of oats, one *Eimer* of wine.'

³Sittard I, 61.

⁴1684 *Specificatio*; 'However in the reduction of the court musical establishment which was carried out in the year 1674, such [a salary, i.e. 200 *Gulden* as *Vizekapellmeister*] was further reduced, to Money 175 *Gulden*, Light-Money 4 *Gulden*, eighteen bushels of buckwheat, four bushels of oats, six *Eimer* of wine, four fathom cords of wood as salary.'

⁵1684 *Specificatio*.

Kapellmeister Johann Friedrich Magg	from 200 to 175 <i>Gulden</i>
Johann Albrecht Kreß	} from 152 to 140 <i>Gulden</i> .
Georg Murr (d.1685)	
Johann Michael Nicolai (d.1685)	
Paul Kreß	
Christian Klotz	
Johann Philipp Dock	

Two musicians who lost appointments as a result of Wilhelm Ludwig's resolution later regained their positions (see page 107-8). The trumpeter Johann Bertram also suffered a decrease in salary, in 1684 it is listed as 136 *Gulden*, whereas in 1657 he was paid 157—to which amount 18 *Gulden* were added on 15 April 1672.

Among the musicians who avoided having their salaries reduced was the *Heerpaucker* (military kettledrum player) Georg Peel or "Pul" as his name appears in this document. According to the ducal *Dienerbuch*⁶ he had been employed as early as 1650 in this position, and in 1684 was listed as receiving 40 *Gulden*. However, judging from this rather low rate of salary his role was not a particularly important one, further evidenced by the fact that between the years 1674-75 he served concurrently for eighteen months as *Landfourier* to the court.⁷

Another musician apparently unaffected by the wage-cuts was the *Discantist* Johann Frohmaÿer—who as a young and recently

⁶Although the annual *Dienerbücher* of the Württemberg court, compiled by Walther Pfeilticker (Stuttgart, 1957), provide much useful information, they cannot be trusted to be fully accurate, as Cliff Eisen has noted regarding the eighteenth-century court calendars of the Salzburg court: "The calendars are only a rough guide to performing forces in Salzburg. Many of the Mozarts' and Michael Haydn's works are scored for instruments not always included in the court lists or were performed by more players than the court apparently could provide.", "Mozart's Salzburg orchestras." *EM* 20 (1992), 89.

⁷Pfeilsticker, 880.

appointed member of the *Hofkapelle* received the comparatively low rate of 100 *Gulden* per annum.⁸ Obviously the last-appointed musician was not necessarily the first to be released in this retrenchment. Frohmaÿer was probably kept on owing to his considerable musical skill, having been a choirboy and a keyboard pupil of Peter Hirschenleutner (d.1675).⁹

By 1676 the financial situation was beginning to improve slightly. A new *Hofmusicus*, Hans Conrad Schuckhardt (d.1724), was appointed¹⁰, and both Paul Kreß and Christian Klotz were awarded yearly gratuities of 20 *Gulden* in addition to their normal salaries.¹¹ In the same year Johann Christoph Stierlin (d.1693) was reinstated, having been dismissed in 1674 as part of the retrenchment. The 1684 *Specificatio* explains the situation "Ist zwar in *anno*. 1674 gänzlich seines diensts erlaßen, darauf aber wird *recipirt*, und ihm diße besoldung [140 *Gulden*] von Steuern geschöpft worden."¹² Although no date is specified for his reappointment, the ducal *Dienerbuch* states that he became court organist at *Laetare* (the fourth Sunday of Lent) 1676.¹³

⁸See Pfeilsticker, 919.

⁹Pfeilsticker, 956, Peter Hirschenleutner was a former Württemberg choirboy himself and had learnt organ from Paul Heinlin (organist of St. Sebald in Nuremberg), then held the position of organist at Württemberg from 1662 until his death 15 November 1675; Pfeilsticker, 940, Johann Frohmaÿer learnt keyboard from Hirschenleutner 1668-1671.

¹⁰Pfeilsticker, 909.

¹¹It seems likely that this was in recognition of chamber music performances.

¹²1684 *Specificatio*; '[He] was actually totally released from his service in the year 1674, after that however he was taken back and this amount of salary [140 *Gulden*] was created from taxes and given to him.'

¹³Pfeilsticker, 959.

Stierlin was probably the organist mentioned in the official order of service for Eberhard Ludwig's baptism in 1676. The only music described was performed by vocalists, an organist, and later in the proceedings by the traditional combination of trumpeters and kettledrum:

18. Wann die *Musicanten* aufhören zu singen und der *organist* ein *choral* schlägt, sollen die frauen Zimer Hoffmeister samt denen von Adel so und dem frstl. frauen Zimer in dem Saal gangen . . .

24. Wann mit Pauker und *Trompeten* das andere zeichen gegeben, solle der Hoff *Marschall* und Hauß Hoffmeister mit Zweÿen von Adel die Gießkanten und Beiken, in den Saal tragen, und auf den zur tauf verordneten tisch sezen.¹⁴

In 1690 Stierlin rose to the position of *Vizekapellmeister* and the following year published an introduction to music entitled *Trifolium musicale consistens in musica theoretica, practica, & poetica* (Stuttgart, 1691). A collection of his arias for solo voice and continuo also exists, published in Stuttgart during 1680, *Musicalische geistliche Zeit- und Ewigkeit-Betrachtung bestehend in 25 Arien*.¹⁵

Two years later another musician was reinstated, this time it was Johann Caspar Hopf¹⁶ who

Hat zwar von 1671 biß 1674 jährlich empfangen.

¹⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 79, Baptism of Eberhard Ludwig, 1676; '18. When the musicians are heard to be singing and the organist plays a chorale, the court master of the women's quarters together with those nobles of the ducal women's quarter shall go into the hall . . .'; '24. When the other sign is given by the kettledrum player and trumpeters, the Marshall of the Court and Court House Master, with two nobles shall carry the water canister and cups, into the hall and place them on the prescribed table.'

¹⁵George J. Buelow, "Stierlin, J. C.", *Grove* 6.

¹⁶Pfeilsticker, 900, lists him as Hans Caspar Hopf, rather than Johann.

Gelt	100 G.
Rockhen	4 scfl.
Dinckhel	12 scfl.
Wein	4 äyl.
Holz	4 Clafft.
Liechtergelt	4 G.

Aö. 1674 aber seines diensts erlaßten und *anno*. 1678 er erst wird in der Jezigen besoldung [75 *Gulden*] wiederumb angenommen worden.¹⁷

This information shows some disparity with the details recorded in the *Dienerbuch*, which states that Hopf, a native of Göllnhausen in Hessen, was employed as *Hofmusikant und Inspektor über die fürstl. Hofkapellinstrumente* from July 1671 until February 1675 and then from April 1675 onwards.¹⁸

As mentioned earlier, when Duke Wilhelm Ludwig died in 1677 his only son Eberhard Ludwig was as yet under-aged. The duchy was passed over to a *Vormunderschaft* (guardianship) composed of his wife, Magdalena Sibylla, and brother, Friedrich Carl. Under this leadership prospects for the advancement of the *Hofkapelle* continued to improve, with a growing number of new appointments. According to Sittard, Theodor Schwartzkopff became a *Hofmusicus* in 1678.¹⁹

This date seems to be verified by his entry in the 1684 *Specificatio* which includes the information "Ist ihme zwar Erstlich nur zu ein

¹⁷1684 *Specificatio*; 'had actually received yearly from 1671 until 1674 Money 100 *Gulden*, four bushels of rye, twelve bushels of buckwheat, four *Eimer* of wine, four fathom cords of wood, Light-Money 4 *Gulden*. In the year 1674 however he was dismissed from service and in the year 1678 he was first reappointed with his current salary [74 *Gulden*].'

¹⁸Pfeilsticker, 900; 'Court musician and Inspector of the Instruments belonging to the royal court chapel.'

¹⁹Sittard I, 65.

Salario geschöpft worden. Gelt 76 G[ulden]"²⁰, a strikingly similar amount to the 75 *Gulden* per annum granted to Johann Caspar Hopf upon his 1678 reappointment. One year later, in 1679, the *Altist* Andreas Fischer (d.1707), a choirboy from 1671-1676²¹, was also granted a position in the *Hofkapelle* with the accompanying wage of 118 *Gulden*.

The early 1680s saw further pay-rises and new appointments. In 1680 another organist was employed alongside J. C. Stierlin: Eberhard Jäger (d.1688), who received a salary of 140 *Gulden*. Andreas Fischer's wage was raised to 152 *Gulden*, as was that of Paul Kreß. In fact, one by one, all six ordinary *Hofmusici* who had had their salaries reduced in 1674 now experienced the opposite trend. In 1681 Johann Albrecht Kreß and Johann Philipp Dock received 152 *Gulden* and in 1682 Georg Murr's salary rose to 150 *Gulden*, Hans Conrad Schuckhardt's shifted from 118 to 140, while that of both Johann Michael Nicolai and Christian Klotz rose to 152 *Gulden*.

In 1682 Schwartzkopff's salary was doubled from 76 to 140 *Gulden* and it seems likely that by this stage he was beginning to show some of his developing talent in composition. Certainly by 1684 this was the case—his name, "Theodor Schwartzkopff, *Musicien de la Cour*," appearing on the title-page of the libretto for *Le Rendez-vous des Plaisirs*.²² The year 1683 featured the most significant number of new appointments since the 1674 reduction. These began with two *Hofmusici*, Niklaus Leonhard Steiner (d. c.1701/02) and Felix

²⁰1684 *Specificatio*; 'to begin with there was actually only a salary of 76 *Gulden* created for him.'

²¹Pfeilsticker, 940.

²²D-Sa A21 Büschel 187.

Friedrich Magg (d.1687) on 31 March and 1 July respectively, followed by the trumpeter Hans Michael Weiß (d.1691) on 11 August. As noted in Chapter 1 (see page 13), three French musicians, Daniel Rousselin, Claude Reinsal, and François La Rose, were also appointed to the *Hofkapelle* in 1683.

Paul Kreß and Christian Klotz were not the only musicians to receive yearly gratuities around this time. Paul's brother, Johann Albrecht Kreß, had been appointed as a *Hofmusicus* on 10 June 1660 and was obviously highly successful in his new position—judging by the frequent additions to his salary that are recorded in the 1684 *Specificatio*. His wage commenced at 100 *Gulden* and during 1660 was raised to 118, with further additions granted in the years 1664, 1668, and 1672. Although the *Specificatio* makes no mention of his promotion he apparently became *Vizekapellmeister* in 1676²³ (1669 in other sources²⁴). Along with the other ducal musicians his wage was reduced in 1674, but he soon began to receive extra payments as a result of his compositional endeavours.

Not surprisingly a number of these payments coincide with the composition dates of J. A. Kreß's extant works. While it is possible that he was merely awarded money for composing generally, it seems much more likely that these were recompense for specific works. The 20 *Gulden* and single *Eimer* of wine received on 23 November 1675 "wegen seiner *Musical: composition*" (because of his musical composition) must surely have been prompted by *Ein Gespräch-Lied über . . . Herrn Eberhardens, Hertzogens zu Würtemberg . . .*

²³Pfeilsticker, 882; Brockpähler, 353

²⁴Eberhard Stiefel, "Kress, J. A.", *Grove* 6.

*Todesfall*²⁵, published in that year. He was also given 20 *Gulden* on St. Simon and St. Jude's Day in 1678 "wegen d *composition*" (for composition), the year he published *Wie der Hirsch schreyet nach frischem Wasser*.²⁶ On 7 April 1681 he received 25 *Gulden* "alß ein *gratiale*" (as a gratuity), perhaps in recognition of his *Musicalische Seelenbelustigung oder geistliche Concerten*.²⁷ Kreß was obviously a highly valued servant and no doubt his early death on 23 July 1684 was much lamented by the *Hofmusici*, who continued to make frequent complaints about J. F. Magg's poor leadership as *Kapellmeister*.²⁸

In contrast to the diversity of wages distributed in 1684, the vast majority of the *Hofmusici* in 1699 received a standard salary of 144 *Gulden*, with the only exceptions among the 'ordinary' musicians being Fenchel, Störl, and possibly the lutenist Thorer (1699 *Verz*, see Appendix A, pages 419-427). Table 4.2 provides a summary of the information presented in the 1699 *Verzeichnis* (probably compiled by Schwartzkopff, see page 85).

Once again the two military musicians are easily recognizable due to their low rates of pay: J. B. Leichtlin and J. C. Reusinger on 40 *Gulden* each, replacing Hans Michael Weiß and Georg Peel from the 1684 *Specificatio*.

²⁵A Dialogue-Song on the Death of Eberhard, Duke of Württemberg.'

²⁶F-Sm, a setting for four voices, two violins, and organ.

²⁷For four voices and six instruments ad lib (Stuttgart, 1681); Eberhard Stiefel, "Kress, J. A.", *Grove* 6; a Nuremberg inventory specifically lists this work, so Kreß's music was known not only in Stuttgart, but probably disseminated at least throughout the southern German region, E. Nickel, *Der Holzblasinstrumentenbau in der freien Reichsstadt Nürnberg* (diss., Munich, 1971), 345.

²⁸Sittard I, 61-62.

Table 4.2 *c.1699 Wages of the Württemberg Hofkapelle (from 1699 Verz).*

Title/Name	Salary in <i>Gulden</i> (not including <i>Naturalien</i>)
<i>Sängerin</i>	
Magdalena Sibylla von Bex	500
<i>Kapellmeister</i> [Theodor Schwartzkopff]	300
<i>Hofmusici</i>	
Instrumentalists	
Christian Klotz	144
Johann Philipp Beckherhem	144
Johann Elias Zimmermann	144
Georg Christoph Hildenbrand	144
Georg Michael Schwartzkopff	144
Johann Eberhard Hildenbrand	144
Christoph Reinhard Schwartzkopff	144
Aegidius Mühlhäuser	144
Georg Matthäus Gauger	144
Remigio Francisco La Rose	144
Johann Rudolf Fischer [decree, June 1698]	144
Christian Herbst [decree, June 1698]	144
Johann Georg Christian Störl	126
Johann Anton Thorer [lutenist]	[possibly up to c.220] ^a
Vocalists	
Johann Frohmaier (<i>Discantist</i>)	144
Andreas Fischer (<i>Altist</i>)	144
Johann Georg Horn (<i>Bassist</i> , d.1709)	144
Johann Georg Schmidtbour (<i>Tenorist</i> , d.1724)	144
Johann Anton Thorer (the younger, <i>Tenorist</i>)	[probably 144]
Philipp Sazger (<i>Altist</i>)	144
Michael Reiff (decree, December 1699, <i>Tenorist</i>)	144
Johann Ernst Ansfelder	144 ^b
<i>Trompeter</i>	

Georg Melchior Fenchel (d.1725)	154
Johann Bolch	144
Daniel Rousselin	144
Johann Casimir Gundel (d.1736)	144
Johann Balthasar Leichtlin (d.1733)	40
<i>Heerpaucker</i>	
Jeremias Christian Reusinger	40
<i>Orgelmacher</i>	20
<i>Kalkant</i>	13

^aThe entry for J. A. Thorer includes a lump sum of 432 *Gulden* paid for him, his eldest son, and two younger sons who were choirboys. It seems probable that he received approximately 34-36 *Gulden* each for the two youngest boys, 144 for his eldest son who must have been a *Hofmusici*, and c.220 for himself, given that he was a lutenist who could be expected to play not only in church and *Tafel* music but also chamber music.

^bProbably a vocalist as mentioned in 1699 Schw *Gut*, although listed in Pfeilsticker, 885, as an instrumentalist.

The outer extremes are represented by Bex on 500 *Gulden*, with the organ repairer and the *Kalkant* left to struggle through life with only 20 and 13 *Gulden* respectively.

As noted in Chapter 3, it appears that in 1709 a reduction took place amongst the court musical establishment, probably due largely to the immense cost of the new palace at Ludwigsburg. Sittard reports that Pez's salary was reduced from 2000 to 1500 *Gulden* and suggests that this was "wahrscheinlich wegen der vielen italienischen Künstler, die den Hof nicht wenig kosten"²⁹ The *Dienerbuch* confirms this retrenchment in its summary of Schwartzkopff's career:

²⁹Sittard I, 86.

"Cappellmeister . . . 1689 Theodorus Schwartzkopff, vom Ulm, vorhin Vice Capellmeister, hat Herrn Landschreibers Pommers Tochter geheurath, 24. Marttii 1690 Handstreich gehallten, 1709 dimissus, 1711 restituiert, 1714 wieder erlassen."³⁰ However, Schwartzkopff was not completely rejected, as a decree of 21 March 1709 awarded him a *Wartgeld* "bis zu besseren Zeiten" (until better times).³¹

The 1711 *Concept Staats* (employment contract) of the *Hofmusici* demonstrates the increasing importance of court officials in the administration of the *Hofkapelle*, a role traditionally assumed solely by the church council (1711 *HM S&O*, see Appendix A, pages 439–442). As always with such contracts, the opening point states clearly those members of the court hierarchy to whom the servant must show allegiance, in this case the following names are listed: "Unßern Ober Hoff Ml [Marschall], Ober Schenken, Fürstl: + Hof Rath Stublen und Unßern Rath und Ober und Unter *Cappellmeister* . . . + Kirchen Raths *Directorum* und Rätthe."³² Particularly interesting is the late addition of the church council to this list, in the manner of an afterthought. As noted earlier the supervision and payment of the *Hofkapelle* was originally the responsibility of the church, having been established largely for this purpose during the fifteenth century.

³⁰Eberhard Emil von Georgii-Georgenau, *Fürstlich Württ. Dienerbuch vom IX. bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1877), 209; 'Kapellmeister . . . 1689 Theodor Schwartzkopff from Ulm, formerly *Vizekapellmeister*, married the daughter of the Landschreiber Pommer, 24 March 1690 lasted out a coup, 1709 dismissed, 1711 reinstated, 1714 released again.'

³¹Pfeilsticker, 884.

³²1711 *HM S&O*; 'Our Senior Court Chamberlain, Senior *Schenken*, the offices of our ducal court council⁺, and our Counsellor and Senior *Kapellmeister*, and Junior *Kapellmeister* . . . +Directorate of the Church Council and Senior Officials.'

The document itself was produced by the *Hof Rat Stublen* (Offices of the Court Council)³³ and contains a clause which calls for all information regarding plots against the Duke or his principal Ministers to be immediately relayed to the proper authorities: either to the *Oberhofmarschall* or to "Unßeren im Frstl: Hoff Rath Stublen" (to us in the offices of the royal court council). The opening point in the document demands that each of the *Hofmusici* swear an oath of allegiance in the rooms of the Court Council. However, at the conclusion of the *Staat* an addition is made, dated 26 March 1711, in which it is noted that the *Oberhofmarschall* now requires that *Oberkapellmeister* Pez must also be present to witness the oath of each individual musician.

Not surprisingly the *Staat* does not specify the salaries of the *Hofmusici* individually, but the final point reads: "Für und umb solchen Ihren Dienst wollen wir seinem hin kunfftig daßjenige zur jährlichen besoldung reichen laßen, wie solches auß der jüngst regulirten besoldungs tabell und denen nachdem von Unß auß besonderer Frstl: gnad entheilten *Decreten special* zu ersehen."³⁴

Two additions made below the main text of the contract comment further on the matter of payment. Firstly, it is noted that because the number of musicians is so large and as their salaries are constantly changing, it can hardly be expected that amount for each musician be included in his *Staat*. However, the second comment, made in

³³1711 HM S&O, "Deßen zu wahrem Urkundt haben wir Unßer Frstl: Hoff Rath Stublent Insigel herfür drucken laßen, so geschehen Stuttgl. auff *Georgii anno 1711.*" (Which has come to be printed as a true document under the insignia of Our Royal Court Council Offices, which took place in Stuttgart, in *Georgii* [25 April] 1711).

³⁴1711 HM S&O; 'For each such [musician] in Your service we shall give in the future what is shown on the recently regulated salary table, as well as those who appear in special decrees as a result of special royal grace.'

response to the first statement by another official³⁵, reads as follows:

"Es kan woll nicht anderst seÿn, alß dess jede, *musico* sein staat und alßo davon seinen Besoldung auß zuwerfen seÿe werde."³⁶

The salary awarded to Pez as specified at the end of his 1711 contract is 1200 *Gulden*, that is 300 *Gulden* less than the 1500 *Gulden* decided upon following the 1709 reduction (1711 Pez *S&O*, see Appendix A, pages 432-438). The amount included payment for his daughter and his copyist, and was described as follows:

Für diesen meinen Dienst, haben Ihro Hfl. Dhl. mir, vor mich, meine Tochter, und Copisten, aljährlich, und so-lang wir in dero diensten bleiben werden, zur besoldung reichen zu laßen, gndstl zugesagt und versprochen. Alß an

Geltt	1200 G.
Roggen	6 Schl.
Dinckel	46 Schl.
Habern	30 Schl.
Wein	10 Äyl.
Holz	12 Meß.

Nebst der freien wohnung in dem Capellhauß.³⁷

The copyist alluded to was Anthonÿ Meister, who had come from Munich to Stuttgart with the Pez family. According to Wallner, Meister had been Pez's pupil and upon his master's death on 25 September 1716 he returned to Munich where he found work as a

³⁵His signature appears to read "G. P. Fontner."

³⁶1711 *HM S & O*; 'It can hardly be managed any other way, that each musician is given his contract and on it also his salary.'

³⁷1711 Pez *S&O*; 'For my service, Your Most Royal Highness has confirmed and promised that a salary will be provided, for myself, my daughter, and copyist, of Money 1200 *Gulden*, five bushels of rye, forty-six bushels of buckwheat, thirty bushels of oats, ten *Eimer* of wine, twelve measures of wood, as well as free accommodation in the chapel house.'

copyist with the *Hofkapelle* there.³⁸ After her husband's death Pez's widow and her children also returned to Munich, to join her eldest daughter, Maria Anna Franziska, who held a position as a chamber maid at the Electoral court. For the intervening months before her departure Eberhard Ludwig continued to provide her with monetary support.³⁹

Pez's important report of 1714 shows that the rates of pay of *Hofkapelle* members were as varied as they had been in the past and continued to point towards a division between the so-called ordinary and more talented musicians (1714 Pez *Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 443-450). Pez summarized the situation well when at the end of the *Lista* he wrote:

Wann für Hochfürstl: Dhrtl: der *Musicorum* Besoldung gnädigst *consideriren*, so wird sichs finden, das nur 3: jeder 400: G: und vier, jeder 300: G: Besoldung haben, die übrige alle aber die *ordinari* Besoldung nemblichen 247: G: und etliche wohl gar 100: Rhlr: also zwar das sich zu verwundern, das seÿe mit Weib, und Kinden in einem so grund theüren ohrt, alß da Stuttgard ist (in dem seÿe alhier sonst den geringsten heller *accidens* nicht finden) haben khönnen.⁴⁰

Pez's description doesn't quite match the information given in his report. In fact, there was one vocalist, Ricci, who received 480

³⁸Wallner, p. xlv; Pfeilsticker, 904, the Württemberg *Dienerbücher* record that Meister obtained his release on 22 September 1717.

³⁹Wallner, p. xviii.

⁴⁰1714 Pez *Lista*; 'When Your Most Royal Serene Highness comes most graciously to consider [my report] then you will see that only three of them [the musicians] have 400 *Gulden* each and four have 300 *Gulden* each in salary, the rest all however have the ordinary salary of namely 247 *Gulden* and quite a few have hardly 100 Rhlr [*Reichsthaler*] that therefore it is astonishing that if they have a wife and children in such an expensive place as Stuttgart is (where nowhere can be found [to live] unless by the most amazing coincidence) they can manage to live.'

Gulden—obviously a highly prized member of the *Hofkapelle*. Three musicians did earn 400 *Gulden* each: the tenor Höflein, Venturini, and Eberhard Hildenbrand—these last two were both judged "sehr guth" (very good) on a selection of instruments. Eight men received 300 *Gulden* per annum: Schwartzkopff, Johann Nicolaus Nicolai, Isaac Seidel, Stephan Freudenberg (d.1749), Franz Anton Maximilian Pez, François La Rose, and the two *Waldhornisten* Johann Wilhelm Lumpe, and Johann Christoph Biener.⁴¹ Johann Georg Schmidtbaur was awarded one *Gulden* more than the ordinary salary, possibly in recognition of his services as *Kantor*, and the soprano Kornbeckin was given 250 *Gulden*—perhaps she frequently sang solo parts.

Eleven musicians were allocated the so-called 'ordinary' salary of 247 *Gulden*⁴², while Johanna Schmidtbaur as a young, dependent female was given 150, as were both J. C. Arnold and Johann Georg Zahn (d.1748) probably because as former choirboys they had only been appointed to the *Hofkapelle* in 1710. The kettledrum player, Georg Philipp Schwahn (d.1730) received only 119 *Gulden*, he may not have been required to perform particularly frequently, and (as with Zahn and Arnold) was young and a former choirboy. Another recent recruit from among the choristers was Susanna Margaretha Scharnizgin, in 1714 she received 39 *Gulden* for board [*Kostgelt*] and 45 *Gulden* for clothing. The two choirboys at this time, Georg Heinrich Schmidtbaur and Ludwig Friedrich Mayer both earned 75 *Gulden* each. This was also the amount given to the trumpeter Fenchel as a gratuity.

⁴¹Possibly Pez did not count the horn players or the court organist Seidel, and Schwartzkopff's status at this time is uncertain.

⁴²Gabrielis, Gumprecht, Kreß, Glockhart, Bleßner, Christoph Hildenbrand, Meister, Castenbauer, Mühlhäuser, Eberlen, and Grott.

In addition to the 1714 *Lista* there are two other *Verzeichnisse* which remain from around this time. One of these, while labelled "1720" actually dates from sometime between December 1714 and July 1715 (1715 *Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 451-452). The bulk of musicians remain the same as in the 1714 *Lista*, but there are several new musicians mentioned who help to date the "1720" document more precisely.

The most important name for dating purposes is that of "Radauer". This was Carl Gustav Radauer (d.1765) who was appointed through a decree of 2 February 1715 (from 23 December 1714) as a replacement for Aegidius Mühlhäuser, who had died on 16 December 1714.⁴³ That Radauer was eminently suitable to take up Mühlhäuser's role in the instrumental bass section can be seen from Schwartzkopff's description of his musical capabilities in 1717: "Carl Gustav Radauer, streicht den Groß und Kleinen *Violon*, guth, in gleichem eine *Viol*, Plast auch einen *Fagott*, und *Bass-Fleut*."⁴⁴—Mühlhäuser had played all these instruments with the exception of the small *Violon*.

The brief career of the *Hofmusicus* Jean Mamere at the Württemberg court also helps us to identify the likely date of this document. Mamere, presumably a Frenchman, was appointed through a decree of 19 January 1715, but had been in service 5 July 1714. He was subsequently released on *Jacobi* (25 July) 1715⁴⁵, therefore the "1720" list must date from sometime between December 1714 and July 1715.

⁴³Pfeilsticker, 907 and 904.

⁴⁴1717 Schw 2/viii; 'Carl Gustav Radauer, plays the large and small *Violon* well, in the same way a viola, blows [plays] also a bassoon and bass recorder.'

⁴⁵Pfeilsticker, 903.

Pez's 1714 *Lista* was written in January of that year and by the time the "1720" document appeared the salaries of a number of the musicians had risen markedly. The wage of the soprano Scharnizgin, which in January had stood at 84 *Gulden*, was now described as a "grosse Kostgelt" worth 119 *Gulden*. *Kostgelt* was presumably the equivalent of money for board, as opposed to a proper salary, and this was also the title given to the 75 *Gulden* awarded to the two choirboys Mayer and Schmidtbour.

The salaries of several of the more recently appointed, younger *Hofmusici* were also raised: Arnold and Zahn who had received only 150 *Gulden* each formerly, were now earning 180 and 247 respectively. Whereas the instrumentalist Zahn was now given the so-called 'ordinary' salary, in the case of the vocalist, Arnold, who presumably had fewer performances to take part in, the small increase in his case seemed to be due as the direct result of his being "zu gleich *Copist* und *Instructor* von den *Scharnizgin*."⁴⁶ Likewise the increase in the wage of Georg Philipp Schwahn (described in this document as "*Capell Pauckher*" [chapel kettledrum player]), from 119 to 200 *Gulden* was probably relative to the frequency of his performances with the *Hofkapelle*. The *Kalkant* also received a sizeable increase, from a mere 63 *Gulden* to 158, due to his extra duties as "*Instrument Verwalter*."

Although in 1714 Pez's entries on the two horn players had not mentioned their performance on any other instruments, this later report hints at a wider role for them in the phrase "Wilhelm [Lumpe]

⁴⁶1715 *Lista*; 'at the same time copist and teacher of Scharnizgin.'

zu gleich Waldhornist . . . Christ: Pönnner zu gleich Waldhornist."⁴⁷

The salaries of these two musicians, which in January 1714 had stood equally at 300 *Gulden* each, were now tipped definitely in the favour of Lumpe—he received 450 *Gulden*, while Biener still remained with only 300 *Gulden*.

Along with the new comers Jean Mamere and Carl Gustav Radauer, this 1715 *Lista* also features the addition of a vocalist to bring the number of basses to, a more respectable, two. This was the imperial notary⁴⁸, Johann Franz Wagner, who was appointed on 19 April 1714⁴⁹

The other *Verzeichnis* which exists from around this time is dated 11 March 1715 (1715 *Consignation*, see Sittard I, pages 90-95). Its contents are on the whole consistent with the 1715 *Lista*, but it offers further information which helps to provide a clearer picture of the *Hofkapelle*. It features a full description of *Naturalien* assigned to each musician and, as had been the case in the last decades of the seventeenth century, these payments comprised of rye, buckwheat, oats, wine, and firewood.

In this document Störl is listed as "Stiffts Organist diß orths" (civic church organist of this place) for which service he received a mere 50 *Gulden*, but in addition he was granted a gratuity of 150 *Gulden* "allß Capellmeister" (as *Kapellmeister*). For the first time in the documents so far discussed the *Kalkant* is actually mentioned by name: in 1715

⁴⁷1715 *Lista*; 'Wilhelm at the same time a hornplayer . . . Christ. Pönnner [Biener] at the same time a hornplayer . . .'

⁴⁸1715 *Lista*, Wagner is identified as such in the document itself, "Wagner Kayßl: notarius."

⁴⁹Pfeilsticker, 931.

the post was held by Johann Philipp Jungheimb (d.c.1718/19) and according to the *Dienerbuch* he had been *Kalkant* since 1701/2.⁵⁰

Both the horn player Biener and the instrumental bassist Radauer are described in this report as "*Hautboist*." This should not be taken as evidence of their being performers on the oboe, but simply members of the *Hautboisten Bande*. For, as we shall see in Chapter 9, the members of the *Hautboisten Bande* played all manner of instruments, including strings. In this case the term was undoubtedly used as an indication of their lower status, compared to that of the *Hofmusici*.

A full quota of trumpeters and a kettledrum player, are also listed in this particular *Verzeichnis*, who must have performed the numerous fanfares which the grandeur of Eberhard Ludwig's court required. For their services five of these men: Georg Melchior Fenchel, Johann Casimir Gundel, Johann Jacob Gremminger, Johann Heinrich Schachtenbeck (d.1726), Jeremias Christian Reusinger "*Hoffpaukher*" (court kettledrum player) received a gratuity of 40 *Gulden*, while a sixth trumpeter, Philipp Heinrich Riecker ["*Bierckher*"] (d.1727) received 30.

The compiler of this report also listed those retired musicians who were still receiving money from the court. In 1715 these were the French trumpeter Daniel Rousselin and the vocalist Johann Frohmaÿer, who received 110 and 150 *Gulden* respectively. The soprano Susanna Margaretha Scharnizgin is listed as earning 74.52¹/₂ *Gulden* and therefore was perhaps considered to be of choirboy status, given that Mayer and Schmidtbaur who are specifically designated *Kapellknaben* in this document also received that amount.

⁵⁰Pfeilsticker, 960.

While salaries are never mentioned in the 1717 documents of either Schwartzkopff or Störl, an anonymous *Consignation* dated February 1722 supplies information regarding the musician's wages for the year 1717 (1722 *Consignation*, see Appendix A, pages 484-489). Brescianello, as Music Director, was earning the magnificent sum of 1120 *Gulden*, while the other Italian musician listed in this report, the bass singer G. M. Ricci, received 480 *Gulden* per annum. Both Schwartzkopff and Störl are included in this document—with the former earning 300 *Gulden* and the latter only 150 from the court, but 354 *Gulden* in total, the remainder resulting from his service as *Stiftskapellmeister*.

The 'ordinary' salary at this time was 247 *Gulden*, remaining the same as it had been since at least 1714. This sum was allotted to eight *Hofmusici*⁵¹, while ten others received 300 *Gulden* including the two horn-players, Lumpe and Biener, as well as a musical trumpeter, Otto.⁵² Another trumpeter, G. M. Fenchel was earning 325 *Gulden*, while two further instrumentalists, Venturini and Eberhard Hildenbrand were both employed at the rate of 400 *Gulden*. It can be seen through these wages that some type of ranking process remained in place—probably relating to a division between the ordinary and chamber musicians.

Five extra trumpeters were also employed: Georg Melchior Gundel, Johann Heinrich Schachtenbeck, Philipp Heinrich Riecker, Johann Christoph Schmid, and his daughter, Elisabeth Schmid. The first four of these received 250 *Gulden*, interestingly three *Gulden* above the

⁵¹1722 *Consignation*, Kornbeckin (soprano), Gabrielis (alto), Zahn, G. C. Hildenbrand, Glockhart, G. A. Krefß, Eberlen, and Radauer.

⁵²1722 *Consignation*, Schwartzkopff, Höflein (tenor), J. G. Schmidtbaur (tenor), Seidel (organist), Freudenberg, La Rose, J. N. Nicolai, Otto, Lumpe, and Biener (instrumentalists).

salary of an ordinary *Hofmusicus*, while the young woman only earned 150 *Gulden*. There are two kettledrum players listed in the report, Schwahn and Reusinger, who received 200 and 174 *Gulden* respectively. Other lowly-paid employees included the soprano Ruffin, who received before her marriage 150 *Gulden*, the same amount as the young male alto Arnold. Two *Capellknaben*, G. H. Schmidtbaur and L. F. Mayer received 141 *Gulden*, the *Kalkant* Jungheimb 140, and the organ-repairer, Baumeister a mere 61 *Gulden*. Furthermore the compiler of this report listed four pensioned musicians, three of whom received 150 *Gulden*: Gumprecht, Klotz, and Frohmaÿer, while the French trumpeter, Daniel Roußelin had to make do with 100 *Gulden*.⁵³

In addition to those musicians already mentioned as pensioners, there were a number of others who were either retired or extremely aged. Georg Christoph Hildenbrand had initially been appointed as a *Hofmusicus* in 1692 and was now described by Schwartzkopff as "einer von den ältisten *Musicus*, streicht noch seinen vermögen nach eine, aber schlechte, *Violin*."⁵⁴ The former lutenist and theorbo player, Johann Gumprecht who had joined the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* in 1688 was now "72. Jahr alt, und einige zeither beständig bettlägerig, dahero zu vermuthen, daß er nicht mehr lang leben werde."⁵⁵

As the complaints registered in the 1684 rules of Magdalena Sibylla attest, during the 1680s the standard of the musicians can not have

⁵³1722 *Consignation*.

⁵⁴1717 Schw 27/v; 'one of the oldest musicians, is still capable of playing a violin poorly.'

⁵⁵1717 Schw 27/v; 'seventy-two years old and for some time now has been bedridden, therefore it is supposed that he doesn't have much longer to live.'

been particularly high. This was probably largely owing to the havoc created by the Thirty Years War, with the resultant shortage of good *Hofmusici* causing a significant drop in standards within the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*. The *Kapellmeister* between 1657 and 1665, Samuel Capricornus, was a highly talented, respected musician and a prolific composer, but the musicians under his direction complained about the difficulty of the pieces he expected them to play.⁵⁶

Capricornus became so short of skilled men that when Paul Kreß (d.1694) was trying to attain his dismissal in 1662 (in order to visit England to study the "Viola de Gamba welche dort im Flor"⁵⁷) he refused to support Kreß's request and instead gave evidence claiming that the *Kapelle* already had too few instrumentalists.⁵⁸

By the time Schwartzkopff was writing his *Ohn Vorschreiblich Einfältige Gutachten*, in January 1699 (1699 Schw Gut, see Sittard I, pages 68-73), he could remark that although he had a reasonably large number of musicians at his disposal they all had far too much to do. This applied especially to the singers because not only were they required to take part in the normal number of *Auffwartungen* (performances), but also in operas, which were specifically designated as being Kusser's responsibility at this stage.

Schwartzkopff then moved on to consider the instrumentalists and he gave a list of those who specialized on one (unfortunately, unspecified) instrument: Christian Klotz, Johann Rudolf Fischer, Johann Gumprecht, J. G. C. Störl, and La Rose. On the other hand the

⁵⁶Sittard I, 52.

⁵⁷Sittard I, 58; 'The viola da gamba which is flourishing there.'

⁵⁸Sittard I, 58.

eight remaining musicians could be expected to play a variety of instruments in the manner of *Hautboisten* and therefore be continually of use. Taken from the 1699 *Verzeichnis* these must have been: J. P. Beckherhem, Elias Zimmermann, G. C. Hildenbrand, G. M. Schwartzkopff, J. E. Hildenbrand, C. R. Schwartzkopff, A. Mühlhäuser, and G. M. Gauger (1699 *Verz*, see Appendix A, pages 419-427). This suggests that very early on a division existed between ordinary *Hofmusici* and more specialized *Cammer-Musici*.

Musicians who specialized in plucked-string instruments belonged to separate class altogether, indicated by the favourable treatment they received.⁵⁹ This is further implied by the fact that later in the first half of the eighteenth century two women were employed in this role at the court—Maria Dorothea St. Piero (later Sporni) 1719-1736 and her female successor by the name of von Compennass in 1736.⁶⁰

In the thirteenth point of his 1699 report Schwartzkopff stated that while the lutenists (presumably Gumprecht and Johann Anton Thorer) had formerly been great friends with Kusser, they were now no longer required for his operas owing to certain differences between them. In the meantime they attended both church and table music sessions on a regular basis, but Schwartzkopff confessed that he considered them to be "in der Capell nicht so gar noth windig seye."⁶¹

⁵⁹This is further evidenced by the fact that in May 1711 Johann Rudolf Fischer received a gratuity "weil sich auf der Laute als ein rares Instrument appliciret." (because he has applied himself to the lute which is a rare instrument), Pfeilsticker, 896.

⁶⁰Pfeilsticker, 910-911 and 891; this must have been a fairly regular occurrence, for J. C. Weigel depicts the lute being played by a woman in his contemporary set of engravings, *Musicalische Theatrum* (Nuremberg, c.1715-1725), reprinted in the series *Documenta musicologica* 22 (Kassel, 1961), Plate 16, *Die Lautenistin*.

⁶¹1699 Schw Gut; 'hardly even necessary in the chapel.'

However, they remained of some use as theorbo-players and Schwartzkopff recommended that they should be kept in employment: "wegen denen *Teorben*, so zu allen Musicen wohl kommen . . . "62

On a practical level Schwartzkopff proposed that an *Instrumenten-Verwalter* (instrument-keeper) be appointed, in order to look after, and keep an inventory of, the musical instruments belonging to the court. According to this report the musicians were not allowed to take the court instruments home with them to practise on, but instead had to buy their own instruments especially for that purpose.

Schwartzkopff also recommended that all the old, useless instruments owned by the court be sold and the money raised put into the *Kirchen-Casten*.⁶³ Presumably this ownership policy resulted in a lowering of the standards of musical performance at the court.

The anonymous *Verzeichnis* of c.1702 provides no information regarding rates of salary as previous reports had done, but instead it has much to offer in its descriptions of the capabilities of each musician and the diversity of instruments played at the court (c.1702 *Verz*, see Scholz, pages 202-205).⁶⁴ This information is summarized in Table 4.3.

The document clearly divides the musicians into vocalists and instrumentalists, although no headings are provided. In addition to those instrumentalists listed above, Christoph Hildenbrand and

⁶²1699 Schw Gut; 'because of the theorboes, which are welcome in all music . . . '

⁶³1718 Castenbauer, this particular suggestion was definitely not put into action given the large number of and old and useless instruments still owned by the court in 1718.

⁶⁴Written by an unidentified court official, probably from the *Oberhofmarschallamt*, no doubt following a request for a investigation into the usefulness of the musicians.

Christian Herbst, were apparently of "Nichts nütz" (no use whatsoever), while Christoph Reinhard Schwartzkopff was of "Wenig nütz" (little use). The entries for Christian Klotz and Gumprecht both report that they "Gehört in die Kanzley" (belong in the chancellory), although Gumprecht "Kan aber bey der Music gebraucht werden" (can however be used for the *Music*). This suggests that it was probably not unusual for members of other court departments to take part in musical performances, if their particular skill were required. The vocal *Bassist*, J. G. Horn was also being used for both music and the chancellory. The c.1702 report notes that in the future his wage must be revised to take into account this dual service.

At the very end of the instrumentalists, before the trumpeters, two names are listed: Gottfried Rumpus and Carl Gustav Hirth. No real comments are made on the capabilities of these musicians, Rumpus is described simply as "asinus ad lyram" (ass at the lyre), while regarding Hirth the official merely remarks: "Kenne ihn nicht" (I don't know him).

The *Dienerbuch* provides the information that Hirth acted as a copyist for the *Hofkapelle*⁶⁵ and it is likely that Rumpus, of whom Schwartzkopff wrote in January 1699 "Schraibt sowohl noten alß deutsch und lateinisch sauber und correct"⁶⁶, was also employed in this role.

⁶⁵Pfeilsticker, 900.

⁶⁶1699 Schw *Gut*; 'writes notes, as well as German and Latin, neatly and correctly.'

Table 4.3 c.1702 Performance Standards of the Württemberg court musicians (from c.1702 Verz).

Instrument	Musician	Standard
Violin	Venturini	excellent
	Zimmermann	good
	Eb. Hildenbrand	good
	Fischer	tolerable
Oboe	Eb. Hildenbrand	good
Recorder	J. Nicolaus Nicolai (d. c.1728)	good
	Eb. Hildenbrand	good
Bombard	M. Schwartzkopff	—
Bassoon	Mühlhäuser [Egidy]	good
"Grossen Violon"	Mühlhauser [Egidy]	—
"Violon"	Seidel	good
French <i>Baß</i>	Gauger [Grüger]	mediocre
	La Rose	good
Violoncello	Rubini	—
Keyboard	Seidel	good
	Störl	refined

In his 1714 *Lista* Pez began by listing the total thirty-five musicians and for each one gave a short paragraph describing their talents and instrumental capabilities, plus their rate of salary (1714 Pez *Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 443-450). These entries take up the bulk of the report and are followed by a general discussion of *Hofkapelle*, along with six points or problems which Pez obviously felt needed to be brought to the attention of the Duke.

The first name given on the list is that of Schwartzkopff, who was therefore still in the Württemberg service at this time as

Kapellmeister. The *Dienerbuch* claims that he had been reinstated in 1711⁶⁷ and this is confirmed by the dates which appear on his one remaining *Staat und Ordnung*: 16 February 1692 and *Georgii* (25 April) 1711.⁶⁸ On that latter occasion his salary had been adjusted on his *Staat* to only 140 *Gulden* plus *Naturalien*.

The 1715 *Lista* (the "1720" *Verzeichnis*) suggests that Schwartzkopff's services were no longer required by the *Hofkapelle*, as the entry on him reads "*Kapellmeister Schwartzkopff hat Wart geld . . . 300 G[ulden]*."⁶⁹ The exact role he played during these years is hard to determine. Pez's description of Schwartzkopff in the January 1714 report similarly gave him the title of *Kapellmeister* with a salary of 300 *Gulden* and commented further that he "*ist ein 4: biß 26: jähriger diener, und componirt sehr wohl*."⁷⁰ This is probably the only contemporary opinion of Schwartzkopff's compositional skills still extant.

Schwartzkopff was not the only *Hofmusicus* mentioned by Pez as a composer. His entry for Georg Albrecht Kreß ran as follows: "*Kreß . . . hat sich auch auf die composition gelegt, in welcher guthen gusto hat, und wann er einen meister hette, der Ihm aus dem fundament*

⁶⁷Eberhard Emil von Georgii-Georgenau, *Fürstlich-württembergisches Dienerbuch vom 9. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1877), 209; and Pfeilsticker, 884.

⁶⁸1692 Schw S&O.

⁶⁹1715 *Lista* (see Appendix A, pages 451-452); '*Kapellmeister Schwartzkopff has 'waiting' money [of] 300 Gulden.*'

⁷⁰1714 Pez *Lista*; 'is a servant of twenty-four to twenty-six years standing and composes very well.'

instruirte, wurde er sicherlich einen guthen *effect* machen."⁷¹ Georg Albrecht's talent in this area is not surprising given that his uncle, the former Württemberg *Kapellmeister* Johann Albrecht Kreß, had also been known as a composer.

On the whole Pez appeared to be happy with the standard of the musicians in his *Hofkapelle* and the respect they accorded him. In fact, he even went so far as to make the following claim in his concluding comments: "Dann erstlich versichere ich Eur Hochfrstl: Dhrtl: das dise leuthe mich, und meine *manner* dergestalten gewohnt seind, d: ich seÿe *Salvo rispetto* mit einem Fuß getraue zu *dirigiren*."⁷²

The selection of instruments and the relative performance standards of the various members of the *Hofkapelle* which Pez had available to him in 1714 is summarized in Table 4.4.

Under the administration of Schwartzkopff and Störl the standard of the musicians remained of a similar diversity, being in fact largely the same musicians who had worked with Pez. In a report dated 1720 Brescianello seemed pleased, on the whole, with the standard of the *Hofkapelle*, for the majority of the musicians providing the comment 'good' (1720 Brescianello, see Appendix A, pages 481-483). The organist, Seidel, was above this average, meriting the remark "dieser ist gewis guth" (this one is certainly good), while the instrumentalist,

⁷¹1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Kreß has also made a start in composition, in which he has good taste, and when (in the future) he gets a teacher, who can instruct him in the foundation [of this art], he will surely make a good effect.'

⁷²1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Then first of all I want to assure Your Royal Highness that these people are so used to me and to my manner, to the extent, that I would venture to conduct, if you will excuse the phrase, with a foot.'

Grott was described as being 'passable', but then he also served as a court painter so this lower standard is not surprising.

On the whole it appears unlikely that the standards of musical ability of musicians at the Württemberg court were particularly high during the period in question. This situation would have been aided by the fact that the ordinary *Hofmusici* were expected to play a selection of different instruments. The only exceptions were the occasional foreign virtuoso employed at an especially high salary, such as the French soprano Magdalena Sibylla von Bex and the Italian bass Giovanni Maria Ricci.

	Nicolai	?very good
	Glockhart	very good
	Bleßner	very good
Flute	Nicolai	—
	Freudenberg	—
Clarinet	Meister	very good
	F. A. M. Pez	good
	Meister	—
Bassoon	Eberlen	very good
	Mühlhäuser	good
	Castenbauer	—
Harpsichord	Nicolai	plays very well
	Freudenberg	plays charmingly
Keyboard	Zahn	plays artfully
Organ	Seidel	—
Horn	Lumpe	very good
	Biener	very good
Kettledrum	Schwahn	—

The Vocal 'Musique'

Württemberg Court *Kapellknaben*

When considering the nature and role of *Kapellknaben* (choristers) in Stuttgart at this time it is important to distinguish between those employed by the civic council as part of the local *Stiftsmusik* and those who were members of the ducal *Hofkapelle*. It is important to note that while the majority of the *Kapellknaben* were young boys, a number were described using this term well after their voices had broken, and at least four girls were also included among their number.¹ While a *Hofkapelle* which included choirboys had been established in Stuttgart as early as the fifteenth century, it wasn't until 1618 that a separate *Stiftsmusik* was set up—comprised of Joachim Böddecker as director, along with five apprentices.²

According to the *Dienerbücher* the *Kapellknaben* numbered twelve in the years 1564 and 1594, eight until 1616, six to eight from 1660-1661, and

¹For this reason the term *Kapellknaben* is translated as 'choirboys' only when it refers to identifiable male choristers, and remains in the German form when the institution of "Kapellknaben" is being referred to. I am currently preparing an article on the subject of female *Kapellknaben*. The known female members of the Württemberg *Kapellknaben* were Madelaine Le Febure (through a decree of 2 August 1725); Susanna Margaretha Scharnizgin (from 1712-1717); Johanna Dorothea Sibylla Schmidtbaur (1707-1712); and Maria Dorothea Schultz (1723/4); see Pfeilsticker, 943, 946-7. Although it is commonly believed that Haydn was dismissed from his place as a choirboy in Vienna primarily because his voice was breaking at the age of c.16-18 years, the evidence of the Württemberg court shows that this might not have been the case, and that choirboys were not always immediately released for this reason.

²Eberhard Stiefel, "Stuttgart", *Grove* 6, see also Bopp, 213.

four 1664-1665.³ In 1677 a *Besoldungsetat* (salary budget) numbered the *Kapelle* at only fifteen persons, including five *Knaben*⁴, although a ducal resolution dated 20 April 1677 (a few months before the death of Duke Wilhelm Ludwig) specified only two *Kapellknaben* (along with two *Kapellmeister*, an *Orgelmacher*, a *Kalkant*, and fifteen others).⁵

Although the 1684 *Specificatio* had recorded payments awarded to musicians for supporting and teaching *Kapellknaben*, these were of an unusually small number (1684 *Specificatio*, see Appendix A, pages 402-413). *Kapellmeister* Magg received 40 *Gulden* (plus *Naturalien*) for one boy, while the entry on *Vizekapellmeister* Johann Albrecht Kreß stated "Und wan Er ein Capell-Knaben in d Cost und *Information* hat, hat Er gleich Costgelt wieder Cappellmeister zurerheben, in Früchten, an geld aber vor Jeden . . . 34 G."⁶ This suggests that if there were any *Kapellknaben* at all they were not looked after by the *Kapellmeister* Magg, as might have been expected, but rather by the *Vizekapellmeister*.

The majority of *Kapellknaben* listed in the *Dienerbücher* appear to have been employed during the reign of Friedrich Carl and Magdalena Sibylla (r.1677-1693) and into the early years of the eighteenth century.⁷

³Pfeilsticker, 936.

⁴Sittard I, 62.

⁵ Sittard I, 63, according to Sittard this plan was adhered to, "Daß dieser Resolution Folge geleistet wurde, erhellt aus dem in den Akten erhaltenen Verzeichniß der Namen der Mitglieder."

⁶1684 *Specificatio*; 'And when he has a *Kapellknaben* to support and instruct, then he should be raised to the same allowance as a *Kapellmeister* in produce, however, in money for each 34 *Gulden*.'

⁷See Pfeilsticker, 936-949.

Therefore it is somewhat puzzling that so very few are listed as being supported by members of the ducal *Kapelle* in the 1684 *Specificatio*. Possibly J. F. Magg was not considered suitable by many parents to act as guardian to their children, especially given his religion.

Johann Kusser (the father of J. S. Kusser) was at that stage in charge of the choirboys of the *Stiftsmusik*. On 8 January 1684 he laid an official complaint stating that the *Vizekapellmeister* Johann Albrecht Kreß had taken away his best pupil, the treble "Fritz". A few days later Kreß replied, criticising Kusser's teaching methods, but stressing the necessity of offering a small stipend for using boys from the *Stiftsmusik*.

Apparently Kreß had earlier undertaken the music instruction of the boys during an illness of Kusser's, which may account for the addition to his salary of a possible 34 *Gulden* for each boy in the 1684 *Specificatio*.⁸

The *Staat und Ordnungen* of successive Württemberg *Kapellmeister* included a standard paragraph clarifying their duties regarding the young choristers. In 1657 *Kapellmeister* Samuel Capricornus had to ensure that the *Kapellknaben* were properly cared for and his *Staat* stipulates very clearly the responsibilities involved:

Soll Er Capellmeister die ihme anvertraute Capellknaben mit guter disciplin als in obacht nehmen, daß Sie sittsam und höflich auferzogen, in der Music alles Besten fleißes instruiert, in seiner Cost gegen dem verordneten Costgeltt mit dem Ersten nottürfftiglich und wohl gekocht gehalten und zue anderer Hauß Arbeit, so Ihnen an Ihren studijs und Exercitijs hinderlich, nit gebrauchet, auch da Einer

⁸Bopp, 227.

von ihnen umb Boßheit oder Unfleiß sträfflich Befinden würde, mit gebührender Beschaidenheit abgestrafft werden.⁹

Likewise in 1692 Schwartzkopff was given full responsibility for the care of the *Kapellknaben* (1692 Schw S&O, see Appendix A, pages 414-418). This included ensuring that they were given the best possible instruction in music, that they were well-behaved, and looked after properly with the provided allowance. Furthermore they were not to be forced to undertake too much housework, as this would hinder their studies and practice times. An inventory was to be kept of their linen and sheets and a separate paragraph (not included in later *Staat und Ordnungen*) required that *Kapellmeister* keep a watch on the clothes ("Klaidlein") of the *Kapellknaben*. These were to be replaced when necessary and Schwartzkopff was expected to ensure that they were fully raised up when the choirboys relieved themselves—in order to avoid soiling them!

Schwartzkopff was required to see that those boys who had been given permission to learn musical instruments were practising these properly and therefore not wasting the Duke's money. He was expected to inform his superiors when considering taking on a new *Kapellknab* or when a boy's voice was breaking, so that proper arrangements could be made for

⁹Siedentopf, 340; 'The *Kapellmeister* shall keep the *Kapellknaben* entrusted to him in good discipline and watch over them, to make sure that they are brought up to be demure and polite, instructed in music with the utmost diligence, and kept thriftily at his expense with the prescribed *Kostgelt* so that above all they are well fed, and the same for other housework, so that they are able to apply themselves to their studies and exercises without any hindrances, also if any of them are found to be guilty of malice or laziness, that they be punished with due modesty.'

his future—whether it be to attend the theological school or become a member of the *Hofkapelle*.¹⁰

By 1699 the numbers of *Kapellknaben* had reached healthier levels, when compared with those in the 1684 *Specificatio*. Not only choirboys, but also other types of musical apprentices are included, as indicated in the opening phrase of the document—"Was Ein oder Andern auch wegen *Sustentation* der Cappell und Anderer Knaben jährlich zuempfangen haben."¹¹

Cappellmeister Vor sich	300 G
Vor <i>Information</i> der Capellknaben	38 G
auff 7: Capellknaben	260 G
Georg Melchior Fenchel	154 G
zu Subsistenz eines Knaben	34 G
Georg Michaël Schwartzkopff vor sich	144 G
auff 2: Hautboisten jungen	68 G

Johann Antonio Dorern, und deßen ältisten Sohn
dessen beeden Jüngere Söhnen aber Capellknaben *Tractament*
432 G.¹²

¹⁰The situation was apparently rather different at other courts, at Dresden, for example, a choirboy whose voice had recently broken could only expect 50 *Thaler* as compensation. Furthermore the Saxon choirboys lived in a Jesuit household and experienced a completely different, and primarily religiously orientated, lifestyle when compared to that of the Württemberg court choristers, see Janice Stockigt, "The *Kapellknaben* of the Catholic Court Church in Dresden, 1722-1733", *Studies in Music* 29 (1989), 13-14 and fn. 11.

¹¹1684 *Specificatio*; 'What one or the other [*Musicus*] has received for the support of chapel, or other boys per year.'

¹²1684 *Specificatio*; 'Kapellmeister, for himself . . . 300 G[ulden]., For teaching *Kapellknaben* . . . 38 G., 7 *Kapellknaben* . . . 260 G.; Georg Melchior Fenchel . . . 154 G., for supporting a boy . . . 34 G.; Georg Michaël Schwartzkopff, for himself . . . 144 G., for 2 *Hautboisten* apprentices . . . 68 G.; Johann Antonio Dorern [Thorer] and his eldest son, and both his youngest sons however used as choirboys . . . 432 G.'

More detailed information regarding these boys is provided the January 1699 report written by Schwartzkopff (1699 Schw Gut, see Sittard I, pages 68-73). He opened by listing the names of seven choirboys:

Gottfried Rumpus
 Philipp Gottfried Weidner (d.1702)
 Philipp Friedrich Prinz
 Johann Christian Arnold (d.1738)
 Abraham Kurz
 Albrecht Kreß
 Andreas Stein

and given the meticulous descriptions he provided for each one, they were certainly under his direct care.

Their voices are described in some detail, for example, "schwach", "eine schlechte Stim", "eine gezwungene *discant* Stimm", and "eine heißer, und ohnreine Stimm."¹³ Four out of the seven boys played the violin ("eine Viole"), while the keyboard ("Clavir") and French *Bass Violon* were also popular. Weidner was apparently the only boy to play a wind instrument—"die flette" (the recorder). Abraham Kurz, according to Schwartzkopff, appeared to be "einem gebohrenen *Musico*" (a born musician) and played the *Teutsche Bassviolon*, the violin, and could perform a *General Baß* "alles in zimlicher perfection" (all more or less perfectly).

The age of the boys covered a wide range, with Rumpus at twenty-one, down to the ten-year old Andreas Stein, who was still unable to read properly. Although they were primarily employed for their high voices

¹³1699 Schw Gut; 'weak', 'a poor voice', 'a forced treble voice', and 'a fierce, impure voice.'

the choirboys were not expected to leave as soon as these broke, but rather the court was obliged to ensure that a career was found for each boy and the advice of the *Kapellmeister* was naturally of some importance in this matter. From this particular batch of seven choirboys the court gained very few long-term recruits for its *Hofkapelle*.

Schwartzkopff recommended that both Rumpus and Prinz would be better suited to positions as scribes. However, in spite of this suggestion Rumpus became a *Hofmusicus* in 1702, at any rate he was twenty-one years old by this time and had a reasonable bass voice. He later served as a clerk, followed by another stretch in the *Hofkapelle* (1709-1713), and was then quartermaster in Denkendorf.¹⁴ The ill health of the young "Albrecht" Kreß prompted Schwartzkopff to recommend that he adopt a relatively light trade rather than one which involved singing or blowing wind instruments. It is probable that this was Georg Albrecht Kreß (the son of Paul Kreß) who was appointed as a *Hofmusicus* in 1713.¹⁵ In 1700 Weidner also won a place in the *Kapelle*, but unfortunately he died only a few years later in January 1702.¹⁶

Naturally the wishes of the parents of each child were also important in determining their future career. The mother of P. F. Prinz was in agreement with Schwartzkopff in wishing her son to seek a career as a scribe, while Abraham Kurz's father preferred that his son study rather than enter the music profession. In some cases it was best to just wait

¹⁴Pfeilsticker, 908.

¹⁵Pfeilsticker, 892.

¹⁶Pfeilsticker, 912.

and see how a voice would develop. Andreas Stein (who had been castrated as the result of an 'accident') was judged to have a bad voice but Schwartzkopff recommended that he only undertake simple singing in the meantime and perhaps it would improve. J. C. Arnold also had an awful voice but because of his sight-singing ability it was decided to let him stay. He was appointed a *Hofmusicus* in 1710 and kept the position until his death in 1738.¹⁷

Having fully discussed the seven ordinary choirboys Schwartzkopff continued with a short paragraph relating to "Ennchels Zwey Knaben" (the two boys of 'Ennchel'—undoubtedly boys apprenticed to Georg Melchior Fenchel). Although he failed to directly mention any names it is possible that one was Bartholomäus Seiffert, described in a *Dienerbuch* as a "Trompeterlehrlinge bei . . . Fenchel 1697 Martini, noch 1702."¹⁸ Schwartzkopff wrote that Fenchel's two boys "habe Keine wissenschaft, solche auch noch nicht gesehen, noch gehört, und solten solche billich auch einige Dienste bey der Cappell thun wann Sie behalten wurden, und wann Sie noch nicht viel in der Music gelehret, so könnten solche doch dem Kußer zum abschreiben angewießen werden."¹⁹ Obviously they were not promising candidates, so it is not surprising that the 1699 *Verzeichnis* only lists one.

¹⁷Pfeilsticker, 914.

¹⁸Pfeilsticker, 875; 'apprentice trumpeter with . . . Fenchel 11 November 1697, still in 1702.'

¹⁹1699 Schw Gut; 'have no skill, at least none that can be seen as yet, [but they] still belong, and should still be able to do properly a few things of service to the *Kapelle* if they wish to remain, and if they still haven't learnt much in the musical establishment, then they could instead be transferred to Kusser to do copying.'

There is a somewhat longer paragraph describing the two boys assigned to Georg Michael Schwartzkopff, the "2: Hautboisten jungen".²⁰ The first is his own son, presumably Sigmund, who has "in unterschiedene Instrumenten wie auch den *Cornet* und *Trombon*, zu plaßen einen guten anfang gemacht."²¹ Meanwhile, the second boy, "Hof Musici Fischers Sohn" (the son of *Hofmusicus* Fischer), was probably Albrecht Andreas (son of Andreas Fischer)²², and received the comment that "obwohlen solcher in unterschiedenen Instrumenten auch einen guten anfang gemacht, so führt solcher Sich nicht gar zu wohl auff . . . dahero wehre besser wann solcher seinen Vatter wider übergeben wurde."²³ It was necessary to find replacements for those subjects who had been released and Schwartzkopff suggested the "Söhnlein" (little son) of the teacher Faber as a suitable candidate, owing to his beautiful voice and skill in music.

As with both Capricornus and Schwartzkopff, Kusser was charged with the overall supervision of the *Kapellknaben*. His employment contract of 1700 (1700 Kusser *S&O*, see Scholz, pages 233-238) explains the importance of having *Kapellknaben* in the following terms: "das Hauptabsehen, warumb Cappellknaben auffgenommen und unterhalten

²⁰1699 Verz; 'the two *Hautboisten* apprentices.'

²¹1699 Schw Gut; 'already made a good beginning in playing [blowing] different instruments, including the cornet and trombone.'

²²See Pfeilsticker, 895.

²³1699 Schw Gut; 'although he has also made a good beginning in various instruments, he doesn't actually play them that well . . . because of that it would be better if he was given back to his father.'

werden, die Music ist, dass wir sowol vocaliter, als instrumentaliter dabey zu gebrauchen unterrichtet und fähig gemacht werden . . . "24

Kusser was expected to keep a lookout for capable candidates, who must have "schon einen feinen Anfang und Fundament in der Music, auch schöne helle und nicht zu schwache Stimmen haben."²⁵ Three reasons were given for releasing a choirboy: firstly if his voices breaks, secondly if he shows no aptitude for music, and finally if he is found to be of a malicious temperament. In the case of the first two possibilities all efforts were to be made in finding the boy another position, but an ill-tempered boy would simply be removed.

The *Kapellknaben* worked fairly closely with the adult members of the *Hofkapelle*. The *Oberkapellmeister* was required to ensure "dass das Choralgesang in Dero Hofcappell durch den dazu bestellten Cantorem u. die zugehörige Knaben wollautend geführt, auch an Sonn- Fest- und Feyertagen die Instrumentisten, wie es hie bevor üblich gewesen, mit ihren Instrumenten einstimmen lassen."²⁶ In 1702 there were eight choirboys listed in the relevant *Verzeichnis*, but only Albrecht Kreß and J. C. Arnold can be recognized as members of the seven described by

²⁴1700 Kusser S&O; 'the main reason for taking on *Kapellknaben* and supporting them is so that we can use them in the musical establishment, therefore we must teach them and make them competent . . . '

²⁵1700 Kusser S&O; 'already made a beginning in the fundamentals of music, as well as having a beautiful, pure voice that is not too weak . '

²⁶1700 Kusser S&O; 'that the choral singing in Your *Hofkapelle* is properly performed with the appointed *Kantorem* and the boys belonging to it, also, as was formerly usual here, the instrumentalists are to join in with their instruments on Sundays, feastdays and celebratory days.'

Schwartzkopff in January 1699.²⁷ The six new boys were Johann Heinrich Gross, Johann Philipp Wagner, Johann Joseph Reiss, Johann Galster, Johann Jacob Maisel, and Grifftrat.²⁸

By 1711 the standard responsibilities of the *Kapellmeister* towards the choirboys had changed somewhat. Although Pez was still the overall supervisor of the *Kapellknaben* his *Staat* no longer required that he ensure that the boys were fed within the means of their *Kostgeld*, keep an inventory of their clothes and linen, or see that they appeared "sauber, modeste und ohnärgerlich" when performing (1711 Pez *S&O*, see Appendix A, pages 432-438).²⁹ The *Kapellknaben* are only mentioned once within the parallel contract of the collected *Hofmusici* (1711 *HM S&O*, see Appendix A, pages 439-442) and even then only in a late addition which reads:

... einigen Unßerem Cappel Knaben, auß sonderbahrer Gdsten Erlaubnuß ein oder ander *Instrument* erlernen laßen wolten. So solle ein jeder Unßerer Hoff *Musicor*, deme ein Cappel Knab gegeben worden, sich außert bemühen Selben mit aller *dexterität* zu *informiren*, nichts an Ihmem zu verabsäumen, die ordentliche stunden, und dar zu bestimbte Zeit wohl zu *observiren*, umb das die darauf wendende uncosten nicht vergebens außgelegt werden mögen.³⁰

²⁷1699 Schw *Gut*.

²⁸For further information on these boys see Pfeilsticker, 936-949.

²⁹1700 Kusser *S&O*; 'clean, modest, and not bad tempered.'

³⁰1711 *HM S&O*; 'a number of our *Kapellknaben*, from a special and most gracious permission have been allowed to learn one or the other instrument. Therefore each of our *Hofmusici* who have been given a *Kapellknab* must make the utmost endeavours to teach these with all dexterity, and not to neglect them, to observe orderly hours and the set time, so that the cost allocated to them may not be wasted.'

Furthermore, this section is deleted and another comment made directly after it, in the hand of "G. P. de Fontner", to the effect that "Die Kapellknaben sollen gantz abgehen."³¹ This would certainly account for the extremely small numbers of *Kapellknaben* in service at this time. In fact, after the turn of the eighteenth century the importance of *Kapellknaben* at the court diminished markedly, primarily due to the introduction of female singers who largely took over the *Discant* parts in the court church music. Thereafter it became the norm to employ only a token single or pair of *Kapellknaben* who were more often trained as instrumentalists, rather than to take part in choral music.

Although the *Dienerbuch* lists around seven names of *Kapellknaben* apparently employed at various times between 1710-1717 only two of these consistently appear in the extant registers listing *Hofkapelle* members for those years.³² These were Ludwig Friedrich Mayer, the son of a court *Leibwäscherin* (personal laundress)³³, and Georg Heinrich Schmidtbaur (d.1730), who came from a musical family—with his father, Johann Georg, holding the position of *Hofkantor*, and his sister, Johanna Dorothea Sibylla (d.1762) also employed as singer at court.³⁴

³¹1711 HM S&O; 'The *Kapellknaben* shall be totally dispatched.'

³²Pfeilsticker, 936-949, Georg Heinrich Schmidtbaur, 1706-1721; Johanna Dorothea Sibylla Schmidtbaur, 1707-712; Oswald Schwahn, 1708/9; Molitor von Kempten, 1709/10; Ludwig Friedrich Maier [Mayer], 1710-1718/19; Susanna Margaretha Scharnizgin, 1712-1717; and E. L. Schäffer, 1713, 1717-1719.

³³Pfeilsticker, 944.

³⁴See Pfeilsticker, 929, 946, and 935—Johanna Rueff (née Schmidtbaur), known as "Ruffin", c.1718/19 she married a clerk, Christoph David Rueff.

A group of documents dating from 1717 (see Appendix A, pages 453-475) furnishes us with fairly detailed descriptions of the role of these two choirboys, firstly from Schwartzkopff:

28. Maÿer, ist alß ein Kappell Knab beÿ den Hof *Musico* Klockhart um die *Hautbois* zu lernen, streicht eine *Viol*, und frantzösischen *Bass*, Singt auch zur noth einen, aber noch um etwas schwachen *Bass*, und wird zum *nothen* schreiben gebraucht.

29. Georg Heinrich Schmidbauer, ist alß ein Capell Knab, und beÿ seinen Vatter, streicht eine *Viol*, und *Viola da Gamba*, schlägt ein *Clavir*, und Singt einen *Tenor*, beedes zur noth, führet auch in abwesenheit seines Vatters, wan derselbe alß *Coralist* in Ludwigsburg ist, den *Coral* in der Hof Cappel.³⁵

And secondly Störl mentioned Mayer and Schmidtbaur as being useful for playing second viola parts and listed them as follows:

Schmidtbauer

2 Capellknaben

Majer

so bißhero die *noten* geschrieben, die Stück zur *Music* hin und wiedergetragen . . . ³⁶

It is obvious then that these two *Knaben* were not employed solely as choirboys, but rather that they both played an active, useful role in the everyday secular performances of the *Hofkapelle* itself.

³⁵1717 Schw 27/v; 'Maÿer [Mayer] is, as a choirboy, learning the oboe from the *Hofmusico* Klockhart [Glockhart], plays a violin and the French *Bass*. He sings, when necessary, a still rather weak *Bass*, and is used for copying music.'; 'Georg Heinrich Schmidbauer [Schmidtbaur] is a choirboy, and with his father, plays a violin and *Viola da Gamba*, plays the keyboard, and sings a *tenor*, both [of them—Schmidtbaur and Mayer] when necessary, in the absence of his father, who is the *Coralist* at Ludwigsburg, lead the *Coral* in the *Hofkapelle*.'

³⁶1717 Störl 19/v; 'Schmidtbaur and Mayer—2 choirboys, who until now have copied music, and carried the pieces to and fro to the *Music*.'

Vocalisten

As indicated in a previous chapter, the adult singers employed by the court in 1684 numbered only four: Andreas Fischer (*Altist*), Johann Frohmaÿer (*Discantist*), Niklaus Leonhard Steiner (*Altist*), and Claude Reinsal (1684 *Specificatio*, see Appendix A, pages 402-413). Around 1699 there were nine singers listed, including a soprano, a male *Discantist*, two male *Altisten*, three tenors, one bass, and another male singer (possibly also a bass) (1699 *Verz*, see Appendix A, pages 419-427). The proportions of the vocal ensemble were more equally divided around 1702: with three sopranos, a castrato, two tenors, and three basses (c.1702 *Verz*, see Scholz, pages 202-205). The inclusion of Magdalena Sibylla von Bex as a fully-paid member of the *Hofkapelle* led to the introduction of other salaried female singers. These began with Juliana Dorothea Sophia Glaser³⁷ and Maria Dorothea Fischer³⁸, who had both been paid previously for performing in Kusser's operas of the late 1690s. The following comments are made on the voices of the two new *Sängerinnen*: "Frau Küchenmeist. Glasserin. Ihre stimme ist ziemlich hin, und kan nicht wohl fehlen, denn ein Weib zu seyn und eine gute stimme zu haben ist sehr rahr; Jgf. Fischerin. Singt ziemlich anmuthig."³⁹ According to Sittard female singers were introduced much later into the *Stiftsmusik*, in 1724, when

³⁷Pfeilsticker, 934, née Fischer, sister of the *Hofmusicus* Johann Rudolf Fischer and wife of the *Landküchenmeister* Johann Michael Glaser.

³⁸Pfeilsticker, 934, daughter of the *Hofmusicus* Andreas Fischer.

³⁹c.1702 *Verz*; 'Her voice is of some importance here, and [she] can not well be allowed to leave, as it is very rare to be a wife and to have a good voice; Jgf. Fischer. Sings rather charmingly.'

Christian Cotta requested that both his daughters be accepted into the choir.⁴⁰

The *Oberhofmarschallamt* official described Bex as being "parfait in der music und eine artige manier"⁴¹ although her voice apparently diminished somewhat when singing alone. However, she must have felt that it was time to move on from Stuttgart, as he continues: "Fürchte aber auch dass Serenissimus sich schwerlich wird bereden lassen, solche weg zu thun, obwohlen sie schon um ihren abschied ziemlich impertinenter gebetten."⁴²

Pez included in his 1714 *Lista* a description of the vocalists who belonged to the ducal *Kapelle* (1714 *Pez Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 443-450). Compared with the total eleven singers listed in the c.1702 *Verzeichnis* this list shows a decrease in the size of the vocal ensemble. The number of sopranos stayed the same (three) but only Maria Dorothea Kornbeckin⁴³ (née Fischer) remained of the 1702 trio. Of the two *Altisten* in 1702 only Matthias Gabrielis remained, while Andreas Fischer had

⁴⁰Sittard I, 314.

⁴¹c.1702 Verz; 'perfect in music and [with] a charming manner.'

⁴² c.1702 Verz; 'I fear, however, that His Serene Highness will hardly let the question of her leaving here be discussed, although she has already rather impertinently requested her release.'

⁴³Pfeilsticker, 934, Maria Dorothea née Fischer, daughter of the *Altist* Andreas Fischer, Pez describes her as being "schon ein alte dienerin" (already having served for a long time).

died on 1 July 1707⁴⁴ and was replaced by the former choirboy J. C.

Arnold, appointed through a decree of 21 March 1710.⁴⁵

Of the lower voices, the tenor Johann Georg Schmidtbaur remained and the court secretary Höflein replaced Michael Reiff who had been released in 1709.⁴⁶ While the 1702 register gives the names of three *Baßisten*, by January 1714 Pez had only one bass at his disposal, Giovanni Maria Ricci. However, Ricci was soon joined by the imperial notary Johann Franz Wagner, as the 1715 *Consignation* mentioned earlier attests.⁴⁷

In his comments on each vocalist Pez seemed generally happy with the quality of voices available to him:

Kornbakhin . . . Singt sehr wohl
 Schmidtbaürin⁴⁸ . . . singt in gleichem sehr wohl
 Scherlizkin⁴⁹ . . . Hat ein rechte *admirable voce di petto*, und wird
 noch ein guthe singerin werden.
 Gabrielis . . . hat ein sehr guthe Alt stim, singt guth
 Arnold . . . Singt ein guthen Alt
 Secretari Höflein . . . ist ein guthe *Tenorist*
 Schmidtbaur . . . ist ein guthe *Tenorist*

⁴⁴Pfeilsticker, 919.

⁴⁵Pfeilsticker, 914, see also 936.

⁴⁶Pfeilsticker, 907.

⁴⁷1715 *Consignation*.

⁴⁸Pfeilsticker, 936, Johanna Schmidtbaur, the daughter of the *Tenor* Johann Georg Schmidtbaur; sometime in 1715-16 she married the *Kanzlist* Christoph David Rueff.

⁴⁹Pfeilsticker, 946, Susanna Margaretha Scharnizgin, the daughter of a Guard cavalryman.

Ricci . . . ist ein sehr guther welscher *Baßist*.⁵⁰

The 1715 *Lista* gives us the additional information that "Arnold altist" was "zu gleich *Copist* und *instructor* von der *Scharnizqin*" (1715 *Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 451-452).⁵¹

However, despite the fact that this group was of a consistently high standard Pez obviously desired a greater number of singers. The first of the six points he discussed at the end of the 1714 *Lista* highlighted this need:

Vocalisten haben wür so wenig, das wür just, ein *quator* mit seiner *Ripien* in der *Hofcappella* khönnen besetzen, solte aber ein oder der ander Krankh werden, so dises auch nicht geschehen, das mann als nur mit 2: oder 3: etwas machen khan, welches ja für eine so vornembe Hochfürstl: *Cappella* nicht anständig ist, und oft gezwungen, auß denen *Instrumentisten* alle hervor zu suchen, was nur singen khan, wann ich andst alle *Stimen* besetzten will.⁵²

It is obvious from this paragraph that music performed by the *Hofkapelle* for court church services normally required the vocalists to divide into a group of soloists and their accompanying ripienists. Judging from the

⁵⁰1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Kornbackhin [Kornbeckin]. . . sings very well; Schmidtbaurin [Johanna Dorothea Sibylla Schmidtbaur] . . . sings also very well; Scherlizkin [S. M. Scharnizgin] . . . has a proper admirable chest voice and should become a good singer; Gabrielis . . . has a very good alto voice, sings well; Arnold . . . sings a good alto; Secretary Höflein . . . sings a good tenor; Schmidtbaur . . . is a good tenor; Ricci . . . is a very good Italian bass.'

⁵¹1715 *Lista*; 'Arnold alto, at the same time copyist and teacher of Scharnizgin [Scharnizgin].'

⁵²1714 Pez *Lista*; 'We have so few vocalists, that we can fill exactly a quartet with its ripieno in the *Hofkapelle*, however, should one or the other be sick, it shouldn't have to occur that one has to make do with only two or three, as this is not decent enough for such a distinguished Most Princely Chapel, and it is often necessary to get those instrumentalists who can sing when I want to have all the voices.'

rates of salary the four soloists would have been Kornbeckin, Gabrielis, Höflein, and Ricci. This section is echoed by J. S. Bach over sixteen years later in his *Entwurf einer wohlbestallten Kirchenmusik* (1730) when he wrote

Zu jeweden *musicalischen Chor* gehören wenigstens 3 *Sopranisten*, 3 *Alisten*, 3 *Tenoristen*, und eben so viel *Baßisten*, damit, so etwa einer unpaß wird (wie denn sehr offte geschieht, und besonders bey itziger Jahres Zeit, da die *recepte*, so von dem Schul *Medico* in die Apothecke verschreiben werden, es ausweisen müssen) wenigstens eine 2 *Chörigte Motette* gesungen werden kan. (NB. Wiewohn es noch beßer, wenn der *Coetus* so beschaffen wäre, daß mann zu jeder Stimme 4 *subjecta* nehmen, und also jeden *Chor* mit 16. Persohnen bestellen könnte.)⁵³

Although the differences between the two establishments, at Stuttgart and Leipzig, were considerable⁵⁴, the similarities highlight the difficulties encountered by eighteenth-century *Kapellmeister* attempting to make-do with an insufficient number of performers. While Bach wanted three of each voice part so that he could be sure of having every part in a double motet covered by one singer, Pez was obviously in a worse position—with only two singers per part available at the best of times.

⁵³W. Neumann and H.-J. Schulze, *Bach Dokumente I: Schriftstücke von der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Kassel, 1963), 60; translation from H. T. David and A. Mendel, *The Bach Reader* (New York, 1966), 121; 'Every musical choir should contain at least 3 sopranos, 3 altos, 3 tenors, and as many basses, so that even if one happens to fall ill (as very often happens, particularly at this time of year [August], as the prescriptions written by the school physician for the apothecary must show) at least a double-chorus motet may be sung. (N. B. Though it would be better still if the classes were such that one could have 4 singers on each part and thus could perform every chorus with 16 persons.)', see also J. Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus", *MT* 123 (1982), 747-754; Robert L. Marshall, "Bach's Chorus: A preliminary reply to Joshua Rifkin", *MT* 124 (1983), 19-22; and J. Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus: A response to Robert Marshall", *MT* 124 (1983), 161-2.

⁵⁴J. S. Bach's employer was the town council of Leipzig, rather than a ducal court.

Pez mentioned that if necessary he would utilize those instrumentalists who knew how to sing, but his *Lista* mentions only G. C. Bleßner in this capacity: "Bleßner . . . Streicht ein sehr guthes *Violin*, blast auch ein sehr guthe *Houtbois*, Fletten, und *clarinet*, und wanns die noth erfordt, so last er sich auch in der Hof Cappellen zum *Baß* singen brauchen, ist ein sehr fleißiger diener."⁵⁵

The role of singers also included participation in another of the standard functions of the *Hofkapelle*, that of chamber music. According to Pez one of the main requirements of a chamber singer was a knowledge of a variety of languages, whereas the ordinary choir vocalists presumably only needed to understand Latin and German. In fact, Pez stated that there were only two *Musici* who could be used for chamber music:

"Wann eine *Camer Music* ist, so haben wür nur zwey auß den *vocalisten*, nemblich den *Ricci*, und Höflein, so welsch oder französisch singen khönnen."⁵⁶

This is an echo of the earlier entry on J. C. Höflein, who could sing "so wohl welsch, francösisch, lateinisch, alß teutsch . . ." ⁵⁷ Luckily for Pez he had an extra resource in this area—he was able to use his daughter, Maria Anna Franziska. After listing the musicians of the *Hofkapelle* Pez added the following entry:

⁵⁵1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Bleßner . . . bows a very good violin, blows as well a very good oboe, recorders, and clarinet, and when necessity requires it, he can also be used to sing bass in the *Hofkapelle* when needed, is a very diligent servant.'

⁵⁶1714 Pez *Lista*; 'When a chamber music is held, then we have only two of the vocalists, namely Ricci and Höflein, who can sing in Italian or French.'

⁵⁷1714 Pez *Lista*; 'in Italian, French, Latin as well as German.'

Von meine tochter will ich nicht vülen, welche schon etlich jahr hero gedient, in der *Camer Music* oft 2: Stund geßungen, wie seye ihr dann getraut (ohne rheuen zu welchen) welsch, francösisch, und Lateinisch zu singen, auch das seye ihr davon haben solle, und doch den geringsten pfennig darvon nicht empfangen, verhoffet aber mit einem allernädigstem aug angesehen zu werden.⁵⁸

We do not know if Anna Maria Franziska received any payment as a result of this plea.

As mentioned earlier, when first appointed to the position of *Rath und Oberkapellmeister* in 1706 Pez's salary included payment for not only his daughter, but also for his personal copist, Anthonj Meister. But presumably with the reductions, which apparently took place in 1709 and 1711, his wage was cut back, for in 1714 no allowance was made for the service of these two individuals.

The main function of the singers was to perform as part of the court church services and the 1714 *Lista* informs us that the tenor J. G. Schmidtbaur held the position of *Kantor*. The exact meaning of the term in this context is difficult to establish. It does not seem to have indicated the traditional role of a *Kantor* in the Lutheran church—which involved not only directing the music, but also acting as the head of an educational institution connected to the church. The term obviously implied different duties in a court setting, especially as in 1714 there were only

⁵⁸1714 Pez *Lista*; 'I don't want much for my daughter, but as she has actually already served for a year, often singing for two hours as part of the chamber music, as she can be trusted (without minding which) to sing in Italian, French, and Latin, so that she should gain something from this, and as she doesn't receive the slightest penny, I hope that Your Most Gracious Eyes see this happening.'

two so-called choirboys to instruct (and one was, in fact, Schmidtbaur's own son).

It is possible that Schmidtbaur led the congregation and choir in the performance of psalms—which played a major part in the Lutheran court church service. Walter Blankenburg notes that Johann Ulrich Sultzberger (1638-1701), the editor of four Bern songbooks (1680-1697) which consist of arrangements of psalm tunes, "put all the melodies in the tenor part, including those of the seventeen Goudimel settings with discant cantus firmus." Sultzberger explained the reason for his choice of voice parts with the following statement: "Because the singing of a congregation is led by one man, and that is a tenor voice."⁵⁹ It certainly seems likely that this was the role played by Schmidtbaur and that, as *Kantor*, he also supervised and rehearsed the choir.

The situation was remarkably similar to that at the Weimar court during J. S. Bach's time there. A document which lists the members of the *Hofkapelle* at Weimar dated 1 December 1716 includes the following entries:

29. <i>Concertmeister und Hoforganist</i> ,	Johann Sebastian Bach
30. <i>Secret: u. Tenoriste</i>	Aiblinger
31. <i>Tenorist u. Hof Cantor</i>	Döbernitz
32. <i>Hof Cantor u. Bassist auch</i>	
<i>Coll: quint:</i>	Alt ⁶⁰

⁵⁹Walter Blankenburg, "Church Music in Reformed Europe", in *Protestant Church Music. A History*, ed. Friedrich Blume (New York, 1974), 557.

⁶⁰Werner Neuman and Hans-Joachim Schulze (eds.), *Bach-Dokumente Band II: Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs 1685-1750* (Kassel &c., 1969), 63; 'Concertmaster and court organist—Johann Sebastian

Perhaps in this case the two *Kantoren*, one a tenor and the other a bass, took turns, depending on the musical setting. It is also noteworthy that among the Weimar musicians there was the equivalent of Johann Christoph Höflein: Aiblinger, a tenor who was also employed as a *Secretarius*, perhaps indicating that this may not have been an unusual practice, especially for smaller courts.

As the majority of the singers did not sing as part of chamber or table music, it is not surprising that a number of the male singers were also used as instrumentalists. Pez made this clear in his description of each singer:

Gabrielis . . . hat ein sehr gute Alt stim, singt guth, und streicht auch ein gutes *Violin*, den ich beneben allezeit bey einer *instrumental Music* gebrauch.

Arnold . . . Singt ein guten Alt, . . . geigt auch darbey ein Brätschen.

Schmidtbour . . . ist ein guter *Tenorist* . . . geigt auch ein *Violin*.⁶¹

Schwartzkopff began his report on the state of the *Hofkapelle* in May 1717 (1717 Schw 27/v, see Appendix A, pages 462-470) in the customary manner with a description of the vocalists (see Table 5.1).

Bach; Secretary and Tenor—Aiblinger; Tenor and Court *Kantor*—Döbernitz; Court *Kantor* and Bass, as well as *Coll: quint:—Alt.*

⁶¹1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Gabrielis has a very good alto voice, sings well, and also plays the violin well, for which use I need him all the time in instrumental music; Arnold sings a good alto, copies, and is tireless in that, fiddles the viola as well; Schmidtbour is a good tenor, fiddles the violin.'—the use of the verb *geigen* (to fiddle) for Arnold and Schmidtbour indicates that they weren't particularly good at playing, while for Gabrielis the term *streichen* is used, implying a higher standard of performance.

Table 5.1 1717 Schwartzkopff, Vocalists employed in the Hofkapelle (from 1717 Schw 27/v).

<i>Discantisten</i>	<i>Altisten</i>	<i>Tenoristen</i>	<i>Baßisten</i>
Ruffin	Gabrielis	Höflein	Ricci
Kornbeckin	Arnold	Schmidtbour	Bleßner
Schmidtbour			
Scharnizgin			

The main difference between these numbers and those described by Pez in 1714 is the addition of a soprano. Johanna Ruffin was now joined by her sister, Christina Louisa Schmidtbour.

Schwartzkopff listed Georg Christoph Bleßner among the basses, stating that he "*singt einen starken Bass, mittelmäßiger Manier, tractirt Auch eine feine Violin, Fleut und Hautbois, so wohlen in der Cappell, alß beÿ denen Camer, und Taffel Musiquen*"⁶², whereas Störl included him amongst the list of instrumentalists: "*Bleßner Spielt eine gute Violin, Blaßt eine Hautbois und Flöte, läßt sich auch in der Capell zu den teutschen Stucken alß ein Bassist gebrauchen*" (1717 Störl 19/v, see Appendix A, pages 453-459).⁶³

The overall standard of the singers probably remained much the same as in Pez's time. Ruffin in particular must have had a very fine voice, as Schwartzkopff stated that she was the best of the female singers, and Störl

⁶²1717 Schw 29/v; 'sings a strong bass, [in a] mediocre manner, also plays a fine violin, recorder, and oboe, in the chapel, as well as for chamber and table music.'

⁶³1717 Störl 19/v; 'Bleßner plays a good violin, plays an oboe and recorder, is able to be used in the chapel as a bass singer for German pieces.'

remarked that she possessed "die beste Stim beÿ der *Capell*."⁶⁴ Störl was of the opinion that the voice of Frau Kornbeckin was somewhat weak and both men agreed on the quality of Susanna Margaretha Scharnizgin's voice, with Schwartzkopff commenting that she had "eine starke, helle, und nahe *discant*-stim"⁶⁵, while Störl wrote that she "hat eine starke stim, gleichsam Wie eine *Trompett* so hell und laut . . ." ⁶⁶ In Störl's opinion Scharnizgin was still in need of further musical training and Schwartzkopff agreed with this, writing that she was finding it difficult to reach the standard where "sie ein Stuck *extempore* wird singen . . ." ⁶⁷

The two *Altisten* remained from the time of Pez and were still prized members of the *Hofkapelle* according to Schwartzkopff and Störl. Both continued to be of use as instrumentalists: Gabrielis "spielt eine feine *Violin*, kan auch beÿ der taffel *Music* gebraucht worden" and Arnold "streicht eine *Bratcha*, kan auch beÿ taffel und *Camer Musique* mit spiehlen . . ." ⁶⁸ In addition Arnold acted as a copyist and a comment made by Schwartzkopff helps to explain the reason for his low rate of salary, which was described by Pez in 1714 as 150 *Gulden* (well under the ordinary rate of 247 *Gulden*): "Joh. Christian Arnold, ein Castrat, Hat zwar keine so gar guthe *Alt*-stim, und *Manieren*, läst sich aber darneben auch zur *Viol*, und alß ein *Copist* gebrauchen, ist *obligat*, weilen er alß

⁶⁴1717 Störl 19/v; 'the best voice in the chapel.'

⁶⁵1717 Schw 27/v; 'a strong, bright, and limited descant voice.'

⁶⁶1717 Störl 19/v; 'has a strong voice, similar to a trumpet, bright and loud . . .'

⁶⁷1717 Schw 27/v; 'she would be able to sing a piece *extempore*.'

⁶⁸1717 Störl 19/v; 'Gabrielis 'plays a fine violin, can also be used for table music'; Arnold 'plays a viola, can also play as part of table and chamber music.'

ein noch Kleiner, und Eltern laßer Knab, in die Cappell auf genommen worden."⁶⁹ Other musicians who acted as copyists for the *Hofkapelle* at this time included Anthony Meister, Zahn, and the two choirboys Mayer and Schmidtbour.⁷⁰

The tenors also remained from 1714. Johann Christoph Höflein, who was proficient in the Italian style and used "besonders beÿ den *Camer Musiquen*"⁷¹ in addition to maintaining his position as *Secretarius* with the ducal *Rentkammer*. The other tenor, Johann Georg Schmidtbour, had a particularly fine voice and Pez's description of him as "Cantor" in 1714 is further enlightened by Schwartzkopff and Störl's use of the same phrase—claiming that he "führt den *choral*" and "führt den *Coral* in Hfrstl. Hoff-Capell"⁷² (see page 154ff).

Schwartzkopff's entry for the principal vocal bassist at the Württemberg court at this time, Giovanni Maria Ricci, is particularly revealing in relation to the problems of a Protestant court which employed Catholic musicians: "*Giovanne Maria Ricci*, ein Italianer, singt einen schönen *Bass*, besonders beÿ den *Camer Musiquen*, weilen er aber nicht wohl

⁶⁹1717 Schw 27/v; 'Joh. Christian Arnold, a castrato. None other has such a good voice and manner, [he] is able to be used on the viola and as a copyist, [he] is obligated [to do these services] because as small and parentless boy, he was taken in by the chapel', no doubt Arnold's parentless status at an early age was the reason for his castration, certainly by the time Charles Burney visited Württemberg in the 1770s he could note that the court had "in its service two Bologna surgeons, expert in this vocal manufacture", along with fifteen castrati, *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands and United Provinces* (London, 1775), 107.

⁷⁰1717 Schw 27/v and 1717 Störl 19/v.

⁷¹1717 Schw 27/v; 'especially for chamber music.'

⁷²1717 Störl 19/v; 'leads the *choral*'; 1717 Schw 27/v; 'leads the *choral* in the ducal court chapel.'

Teütsch singen kan, auch Catholische *Religion* ist, und dahero öffters über Feld in seine Kirch geht, alß kann er nicht beständig, und jedesmahlen in der Cappell gebraucht werden."⁷³

The Catholic musicians presumably attended mass in the same "benachbarten Dorff" (neighbouring village) that had been mentioned in the *Staat und Ordnung* of J. C. Pez in 1711, which probably accounts for the use of the phrase "über Feld in seiner Kirch." (over the field to his church). Ricci was not the only one to be specifically referred to in this way. Not surprisingly Francesco Venturini also "bleibt aber öffters von der Cappell *Music*, wan er alß ein *Catholique* seiner Kirche besucht." La Rose "besucht aber öffters die Catholische Kirch, und versaumet mithin die Cappell *Music*", while the German, Johann Wilhelm Lumpe, "geht aber alß ein *Catholique* in seine Kirch, und komt dahero nicht in die Cappell."⁷⁴ Anthonÿ Meister was also specifically referred to by Schwartzkopff as a Catholic who "komt aber selten zur Cappell *Music*."⁷⁵

One does not receive the impression that these men were forbidden to attend their own church service. Eberhard Ludwig was known for his religious tolerance and possibly the musicians also had a clause included in their contracts which allowed them to do this, as *Oberkapellmeister*

⁷³1717 Schw 27/v; 'Giovanni Maria Ricci, an Italian, sings a beautiful bass, especially as part of chamber music, however because he cannot sing German very well, and is also of the Catholic religion, he frequently goes over the field to his church, therefore he cannot be used constantly, and everytime in the chapel.'

⁷⁴1717 Schw 27/v; Venturini 'however often stays away from the chapel music, when he, as a Catholic, attends his own church'; La Rose 'however, often visits the Catholic church, and neglects/misses the chapel music'; Lumpe 'however goes as a Catholic to his church, and because of that doesn't come to the chapel.'

⁷⁵1717 Schw 27/v; 'comes seldom to the chapel music.'

Pez had in 1711. Störl makes no mention of these absences and Schwartzkopff merely mentions the situation rather matter-of-factly.

Another musician who was referred to as not attending the music in the court chapel was Johann Frohmaÿer. Originally appointed in 1674 as a *Discantist*, he retired in 1708⁷⁶ and continued to receive a pension which stood at 150 *Gulden* in 1715.⁷⁷ However, it seems that he was brought out of his retirement—Schwartzkopff's entry on him explains: "Joh.

Frohmeÿer ein *Castrat*, ist vor 40. Jahren in die Hoff Cappell angenommen worden, genüßt aber dermahlen nur ein leibgeding, und *Dirigirt* seit ettlichen Jahren auf Hfrstl: Gdgste Verordnung, die *Music* in der Stiffts Kirch, dahero er nimer in die Hoff Cappell komt."⁷⁸

As can be seen from this discussion the vocalists in employment at the Württemberg court consisted largely of ordinary German singers. They performed at church services together with a selection of *Kapellknaben*, until the latter were replaced entirely by female sopranos around the first decade of the eighteenth century. In addition to these musicians a number of virtuosi were also employed to sing expressly for the royal family as part of chamber music performances.

⁷⁶Pfeilsticker, 919.

⁷⁷Sittard I, 94.

⁷⁸1717 Schw 27/v; 'Joh. Frohmeÿer, a castrato, was taken into the *Hofkapelle* forty years ago, however he enjoys only a pension at present, and has directed for quite a number of years the music in the *Stiftskirche*, following an order by His Royal Highness, and because of this he never comes to the court chapel.'

The Instruments of the 'Hofkapelle'

The period around the turn of the eighteenth century saw the instrumentarium of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* expand in both size and variety. The 1684 rules announce that the *Hofmusici* could be ordered to learn particular instruments and the increased importance of woodwind instruments during the 1680s, undoubtedly due to the significant developments in instrument-making which occurred in France around this time, can be seen in the following statement:

7. Que tous cuex, qui jouent du Hautbois ou flutte douce ou fagots, sans qu'aucun s'en exempte, s'exercent diligermment à enjouer; Et les garçons de la Chapelle seront diligement informés dans ces sortes d'Instrumens . . . ¹

7. Sollen alle die Jenigen, welche sonsten blasende *Instrument tractiret*, insonderheit aber die fräntzoßen, der Junge Magg, Schurkhardt, Doekh, und die Trompeter, auff denen *Hautbois* sich *exerciren*, der Kreß darbey den *Fagott* blasen, die Capellknaben darauff *informirt*, und fürauß beständig ein paar dergleichen angenahmenen werden, die *profession* von der *Music* machen sollen, und Cräften haben die *Hautbois* zur tractiren.²

¹1684 Rules; '7. That all those who play oboe, recorder, or bassoon, without any exceptions, must practise their playing diligently. And the boys of the chapel; will be diligently instructed in these sorts of instruments . . . '

²1684 Rules; '7. All of those who formerly played wind instruments shall practise the oboe, however especially the Frenchmen, the young [Felix] Magg, [Hans Conrad] Schuckhardt, Doekh [Johann Philipp Dock], and the trumpeters, with [?Paul] Kreß playing along on the bassoon; the choirboys must be told about this and a couple of them will be taken into service as professional musicians if they have the strength to blow the oboe.'

The differences between these two versions are interesting to say the least. The German excerpt demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the members of the *Kapelle* (listing individual names) but only mentions the oboe and one bassoonist, while on the other hand the French text includes the recorder as well. Whatever these differences imply it is certain that these woodwinds were considered to be of great importance—similarly the desire for a pair of skilled oboists to become permanent members of the *Hofkapelle*. Particularly interesting is the assumption that playing the oboe took a certain amount of force, of such a degree that it was considered worthy of comment. But by the time Kusser's *Staat und Ordnung* as *Oberkapellmeister* was written in 1700 the French woodwind instruments whose relative novelty in 1684 made them worthy of comment had become standard members of the instrumentarium and no longer receive any special attention (1700 Kusser *S&O*, see Scholz, pages 233-238).

It appears that most of the musical instruments played by the *Hofmusici* belonged to the court and often a special *Instrument-Verwalter* was appointed to take charge of their overall maintenance: "Mit denen *Musicalische Instrumenten* Solle . . . ein jeder schon Umbgehen, und Sorge tragen, d. daran nichts verdorben werden möge, wiedeigenfalß Er Unß daß schaden zu ersetzen schuldig sein, und wir Ihme den Belauff von seiner Besoldung abzuziehen laßen wollen."³

³1711 HM *S&O*; 'With the musical instruments, one of the above [*Hofmusici*] who already knows how to handle them and take care of them, should see to it that none of them are ruined and that in the case of this happening that he be responsible for this damage and repair it, and we are allowed to deduct this amount from the guilty person's salary.'

In addition to furthering our knowledge of the number and nature (vocal and instrumental) of musicians at the Württemberg court a selection of archival documents dating from between 1714-1718 provide detailed information regarding the types of instruments and their use within the context of the *Hofkapelle* at this time.

The *Instrumentarium* in 1714

An official report on the state of the *Hofkapelle* written by Pez and entitled "Lista Der gantzem Württembergl: Hochfürstl: *Musicorum*, was die für Besoldungen, und Qualitäten haben" (dated 14 January 1714), throws greater light upon the subject than any previous document (1714 Pez *Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 443-450).⁴ Having listed the vocalists Pez continued with the heading "Folgen die *Instrumentisten*" (The instrumentalists follow). After the main *Hofmusici*, Pez named the two horn-players whom he obviously considered separately from the *Hofkapelle*.

Pez also made a further division within the ranks of the "*Instrumentisten*": between those who played predominantly melody instruments and those who belonged to the basso continuo section. This situation reflects the common organization of large musical establishments throughout Europe at the time and can be traced back at least as far as Agostino Agazzari's *Del sonare sopra il basso* (1607).⁵ Pez

⁴1714 *Lista*; 'List of the entire royal Württemberg musical establishment, what they receive as salary and their qualities', 'Stuttgart, 15 January 1714.' See Appendix A, pages 443-450.

⁵See Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: The Baroque Era* (New York, 1965), 64-71.

listed four names separately under the heading "Wegen die zum *Baß* gehorig" (Regarding those who belong to the *Bass* [section]):

La Rose	French <i>Baß</i> , violin
Aegidius Mühlhäuser	violone, bassoon, bass recorder
Eberlen	violone, bassoon
Grott	violoncello

Apart from these four men Pez recorded the names and abilities of a main body of sixteen instrumentalists who were each capable of performing on a variety of instruments. Members of this larger group who played bass instruments (Venturini, violoncello; Seidel, violone; Fenchel, viola da gamba; Gumprecht, lute and theorbo; Sigmund Castenbauer, string *Baß*; Glockhart, French *Baß*) must have been called on to do so only occasionally in specific circumstances. This information is summarized in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 1714 Pez, Performance Capabilities of members of the Württemberg Instrumental-Musique (from 1714 Pez Lista).

<i>Name of Musician</i>	<i>Instruments</i>
Gumprecht	lute, theorbo
Venturini	violin, violoncello
J. E. Hildenbrand	oboe, recorders, violin
J. Nicolaus Nicolai	recorders, flute, oboe, harpsichord
Seidel	organ, violone
Freudenberg	violin, recorders, oboe, flute, harpsichord
F. A. M. Pez	violin, viola d'amore, <i>viola da braccio</i> , clarinet
Fenchel	trumpet, violin, viola da gamba
G. A. Krefß	violin, viola d'amore, <i>viola da braccio</i> , recorders
Glockhart	violin, oboe, recorders, French <i>Baß</i>
Bleißner	violin, oboe, recorders, clarinet
G. C. Hildenbrand	violin, <i>Discant</i> , viola
Antony Meister	violin, <i>Discant</i> , viola, clarinet
Zahn	violin, viola, recorders, keyboard [<i>Clavier</i>]
S. Castenbauer	violin, viola, bassoon, string <i>Baß</i>
Schwahn	kettledrum, violin, viola

These details provide interesting statistics regarding the structure and composition of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* at this time. As might be expected the violin was the most common instrument, being played by fourteen instrumentalists and also by two of the vocalists; Gabrielis and

the *Kantor* J. G. Schmidt baur. Other string instruments mentioned by Pez as being in use at the court were the viola, identified through the use of the term "Brätschen" and played by five instrumentalists (all of whom also performed on the violin) and the *Altist* Arnold.

It doesn't appear to have been an accepted convention for the average German *Hofmusicus* to play both the violin (or any other shoulder-held string instrument) and the violoncello (or any other knee-held bass string instrument), whereas this was normal practice for two minorities within the *Hofkapelle*. The first of these were foreign musicians at the court, who in 1714 consisted of just two people: Francesco Venturini, an Italian who played violin and violoncello, and the Frenchman La Rose on violin and the French *Baß*.

The second group were former members of *Hautboisten Banden* whose training must have included a broader range of instrumental skills than that of the average German court musician. The two men who fall into this category are J. M. Glockhart, whom Pez listed as a violinist and a French *Baß* player, and Sigmund Castenbauer, who also played the violin and an unspecified string *Baß*, probably the French *Baß*.

According to the *Dienerbuch* Glockhart had come from Saxony in c.1704-5 to be an *Hautboist* in the Württemberg Grenadier Cavalry Regiment.⁶ Castenbauer had likewise been employed earlier as an *Hautboist*, in the Württemberg *Leibgarde Regiment zu Fuß*. In 1706 on the occasion of his marriage to Maria Barbara Schreiner in Neuenstein he was officially described as "Hautboist und Feldmusik" (military oboist and field

⁶Pfeilsticker, 897.

musician).⁷ Another musician with a similar background was G. M. Fenchel, who as a trumpeter had possibly been trained as a military musician—he also played the violin and viola da gamba.⁸

Pez mentions that his son, Franz Anton Maximilian Pez, and Georg Albrecht Kreß both played the viola d'amore. This instrument was popular during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and a number of times Pez included it in the instrumentation of his own compositions.⁹ Johann Mattheson punningly characterized it as "Die verliebte *Viola d'Amore*" (The amorous *Viola d'Amore*) and described it with the following words: "Ihr Klang ist *argentin* oder silbern, dabey überaus angenehm und lieblich. Nur ist Schade, daß ihr Gebrauch nicht grösser seyn soll."¹⁰

In the 1714 *Lista* G. Christoph Hildenbrand is described in the following terms: "... streicht ein *paßables violin, discant*, und Brätschen, ist darbey ein 26: jährigen diener, und verricht seine dienst *punctual*."¹¹ In this case the use of the word "discant" must refer merely to the range of the violin—that is Hildenbrand played both the normal treble instrument

⁷Pfeilsticker, 889.

⁸On the other hand it is also possible that Fenchel was well-educated, given that he worked in the chancellory, not to mention the aristocratic connotations of playing the viola da gamba.

⁹For example, his *Ouverture . . . a 8 part in F* for flute or violin, two flutes, viola, three viola d'amore, and basso continuo (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII: 38¹⁰).

¹⁰Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713) Part III, Chapter III, §19, 282-283; 'Its tone is silvery or silver, and overall pleasant and lovely. It is only a pity, that it should not be in greater usage.'

¹¹1714 *Lista*; 'bows the violin tolerably, *discant*, and violas, is along with that a servant of twenty-six years and carries out his duties punctually.'

(which Praetorius describes as the "Rechte *Discant-Geige*" [the usual treble violin]¹²) and the viola. The same phrase is used for the next musician listed, Anthony Meister, who "streicht eine guthes *Violin*, *Discant*, und Brätschen . . .", but in the entries for the following two men "*discant*" is omitted:

Zahn . . . Streicht ein guthes *Violin*, und Brätschen . . .

Sigmund . . . streicht ein guthes *Violin*, und Brätschen . . . ¹³

Pez probably considered it unnecessary to repeat the exact definition for Zahn and Sigmund Castenbauer, having already done so twice earlier.

The only viol played at the Württemberg court around 1714 was apparently the bass viola da gamba played by the trumpeter Fenchel. In fact, his position as the sole viola da gambist at the court seems to be the principal reason that he was so frequently employed with the *Hofkapelle*, especially for accompanying, despite his official status as a trumpeter.

Pez's entry on him reads: "Feinchl . . . ist ein Trompetter, und damit er sich beÿ der *Music* gebrauchen last, hat mann ihm die *addition* gegeben, geigt ein sehr guthes *Violin*, wie auch *viola da Gamba*, welchen ich überal beÿm *accompaniren* konnethen hab, ist gar ein fleißiger alter diener."¹⁴

¹² Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II*, from *Sciagraphia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620), Plate 21, ed. D. Z. Crookes (Oxford, 1986), 127.

¹³1714 *Lista*; 'Zahn plays the violin and violas well'; 'Sigmund [Castenbauer] plays the violin and violas well.'

¹⁴1714 *Pez Lista*; 'Feinchl [Fenchel] . . . is a trumpeter and along with that he is needed by the musical establishment, one has given to him a gratuity, [he] fiddles the violin very well, as well as viola da gamba, for which I can use him everywhere to accompany, [he] is really a diligent, old servant.'

It seems that the viol had fallen out of popularity in southern Germany around the turn of the eighteenth century, for Woodfield notes that "After the first decades of the seventeenth century, the traditions of viol consort playing suffered a marked decline in southern Germany . . . but in the North the influence of travelling English viol players and the popularity of English consort music (especially consort dances) ensured the survival of the instrument."¹⁵ This statement is confirmed by the fact that in 1662 the Stuttgart *Hofmusicus* Paul Kreß felt it was necessary to go to England in order to properly study the viola da gamba.¹⁶ The end of the seventeenth century saw the last works for viol consort composed in Germany. Music continued to be written for bass viol in a solo capacity, especially in northern Germany by such composers as Buxtehude, J. S. Bach, Telemann, C. F. Abel, Johannes Schenck, and C. P. E. Bach, although it is unclear whether a significant amount of viol playing occurred at the Stuttgart court during the early decades of the eighteenth century.¹⁷

In addition to Fenchel on the viola da gamba, a selection of performers on other bass string instruments were available to Pez. In fact, not counting the viola da gamba, three distinct kinds of bass string instruments are mentioned in the 1714 *Lista*: the French *Baß*, the *Violoncello*, and the *Violone*.

¹⁵Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), 195.

¹⁶Sittard I, 58.

¹⁷Lucy Robinson and Ian Woodfield, "Viol", *GroveMI*. One example of a work for viol consort is the set of twenty-four *Capriccios* for four viols and basso continuo by Johann Michael Nicolai (Württemberg court musician from 1656 until his death in 1685) published in Augsburg, 1675.

The former *Hautboist* Glockhart and the Frenchman La Rose both played the French *Baß*, while another *Hautboist*, Sigmund Castenbauer, was described as someone who "geigt den *Baß*" (fiddles the bass). The instrument in question was undoubtedly that which the French termed *Basse de Violon* and which was the lowest sounding instrument of their orchestra. Mary Cyr identifies the existence of two different types of *Basse de Violon* in France during the seventeenth century, firstly the more common variety which "was larger than the present day cello and had four strings, tuned in 5ths B^b-F-c-g" and secondly, a smaller five-stringed instrument which covered a wider range, being tuned C-G-d-a-d'.¹⁸ The instrument used at the Württemberg court was probably of the more common, four-stringed variety.

Only two musicians at the court played the violoncello and, significantly, both had connections with Italy. Francesco Venturini was of Italian origin and the court painter Grott had studied art there, presumably also taking the opportunity to further his skills in music at the same time. Pez's entry on Grott reads: "Grot . . . Streicht einen guthen *Violoncello*, ist auch darbey ein Hofmahlen, den Ihro Hochfürstl: Dhrtl: zu disem ende inß welschlandt geschekht haben, ist ein guther, und fleißiger diener."¹⁹ The fact that Pez found it necessary to use two separate terms in his 1714 report, namely French *Baß* and violoncello, may be taken as

¹⁸Mary Cyr, "*Basses and basse continue in the orchestra of the Paris Opéra 1700-1764*", *EM* 10 (1982), 158, she notes that Jean-Benjamin de La Borde (1734-1794) credited the introduction of the second, five-stringed type to "Père Tardieu de Tarascon" in his *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1780), i, 309.

¹⁹1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Grot . . . plays the violoncello well, in addition he is a court painter and for this reason he has been sent by Your Royal Highness to Italy, he is a good and diligent servant'; Pfeilsticker, 941, notes that "Er [Grott] erlernt die Malerei in Italien 1710 Juni ff. und ist in Turin 1. Aug. 1711."

sufficient evidence that he considered there to be a clear difference between the two instruments.

Given the strong influence of French music in Stuttgart, it is not at all surprising that the *Basse de Violon* played an important role in the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* during the seventeenth century.²⁰ On the other hand, the Italian violoncello was a relatively new introduction, having first appeared in Stuttgart around the turn of the eighteenth century, coinciding with a growth in interest in Italian culture generally. Contemporary German writings on music demonstrate that the situation at the Württemberg court was typical. Neither Daniel Speer's *Grundrichtiger Unterricht der musicalischen Kunst* (Ulm, 1697), nor Johann Beer's *Musicalische Discurse* (Nuremberg, 1719), both of southern German origin, make any mention of the violoncello.²¹ The *Basse de Violon* began to go out of fashion in France sometime during the first decade of the eighteenth century²² and this also appears to have been the case in Stuttgart. The Württemberg *Verzeichnis* of 1702 described two *Musici* as players of the French *Baß* (La Rose and Grüger), while the violoncello was only played by one man, the Italian Bartolemeo Rubini.

²⁰There is no doubt that it also played a major role in the instrumental music at other German courts—the series of illustrations published by J. C. Weigel, the *Musicalische Theatrum* (Nuremberg, c.1715-1725) includes an engraving of a "Violon" an instrument which looks slightly larger than a violoncello and is placed on the ground, rather than held by the knees. The accompanying text opens "Wann dorten Padua, mit seiner Gambe pranget, so leist ich bessre dienst mit meinem Violon . . ." (When there [in] Padua, is resplendent with his *Gambe*, I manage better service with my *Violon* . . .); the Dresden court, which was renowned for its francophile tastes, is also known to have used the *Basse de Violon*.

²¹See Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group, Players and Practices in his Vocal Works* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 250, fn. 13.

²²Mary Cyr, "Basses and basse continue", 158-160.

One year earlier, in 1701, an incident occurred which clearly shows that the violoncello had already begun to supersede the French *Baß*. The argument in question, recorded in a series of official files regarding complaints made against Rubini, involved primarily the *Hofmusici* Rubini and Gottfried Rumpus.²³ In 1699 Schwartzkopff had reported that the choirboy Rumpus had learnt to play "eine frantzösische Baß violon"²⁴ and so it was probably a natural progression that upon the appointment of Rubini in 1701, Rumpus requested permission from Duke Eberhard Ludwig to learn the violoncello.

In the files of the Privy Council the testimony of "Gottfried Reinhard Rumpus Musicus", given in January 1702, opens with the following statement: "wie die Herrschaft Ihm [Rumpus] erlaubt, dieses Instrument Violoncello zu lernen, und das Lehrgelt Ihme zu geben bewilligt, so habe Er sich auch um ein Instrument beworben, und als der Rubini sich selbst, da er des La Rose Instrument schon um 50 fl. gekauft hatte, zu dessen verkauff offerirt . . ." ²⁵ This appears to indicate that the instrument Schwartzkopff had described as a French *Baß Violon* in 1699 was either no longer in the possession of Rumpus or perhaps was merely not suitable for learning the violoncello. The latter seems more likely, given Rubini's submission to the court:

²³Reprinted in Scholz, 208-238.

²⁴1699 Schw Gut, Sittard I, 68.

²⁵Scholz, 229; 'as the rulers allowed him [Rumpus], to learn this instrument known as the violoncello and were willing to give him the money for lessons, he therefore asked around for an instrument. Then Rubini himself offered to sell his own instrument, as he had already bought the instrument of La Rose for around 50 *Gulden* . . .'

Sein Instrument Violoncello habe Ihn selbst in Italien 84 fl. gecostet, als er nun alhier einen Scholaren, nemlich den Musicum Rumpus bekommen, und derselbe auch ein aigen Instrument gehabt, und es umb 50 fl. geben wollen, weilen es aber nicht völlig von der Art wie das Seinige, und ein Scholar nicht darauff lernen könne, indem es Ihm etwas schwehr falle, darauff zu spiehlen, so habe Er es dem Rumpus nicht rathen können, doch aber aus Commiseration gegen disen Rumpus als einen armen Kerl sich endlich erbotten, das Instrument umb 60 fl. Ihme zu lassen, dargegen Er des la Rose Instrument um 50 fl. sich erkaufft.²⁶

Obviously the instrument which Rumpus owned originally had come from La Rose and was not really suitable for a pupil, being of a different style than a violoncello. This instrument was surely a French *Baß* which, larger in size, Rubini probably considered rather difficult to play, and not suitable for a student of the violoncello. However, the question remains—if the instrument was a French *Baß* why did Rubini want to purchase it? Perhaps he was hoping to cut it down in size, as many players did around this time, thus converting their *Basse de Violons* into the newly fashionable violoncello²⁷, or he may in fact have owned several violoncelli himself and was merely doing the "armen Kerl" (poor lad) Rumpus a favour by buying the unfashionable instrument off him.²⁸

²⁶Scholz 215-216; 'His [Rubini's] instrument, a violoncello, cost him personally 84 *Gulden* in Italy, as he has now got a pupil here, namely the musician Rumpus, and this same person also has his own instrument, for which is wanted around 50 *Gulden*, because it is not fully of the same kind as his [Rubini] and a pupil could not possibly learn on it, while he would find it rather difficult to play on it, therefore he had advised Rumpus against this, however out of commiseration for the poor lad had finally offered, to let him have his instrument at 60 *Gulden*, while on the other hand he would buy the instrument of La Rose for around 50 *Gulden*.'

²⁷Mary Cyr, *Basses and basse continue*, 158.

²⁸Scholz, 230. Difficulties arose out of the situation when, according to Rumpus, it was decided that the *Kapelle* would pay for the violoncello. Although Rumpus had been told

While the standard contemporary reference books do not mention the use of the term *Französische Baß*, it was not in use at Stuttgart alone. Georg Muffat differentiated between the "Violoncino" and "Basso Francese" in the Italian version of his Preface to his *Außerlesener Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701). In the German and French versions of this same introduction the term "Basso Francese" is translated as "einem frantzösischen Bassetl" and "une petite Basse à la Françoisie" respectively.²⁹

It should be noted that when many contemporary German writers (including Johann Mattheson, J. P. Eisel, and J. G. Walther) mentioned the term *Basse de Violon* they were actually referring to the double bass (*Violone*). Laurence Dreyfus ascribes this error to Sébastien de Brossard (1655-1730), who in his influential *Dictionnaire de Musique* (1703) described the *Violoncello* as a "Petite Basse de Violon", and the double bass as a "Basse de Violon."³⁰ In fact, as 8' *Basse de Violon* was the lowest-sounding string instrument in French orchestras at the time it is hardly surprising that Brossard used the term (as the nearest equivalent) to help explain to French readers the concept of a 16' instrument:

VIOLONE. C'est nôtre *Basse de Violon*, ou pour mieux dire, c'est une *Double Basse*, dont le corps & le manche sont à peu près deux fois plus grands que ceux de la *Basse de Violon* à l'ordinaire, dont les Chordes

that he could buy the violoncello for 50 *Gulden*, Rubini now informed the *Kapellmeister* the price was 60 *Gulden*. Rubini then threatened to go directly to the Duke and demand that he be reimbursed for the full price of the instrument, 84 *Gulden*, as the sum of 60 *Gulden* related only to the deal he had made with Rumpus.

²⁹Georg Muffat, *Außerlesene Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701), ed. E. Luntz, DTÖ 23, XI/2 (Graz, 1959), 8, 12, and 21.

³⁰Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo: Players and Practices in his Vocal Works* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 139.

sont aussi à peu près plus longues & plus grosses deux fois que celles de la Basse de Violon, & le Son par conséquent est *une Octave* plus bas que celui des *Basses de Violon* ordinaires. Cela fait un effet tout charmant dans les accompagnemens, & dans les grands Choeurs, & je suis fort surpris que l'usage n'ens soit pas plus frequent en France.³¹

Because of this confusion a more likely candidate for the seventeenth-century French *Basse de Violon* in the writings of some German theorists is the *Bassa Viola*. In 1713 Mattheson mentioned this term in a discussion of three separate, but similar, bass string instruments in his *Neu-eröffnete Orchestre*: "Der **hervorragende Violoncello**, die *Bassa Viola* und *Viola di Spala*, sind kleine Bass-Geigen in Vergleichung der grössern mit 5 auch wol 6. Sayten worauff man mit leichter Arbeit als auff den grossen *Machinen* allerhand geschwinde Sachen, *Variationes* und Mannieren machen kan . . . "32

Numerous writers followed Mattheson's example and repeated his paragraph almost word for word. One of these repetitions does in fact go further in its explanation of the *Bassa Viola*: in 1738 J. P. Eisel wrote the following short section: "Was ist die *Bassa Viola* vor ein *Instrument*? Die *Bassa Viola* ist ebenfalls eine Art einer kleinen Baß-Geige und

³¹Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique* (1703; Paris, 1705; facsim. Hilversum, 1965), 221, 'VIOLONE. It is our *Basse de Violon*, or more accurately, it is a *Double Bass* whose body and neck is approximately twice as large as those of the ordinary *Basse de Violon*, and whose strings are also about twice as long and thick as those of the *Basse de Violon*. The sound is consequently an octave lower than that of ordinary *Basse de Violons*. That produces a charming effect in orchestral pieces and in large choruses, and I am very surprised that it is not used more frequently in France.'

³²Johann Mattheson, *Neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713), 285; 'The noteworthy violoncello, the bass viola and viola di spala, are small bass fiddles (in comparison with larger types with five or even six strings, on which one can play fast things, ornaments, and embellishments with less effort than on the big machines.'

sonderlich unter den *delicaten* Frantzosen sehr gemein."³³ Eisel appears to be describing the *Basse de violon* and it is likely that the Germans thought of the term *Bassa Viola* as a possible Italian equivalent of *Basse de Violon*. On the other hand, it is probable that *Basso Viola* was merely a generic term used to indicate any bass string instrument used in a basso continuo group.³⁴

Further evidence in favour of the *Bassa Viola* being a term to describe the French *Basse de Violon* can be found in the former Württemberg music collection now in the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, where the phrase *Bassa Viola* appears on music by such composers as Matthias Nicolaus Stulyck³⁵, G. A. Brescianello³⁶, and J. C. Pez. While a large number of the works by Pez in the Rostock collection merely utilize the all-inclusive term "Basso Continuo" to describe the accompanying group, the words "Basso-Viola" (or a near equivalent, for example *Basso Violon*) appear either on the title-page or parts of seven pieces and four of those specify "con Cembalo" as well.³⁷ In one of these works, a set of *Pieces pour la*

³³J. P. Eisel, *Musicus Autodidaktus* (Erfurt, 1738), 45; 'What kind of an instrument is the *Bassa Viola*? The *Bassa Viola* is actually a type of small stringed-bass and is very common among the delicate French in particular.'

³⁴See also Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo* and Tharald Borgir, *The Performance of the Basso Continuo in Italian Baroque Music* (Ann Arbor, 1987).

³⁵For example, his "Sonata à 3, 2 Flut-Traversieres e Viola Basso. Con Cembalo" in G major (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII: 59²⁶ & 1), for further information on Stulyck see Chapter 7, fn. 17.

³⁶His "Ouverture Gb à Violino Primo et Transport; Violino al Unisono, Violino Secondo, Viola Braccio, Basso Viola Con Basso Continuo . . ." (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:94).

³⁷Appearing on title-pages: "1 Basso Violon è Cembalo" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38⁶), "1 Basso Viola con Cembalo" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹¹), "1 Basso Viola con Cembalo" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹³), "1 Basso Viola Con Cembalo" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁴), and on instrumental parts: "Basso Viola" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁸),

Musique de table, the *Bassa Viola* descends to a B^b which confirms the use of a four-stringed French *Basse de Violon* at the court (see Ex 6.1-2).³⁸

Ex. 6.1 J. C. Pez, *Pieces pour la Musique de table* (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{19a}), Basso viola, Fuga allegro, bars 12-16.

Ex. 6.2 J. C. Pez, *Pieces pour la Musique de table* (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{19a}), Basso viola, Passagaglia, bars 49-56.

On the other hand only three of the instrumental works by Pez in the Rostock collection mention the use of the violoncello and two of these

"Basso Viola" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{19a}), and "Basso Viola"/"1 Basse Viole" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38²⁵).

³⁸D-ROu Mus. Sec. XVII:38^{19a}.

specify a harpsichord as well.³⁹ This small number of appearances corresponds with the status of the violoncello at this time as a relatively new instrument.

The exact nature of the third member of the lower string contingent of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*, the *Violone*, is one that has caused considerable confusion and debate in musicological circles in recent years. That it was a completely different instrument from either the French *Basse de Violon* or the violoncello can be seen in Pez's unquestionably clear use of the three distinct terms: French *Baß*, violoncello, and *Violone*.

In 1714 three musicians at the Stuttgart court are mentioned as performers on the *Violone*: the court organist Isaac Seidel and two members of the official bass section, Eberlen and Aegidius Mühlhäuser. Pez's entry on this last named musician, gives us a clearer idea of the instrument: "Egidi . . . Streicht einen guthen *violone*, so ein mühesames, zumachen nothwerdiges *Instrument*, und das *Fundament* bey einer *Music* ist . . ." ⁴⁰ There can be little doubt from this statement that the instrument in question was not only the lowest sounding of all the strings, but also of a rather large size. In fact, the similarities between some of Pez's phrases and Johann Mattheson's famous comments on "Der *brummende Violone*" (The rumbling *Violone*) are striking. Both

³⁹On instrumental parts: "Violoncello"/"Basso Continuo" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁶), on the title-page: "1 Violoncello o Cembale [*sic.*]" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{22a}), "1 Violoncello è [*sic.*] Cembalo." (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{22b}).

⁴⁰1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Egidi [Mühlhäuser] plays the violone well, an arduous, yet at the same time necessary instrument, and which is the foundation of a musical ensemble . . .'

emphasize the cumbersome nature of the instrument—and the sheer physical effort needed to play it.

Der **brummende Violone**, Gall. *Basse de Violon*, Teutsch: Grosse Bass-Geige ist vollkommen zweymahl ja oft mehrmahl so groß als die vorhergehenden folglich sind auch die Sayten, ihrer Dicke und Länge nach à *Proportion*. Ihr Tohn ist sechzehnfüßig und ein wichtiges bündiges *Fundament* zu vollstimmigen Sachen, als Chören und dergleichen, nicht weniger auch zu *Arien* und so gleichen zum *Recitativo* auff dem *Theatro* hauptnöthig, weil ihr dicker Klang weiter hin summet, und vernommen wird, als des *Claviers* und anderer *bassirenden Instrumenten*. Es mag aber wol Pferde-Arbeit seyn, wenn einer diß Ungeheur 3. biß 4. Stunden unablässlich handhaben soll.⁴¹

It seems likely that good performers on this instrument were rare, as specially as Pez prized Seidel's *Violone* playing: "Seidl . . . streicht auch einen guthen *violone* beÿ einer *opera* zu *accompagniren*, weßentwegen er schon von andern Höfen darumber sucht worden . . . "⁴²

Some three years later, in 1717, two of these musicians, Eberlen and Seidel, were described by Schwartzkopff as performers on the "Grossen *Violon*", while Störl claimed that Seidel "ist auch zum *Contra Bass* wohl zu gebrauchen."⁴³ Neither of these men played any other string

⁴¹Johann Mattheson, *Neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713), 285-286; 'The rumbling *Violone*, French *Basse de Violon*, German Large Stringed-Bass, is fully twice or often more, as large as the previous instruments [*Violoncello*, *Bassa Viola*, *Viola di Spala*], accordingly the strings are also thicker and longer in proportion. Their tone is sixteen foot and is a necessary and clear foundation to fully-voiced pieces such as choruses and similar works, not less also to arias and is even highly necessary to recitatives in the theatre because their thick sound buzzes further and can be heard as well as keyboards and other bass instruments. However, it may as well be horse-work to operate this monster continually for three to four hours.'

⁴²1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Seidl . . . plays the *violone* well in accompaniment for an opera, for which reason he is already sought out by the courts hereabouts . . . '

⁴³1717 Störl 19/v, 'is also needed on the *Contra Bass*.'

instruments, so there can be no confusion as to the application of the term. In the same year Carl Gustav Radauer, the replacement for Aegidius Mühlhäuser, apparently "Spielt den Großen und Kleinen frantzösischen *Violon*."⁴⁴

Hence it is clear that the terms "Violone" (Pez), "Contra Bass" (Störl), and "Grossen Violon" (Schwartzkopff and Störl) all indicated the same instrument, and that this was at 16' pitch. That Pez's *Violone* was in fact a 16' instrument is supported by Stephen Bonta who writes that "German and Bolognese usages appear to agree after 1681: *violone* in the eighteenth century—outside Rome until 1737—means *contrabasso*." (Bonta demonstrates conclusively that in seventeenth century Italy the term *Violone* referred to a non-transposing 8' instrument—the equivalent of the normal French *Basse de Violon*).⁴⁵

Like the smaller *Basse de Violon* there were also several different types of *Violone*, with between three to six strings, and it is difficult to know which were in use at the Württemberg court around the first decades of the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ In 1738 J. P. Eisel distinguished between at least three varieties, one with four strings tuned in fourths from C' and two six-stringed versions, the lowest note on the first being G', and on the other a D'. He considered that the first of these "schneidet in der *Music*

⁴⁴1717 Störl 19/v, 'Plays the large and the small French *Violon*.'

⁴⁵Stephen Bonta, "From Violone to Violoncello: A Question of Strings?", *JAMIS* 3 (1977), 81. See also S. Bonta, "Terminology for the Bass Violin in Seventeenth-Century Italy", *JAMIS* 4 (1978), 5-42, and Francis Baines, "What exactly is a violone?" *EM* 5 (1977), 173-186.

⁴⁶See Peter Walls, "Strings" in *The New Grove Handbook on Performance Practice: Music after 1600* (London, 1989), 46-47.

besser durch denn der 6. saitchte"⁴⁷ and stated that the Italians call this instrument the "Violone grosso."

It was the four-stringed type which remained in use, while those with more strings were gradually phased out. In 1699 the choirboy Abraham Kurz was described by Schwartzkopff as a performer on the "Teutsche Baßviolon."⁴⁸ It seems that this designation may have indicated a double-bass with five or six strings—given Quantz's comment in 1752 that "Der sogenannte deutsche Violon von fünf bis sechs Seyten, ist also mit Recht abgeschaffet worden."⁴⁹ Obviously in Quantz's opinion the instrument was no longer in use and justly so.

As was normal for German musicians at this time, the majority of the Württemberg *Hofmusici* played wind instruments in addition to strings. Included among the exceptions to this rule in 1714 were Seidel, Schwahn, the court kettledrum player, and G. Christoph Hildenbrand (who, in actual fact, was described by Störl in 1717 as a recorder player⁵⁰). In addition the foreign musicians at the court Venturini and La Rose, played string instruments exclusively and the court painter, Grott, performed only on the violoncello.

⁴⁷J. P. Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktus* (Erfurt, 1738), 51; 'cuts through a Music better than those with six strings.'

⁴⁸1699 Schw Gut.

⁴⁹J. J. Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, (Berlin, 1752), XVII, V. Abschnitt, §3, 219; 'The so-called German Violon with five to six strings, has now properly been abandoned.'

⁵⁰1717 Störl 19/v.

By far the most popular woodwind in the *Hofkapelle* at this time was the recorder. Seven of the *Hofmusici* are listed by Pez as having played this instrument and five of these are described as being "sehr guth."⁵¹ Only the comprehensive term "Fletten" is given and no mention is made of the different sizes of recorders played by these seven men. However, one of the members of the bass section, Aegidius Mühlhäuser, "blast . . . auch eine guthe *Baß* Fletten . . ."⁵² It is not clear to what extent the bass recorder took part in the everyday performances of the *Hofkapelle*, perhaps it acted only as a bass to other recorders in consort-type music. Certainly it was important enough to be mentioned by Pez and was also featured among the courtly instruments represented by J. C. Weigel in his *Musicalisches Theatrum* (c.1715-25).⁵³

In comparison to the sizeable number of recorder players at the court, the oboe was played by a total of four *Hofmusici*, all of whom were considered to be of a high standard by Pez.⁵⁴ This probably indicates that the instrument was considered to be of a more specialized nature than the recorder. Only two musicians played the flute and in both entries the instrument is listed after the recorder, perhaps an indication of its lesser importance: "Nicolai blast ein sehr guthe Fletten, wie auch die *Flute Allemande* . . ." and "Freýdenberg . . . blast ein sehr guthe Fletten, und

⁵¹The seven were Eberhard Hildenbrand, Nicolai, Freudenberg, G. A. Kreß, Glockhart, Bleßner, and Zahn.

⁵²1714 Pez *Lista*; 'plays bass recorder very well.'

⁵³J. C. Weigel, *Musicalisches Theatrum* (Nuremberg, c.1715-25) Documenta musicologica I/22, (Kassel, 1961), Blatt 13.

⁵⁴Eberhard Hildenbrand, Nicolai, Glockhart, and Bleßner.

Houtbois, wie auch die *Flute Allemande* . . . "⁵⁵ The substantial rise in the flute's popularity which took place during the eighteenth century had yet to make any impact upon Württemberg at this stage.

The other treble woodwind instrument played at the court—the clarinet—was placed mid-way in popularity between the flute (two players) and the oboe (four players). In 1714 there were three musicians who could perform on the clarinet when required.⁵⁶ The earliest known mentions of the instrument occur in 1710 when an order for "2 Clarinettes" was placed with Jacob Denner of Nuremberg by the Duke of Gronsfield.⁵⁷ The following entries (taken from the 1714 *Lista*) refer to the clarinet:

Pez [F. A. M.] . . . blast auch ein guthes *Clarinet* . . .

Bleßner . . . blast auch ein sehr guthe *Houtbois*, Fletten, und *clarinet* . . .

Antonio Meister . . . blast auch das *clarinet* . . . ⁵⁸

⁵⁵1714 *Pez Lista*; 'Nicolai [J. Nicolaus Nicolai] blows [plays] the recorder very well, in addition to the German flute'; 'Freÿdenberg [Freudenberg] . . . blows [plays] the recorder very well and oboe, as well as the German flute.'

⁵⁶In 1928 B. A. Wallner considered that appearance of the term "Clarinet" in the 1714 *Lista* indicated a high trumpet. In discussing Pez's son, Franz Anton Maximilian, she wrote "In der *Lista* wird er als Geiger und Violist genannt; er spielt Viola da Braccio und Viola d'amore; der Vater bemerkt, daß er ferner *Clarinet* blase, worunter nicht die erst um 1720 im Orchester angewandte Klarinette zu verstehen ist, sondern die hohe Trompeter oder Clarino" (Wallner, p.xl). However, more recent research clearly suggests this was not the case.

⁵⁷Staatsarchiv Nuremberg, Stadtrechnungsbeleg in Repertorium 54 a II, Nr. 1282, see Albert Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet* (Oxford, 1992), 21 and 41; also Ekkehart Nickel, *Der Holzblasinstrumentenbau in der freien Reichsstadt Nürnberg*, (Munich, 1971), 209.

⁵⁸1714 *Pez Lista*; 'Pez [F. A. M.] . . . blows [plays] also the clarinet well. . .'; 'Bleßner . . . blows [plays] also the oboe, recorder, and clarinet very well. . .'; 'Antonio Meister . . . blows [plays] also the clarinet . . .'

This must surely be the earliest known mention of actual musicians who are described as playing the clarinet as part of a musical establishment—much earlier than has been previously recognized. After giving the example of the Duke of Gronsfeld (1710), Albert Rice then noted that next known listing of the clarinet used in a court, church or opera setting comes in 1733 at Coblenz, where Johann Peter Spitz played the clarinet in the *Hof Music*.⁵⁹

On the whole it has been assumed that in the first half of the eighteenth century clarinets appeared in orchestral repertoire only as a novelty instrument played by oboists. What is particularly interesting in the case of Württemberg in 1714 is that of the three *Hofmusici* described as performers on the instrument only one, Bleßner, also played the oboe (and recorder). The two other clarinetists, F. A. M. Pez and Meister, were listed as playing the violin, viola, and clarinet. It is noteworthy that these two men had come to Stuttgart from Munich with J. C. Pez.

Oberkapellmeister Pez may have arranged for his son and pupil to be trained specially in the performance of this instrument considering it to be useful for a successful *Hofkapelle*. Certainly the instrument was more common in southern regions than in other parts of Germany at the same time.⁶⁰

The other woodwind instrument in frequent use at the Württemberg court was the bassoon. Only three musicians played it and it is perhaps significant that at least two of these men had at some stage held positions

⁵⁹Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet*, 151 and 158.

⁶⁰See Eric Hoeprich, "The earliest paintings of the clarinet", *EM* 23 (1995), 259-266.

as *Hautboisten* in a regimental oboe band. This was the case for Sigmund Castenbauer⁶¹ and Erhardt Eberlen⁶², and may have also held for Aegidius Mühlhäuser, at least he is listed as such in the ducal *Dienerbuch*.⁶³ The latter two musicians Pez listed as members of the basso continuo section of the *Hofkapelle*.

The term Pez used to denote the bassoon played by these three men was the German word "Fagott." In this case it is not clear whether he is indicating the old-fashioned *Choristfagott* or the more recent French *Basson*. Along with the recorder, flute, and oboe, the bassoon had been developed in the workshops of France around the middle of the seventeenth century. The primary difference between the two models lay in the fact that the new instrument was jointed, whereas the *Choristfagott* had consisted of one piece of wood.⁶⁴ In addition, the French *Basson* was pitched at *Cammerton*, rather than the *Chorton* of the older bassoon.⁶⁵ It is quite probable that both types continued to be played

⁶¹Pez actually describes him in the 1714 *Lista* in the following manner: "Sigmund . . . ist der erste *Houtboist* gewesen, den Eur Hochfrstl: Durchlt: under dero Garde aufgenommen . . ." (Sigmund [Castenbauer] was formerly the First Oboist [leader] of Your Royal Highness's Guard), it was reasonably rare for an regimental oboist to attain the status of a court musician, see C. H. Hetsch's attempts to do the same, see page 348.

⁶²Pfeilsticker, 894, prior to his appointment in the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* he was a *Hautboist* with the "Bande bei den Grenadiers à cheval."

⁶³Pfeilsticker, 904.

⁶⁴See William Waterhouse, "Bassoon", §3-4, *GroveMI* and also Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II*, ed. D. Z. Crookes, 116, Plate 10.

⁶⁵Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann, *Musicalischer Trichter* (Berlin, 1706), 92, Laurence Dreyfus cites this reference and discusses the use of the bassoon as a continuo instrument in the music of J. S. Bach, in his *Bach's Continuo Group, Players and Practices in his Vocal Works* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 108-131. It is possible that further clues to the pitch of the bassoon-type instruments played in the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* may be found in the Friedrich Ludwig music collection at Rostock. However the music by Pez and

alongside one another for a reasonable length of time in Germany. Given the military backgrounds of at least two of these men it may be that the *Choristfagott* was the most likely candidate. However, the third bassoonist, Mühlhäuser, had been described in c.1702 as a performer on the "Basson", which presumably indicates the more modern instrument.

Although none of these musicians can be described as woodwind specialists, J. Nicolaus Nicolai perhaps comes the closest to fulfilling such a role, playing as he did the recorder, flute, and oboe, but no string instruments—only the keyboard. All the other *Hofmusici* who played a number of woodwinds to a high standard, performed on the violin as well, for example Eberhard Hildenbrand, Freudenberg, Glockhart, and Bleßner.

The sole percussionist mentioned in this document is Georg Philipp Schwahn. Originally a choirboy at the court⁶⁶, he must have been chosen specially to be trained as a kettledrum player, for in 1714 he is described as "der *muscialische* Hof Pauker, welcher sein *Music* wohl versteht, geigt ein guthes *violin*, und Brätschen, ist fleißig in seinen diensten."⁶⁷ The appearance of "musicalische" in his official designation is intended to show that he was not merely a military (*Feldpauker*) but skilled enough to play with the higher ranking and musically elite court musicians.

Schwartzkopff examined thus far always gives the bassoon part at the same pitch as the other basso lines.

⁶⁶Pfeilsticker, 946.

⁶⁷1714 *Pez Lista*; 'the musical kettledrum player, who understands music very well, plays the violin and viola well, is diligent in his service.'

Three *Hofmusici* are mentioned as keyboard players, in addition to the court organist, Isaac Seidel. J. Nicolaus Nicolai must have been in high demand as Pez wrote of him: "Nicolai . . . accompagniret auch sehr wohl auf den *cembalo*, für welchen ich ihn oft brauchen"⁶⁸ Stephan Freudenberg, who not only played the recorder, oboe, and flute very well, but also "schlägt ein artlichen *cembal*" caused Pez to comment "*enfin*, was er nur angriefft, ist vollkhomen."⁶⁹ The other musician who was specifically mentioned by Pez with reference to his keyboard skills was J. G. Zahn who "*tractirt dabey das Clavier gar arthig*"⁷⁰. The use of the term *Clavier* is probably a generic one, encompassing all keyboard instruments, certainly in 1719 Zahn was to take up the position of organist at the Stuttgart *Stiftskirche*.⁷¹

Pez seems to have been responsible for the introduction of horn players into the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*. There is no mention of them in the extant court documents dating prior to his appointment. The 1714 *Lista* describes two players: "Zwey Waldhornisten. Wilhelm Lumbe und Christoph Böhner hat ieder 300: G: zu samten. welche sehr guth blasen,

⁶⁸1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Nicolai . . . accompanies very well on the harpsichord, for which purpose I often need him.'

⁶⁹1714 Pez *Lista*; 'strikes [plays] a charming harpsichord'; 'well, whatever he touches is perfect.'

⁷⁰1714 Pez *Lista*; 'in addition, plays the keyboard very artfully.'

⁷¹Pfeilsticker, 912.

wie es dann die prob täglich weist, seind auch sehr fleißig in ihren diensten."⁷²

Pez's fourth comment at the end of the *Lista* shows that he was obviously very happy with the horn players, who had both been employed in the middle of 1713.⁷³

Despite this apparent diversity of instrumentalists, in Pez's opinion there were simply not enough instrumentalists employed in the *Hofkapelle*.

He often needed to call in not only vocalists to play, but also members of the local *Hautboisten Bande*:

Weßln wür nun sehr guthe Waldhornisten haben, darbey die *parthien* wohl besetzt sein müssen, wie es denn meine *concerti Graßi* allzeit erfordern, so habe ich an disen Unsern *Instrumentisten* nicht genung, sonde muß nach die *Houtboisten* darzu ziehen, sambt die *vocalisten* die Geigen khönnen, wann ich anderst die Ehr und *reputaon* von Ihro Hochfürstl: Dhtl: bey großem *Festinen*, und *Taffel-Musicquen*, wo meistens frembde Fürsten, und Gäst da sein will *observiren*, so der vornembste *punct* eines rechten treuen dienst sein muß.⁷⁴

⁷²1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Two Horn Players, Wilhelm Lumbe [Lumpe] and Christoph Böhner [Biener] have 300 *Gulden* together [i.e. 150 each], they play very well, as it then requires daily practice, they are also very diligent in their service.'

⁷³Pfeilsticker, 902, Johann Wilhelm Lumpe was appointed through decree of 26 June 1713; Pfeilsticker, 887, Johann Christoph Biener (d.1748) through a decree dated 11 June 1713.

⁷⁴1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Because we now have very good horn players, with them the [other] parts have to be well filled, as they are always required in my *concerti grossi*, therefore I don't have enough of our own instrumentalists for this, so instead I have to draw upon the *Hautboisten*, together with the vocalists who can play the violin, when I otherwise want to observe the respect and reputation of His Most Serene Royal highness at important festivities and table-music, where there are often foreign Princes and guests, and this must be the foremost point of a proper, faithful service.'

The *Instrumentarium* in 1717

Like Pez's 1714 *Lista* the 1717 documents written by Schwartzkopff and Störl discuss in great depth the abilities of the court instrumentalists (1717 Schw 27/v; 1717 Störl 19/v; c.1717 Störl; and 1717 Schw 5/viii, see Appendix A, pages 453-473). Overall Schwartzkopff included greater detail than Störl, listing the trumpeters and horn players employed at the court, alongside the higher-ranking members of the musical establishment, while Störl only gave the core members of the *Hofkapelle*. In all Schwartzkopff's *Verzeichnis* includes fifteen 'extra' musicians, although a number of these were too old to take an active role in performances.

The main body of *Hofmusici* (according to Schwartzkopff and Störl) was as listed in Table 6.2.

It is rather difficult to tell from this data exactly how many of the musicians actually played the violin and how many the viola. The distinction does not seem to have been clear in the mind of one of the two *Kapellmeister*—presumably because most players could handle either instrument. Schwartzkopff differentiates between the "Violin" and the "Viol", the latter being his somewhat unusual term for the viola, for which instrument Störl uses the German form "Bratcha." The combined figures show that in all eleven men played the violin and nine the viola.

When compared directly with Pez's 1714 *Lista* a large amount of information remains the same. The violoncello is still played by only two men (Venturini and Grott), while Seidel, Radauer, and Eberlen

remained the only violone players. Numbers of French *Baßisten* had actually risen, a situation probably due to the availability of instruments at the court. Whereas in 1714 there were three players: Glockhart, La Rose, and Castenbauer, by 1717 Glockhart, La Rose, Radauer, and the choirboy Mayer now performed on the instrument. The viola da gamba had also gained a new recruit, with the trumpeter Fenchel being joined by the choirboy Schmidtbaur. The next document, the inventory of Sigmund Castenbauer—1718—was to produce yet more terms for string instruments whose exact significance has become clouded in the course of time (see page 198ff).

A greater number of musicians were listed playing woodwind instruments in 1717: four bassoons (one more than in 1714: Freudenberg), six oboes (two more, Freudenberg and Mayer, who "alß ein Kappell Knab bey den Hof *Musico* Klockhart um die *Hautbois* zu lernen"⁷⁵), and a total of ten recorder players (three more than in 1714).

Störl specifically mentions the fact that "Glockhardt *Secundirt* den Hildenbrandt in der *Hautbois* und Flött"⁷⁶, so presumably in pieces which required two oboes, Eberhard Hildenbrand and Glockhart normally took those parts. The only flutists remained Nicolai and Freudenberg, while Radauer was still the sole bass recorder player, and none of the musicians are mentioned as performers on the clarinet, compared to the three during Pez's time.

⁷⁵1717 Schw 27/v; 'as a choirboy is learning the oboe from the *Hofmusicus* Klockhart.'

⁷⁶1717 Störl 19/v; 'Glockhart plays as second to Hildenbrand on oboe and recorder.'

Table 6.2 1717 Schwartzkopff and Störl, Members of the Württemberg Instrumental-Musique (from 1717 Schw 27/v and 1717 Störl 19/v).

Freudenberg	violin, viola d'amore, recorder, oboe, flute, bassoon ⁺ , harpsichord ⁺
J. Eb. Hildenbrand	oboe, recorder, violin
Venturini	violin, violoncello
Glockhart	oboe, recorder, violin, French <i>Baß</i> [*]
Bleßner	violin, recorder, oboe
La Rose	French <i>Baß</i>
Eberlen	violone, viola ⁺ , bassoon
Radauer	violone, <i>Kleinen Violon</i> (prob. Fr. <i>Baß</i>), bassoon, bass recorder ⁺
G. A. Kreß	<i>Hand Bassetlein</i> ⁺ /Hand Gamba [*] , viola ⁺ , keyboard, viola d'amore, violin [*]
Nicolai	keyboard ⁺ /organ [*] , recorder, oboe ⁺ , flute
Seidel	keyboard (esp. organ), violone
Zahn	keyboard, viola ⁺ , violin [*] , recorder [*] , organ [*]
G. Ch. Hildenbrand	violin, recorder [*]
Castenbauer	viola ⁷⁷ , bassoon ⁺ , recorder [*] , violin [*]
Grott	violoncello, viola ⁺ , recorder [*]
Meister	viola ⁺ , violin [*] , Hand Gamba [*]
Mayer	oboe ⁺ , viola ⁺ , French <i>Baß</i> ⁺
G. H. Schmidtbour	viola ⁺ , viola da gamba ⁺ , keyboard ⁺
Schwahn	violin, viola ⁺ , recorder [*] , kettledrums

⁺only listed by Schwartzkopff

^{*}only listed by Störl

⁷⁷Only Schwartzkopff actually names the viola in connection with Castenbauer, but as Störl wrote that he was "zur Mittelstim wohl zu gebrauchen" (is useful for the middle voice) the viola may be inferred.

In addition to the nineteen core musicians listed above Schwartzkopff and Störl both mention J. C. Pez's son, Franz Anton Maximilian, but state that he was not to be included in the final total. Schwartzkopff wrote "Von dem Petzen ist der Ursach hier nichts zugedencken, weilen derselbe in Baiern *engagirt* ist, und bereits seinen abschied allhier sucht."⁷⁸

Pez's return to Bavaria to his family, to work alongside his sister, Maria Anna Franziska, at the Munich court is not a surprising step, especially given his youth. What is of greater interest is the information supplied by Störl regarding his instrumental talents. Whereas previously only Georg Albrecht Kreß and Pez had played the viola d'amore, the latter's departure probably left an opening for Freudenberg to perform more regularly on this instrument (see also page 203ff).

The 1717 *Verzeichnisse* indicate that Georg Philipp Schwahn been specially trained as a kettledrum player of the musical, rather than military variety. As such he was highly prized, as the comments made by the two *Kapellmeister* show:

Schwan . . . Spielt eine gute *Violin*, und bläßt eine Flötte, hat das Paucken nach der Kunst gelehrt, und so man ein Stuck mit *Trompeten* und Paucken machen Will, Ist Er darzu von Nöthen, Weilen derselbe die *Music* verstehet.⁷⁹

⁷⁸1717 Schw 27/v; 'Of Pez—there is no reason to consider him here, as he has been engaged in Bavaria, and already seeks his release from here.'

⁷⁹1717 Störl 19/v; 'Schwan . . . plays the violin well and plays a recorder, has learnt the art of kettledrum playing and therefore if one wants to make a piece with trumpets and kettledrums, he is needed for it, because he understands the music of the same.'

Georg Philipp Schwan ist nicht nur beÿ d *Violin*, und *Viol*, sondern auch besonders als ein *Musicalischer* Paucker wohl zugebrauchen, und ist auÿer disem keiner da, welcher noch der *Music* die Paucker zu *tractiren* versteht, welche Kunst Seine Hfrstl. Durchl. ihn erlernen laÿen, dahero er *obligirt* ist, u: alÿ er vor 3. Jahren von Ihro Durchl: dem Herrn Marggraven zu Baden Durlach, in dienst, vorlangt worden, keine *Dimission* erhalten.⁸⁰

The pieces which involved kettledrum and trumpets that Störl specifically mentions would have been performed with a selection of the court trumpeters whom Schwartzkopff lists in his report. Most probably the first two of these men would have been chosen, given that they also played on string instruments and presumably were called to take part in table music when needed:

33. Georg Melchior Fenchel, ist ein guther *Musicalischer Trompeter*, und Streicht neben einer *perfecten Violin*, auch auf der *Viola da Gamba* gar guth.

34. Otto, ist auch ein guther *Trompeter*, und streicht eine zimlich guthe *Violin*.⁸¹

The remaining trumpeters listed by Schwartzkopff are also described as being useful for the chapel music. The first of these, by the name of Schmid, had been appointed "alÿ *Trompeter* in die Cappell" (as

⁸⁰1717 Schw 27/v; 'Georg Philipp Schwan is not only useful for playing on the violin and viola, but also especially as a musical kettledrum player, and apart from him there is no one, who understands how to play the music of a kettledrum player, which His Royal Highness allowed him to learn, for which reason he is obliged, and although His Highness the Lord Margrave of Baden Durlach has wanted him in his service for the past three years, he has not received his dismissal.'

⁸¹1717 Schw 27/v; 'Georg Melchior Fenchel, is a good musical trumpeter and plays as well a perfect violin, also fairly well on the viola da gamba. Otto, is also a good trumpeter and plays the violin rather well.'

trumpeter in the *Kapelle*) more than half a year ago. He apparently played "eine passable *Trompet*, Hat aber bißhero noch keine dienste gethan, sondern Hat sich gleich nach Gdgster *Reception*, under dem Vorwand seinen abschied zu Hollen, nacher Hauß begeben, von dar der noch nicht *retournirt*, ohn erachtet in dessen, wie ich berichtet bin, die besoldung auf ihne gereicht worden."⁸²

Of even more interest is the fact that Schmid's daughter, Elisabeth, was appointed as a trumpeter alongside her father at this time. Schwartzkopff wrote that she "Weist zwar mit ihrem Vatter, oder bruder so unter der *garde* ist, auf der *Trompet* etliche Stück zu Plaßen, Versteht aber im übrigen von der *Music* gar wenig."⁸³ The *Dienerbuch* lists an Elisabeth Schmid among the female singers, having been appointed through a decree dated 17 November 1717, from the eleventh of that month.⁸⁴ This date matches that of Johann Christoph Schmid's (d.1727) appointment as trumpeter at the court and so it appears that these two were the father and daughter mentioned by Schwartzkopff, although according to him Elisabeth was definitely an instrumentalist rather than a vocalist.⁸⁵

⁸²1717 Schw 27/v; '[plays] the trumpet tolerably, has however still not done any service, instead immediately after Your most gracious reception, under the excuse that he still had to make his farewells, he made his way home, [and] has not yet returned from there, despite the fact, as I have been informed, salary has been given to him.'

⁸³1717 Schw 27/v; 'with her father or brother who is in the Guard, knows how to play actual pieces on the trumpet, however she understands very little in general about music.'

⁸⁴Pfeilsticker, 935, although Schwartzkopff does not give any first name, merely "Schmiden Tochter" (Schmid's daughter) it is most likely that this was Elisabeth, as she was appointed to the *Hofkapelle* in November 1716, "zugleicher zeit mit ihrem Vatter" [at the same time as her father].

⁸⁵Pfeilsticker, 874, 863; Johann Christoph and his wife, Eva Katharina, are known to have had at least three children: Elisabeth, Johann Franz (*Kammer und Guarditrompeter*), and Justina Regina. Justina married the *Hoftrompeter* Johann Michael

Three other trumpeters, Johann Heinrich Schachtenbeck, Johann Casimir Gundel (identified by Schwartzkopff as "*Casimiro*"), and Philipp Heinrich Riecker were "mehistens alß Hoff-und Staats *Trompeter* gebraucht werden."⁸⁶ although Schachtenbeck was also used "mit der *Trompet* in der Cappell" when required.⁸⁷ Two further trumpeters, Johann Balthasar Leichtlin and Daniel Rousselin, were also available when absolutely necessary, despite the fact that they were officially retired. Also listed is Jeremias Christian Reusinger as "Hoff Paucker, ist zum Staat angenommen"⁸⁸ and who therefore no longer played in musical performances at court.

The two *Waldhornisten* appointed by Pez in 1713 remained in the employ of the court and so must have proven themselves to be a useful addition to the *Hofkapelle*. However, Störl did not include them in his list of the main *Hofmusici* and we have only Schwartzkopff's description of their capabilities. He wrote that both played their main instrument well and Lumpe "Verstünde auch eine Violin wann er solche nur *tractiren* möchte"⁸⁹, while Biener "*tractirt* . . . zur noth so wohl eine *Viol*, alß *Fagott*, last sich auch zu zeithen in der Capell gebrauchen."⁹⁰

Beumelburg on 14 February 1719 and was left a widow with seven children upon his death 20 January 1738.

⁸⁶1717 Schw 27/v; 'used mostly as court and civic trumpeters.'

⁸⁷1717 Schw 27/v; 'with his trumpet in the chapel.'

⁸⁸1717 Schw 27/v; 'Court Kettledrum Player, has been appointed to the Civic [Music].'

⁸⁹1717 Schw 27/v; 'also understands a violin when he only wants to play such an instrument.'

⁹⁰1717 Schw 27/v; 'plays . . . when necessary as viola quite well, also a bassoon, is sometimes used in the chapel.'

As had occurred previously a number of the chapel singers also took part in the purely instrumental performances at the court. Arnold, Gabrielis, and J. C. Schmidtbaur all continued to play in table music sessions on the viola, violin, and viola respectively. Arnold was also used in performances of chamber music from time to time. This overlap in roles worked the other way as well, with not only Bleßner singing as a bass amongst the vocalists in church music, but also Zahn, whom Störl claimed "Singt eine *Bass* so es von Nöthen."⁹¹ He probably stood in as a replacement for Ricci, who often attended mass in a neighbouring village instead of singing in the *Kirchen Music*.

Zahn was also among a number of keyboard players mentioned in these documents. Stephan Freudenberg was the only musician mentioned specifically as a good player on the harpsichord, while Kreß, Nicolai, Seidel, Zahn, and Georg Heinrich Schmidtbaur were all proficient keyboardists. In fact, Schwartzkopff claimed that Seidel "ist bißhero *organists*, der beste auff dem *Clavir* geweßen."⁹² Störl also described Zahn as a performer on both these instruments: "Spielt das *Clavier* und *Orgel* perfect."⁹³, but stated that Seidel played the organ "bey der Hoff *Capell* in Stuttgl."⁹⁴, while Nicolai did likewise at Ludwigsburg.

⁹¹1717 Störl 19/v; 'Sings a bass when it is necessary.'

⁹²1717 Schw 27/v; 'is up until now the organist, has become the best on the keyboard.'

⁹³1717 Störl 19/v; 'Plays the keyboard and organ perfectly.'

⁹⁴1717 Störl 19/v; 'at the court chapel in Stuttgart.'

The 1718 *Inventarium*

The most comprehensive information regarding of the range of the actual instruments available to the *Hofkapelle* during the reign of Eberhard Ludwig is found in an inventory compiled by the *Hofmusicus* Sigmund Castenbauer in November 1718 (1718 Castenbauer, see Appendix A, pages 476-480). The position of *Instrument-Verwalter* was no longer held by the *Kalkant* as it had been in 1715.⁹⁵ As noted earlier Castenbauer had been dismissed in September 1717 as part of the reductions in the *Hofkapelle*, but was reinstated on 16 May 1718 as a horn player, replacing Wilhelm Lumpe.⁹⁶ However, it appears that he was also given responsibility over the musical instruments owned by the Württemberg court around that time, for the opening of his inventory reads: "Der jenige Instrumenten, welche dato dem neu angenommenen Instrumenten Verwalter, Sigmund Castenbauer, tradirt worden."⁹⁷

Castenbauer divided the instruments into three groups: firstly "Daß vorstehende *Instrumenten* in beÿ sein Unterzogenen außerlesen und alß brauchbahr zur Hof Capell und andern Herrschaftl: *Musiquen* erachtet: und zugleich dem *Instrum: Verwalter* behörig *tradirt* worden, bescheint: . . . ", secondly "*Der jenigen Instrumente, welche noch theils reparirt: und theils zur Noth gebraucht werden können*", and lastly, "*Der jenigen*

⁹⁵1715 *Lista*.

⁹⁶Pfeilsticker, 889.

⁹⁷1718 Castenbauer; 'Those instruments, which have been tried this day by the newly appointed Instrument Keeper, Sigmund Castenbauer.'

*Instrumenten, welche vor ohnbrauchbahr und nicht zutractiren, alß alte Sachen, dienlich seynd."*⁹⁸

Castenbauer opened by listing the keyboards owned by the court and all of these are included in the first section, and therefore must be classified as usable instruments. In the preface to his *Außerlesener Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701) Georg Muffat clarified the use of the term "Instrument", which occurs six times in the Castenbauer inventory, as meaning harpsichord. Muffat wrote of his *concerti grossi* "zu welchem zur grössern Zier der *Harmoni* ein Instrument oder *Theorba* (so eben auß der selbigen *parte* geschlagen wird) kan hinzugesetzt werden"⁹⁹ and in the Italian version of this preface, "Instrument" is rendered as "Cembalo", in the Latin "Clavicimbali", and finally in the French as "Clavecin": all recognized equivalents of the instrument we know today as the harpsichord. In Castenbauer's inventory the word "Clavier" is used to describe the keyboard of any instrument.

1. *Eine orgel*, welche in der frstl: Hof Capell unden stehet und beÿ dem Gottesdienst, auch *Musiquen* gebraucht wird, mit .5. Register, sogar schlecht;
2. *Ein Positiv*, mit .4. Register, so zu ludwigsburg sich befindet;
3. *Ein orgelwercks* mit .8. Register im frstl: *Gymnasio*, allhier, so guth und wohl zu gebrauchen;

⁹⁸1718 Castenbauer; 'The instruments above have been selected by the signatory and are considered usable by the *Hofkapelle* and by other ducal musical ensembles'; 'Those instruments which partly need to be repaired and partly could be used if necessary'; 'Those instruments, which appear above are unusable and not able to be played, [but] may be useful as old things.' The last section is discussed in the *Conclusion*, see page 392ff.

⁹⁹Georg Muffat, *Außerlesene Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701), "Georg Muffat: Concerti Grossi I", DTÖ 23, XI/2, (Graz, 1959); 'to which to the great decoration of the harmony could be added a harpsichord or theorbo (who could even play off the same part).'

4. *Ein orgelwercks mit .4. Register von aichen holz der Cast, so zu ludwigsburg.*
5. *Ein aufrechtes Spinet, so in der Hof Cappell steht;*
6. *Ein großer flügel mit Einem Sub bass, steht im frstl: Schloß allhier;*
7. *Ein dreißfaches Instrument im Capellhauß stehend;*
8. *Ein geflügelt Instrument mit doppelten dackhen, steht in dem thurn.*
9. *Ein alt langes Instrument hat gedoppelte dackhen ohne Zug, mit Elfenbeinen Clavier und Zierath, ist incomplet v: übel zugereicht, steht in dem thurn;*
10. *Ein alt langes Instrument mit doppelten dackhen ohne Zug, mit Einem braunen Clavier, incomplet und übel zugereicht;*
11. *Ein Clave Cymbel, so beÿ denen opern gebraucht wird, so Hl: Brescianello im hauß;*
12. *Ein Instrument von Hl: Secret: Schafern erkaufft.*
13. *Ein Instrument vom Capellmt: Pezen erhandelt;¹⁰⁰*

It is obvious from this list that the ducal household was now split between the castle in Stuttgart and the palace in Ludwigsburg—perhaps not surprisingly the very old, unusable instruments were housed in the castle. The court chapel (at Stuttgart) housed not only an organ, but also

¹⁰⁰1718 Castenbauer; '1. An organ, which stands below in the ducal court chapel and is used in the service and in the *Music*, with a five foot register, is actually quite bad; 2. A Positive, with a four foot register, which is located at Ludwigsburg; 3. An organ with an eight foot register in the ducal *Gymnasium* hereabouts, very good and well used; 4. An organ with a four foot register, the case of which is made of oak, at Ludwigsburg; 5. An upright spinet, which stands in the court chapel; 6. A large harpsichord [*Flügel*] with a *Subbass*, which stands in the ducal castle hereabouts; 7. A triple harpsichord [*Instrument*] which stands in the chapel house; 8. A wing-shaped harpsichord [*Instrument*] with a double manual, stands in the tower; 9. An old long harpsichord [*Instrument*], has a double manual without stops, with an ivory keyboard and decoration, is incomplete and badly repaired, stands in the tower; 10. An old long harpsichord [*Instrument*] with a double manual without stops, with a brown keyboard, incomplete and badly repaired; 11. A harpsichord [*Clave Cymbel*], which is used for operas, is in the house of H:[err] Brescianello; 12. A harpsichord [*Instrument*] bought from H:[err] Secretary Schafern; 13. A harpsichord [*Instrument*] bargained for by the *Kapellmeister* Pez.'

an upright spinet, while at Ludwigsburg the musicians had available to them an organ and a *Positiv* both with a four foot register.

There was somewhat more variety amongst the harpsichords owned by the court. The use of three different terms to describe these possibly relates to the national type. It may be that the *Flügel* was of German origin¹⁰¹, the *Clave Cymbel* used by Brescianello was Italian and those referred to as *Instrument* were French. The large harpsichord with a "Subbass", located somewhere in the castle at Stuttgart may have been similar to instruments made in Hamburg by Hieronymus Albrecht Hass (bap. 1689-d. between 1746-1761) which were often very large and featured a row of sixteen foot strings.¹⁰² Two harpsichords, one described as wing-shaped and the other having an ivory keyboard and decorations, were located in the tower, which presumably indicates the castle in Stuttgart—they were almost certainly not in everyday use, given that one is described as incomplete and in need of repair.

There was also a harpsichord in the chapel house, presumably for use in rehearsals, and one in the house of Brescianello specifically described as being used for operas. No harpsichords are mentioned as being located in the palace at Ludwigsburg, but perhaps the two other *Instrumenten* in good repair were used for this purpose, one bought from Schafer and the other connected with Pez. Interestingly, the harpsichord in the chapel house was described as "dreÿfaches Instrument", possibly indicating that it had three manuals. Only one "unquestionably genuine" instrument of

¹⁰¹From the German *Kielflügel*, meaning harpsichord (*Kiel*—plectrum).

¹⁰²D. H. Boalch and Peter Williams, "Hass", *GroveMI*.

this type exists today, a harpsichord made in 1704 by Hieronymus Albrecht Hass.¹⁰³

Having listed the keyboards owned by the court, Castenbauer moved on to look at the other types of instruments, opening with those which were presumably used most frequently by the *Hofkapelle*:

Violons.

1. 15 gute Münchener *violin*en.
2. 6. *Braccio*.
3. 2 alte dergl:
4. 2 große *violons*.
5. Ein halber großer *Bass*.
6. 7 frantzösische *Bass*.
7. 2 Hand *Gamba* u: 1 *Viola du Gamba*.
8. 2 *hautbois* von Cornetthon.
9. 1 der gleichen von buchbaum.
10. 2 *Hautbois* vom braunen Holtz.
11. 2 frantzösischer *Fagots*.
12. 1 Teutscher *Fagot*.¹⁰⁴

Not surprisingly string instruments dominate this list, with thirty-six in all, comprising seven different types. J. C. Pez, as a violinist who had trained in Munich, was probably responsible for ordering fifteen violins from that city. He must have known makers there like Paul Alletsee

¹⁰³S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Early Keyboard Instruments* (London, 1989), 87.

¹⁰⁴1718 Castenbauer; 'Strings [generic]; 1. Fifteen good violins from Munich; 2. Six violas; 3. Two old violas [the same]; 4. Two large *Violons*; 5. A half-size large *Bass*; 6. Seven French *Bass*; 8. Two *Hand Gamba* and one *Viola da Gamba*; 8. Two oboes at *Cornetthon*; 9. One of the same made of boxwood; 10. Two oboes made of brown wood; 11. Two French bassoons; 12. One German bassoon.' Presumably apart from the two oboes specifically described as being at *Cornetthon*, the other oboes were at *Camerton* pitch.

(fl.1698-1738) and Sebastian Wolfram (fl.1700-1762).¹⁰⁵ According to the *Verzeichnisse* compiled by Störl and Schwartzkopff there were enough players to use all fifteen instruments.¹⁰⁶ The six *Braccio* (violas) were followed by two *Violone*, seven French *Basse de Violons*, and a half-size "großer Bass" which may have been a violoncello—probably the instrument sold to the *Hofkapelle* in 1701/2 by Rubini for use by Gottfried Rumpus (see above pages see page 173).

The seventh item listed is more problematic, the two *Hand Gamba*. Although in Castenbauer's inventory these were listed in an entry which includes a *viola da gamba*, it is clear from the document that the phrase "u: 1. *viola du [sic.] Gamba*" was added later, in the only space available, which indicates that the two instruments are not necessarily related.

In 1717 Störl stated that the *Hand Gamba* was played by Anthonj Meister, F. A. M. Pez, and G. A. Kreß. In 1714 J. C. Pez had listed F. A. M. Pez and Kreß as performers on the "viola da braccio." Although this appears to be merely the usage of a common eighteenth-century term for the viola, the fact that Pez also used the clearly distinct term "Brätschen" six times in the same document seems to indicate that in fact he had another instrument in mind. It is possible that he was using this term as a synonym for *Hand Gamba*.

¹⁰⁵Fridolin Hamma, *German Violin Makers* (London, 1961), 17 and 48; according to Hamma, 15, the dates given for each maker represent "the time when the person was already and still alive, or the time assured professional activity."

¹⁰⁶Gabrielis, F. A. M. Pez, Freudenberg, Venturini, Eberhard, and Christoph Hildenbrand, Glockhart, Bleßner, Kreß, Zahn, Schwahn, Castenbauer, Meister, Fenchel, and Otto.

Störl's entry on F. A. M. Pez makes it clear that this mysterious instrument was capable of and, indeed, useful for accompanying purposes: "[Pez] Streicht eine *Violin* in guter *Manier* und *perfection*, blaßt eine *flöten*, und streicht die *Viola d'Amour* und handt *Gamba* zum *accompagnement* . . ." ¹⁰⁷ Writing in the same year Schwartzkopff used a variant term, the *Hand Bassetlein*, when describing the instrumental capabilities of G. A. Kreß—undoubtedly to indicate the same instrument.

In eighteenth-century Austria and southern Germany, the term "Bassetl" was commonly used to describe the violoncello, as a diminutive of 'bass' in the sense of a double bass or violone. In some cases it could also refer to other 8' string instruments, for example when Muffat specified the French *Basse de Violon* as an alternative for the violoncello in the concertino group of his *Außerlesener Instrumental-Music* "Diser Baß aber wird auff einem frantzösischen Bassetl besser als auff einem diser Orthen gebräuchigen *Violone* außkommen . . ." ¹⁰⁸

However, the use of the prefix "Hand" to the word "Bassetlein" in the case of G. A. Kreß surely changes the meaning of the word. While it is difficult to establish with any certainty, it seems probable that this indicates the instrument was held on the shoulder, rather than between the knees. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries

¹⁰⁷ 1717 Störl 19/v; '[F. A. M. Pez] Plays the violin in a good style and perfection, plays the recorder and the viola d'amore, and the *Hand Gamba* as an accompaniment.'

¹⁰⁸ Georg Muffat, *Außerlesene Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701), ed. E. Luntz, DTÖ 23, XI/2 (Graz, 1959); 'This bass however would be better played on a French bass rather than the *Violone* which is used hereabouts [i.e. in Germany] . . .' See also James Webster, "Violoncello and Double Bass in the Chamber Music of Haydn and his Viennese Contemporaries, 1750-1780" *JAMS* 29 (1976), 413-438.

instruments held in the latter position were often denoted by the word "Corpus."¹⁰⁹

In his *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* Leopold Mozart mentioned the existence of an instrument named the "Handbaßel" in connection with the *Fagotgeige* (bassoon-violin).¹¹⁰ Among contemporary writers to mention the latter instrument was Daniel Speer (1636-1707)¹¹¹, who had worked as a school teacher and church musician in the Württemberg region, holding appointments in Stuttgart, Göppingen, Waiblingen, Leonberg, Tübingen, and Grossbottwar.¹¹² It may be significant that all the works cited by H. M. Brown as having mentioned the *Fagotgeige* were written and published in southern

¹⁰⁹See the "Inventarium Instrumentorum" from the Stuttgart *Hofkapelle* dated 1589 (Sittard I, 27) which differentiates between "Corpus" and "Handt" *Geigen*: for example " . . . ein Corpus Gyge mit vier Stimmen . . . zwo Handtgeigen, die ein ein Discant, die andere ein Tenor." (a body fiddle with four strings . . . two hand fiddles, one a descant, the other a tenor).

¹¹⁰Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756), quoted from James Webster, "Violoncello and Double Bass in the Chamber Music of Haydn and his Viennese Contemporaries, 1750-1780" *JAMS* 29 (1976), 415; "Eine *sechste* Gattung, nämlich die *Fagotgeige* brauchet; welche der Grösse und Besetzung nach von der Bratsche in etwas unterschieden ist. Einige nennen es auch das *Handbaßel*; doch ist das *Handbaßel* noch etwas grösser als die *Fagotgeige*." (A sixth category, namely the bassoon-violin is used, which is rather different than the viola in its size and the way it is strung. A few people name it also the *Handbaßel*, but the *Handbaßel* is actually rather larger than the bassoon-violin). The *Fagotgeige* was a bowed string instrument which had the tuning and range of a cello, but was played on the arm like a viola. Its rather distinctive name was apparently resulted from the fact that a number of its strings were covered with copper wire which gave it a buzzing tone which resembled the bassoon. See Howard Mayer Brown, "Viola di Fagotto", *GroveMI*.

¹¹¹In his *Grund-richtiger . . . Unterricht der musicalischen Kunst* (Ulm, 1687) according to Howard Mayer Brown, "Viola di Fagotto", *GroveMI*.

¹¹²Rosemary Roberts, "Speer, D.", *Grove* 6. All these locations are within the immediate region of Stuttgart.

Germany and Austria.¹¹³ It therefore seems possible that the *Hand Bassetlein* mentioned by Schwartzkopff may have either been a bassoon-violin or a larger type of similar instrument.¹¹⁴

It is perhaps significant that all the musicians mentioned in connection with this instrument also played other shoulder-held string instruments. As mentioned earlier it was unusual for German musicians at this court to play both the violin (or other shoulder-held instruments) in addition to the *Basse de Violon* or violoncello. This lends evidence to support the speculation that the *Hand Gamba* was in fact a shoulder-held instrument. The musicians described by Störl as playing this instrument also performed on the following:

F. A. M. Pez: violin, recorder, viola d'amore, *Hand Gamba*.

G. A. Kreß: violin, viola d'amore, *Hand Gamba*, keyboard.

Anthony Meister: violin, *Hand Gamba*.

Even the wording of Schwartzkopff's description of Kreß's capabilities may be significant: "Georg Albrecht Kress streicht das Hand Bassetlein nebst der *Viol guth*, tractirt auch das *Clavir*, und eine *Viol d'Amour*"¹¹⁵ with *nebst* (together with) perhaps indicating an instrument of a similar

¹¹³Howard Mayer Brown, "Viola di fagotto", *GroveMI*. Daniel Speer *Grund-richtiger . . . Unterricht . . .* (Ulm, 1687), Daniel Merck *Compendium musicae instrumentalis chelicae* (Augsburg, 1688), J. F. B. C. Majer *Museum musicum* (Schwäbisch Hall, 1732) and Leopold Mozart *Versuch* (Augsburg, 1756).

¹¹⁴The short entry on the *Handbaßel* in *Grove 6* speculates that this instrument was in fact the *Viola da spalla*, although no evidence is provided. If this is the case then the *Hand Bassetlein* mentioned by Schwartzkopff was either a *Fagotgeige* or a *Viola da spalla*.

¹¹⁵1717 Schw 27/v; 'Georg Albrecht Kress plays the *Hand Bassetlein* together with the viola, [both] well, plays also the keyboard and a viola d'amore.'

type to the viola. The viola d'amore may have even been approximately the same size as the *Hand Gamba*, so that *Hofmusici* whose arms were long enough could play both instruments.

Twenty years later this instrument was again mentioned in connection with music at the Württemberg court. In a letter dated 7 February 1738 the *Hofmusicus* Johann Christoph Biener described himself in the following terms: "ich mich beÿ dem Waldhorn mit der Hand Gamba und Violin gebrauchen laßen kan."¹¹⁶

In all it seems conceivable that the *Hand Gamba* was a type of tenor viola, used to play bass lines in the deep tenor register. Quantz mentioned this practice remarking that "Wenn der Bratschist, in Ermangelung des Violoncells, ein Trio oder Solo begleitet; muß er, so viel als möglich ist, allezeit eine Octave tiefer spielen, als sonst, wenn er mit dem Basse im Unison geht; und wohl Acht haben, daß er die Oberstimme nicht übersteige."¹¹⁷ This ties in with Störl's description of F. A. M. Pez's *Hand Gamba* playing being useful for accompanying purposes and his listing of the instrument alongside other bass strings his plans for the ideal church and table music ensembles. Such instruments did exist, playing in five-part string ensembles which often featured three different sizes of violas. Although the great majority of these instruments were later cut down to size as part of the standardization of the string family, at least two are

¹¹⁶D-Sa A21 Büschel 614; 'I can be used for [playing] the horn, as well as the *Hand Gamba* and violin.'

¹¹⁷Quantz, *Versuch*, 211; 'If a viola-player has to accompany a trio or solo, in the absence of any violoncelli, then, as far as it is possible, he should play an octave lower, or else, if playing in unison with the bass, he must ensure that he doesn't go higher than the upper parts.'

known today: the tenor viola from the set supposedly made for Charles IX by Andrea Amati at Cremona in 1574 and one by Stradivari dated 1690, which are 47cm and almost 48cm, in length respectively.¹¹⁸

From strings Castenbauer then moved on to woodwind instruments, starting with oboes. The importance of this instrument can be seen in the fact that all five oboes owned by the court are listed in the first group of "brauchbar" (usable) instruments. Castenbauer specified:

- 8. 2 *Hautbois* von *Cornetthon*.
- 9. 1 dergleichen von Buchbaum.
- 10. 2 *Hautbois* von braunenholtz.¹¹⁹

The first two oboes listed were probably slightly older than the others, given that they were at a higher pitch, known as *Cornetthon*. This was apparently the same as old *Chorton* which was gradually superseded by the newer *Cammerton* pitch which had originated in France. At around this time Johann Kuhnau, the *Kantor* at Leipzig, had written: "Ich habe aber fast von der ersten Zeit meiner Direction der Kirchen-Music den Cornet-Ton abgeschaffet, und den Kammer-Ton, der eine Secunda oder kleine Tertia, nachdem es sich schikken will, tieffer ist, eingeführet . . .

"120

¹¹⁸David Boyden, "Viola", *GroveMI*.

¹¹⁹¹⁷¹⁸ Castenbauer; '8. Two oboes [tuned] at *Cornetthon*; 9. One of the same made of boxwood; 10. Two oboes made of brown wood.'

¹²⁰In Johann Mattheson, *Critica Musica*, Volume 2 (Hamburg, 1725), 235, cited by Bruce Haynes, "Johann Sebastian Bach's Pitch Standards: The Woodwind Perspective", *JAMIS* 11 (1985), 59; 'Almost from the moment I took over the direction of church music [at the Thomaskirche in 1702], I eliminated the use of cornet pitch and introduced *Cammerton*, which is a second or minor third lower, depending on the circumstances.' [trans B. Haynes]

One must assume that the other three oboes, one made of boxwood and two from a brown wood (possibly stained) were pitched at *Cammerton*. Certainly this would have been more usual for fashionable oboes in Germany at this time, given that the French *hautbois* had been introduced into that country around the end of the seventeenth century and were made at the lower pitch level, along with a selection of other woodwinds. The *Cornetton* oboes may, of course, have been specially produced by a German maker to play in the higher pitch so that oboists could more easily take part in church music along with organs and brass instruments pitched at old *Chorton*.

Although the difference between *Cammerton* and *Chorton* varied region to region, Stuttgart may have been fairly similar to another southern German city—Passau, whose practice in this area was described by Georg Muffat in the Preface to his *Florilegium secundum* (Passau, 1698): "Le ton, auquel s'accordent les François est ordinairement d'un ton, & même pour les *Opera* d'une tierce mineure plus bas, que celui d'Allemagne, dit *du Cornet*, qu'ils treuvent trop haut, trop piaillant, & trop forcé."¹²¹

Until pitch became relatively standardized in Germany after the introduction of French *Cammerton* it was not uncommon for oboe parts to be written out in a different key signature.

Aufschnaiter's *Cymbalum Davidis Vespertinium* (Passau, 1728) specifies "2 hautbois in tono gallico" (two oboes at French pitch), and while the other parts are in B^b major, the oboes are written for in C major.¹²²

One of the instrumental pieces in the music collection of the *Erbprinz* Friedrich Ludwig of Württemberg (now located at the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock) also features oboe parts written in a different key signature from the other instruments.¹²³ The work is entitled "Concert affettuoso l'haubois a 9 part" and is scored for *Violino Concertino, Hautbois 1, Hautecontre, Violino, Viola 1^{ma} [&] Violino 2^{do}, Viola 2, Violino in ripieno*, and *Cembalo*. The string and continuo parts are in E major, while the *Hautbois 1* and *Haut-Contre* are written a tone up in F major and both bear the marking "Tieff Röhre" (deep reeds) indicating that there are to be played on lower pitched instruments (see Ex 6.3). It is possible that this work was written by Brescianello, who may have composed the *Violino Concertino* part for his own use. The *Hautcontre* does not venture any lower than c' and so could therefore reasonably be performed on an ordinary oboe, rather than one pitched a minor third or fifth lower than normal.

¹²²Haynes, "J. S. Bach Pitch Standards", 59; Hans Oskar Koch, *Sonderformen der Blasinstrumente in der deutschen Musik vom späten 17. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (diss., Heidelberg, 1980), 236.

¹²³D-ROu, Mus. Saec. XVII: 51³⁸.

Ex. 6.3 Anon, *Concerto affettuoso l'haubois a 9 part* (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:51³⁸), *Affettuoso*, bars 1-3.

Violino Concertino

Hautbois 1

Hautcontre

Cembalo

As a natural progression from the five oboes, Castenbauer then listed three bassoons: "11. 2 französischer *Fagots*" and "12. 1 Teutscher *Fagot*."¹²⁴—therefore a selection of old and new instruments were in use

¹²⁴1718 Castenbauer; '11. Two French bassoons; 12. One German bassoon.'

by the musicians of the *Hofkapelle*. The first two of these were probably played regularly by two official members of the bass section, Erhardt Eberlen and Carl Gustav Radauer, while the German variety may have been played by Castenbauer himself, since Schwartzkopff wrote of him "Plast zur noth einen *Fagott*."¹²⁵ Bassoons are also included in the final section of Castenbauer's inventory as "ohnbrauchbar" (unusable), confirming the fact that the German type was outmoded:

- 7. Ein *quint Fagot* . . .
- 9. Ein alter deutscher *Fagot* . . .¹²⁶
- 15. 2 *Fagots*.

The "*quint Fagot*" is most likely to equate with the instrument of the same name described by Michael Praetorius in 1619, a dulcian with a range of F' to g.¹²⁷

Castenbauer then moved onto a new section of his document, entitled "Der jenigen *Instrumenten*, welche nich theils reparirt: und theils zur Noth gebrauchen werden können."¹²⁸ Once more he started by listing string instruments, in this case:

- 1. 10 2 *Violins*
- 2. ~~7~~ *Braccio*
- 3. 1 großer *Violon*
- 4. 7 frantzös. Bäss
- 5. 2 *Viola da Gamba*

¹²⁵1717 Schw 27/v; 'Plays [blows] when necessary a bassoon.'

¹²⁶1718 Castenbauer; '9. An old German bassoon . . .'

¹²⁷William Waterhouse, "Bassoon", *GroveMI*.

¹²⁸1718 Castenbauer; 'Those instruments which partly need to be repaired and partly could be used in times of need.'

6. 2 *Viola d'amour*¹²⁹

At one time the court must have had a large number of French bass players, given that seven instruments are listed in the first section of Castenbauer's report, and an additional seven in this part. Interestingly, the viola d'amore and viola da gamba appear in this part of the report, indicating that they had also become somewhat outmoded instruments.

Castenbauer continued with "1 Laute" and "2 Theorbe, worund die einte mit Elfenbeinern späsen"¹³⁰ presumably the same instruments played earlier in the century by Johann Gumprecht, who was now bedridden—as reported by Schwartzkopff in 1717.¹³¹ These are followed by a further selection of wind instruments, those used only occasionally by the *Hofkapelle*:

9. 2 flöthen

10. 2 flöth Bass

11. 3 Posaunen

12. 1 *Clarinet*.¹³²

This is the first mention of trombones in relation to the *Hofkapelle* at this time, certainly none of the *Hofmusici* was ever described as having played this instrument in the existing *Verzeichnisse*. Possibly they were associated more with the civic church musicians. Also of particular note

¹²⁹1718 Castenbauer; '1. ~~Fen~~ Two violins; 2. ~~Seven violas~~; 3. One violone; 4. Seven French Bases; 5. Two viola da gambe; 6. Two viola d'amore.'

¹³⁰1718 Castenbauer; 'One lute; two theorboes of which one has ivory *späsen* [?].'

¹³¹1717 Schw 27/v.

¹³²1717 Castenbauer; '9. Two recorders; 10. Two bass recorders; 11. Three trombones; 12. One clarinet.'

is the fact that the *Hofkapelle* did not own any modern transverse flutes, only recorders, which certainly explains why they were played by so few *Hofmusici*—who would have possessed their own instruments. This must have also been the case for the two horn-players, since no horns are listed by Castenbauer.

It is worthwhile comparing the range of instruments described by Castenbauer in this inventory with those included in the series of engravings published by J. C. Weigel in Nuremberg, c.1715-1725, entitled *Musicalisches Theatrum*. As has been previously noted by Alfred Berner the selection in Weigel's publication matches closely the variety, as well as the order of instruments described by Mattheson in his *Neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713).¹³³ Some of the original derivations of the engravings can even be traced to contemporary eighteenth-century sources, such as J. G. Walther's *Musicalische Lexicon*.¹³⁴

It has to be admitted that a number of the instruments represented in the Weigel collection are badly drawn (for example the extraordinarily long oboe in Plate 8) and some even appear to come from the realm of fantasy (for example the theorbo in Plate 17). However, given their correspondence in type to the instruments commonly in use at the Württemberg court it can be assumed that Weigel's work depicts at least a fairly typical selection of instruments for a south-German court during the first half of the eighteenth century.

¹³³Johann Christoph Weigel, *Musicalisches Theatrum*, facsimile edition, ed. Alfred Berner (Kassel, 1961), Documenta Musicologica I/22, Nachwort, III-IV.

¹³⁴See Berner, Nachwort, VI.

The courtly section of Weigel's engravings displays a diversity of instruments which largely corresponds to the reality of the musical practices of the Württemberg court around the years 1714-1717, including the clarinet, bass recorder, and the French *Baß Violon*. A wide range of instruments was in use at this time and had probably expanded greatly since the appointment of Pez in 1706. It appears that Pez especially favoured slightly unusual violin-type instruments, such as the viola d'amore and the mysterious *Hand Gamba*—which was probably the reason for Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach's (1687-1769) comment that at a house concert in Stuttgart he had seen the *Oberkapellmeister* and his deputy, Freudenberg, both perform on antiquated violin-type instruments, which would have caused astonishment in his home town of Frankfurt.¹³⁵

It seems that Pez was responsible for the introduction of the horn to the court and also of the clarinet—coming as he did from Munich, the centre of a region renowned for its leadership in woodwind developments. There was a scarcity of flute-playing in the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* around these years, the recorder instead holding the position as most popular treble wind instrument.¹³⁶ However, this situation was no doubt reversed following the return to Stuttgart of the flute enthusiast Crown Prince Friedrich Ludwig in 1716.

¹³⁵From Uffenbach's travel journal cited by Friedrich Baser, *Musikheimat Baden-Württemberg. Tausend Jahre Musikentwicklung* (Freiburg, 1963), 92.

¹³⁶C. S. Terry, *Bach's Orchestra* (London, 1932), 75, notes that the first extant use of the flute by Bach was in the secular cantata *Durchlaucht'ster Leopold* (BWV173a) at Cöthen, c.1718, "But it was not until his appointment to the Leipzig Thomasschule in 1723 that the transverse flute regularly contributed to his concerted music."

The Friedrich Ludwig 'Musiksammlung'

It is remarkable—and very fortunate—that the greater part of the secular repertoire performed by the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* during the latter decades of the seventeenth century and the first third of the eighteenth was kept together and has managed to survive as a distinct collection. This allows us to have an overview of the repertoire of the Württemberg *Instrumental-Musique* throughout this period. The principal person connected with the collection, who surely influenced its contents, was the only son of Duke Eberhard Ludwig: the Crown Prince of Württemberg, Friedrich Ludwig.

Friedrich Ludwig was described in the following manner by a contemporary visitor to the Württemberg court:

Dieser junge Prinz führet den Namen eines Erb-Printzen; Er ist klein von Person, aber wohl gebildet; hat auch sonst die herrlichen Eigenschaften, welche man von einem Fürsten nur wünschen mag; Er ist leutseelig, leibreich, freundlich und gefällig, ja man kan wohl sagen, daß der Herzog sein Herr Vater und er, unter allen Personen des Würtembergischen Hofs am besten zu leben wissen. Er hat sich verschiedene Jahre in Holland und Lothringen, auch zu Genf, Turin, in Italien und Frankreich aufgehalten; bey erfolgter Zurückkunft aber von seinen Reisen sich zu Berlin vermählet, und eine einzige Tochter gezeuget, so eine überaus angenehme Prinzeßin. Er ist ein grosser Liebhaber von Staat und Pracht, auch von Tanzen, Comödien, und von der Music; er greift sich stark an, und reitet alle morgen 7. bis 8. Pferde, doch macht seine zärtliche Gesundheit und die geringe

Sorge, so er für Erhaltung derselben träget, daß ich fürchte, er dürfte sein Leben nicht gar zu hoch bringen.¹

The Prince received his early education in nearby Tübingen and it appears that he spent very little of his youth in Stuttgart. Since his earliest years Württemberg had been at war with France and had endured repeated invasions. In June 1707 the French under Marshall Villars made a direct attack on Stuttgart and the entire court was forced to flee to safety in Switzerland.² From that time on the young Prince was kept out of Württemberg away from the danger and a collection of contemporary letters, written principally by his acting guardian, Baron Christoph Peter von Forstner (d.1755), documents his travels during this time.³

After a period in Lausanne in early 1709 (possibly he did not return to Stuttgart with the rest of the court, following their sojourn in Switzerland during 1707) the Prince shifted to Turin—arriving there by the end of July 1709 and where he remained until at least 13 February 1712. From Italy the thirteen-year old passed through Innsbruck in October-November 1712 and presumably visited his home in Stuttgart

¹Pöllnitz, 371-372; 'This young Prince carries the name of a hereditary Prince; He is small of person, but well-educated; also has other marvellous qualities, which one can only wish for a Prince; He is affable, friendly, and likeable, indeed only can easily say, that he and the Duke, his father, above all people at the Württemberg court know the best way to live. He spent several years in Holland and Lothringen, as well as at Genf, Turin, in Italy, and France; following his return from his travels he was married in Berlin and has fathered a single daughter, who is an extremely pleasant Princess. He is a great lover of pomp and splendour, as well of dances, plays, and of music; he starts things strongly and rides horses every morning between seven-eight o'clock, however due to his delicate health and the little he attends to his own preservation, that I fear, that he does not value his life highly enough.'

²Brockpähler, 350.

³D-Sa G218 Friedrich Ludwig.

before moving onwards to Holland, stopping in Heilbronn and Heidelberg *en route* (in September 1713). By November 1713 the Prince had reached The Hague, where he stayed until at least May 1715, with a brief interlude in Amsterdam (approximately one month in May-June 1714).

From Holland Friedrich Ludwig travelled to France (via Antwerp and Brussels) where he stayed in Paris for around ten months, leaving towards the end of June, passing through Basweiler on 3 July 1716. His visit to Paris coincided with the death of Louis XIV in September 1715 and the file which contains his letters home also includes a memento of that event: a pamphlet entitled *Relation De ce qui s'est passé de plus considerable pendant la maladie du Roy, & depuis sa mort*, dated 14 September 1715.⁴

In 1716 Friedrich Ludwig married Henriette Marie von Brandenburg-Schwedt and two years later their first child was born, Prince Eberhard Friedrich. Unfortunately he died a little over six months following his birth (b.4 August 1718-d. 20 February 1719)⁵, but a few years later the couple produced another child—Princess Louisa Frederica von Württemberg (1722-1791).

It was to Louisa Frederica that the Württemberg court music collection was passed, upon the deaths of both her father (1731) and grandfather, Eberhard Ludwig (1733). In 1746 she married the future Duke Friedrich of

⁴D-Sa G218 Friedrich Ludwig: 'Account of the most important events during the illness of the King and since his death.'

⁵Friedrich Kübler, *Die Familiengalerie des Württembergischen Fürstenhauses im Kgl. Residenzschloß zu Ludwigsburg* (Ludwigsburg, 1905), 73.

Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1717-1785) and the Württemberg court music collection was amongst those possessions transferred to her new home in upper eastern Germany. Following her husband's death in 1785 Louisa Frederica moved to Rostock, where she took up residence in the ducal palace. This building is currently the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, the location of the music collection since the Duchess shifted there towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The music has been relatively inaccessible to Western eyes, owing to the division of Germany following the Second World War. Although in the late 1960s the collection was re-catalogued by the Dresden musicologist Ortrun Landmann much of that information has yet to find its way into commonly available reference works. Conversely information regarding unknown composers and copyists in the collection, much of which can be obtained from documents held by the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, was not accessible to scholars in the former East Germany.

Landmann was specially commissioned to examine the music of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries held by the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock—approximately 220 printed works and 920 manuscript pieces. These she divided into five main groups, which included "als Nr. III die Kammermusik des Erbprinzen Friedrich Ludwig von Württemberg-Stuttgart aus dem 1. Drittel des 18. Jh. zu nennen. Mit nicht immer eindeutiger Abgrenzung folgt ihr als Nr. IV die Musiksammlung seiner Tochter, der Prinzessin Louisa Friderica von Württemberg, der nachmaligen Erbprinzessin und Herzogin von Mecklenburg-Schwerin."⁶

⁶Landmann, 1.

The association of part of the collection with Friedrich Ludwig is based upon a number of factors. Most convincing is the existence of a notebook entitled *Les Principes de Clavescin, Contenant une explication exacte de tout de qui concerne La Tablature et Le Clavier*.⁷ Landmann has identified this as a personal possession of the Prince, dating from approximately 1710-1720. It contains a series of small-scale keyboard works, primarily dances by such composers as Couperin, Lully, and Campra, but also by the Stuttgart court musician J. G. C. Störl. She writes "Ein Rondeau von Couperin in D dur weist die zusätzliche Angabe auf: "fait à Turin, Le 28.^e Septembre, 1712-". Einige Blätter weiter begegnet uns ein Marsch von Quirin van Blanckenburg mit dem Datum 1713."⁸

As we have already seen Friedrich Ludwig was resident in Turin between 1709-1712. At that time the northern Italian city was a lively musical centre held in high regard by musicians throughout Europe—it was later to be visited by J. J. Quantz, Charles Burney, Charles de Brosses, Georg Benda, and the Mozarts.

Since the 1619 marriage of Duke Vittorio Amedeo I to the sister of Louis XIII, Marie Christine, music at the court of Turin had been orientated increasingly towards the French style. In 1672 Duke Carlo Emanuele II set up a band of violinists in imitation of the famous *Vingt-quatre Violons du Roi* of Versailles. Following the turn of the eighteenth century the Dukes began sending promising musicians to study in southern-Italy (as was the case in Stuttgart and at other European courts). In 1703-06

⁷D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:73¹; 'The Principles of the Harpsichord, containing an accurate explanation of everything concerning notation and the keyboard.'

⁸Landmann, 3.

Giovanni Battista Somis (1686-1763), one of the court violinists, was sent to Rome to learn from Corelli⁹ and the future *maestro di capella*, Andrea Stefano Fiorè (1686-1732) accompanied him. During Friedrich Ludwig's sojourn in the city the Teatro Carignano was opened (1710) and frequent performances of opera and plays were given.¹⁰

Following his stay in Italy the young Prince moved on to Holland, reaching The Hague by the end of 1713. There he must have made early contact with Quirinus Blankenburg (1654-1739), a noted Dutch composer, music theorist, organist, and poet—possibly even having keyboard lessons with him. Certainly the pair remained in further contact—for the title of another manuscript held by the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock attests: "*Airs Allemans de M.^r Störl Transposés pour L'usage de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Hereditaire de Wirtemberg &.&.& Et enrichis d'un accompagnement de deux flutes & d'une basse de Viole Par Son tres humbl: serviteur Q Van Blanckenburg. A La Haijl. 1714.*"¹¹

⁹He may also have studied briefly with Vivaldi in Venice during this time, Boris Schwarz, "G. B. Somis", *Grove* 6.

¹⁰Giorgio Pestelli, "Turin", *Grove* 6.

¹¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:44⁴; 'German Arias of Mr. Störl transposed for the use of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Württemberg &. And enriched with an accompaniment of two recorders and a bass viol by his very humble servant Q. van Blankenburg. At The Hague 1714.'; Landmann identified these arrangements as five arias from Störl's cantata *Die in Christo Jesu erschiedene Freundlichkeit und Leutseeligkeit Gottes durch dessen Menschwerdung und Geburt* (text, W. F. Walliser), originally scored for soprano, two violins, two flutes, and harpsichord (Stuttgart, n. d.), also held by D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:59⁶.

A handful of other manuscripts also feature dedications to the Crown Prince of Württemberg, which from 1698-1731 could only indicate Friedrich Ludwig:

*TRIOS Dediès a SON ALTESSE MONSEIGNEUR LE PRINCE
Hereditaire de Wurtemberg par Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello
Directeur de la Musique.*¹²

Brescianello. *Trios pour 2 Fleutes Traversiers avec La Basse . .
.[dedicated to] le Prince Hereditaire de Wirtemberg.*¹³

*Sonates A Violon seul avec La Basse Continüe Composées Par
Monsieur Dumont Cy Devant Organiste et Maistre de Clavecin
ordinaire de la musique de la Chambre De Madame Son altesse La
princesse d'arcour [sic.], Dediès, A Son Altesse Serenissime,
Monseigneur Le Prince hereditaire des Etats d Wirtemberg,
Stouguart, Montbeliard &c. A Besançon 1723.*¹⁴

¹²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:9^{9/10}, these six sonatas and a Chaconne must date from before 1721—that is prior to Brescianello's appointment as *Oberkapellmeister*; 'Trios dedicated to His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Württemberg by Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello, Music Director.'

¹³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:9¹⁴, 'Trios for two flutes, with a bass . . . [dedicated to] the Crown Prince of Württemberg.'

¹⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII: 12, these six sonatas are presumably by Henry Du Mont (1610-1684) who worked as an keyboardist and composer at the French court, finally retiring in 1683; 'Sonatas for solo violin and basso continuo, composed by *Monsieur Dumont*, the former organist and Master in ordinary of Harpsichord in the Chamber Music of Her Royal Highness, the Princess d'Arcour, dedicated to His Most Serene Highness the Crown Prince of Württemberg, Stuttgart, Montebéliard &c. At Besançon 1723', this manuscript was probably copied specially for Friedrich Ludwig by someone at Besançon in 1723 and may relate to the visit of Duke Eberhard Ludwig, Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz, the *Erbprinz* and his wife, along with a retinue of several hundred servants, to the duchy of Mömpelgard (Montbéliard) in France, which Eberhard Ludwig inherited following the death of Duke Leopold Eberhard in March 1723 and on 14 July of that same year set off to visit his new possession—see Walter Grube "Herzog Eberhard Ludwigs Reise nach Mömpelgard" *Schwäbische Heimat* 10 (1959), 44-48.

Trio a 3. 1 Flut: Traversiere transp: 1 Violino. Col Cembalo o Vn Lut.
Auth: Kress. a Darmestatt. appartient: a S: A. S^{me} Monsegr. le Prince
*Hered: . . .*¹⁵

Sonata à 3. Flut Traversiere. Violino. Con Basso Continuo. Pepusch.
*P. S. A. S^{me} . . .*¹⁶

Trio 1 Violino 1 Flut Traversiere Con Cembalo Sig: rStulyck à Son
*Alteza le Prince Her: . . .*¹⁷

Concerto a Oboé d'Amour Flute traversier con Cembalo, Mons.
*Telemann N. 1 Pour S. A. S. ^{me} Monseigr. Le Prince . . .*¹⁸

One anonymous work also features a dedication to a Crown Prince:

¹⁵D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:20¹²; 'Trio à 3, one flute transposed, one violin with harpsichord or a lute. By Kress at Darmstadt, belonging to His Most Royal Highness the Crown Prince . . .', this work is probably by Johann Jacob Kreß (c.1685-1728).

¹⁶D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:37⁸; 'Sonata à 3. Flute, violin, with basso continuo. Pepusch. For His Most Royal Highness.', presumably by J. C. Pepusch (1667-1752) this work is dated 1722.

¹⁷D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:59²⁵; 'Trio [for] one violin, one flute with harpsichord, Signor Stulyck for His Most Royal Highness the Crown Prince', unfortunately no personal information regarding this composer appears to have survived, although there are around fifteen works by him held by D-ROu and on one manuscript his first names are given as "Mathia Nicola", his compositions are also found at D-SWI, S-Uu, and D-Dlb, Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1900-1904) gives the following entry: "Stulicke (Stulyck), Matthaeus Nikolaus, ein Komponist des 18. Jhs., der in B. Rostock [D-ROu] mit folgenden Compositionen im Ms. vertreten ist—einmal kommt die Jahreszahl 1723 vor . . ."; Bruce Haynes, *Music for Oboe, 1650-1800* (Berkeley, 1992) lists works by Stulyck at D-SWI, S-Uu, D-Dlb, and D-ROu. Adam Gotttron, *Mainzer Musikgeschichte von 1500 bis 1800* (Mainz, 1959), 95, writes "Ein Niklas Stulick war 1723 Geiger am kurpfälzischen Hof (F. Walter, I, 71). Er dürfte identische sein mit jenem Nikolaus Stulick sein Konzertmeisteramt am Kurmainzer Hof war und 1732 starb. Wenn Stulick sein Konzertmeisteramt schon 1731 aufgab, muß er zwischen 1723 und 1731, also wohl noch unter der Regierungszeit von Lothar Franz, an den Mainzer Hof gekommen sein. Leider ist es nicht gelungen, festzustellen, ob und wie er mit jenem Stoulicke, Mathias Nikolaus Stulyck, M. Stullyck und J. M. Stulyck verwandt ist."

¹⁸D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:45²³; (TWV42:A9/Anh42:G) 'Concerto for oboe d'amore, flute, with harpsichord, Monsieur Telemann. No. 1. For His Royal Highness the Prince . . .', unfortunately only the flute and basso continuo parts are extant.

*Concerto à 6. 2 Flauto traversie. 2 Violini. 1 Viola et Cembalo Pour S.^{sse} A. S^{me} Le Prince Hereditaire p.*¹⁹

For this work, as with those by Kreß, Pepusch, Telemann, Stulyck, it seems probable that the Prince mentioned in the title was Württemberg's Friedrich Ludwig.

Louisa Frederica must have inherited some degree of musical aptitude from her dilettante father. Included in the collection are two books originally owned by Louisa, the first started in Stuttgart around 1740 and continued in Schwerin following her marriage, containing selected keyboard pieces. The works copied into this book in Stuttgart have such titles as "Allemande de M.^r Coupring [*sic.*]", "Air de Monsieur Tardieu", "Rondeau 1^{er} Air de Monsieur Couprin, Les Vandangeuses", and "Menuet de Mr. Hendel."²⁰ The second book is a collection of vocal music comprising French, Italian, and German arias. These are based on both secular and sacred texts, which are scored for one-three voices and basso continuo.²¹

¹⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:63⁸; 'Concerto à 6. Two flutes, two violins, one viola, and harpsichord for His Royal Highness the Prince Royal.'

²⁰D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:63⁷, Couperin (from the 5^e *Ordre* of the *Premier Livre de clavecin* (1713), Handel, and Tardieu (presumably the same "Père Tardieu de Tarascon" whom J.-B. de La Borde (1780) credited with the introduction of the five-string type of *Basse de Violon*).

²¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:74¹, among the composers given are Nicola Porpora and J. A. Hasse.

A cantata by Brescianello adds further evidence to Louisa's musicality, with a title-page which reads: *Cantata con Stromenti. Seguir fera che fugge. p. Per la Serenissima Principessa Louisa di Württemberg. con 2 Violini, 1 Viola et Basso di Gioseppe Antonio Brescianello. Gran Maestro di Cappella.*²² This work must date from between 1721-1746, the year of Brescianello's official appointment as *Oberkapellmeister*, and that of Louisa's marriage. Her position as a direct descendant of Eberhard Ludwig presumably entitled Louisa to inherit the collection, whereas his successor, Duke Carl Alexander I, the son of the former *Administrator* Friedrich Carl, was a member of the Winnental branch.²³

The majority of the music originating from the Württemberg court in the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock has no stamp or written indication of its provenance, so that we can not be entirely sure just which pieces came from Ludwigsburg or in fact what percentage of the court music collection was taken to Mecklenburg. As far as it is possible to tell from the index cards compiled by Landmann there are approximately 350 individual manuscripts which include instrumentalists (in any genre) which may have originated at the Württemberg court and can therefore be placed in her 'Group III'. She writes "Von dem insgesamt 404 Instrumentalmusikhandschriften mit bekannten Verfasser, die in der UB

²²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:9⁷; 'Cantata with instruments. *Seguir fera che fugge*. For Her Royal Highness Princess Louisa of Württemberg, with two violins, one viola, and bass by Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello, *Oberkapellmeister*.'

²³There is also some evidence that Carl Alexander was also musical and studied the violoncello, see Scholz, 219-221. According to Pfeilsticker, 960, in April 1703 the *Kalkant* Johann Philipp Jungheimb sold "an den Erbprinzen eine Baßgeige" (a bass fiddle to the Crown Prince) and this is more likely to have been the 19-year old Carl Alexander, rather than the 4-year old Friedrich Ludwig.

Rostock für RISM verzeichnet wurden, entfallen 320 mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf die Sammlung des Erbprinzen, das sind also 80%. Von den 155 Anonyma bzw. Werken mit ungeklärter Autorschaft kommen hoch die knappe Hälfte dazu."²⁴

Significantly there are over two hundred works among that number which feature the flute as a solo instrument, including seventy-five concerto-type pieces; fifty works for flute, another instrument, and basso continuo; plus music for solo flute both with and without a bass accompaniment; and approximately sixty pieces for two flutes and basso continuo. This has to be the result of the influence of the flute-playing Crown Prince on the musical establishment. It is fairly safe to suppose that most of this repertoire was acquired following his return to Stuttgart in 1716. Pez's *Lista* of two years earlier mentions only two flute-players, compared with seven performers on the recorder.

Despite the obvious importance of the role of Friedrich Ludwig on the selection of musical repertoire for the *Hofkapelle* it seems unlikely that the Prince actually had his own *Kammermusik*.²⁵ The extant archival documents make no reference to such a group and never mention the

²⁴Landmann, 8.

²⁵Landmann, 2, "Die sog. Kammermusik des Erbprinzen Friedrich Ludwig ist z. Zt. nichts weiter als eine Hypothese von mir. Friedrich Ludwig, Sohn des württembergischen Herzogs Eberhard Ludwig, lebte von 1698-1731. Er starb im Alter von noch nicht 33 Jahren, 2 Jahre vor seinem Vater, er ist also nie zur Regierung gelangt. Man findet seinen Namen nirgends in der Musikkultur. Selbst Josef Sittard erwähnt ihn nicht in seiner *Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Württembergischen Hofe* (vol. I, II, Stuttgart 1890/1891), geschweige denn eine eigene Kammermusik des Prinzen mit besonders dafür angestellten Musikern. Und doch muß Friedrich Ludwig in die Reihe jener fürstlichen Musikdilettanten einbezogen werden, die mit mehr oder weniger Talent, aber eifrig innerhalb eines Kreises von Berufsmusikern ihr Instrument spielten und sich sogar in der Komposition versuchten."

name of the Crown Prince, whereas Eberhard Ludwig's name is frequently cited in an administrative context. It is more likely that the musical establishment served all aristocratic members of the ducal household reasonably equally. In fact, the Duke's mistress, Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz, is more frequently mentioned as holding musical *assemblées*; such as that which took place on Monday 12 December 1729: "Abends ware Aßemblée, wie auch Eine Camer Music beÿ Ihro Hochgräfft: Exel: Frau Landhofmeisterin."²⁶

This music collection is of great importance to the study of eighteenth-century music history, primarily because it represents the remains of the secular performances provided by the Württemberg court musicians from at least 1680 until around 1731. What is of even greater significance is that the information gained from further study of these musical sources can be linked directly to extant archival documents detailing the structure of the *Hofkapelle*.

In addition to a sizeable selection of anonymous works and those identified with such enigmatic markings as "J. V. F.r", "W. F.r", "D. . ., C. . .", the named composers represented within the collection number around sixty in total. While the majority of these men were German, a little over a third were composers of either French or Italian origin (see Table 7.1). It is particularly interesting to note that no works by such

²⁶D-Sa A21 Büschel 148; 'in the evening there was a gathering, as well as a [performance of] chamber music hosted by Her Most High Excellency the *Landhofmeisterin*.'

illustrious, mainstream Italian composers as Corelli or Vivaldi appear amongst the collection.²⁷

²⁷Remaining evidence suggests that at least in Germany dissemination of works by these two composers was not as widespread around the turn of the eighteenth century as might have been expected. A. Hutchings, *The Baroque Concerto* (London, 1961), 202, notes that "Corelli's concertos were not known in most parts of Germany until manuscript and printed parts of Vivaldi's Op. 3-7 arrived." Unfortunately Hutchings does not indicate clearly the date of this 'arrival'—Vivaldi's Op. 3 were first published in 1712 by Etienne Roger of Amsterdam. Michael Talbot, *Tomaso Albinoni. The Venetian Composer and His World* (Oxford, 1990), 169-170, remarks that "A recent study of the Vivaldi sources in Dresden has led to the unexpected conclusion that the *Hofkapelle* in Dresden started to admit Vivaldi's orchestral works to its active repertory only in the late 1720s."—he cites Manfred Fechner, "Bemerkungen zu einigen Dresdner Vivaldi-Manuskripten: Fragen der Vivaldi-Pflege unter Pisendel, zur Datierung und Schreiberproblematik", in Antonio Fanna and Giovanni Morelli (eds.), *Nuovi studi vivaldiani: Edizione e cronologia delle opere* (Florence, 1988), 775-784.

Table 7.1 Known composers represented in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu).

German	French	Italian
J. M. Blockwitz (fl.1717-1733)	Collin François de Blamont (1690-1760)	*G. A. Brescianello (c.1690-1758)
*Sebastian Bodinus (c.1700-c.1760)	Thomas-Louis Bourgeois (1676-c.1750)	Giuseppe Brivio (died c.1758)
J. C. Credie (b. 1681)	André Campra (1660-1744)	Antonio Caldara (c.1670-1736)
J. F. Fasch (1688-1758)	Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676-1749)	Giovanni Perroni (1688-1748)
Gottfried Finger (c.1660-1730)	*Louis D'Etri (fl.1727-1732)	*Alessandro Toeschi (c.1700-1758)
G. F. Händel (1685-1732)	Henry Du Mont (1610-1684)	Giuseppe Valentini (c.1680-c.1759)
*J. D. Hardt (1696-after 1755)	*Haumale Des Essarts (fl.1724-1731)	
J. W. Hasse (1699-1783)	Michel de la Barre (c.1675-c.1743)	
J. D. Heinichen (1683-1729)	Jacques Loeillet (1685-1748)	
J. C. Hertel (1699-1754)	*Louis Paro ^a	
*Reinhard Keiser (1674-1739)	Jean-Baptiste Senaillé (c.1688-1730)	
J. J. Krell (c.1685-1728)		

^aAlthough the name on the *Partie de Plaisances* (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:50¹) is given as "Paro" it seems probable that the work is by Louis Paret, a court musician at Württemberg c.1706, see Pfeilsticker, 906.

* An asterisk indicates that the composer was employed at the Württemberg court at some stage during their career.

<i>German (continued)</i>	<i>Unknown Composers</i>
J. G. Linike (c.1680-1737)	Abraham
Joseph Meck (1690-1758)	Baridoni (Italian)
J. M. Molter (1696-1765)	Belitze
J. C. Pepusch (1667-1752)	Büchler
J. J. Quantz (1697-1773)	Delluo
J. E. von Sachsen-Weimar (1683-1729)	Fleischer
*Wenceslaus Sporni (fl.1729)	Grüneberg
*J. G. C. Störl (1675-1719)	Krelius
A. R. Stricker (d. after 1720)	Nimpf
G. P. Telemann (1681-1767)	Piorelli (Italian)
Johann Theile (1646-1724)	Reibens
*D. G. Treu (1695-1749)	Resküly
J. S. Weiß (1690-1737)	Stulyck
Friedrich Ludwig von Württemberg (1698-1731)	F. Zellerino (Italian)
*C. A. von Ziegesar (fl.1730) ["Rasegeiz"]	

The collection also includes three instrumental works and a sketch for a concerto, composed by Crown Prince Friedrich Ludwig himself.

According to Rümelin's account of the memoirs of Baron von Pöllnitz the *Erbprinz* "selbst Opern componirte, die auf dem Hoftheater²⁸ in Ludwigsburg zur Aufführung kamen."²⁹ Although there are no extant records of such theatrical productions, it is certain that the Prince became known as a musical dilettante outside his own region—and can be thought of as a forerunner to Friedrich II (the Great) of Prussia (1712-1786), both as an aristocratic composer and avid flute-player.³⁰ Telemann mentioned Friedrich Ludwig in a poem which appeared in Mattheson's *Organistenprobe* (1719)—in a footnote to the line "und mancher großer Fürst kann auch ein Apollo sein."³¹

The first of the three remaining compositions by the Prince is entitled "Concerto per la Tavola Della S. A. S. il Prencipe Hereditario di Wirtemberg 1728" and is scored for two oboes, two violins, viola, harpsichord, and bassoon.³² Opening with an Allegro movement, the work progresses to an Aria (Andante), followed by two Menuets (the

²⁸Built from 1725 onwards by Donato Giuseppe Frisoni, Klaus Merten, *Schloß Ludwigsburg* (Stuttgart, 1992), 36.

²⁹Rümelin, "Altwürttemberg im Spiegel fremde Beobachtung", *Württ. Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde* 1864, 283; '[the Crown Prince] himself composed operas, which were performed in the court theatre at Ludwigsburg.'

³⁰See E. E. Helm, *Music at the Court of Frederick the Great* (Norman, 1960).

³¹Martin Ruhnke (ed.), *Telemann-Werkoerzeichnis (TWV) Instrumentalwerke Band 2* (Kassel, 1992), 218, noted by K.-P. Koch, "Die Rostocker Telemann-Quellen", paper given at the *Internationalen wissenschaftlichen Konferenz* during the 9. Telemann-Festtage, Magdeburg, 1987; 'and many a grand Prince can also be an Apollo.'

³²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:66³³; 'Table Concerto by His Most Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Württemberg 1728.'

second for two oboes and continuo), and ends with a Gigue. The second work by the *Erbprinz* is an overture-suite, dated 12 October 1730 and scored for two violins, viola, basso continuo, with a separate part for bassoon.³³ Finally, there is another concerto "Della S. A. S. Il Principe Hereditario di Wirtembergo", for strings only: two violins, viola, and basso continuo.³⁴

Two main hands can be identified on the manuscripts of Friedrich Ludwig's compositions and Landmann describes these in the following terms:

Die erste macht den Anfang, setzt die Schlüssel, Akzidentien und entwirft das Thema. Das dürfte die Hand des Lehrers sein. Die zweite, der Schüler, führt die Komposition aus, gelegentlich unter Beihilfe des Lehrers—sicherlich also Frierich Ludwig. Der "Lehrer" ist bald gefunden, nämlich bei—leider unvollständigen—Stimmen zu vier Ouverturensuiten, die zweimal die Aufschrift tragen "Original D'Haumale Des Essarts" . . . Nähere Angaben über diesen Musiker, offensichtlich eine Franzosen, fehlen leider.³⁵

Archival documents in Stuttgart do provide further information regarding this unknown musician, "Haumale Des Essarts." Variations on his name in contemporary writings range from Haumale Des Essarts, August Des Csar, August Du Csar, August Des Czar, Cesar D'Aumale, to simply Cazar. He was appointed to the Württemberg court as a

³³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:51⁵⁰; 'By His Serene Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Württemberg.'

³⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:51¹⁵.

³⁵D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:9a-d.

Cammermusicus in 1724, along with two other French musicians. Their joint decree of appointment read:

Demnach Unsers Gnädigsten Fürsten und Herrns Frstl. Durchl. die dreÿ *Musicos*, nahmens *Cesar*, *Le Long*³⁶ und *Barré*³⁷ zu Ihren Cammer *Musicos* gnädigst bestellt und angenommen, solchen auch, und zwar dem Ersteren Sechshundert Gulden, denen beeden andern aber jedem Vierhundert Gulden, beÿ fürstl.^{tn} *Visitation*, zu Ihrem Jährlichen Gehalt abreichen zu laßen . . . *Decretum*. Stethen. d 3 Junij 1724.

Eberhard Ludwig Hz.³⁸

It seems probable that the appointment of these three French musicians was related to or resulted from the visit of Eberhard Ludwig to his new estate at Mömpelgard (or Montebéliard) in France during 1723 (see fn. 14).

It appears that by 1728 Des Essarts had become a particular favourite of the Württemberg *Erbprinz*, for the latter specifically requested that the "*Musicum Cazar*" accompany him on his trip to Liebenzell in April of that year (see page 316ff).³⁹ Des Essarts is described as "*Concertmeister Cazar*" in documents dating from 1730 onwards, but his exact status is rather unclear, since his name does not appear in *Verzeichnisse* submitted by Brescianello and others on the state of the *Hofkapelle* in

³⁶Le Long was a bass singer and was one of the two basses in the chorus of the 1726 production of *Pyramus und Thisbe*, Sittard I, 121; D-Sa A21 Büschel 163.

³⁷Little is known about this musician, see Pfeilsticker, 886.

³⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 615; 'Accordingly our most gracious Prince and Master, His Serene Royal Highness, has graciously resolved that the three musicians by the name of Cesar [Des Essarts], Le Long, and Barré be appointed and taken on as chamber musicians and as such, the first shall receive six hundred *Gulden* and the two others however each four hundred from the ducal *Visitation* as their yearly salary . . . Decree Stethen 3 June 1724. Eberhard Ludwig, Duke.'

³⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 23, Ludwigsburg 19 April 1728.

1729.⁴⁰ Another *Konzertmeister* had been appointed in 1725, Alessandro Toeschi (b. before 1700-1758)⁴¹, but the official decree of his engagement made it clear that he was not the sole person to hold this office: ". . .

Alessandro Toeschi, als *Second Maitre des Concerts*, und deßen Frau als Cammer Sängerin, in dero dienste gnädigst auf- und angenommen . . ."⁴²

During May to July 1731 Des Essarts once more accompanied Friedrich Ludwig to Liebenzell and it seems likely that he had become a personal servant of the Prince—this explanation would account for the failure of his name to appear in contemporary *Verzeichnisse*. By October of that same year Des Essarts had been dismissed from his post, an event summarized in an official protocol:

Da unsers gndstrs Fürsten und Herrns Hochfürstl: durchl: dem biß forigen *Concert Meister des Essarts* bereits unterm. 12. dieses seine Dimission entheilt, auch deßhalb wegen seiner Bezahlung das nöthig an fürstl: Rent Cammer ergehen laßen; Als wollen höchstlermeldt Dieselbe ein solches dem Fürstl: O. Marschalln Amt des Endes hierdurch nachrichtl: in Gnaden ohnvorhalten, uns Ihne des Essarts die nachdenckliche bedeutung zu Ihm, daß er so gleich sich von hier weg machen und beÿ Hoff nicht mehr blicken laßen solle. Decretum Türrheim d 15. 8br: 1731. Eberhard Ludwig Hz.⁴³

⁴⁰D-Sa A21 Büschel 609.

⁴¹Robert Münster, "Toeschi, A.", *Grove 6*, from 1719-1724 Toeschi was court musician to Landgrave Ernst Ludwig of Hessen at Darmstadt; Pfeilsticker, 883, from 1725-1737 Second *Konzertmeister* to Eberhard Ludwig.

⁴²D-Sa A21 Büschel 617; 'Alessandro Toeschi, is most graciously received and appointed to Your Service, as Second *Konzertmeister*, along with his wife as a chamber singer.'

⁴³D-Sa A21 Büschel 614; '. . . the heretofore *Konzertmeister* Des Essarts has already hastened away, having received his dismissal on the 12th [of October], therefore as regards his salary the necessary [money] shall be sent to him from the ducal *Rentkammer*; Therefore these same personages wish that one of those from the office of the ducal *Oberhofmarschall* shall circulate herewith the outcome and have the grace to hold him

By April of the following year, 1732, the *Hofmusicus* Stephan Freudenberg had written directly to the Duke applying for the position of *Konzertmeister*: "Da nun vor einigen wochen durch Dimittirung des Concertmeisters *Cahsar d'omels* eine Concertmeisters stelle *vacant* geworden, und ich der mithin Hoffnung gelebe, fallß Ew. Hochfurstl: Dhl: mir sothane *function*, alß einen alt, und treü fleißig erkanten-Knecht Gdß anvertrauen solten, daß Ew Hochfurstl: Dhl gesichtetlich durch meine *application contentiret* worden solten."⁴⁴ Obviously this post could not have been specially attached to the entourage of the *Erbprinz*, since Friedrich Ludwig had died the previous November—a little over a month after the release of Des Essarts. It wasn't until 1735 that Freudenberg was promoted to the position of *Konzertmeister*, alongside Toeschi and Johann Daniel Hardt (1696-d. after 1755).⁴⁵

Instrumentation in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung*

The information provided on the title-pages of manuscripts from the Württemberg court music collection allows a closer examination of the scoring of each piece and therefore of the instrumental parts which the *Kapellmeister* needed to supply with musicians for a performance.

Through this means sufficient material can be gathered to allow a general

[Des Essarts] up as an example, that he shall impress that Des Essarts should go away from here immediately and never put in an appearance at court again. Decree Türrckheim 15 October 1731. Eberhard Ludwig, Duke.'

⁴⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 615; 'Now that a position of *Konzertmeister* has become vacant for some weeks through the dismissal of the *Konzertmeister* Des Essarts, and I have lived in hope therefore, that Your Royal Highness could trust me to fulfill the same function, as an old and faithfully hardworking servant known to you, [and] that Your Royal Highness would surely consider my application.'

⁴⁵Pfeilsticker, 896.

division of the collection into broad categories reflecting the number of instruments required to perform each piece.⁴⁶ The twenty-four tables which follow summarize the content of the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* as far as is possible at this preliminary stage (until more detailed research is undertaken).⁴⁷ Those works listed are not always complete and unfortunately it is often impossible to determine whether the separate treble or bass parts listed are individually distinct lines or in unison. Instrumental works by J. C. Pez are excluded from the following tables, but will be considered fully in Chapter 10 (see Table 10. 1 for a summary of his output in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung*).

⁴⁶The RISM-catalogue constructed by Ortrun Landmann for the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock is in the form of index cards organized in alphabetical order by composer. It includes all the manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries held in the library, not merely those of the so-called *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung*. Therefore the twenty-four tables which follow are useful in their arrangement of the works by size and genre, thus allowing an overview of the collection.

⁴⁷In the following discussion the system developed in Italy during the Baroque era to describe the number of instrumental parts will be used—for example Corelli's *sonate da chiesa* à 3 were published in four part-books: two violins, violone, and basso continuo.

Table 7.2: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 2—Flute and continuo.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	Sonata for "Flauto Solo" (F)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ⁹
Anon	"le 6. ^{me} Solo Flutt Traversieur" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ^{10,11}
Anon	"Solo pour La flut: Traversier et Basso Continuo" (e)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ¹²
Anon	"Trav: Solo par: Mr M." (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ¹³
Anon	"Solo pour la Flute Traversiere" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:65 ^{12b}
Anon	"Solo pour la Flut-Traversiere" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:65 ^{12c}
Bodinus	Four "Suonata per Flaut travers Solo" (D; G; G; A) ^a	Mus. Saec. XVIII:81 ^{3a-d}
Hasse	"Sonata à Flauto Trav:" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:40 ¹⁹
Heinichen	"Solo. Pour La Flut Traversiere" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:65 ^{12a}
Hertel	Eleven sonatas for "Flauto: traverso Solo" (various)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:41 ⁵
Kreß	Set of six sonatas "à Flauto Solo Di Kress" (F; G; C; G; F; G) ^b	Mus. Saec. XVII:20 ⁶
Kreß	Set of four sonatas "Flauto Solo Di Kress" (C; g; F; g)	Mus. Saec. XVII:20 ⁷
Kreß	Set of six sonatas "à Flauto Solo e Basso Di Kress"	

^aPossibly commissioned directly by the Crown Prince; Klaus Häfner, "Bodinus, S." *Grove* 6, from c.1718-1723 Bodinus was musician to Margrave Karl Wilhelm of Baden-Durlach; Pfeilsticker, 888, and 1724-1728 to Eberhard Ludwig.

^bThese four sets of flute sonatas by Johann Jacob Kreß were probably commissioned directly by the Crown Prince; Pippa Drummond, "Kreß, J. J.", *Grove* 6, court musician at Darmstadt 1712, rising to the position of *Konzertmeister* in 1723.

Kreß	(G; F; g; C; G; F)	Mus. Saec. XVII:20 ³
La Barre	"Solo a Flute traversiere del Sigl. Kress" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:20 ⁹
Piorelli	"Pieces de Mons. ^r de La Barre po. la flute Traversiere"	Mus. Saec. XVII:33b
Senaillé	"No: 13 Solo Del Sigr. Piorelli" "Traversier Solo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:53 ¹³
Stricker	Sonata for "Flauto Solo" "1711" ^c (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ^{8a-c}
	"Sonata à Flauto Traverso à [sic.] Cembalo del Sig: Stricker 1720" (a) ^d	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ⁷
Stulyck	"No 12 Solo Del Sig. Stoulicke" for flute and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ²¹
Toeschi	Six works for flute and basso continuo (various)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:60 ^{6a-f}
Weiß	"Solo pour la Flute Traversiere" (e)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:62 ²

^cProbably copied for the Crown Prince during his sojourn in Turin.

^d"1720" is no doubt a copyist's date, A. Loewenberg, and E. Noack, "Stricker, A. R.", *Grove 6*, Stricker was in the service of the Elector Palatine Karl Philipp at Neuburg an der Donau from 1717 until his death (sometime between 1720-1723), having previously worked as *Kapellmeister* at Cöthen (1712-1717).

Table 7.3: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 2—Solo instrument (not flute) and continuo.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	Fragment of a sonata for treble and continuo	Mus. Saec. XVIII:6512d
Bodinus	Six sonatas "per Violino Solo" (various)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:814
Bodinus	"Sonata per un Soprano Viol" (a)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:811
D'Etri	"Solo flute à bec [recorder] Del Sig. ^r Detri" (c)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:134
Du Mont	"Sonates A Violon seul avec La Basse . . ." (various)	Mus. Saec. XVII:12
Fleischer	"No. 11 Solo", treble and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:165
Fleischer	"No. 1 Solo Del Sig. ^r Fleischer", treble and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:164
Hardt	"Solo per la Viola da Gamba del Sig. ^r Hardt" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:3319
Hardt	"Six Sonates une sitte Viole et Basse Continue" ^a	Mus. Saec. XVIII:3318
Pepusch	"Sonata à Violino Solo. Del Sig. ^r Pepusch" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:377
Pepusch	"Hoboe, Solo. di Pepusch" (E ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVII:379
Pepusch	"Solo Del Sigr. Pepusch", recorder and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:3711

^aDedicated to the King of Poland, in whose employ Hardt had previously served—the cover of this manuscript sports Louisa Frederica's coat of arms; Pfeilsticker, 898 and 883, Hardt joined the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* in 1725 as a virtuoso gambist, and by 1738 had been promoted to the position of *Oberkapellmeister*.

Perroni "Violoncello Solo. Del Sigl: Carlo Perroni"^b (A) Mus. Saec. XVIII:50⁸

Table 7.4: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 2—Two instruments without continuo.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	Six sonatas "pour Violino Solo et Viola da Gamba" (various)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ¹⁹
Anon	"Sonata. Partitura a 2 Viola d Amour" (d)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ¹³
La Barre	"Suite de pieces a 2 fl. trav." ^c (various)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ¹⁸
La Barre	Three suites for two flutes ^d (various)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ²³
La Barre	"Pieces de M ^r de la Barre pour deux flutes Traversieres"	Mus. Saec. XVII:33 ^a
Ziegesar ["Rasegeiz"]	"Douett Sul 2. Flut Traversiere sens Basse. Rasegeiz" ^e (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:54 ²

^bRudolf Schnitzler, "Perroni, G.", *Grove* 6, Perroni was employed at the Imperial court in Vienna in 1721.

^c According to Landmann originally published in Paris c.1709-10.

^d According to Landmann, Suites 7, 8, and 9 from Books V-VI of La Barre's "Suites a 2 fl. trav. sans basses", published in Paris c.1713-14.

^e See page 270.

Table 7.5: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 1—Unspecified treble instrument without continuo.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Krelius	"Solo Del Sigr. Krelius" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVII:208

Table 7.6: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 3—Two flutes and continuo.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	"Pieces pour 2 Flutes Traver: e Basso Cont: de diver: Maitres c'est ne pas conté" (G; D) two suites	Mus. Saec. XVII:5163
Anon	Sonata for two flutes and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:663
Anon	"Sonata a 2 Flutes Allemandes Con Basso Continuo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5158
Anon	Sonata for two flutes and continuo (e)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5159
Anon	Sonata for two flutes and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:6610
Anon	"Sonata" for two flutes and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5764
Anon	Sonata for two flutes and continuo (d)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5161
Anon	Sonata for two flutes and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:669a
Anon	Sonata for two flutes and continuo (b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:669b
Anon	"Sonnata" for two flutes and violoncello (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5156

Anon	"4 Sonaten à 2 Flutes Traversiers" (G; G; D; D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ¹⁶
Anon	"Sonata a tre. 2 Flut Traversiere e Cembalo"	Mus. Saec. XVIII:51 ⁵⁵
Anon	Sonata for two flutes and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:54 ³
Anon	Six sonatas for two flutes and continuo by "P. B." (G; e; A; b; D; G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:66 ^{12a-e}
Brescianello	"Trios pour 2 Fleutes Traversiers avec La Basse" (dedicated to Friedrich Ludwig)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:9 ¹⁴
Brescianello ["G. A. B."]	Sonata for two flutes and continuo (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ²²
Brescianello	Two "Trios à 2 Flutt Allemandes Col Basso Continuo" (C; d)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:9 ¹¹
Brescianello	"Trios [sic.] à 2 Flutt Allemande Col Basso Continuo" (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:9 ¹²
Brescianello	Ten sonatas and a Chaconne for two flutes/violins and continuo, dedicated to Friedrich Ludwig	Mus. Saec. XVIII:99/10
Blockwitz	"No 30 Sonata 2e Flauti Traversieri, Basso Del Sig. ^r Deplochuiz" ^a (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:53 ^{5a}
Keiser ["Cesaro"]	"No 9 Sonata a 3, 2 flut-Traversieres Con Cembalo. Hambourg" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:19 ⁷
Loeillet	"Sonata" "Pour la Flute de Voix", parts for two flutes or voice	

aj. G. Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732), gives the following information on this musician: "Blockwitz (Johann Martin) ein *Musicus* auf der *Flûte traversière* bey der Könighlichen Capelle und Cammer-Music in Dresden" (Blockwitz (Johann Martin) a musician on the flute at the royal chapel and chamber music in Dresden).

Pepusch	flutes and violoncello (b)	Mus. Saec. XVII:222
	"Sonata à 3 2 Hautbois ou Flutes allemandes et Basso" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:374
Piorelli	"No. 30 Trio Flauto Traverso 1 ^{mo} , Flauto Traverso 2 ^{do} , Basso Del Sig. ^r Piorelli" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVII:197
	"Sonata" for two flutes and continuo (d)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5821
Schwartzkopff	"Airs Allemans de M. ^r Störl . . . de deux flutes & d'une basse de Viole"	Mus. Saec. XVII:444
Störl (arr. Blanckenburg)	"Sonata â 3, 2 Flut-Traversieres e Viola Basso, Con Cembalo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5919 & 26
Stulyck	"Trio 2. Flauti Traversi & Basso" (TWV42:D16)	Mus. Saec. XVII:4520
Telemann		

Table 7.7: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 3—Flute, violin, and continuo.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	Sonata for flute, violin, and harpsichord (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:51 ¹⁸
Anon	Sonata for flute, violin, and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:66 ²
Anon	Sonata for flute, violin, and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ⁶⁵
Anon	"Trio Flauto Traverso, Violino, basso Del Sig. ^r Anonimo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ⁶⁸
Anon	"Trio a Flut traversiere, Violino, e Basso de Manheimb" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:47 ¹²
Anon	Sonata for flute, violin, and violoncello	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ⁶⁷
Bodinus	"Trio . . . Flaut travers obligato, Violino obligato et cembalo" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:8 ¹²
Bodinus	"Sonata per Violino, Flaute travers: et Violoncello" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:8 ¹⁰
Hasse	"No 10 Trio Flauto Traverso, Violino, Basso" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:40 ¹⁶
Heinichen	"Trio à 1 Traverso, 1 Violino et Basso del Sigr: Heinichen (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:14 ¹⁰
Heinichen	"Sonata à 3, 1 Flut-traversiere, 1 Violino con Cembalo . . . d 8. ^t Julj 1722" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:14 ¹⁴
Heinichen	"No 14 Trio Flauto traverso, Violino, Basso . . . Del Sig. ^r Heinichen" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:14 ¹³
Keiser	"Sonata 2 à 3, Flauto Traverso, Violino con Cembalo del R. Keiser 1720" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:19 ^{2b}
Keiser	"Sonata à 3 . . . 1 Violino, 1 Flut Travers, Cembalo di Sigr R.	

Kreß	Keisser [<i>sic.</i>] Compos: Anno 1720" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:196
	"Trio a 3, 1 Flut-Traversiere tranps:, 1 Violino, Col Cembalo o Lut, Auth: Kress a Darmestatt, apartient a S: A. Sme Monsegr. le Prince Hered:" (G)	
Pepusch	"Trio Flauto traverso, Violino, Basso . . . Del Sig. ^r Pepusch" (C)	Mus. Saec. XVII:20 ¹²
Pepusch	"Sonata à 3, Flut Traversiere, Violino, Con Basso Continuo, Pepusch, P. S. A. S. me: [For His Royal Highness]" "1722"(e)	Mus. Saec. XVII:372
Piorelli	"Trio a Flut Traversiero, Violino e Cembalo . . . 1725" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:378
Quantz	"Sinphonia à 3, Flut-Traversiere, Violino Col Cembalo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:66 ¹³
Stulyck	"Trio, 1 Violino, 1 Flut Traversiere Con Cembalo, Sig. ^r Stulyck, à Son Alteza [<i>sic.</i>] le Prince Her:" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:53 ¹⁶
		Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ²⁵

Table 7.8: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 3—Flute, viola da gamba, and continuo.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	Sonata for flute, viola da gamba, and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:667
Krelius	"Sonata à Flauto Traversiere, Viol d'gambola [<i>sic.</i>] e Continuo" ^a (E)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:456
Kreß	"Trio, 1 Flut: Traver: transpor:, 1 Viola da Gamba Concert. e Cembalo, a Darmestatt" (g)	Mus. Saec. XVII:2013

Table 7.9: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 3—Sonatas or Trios for two instruments (not flute) and continuo.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	"Sonata à 3 1 Hautb: é Flut Tavers:, 1 Violino Col Basso Continuo" (a)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:664
Anon	"Trio à 1 Hautbois, 1 Violino et Basso Continuo" (d)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:643
Bodinus	"Trio" for flute and two bassoons	Mus. Saec. XVIII:84

^aAlthough the manuscript is marked "Krelius" is it unclear whether this indicates the copyist or composer.

Bodinus	"Sonata per tuo Violino, o tuo Flaute travers: et Violoncello" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:815
Grüneberg	"No 20 Trio Flauto Traverso, Hautbois, Basso" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:336
Heinichen	"Trio à 1 Traversiere, 1 Basson Concert et Violoncello" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:1411
Linike	"Sonata a 3, 1 Traversè de Violine; 1 Fagotto de Violoncello de Viol di Gamba et Basso Continuo de J. G. Linike" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:214
Linike	"Sonata a 3, 1 Traversè, Oboé de Violini; 1 Oboe, Traversè de Violini et Basso Continuo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:644
Pepusch	"Sonata a 3, 2 Violini et Basso Continuo del Sig. ^r Pepusch le Cadet" (B)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5410
Pepusch	"No 29 Trio Hautbois, Violino, Basso . . . Del Sig. ^r Pepusch" (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:3713
Pepusch	"Trio 2: Hautbois ou Flutes allemandes et Basso du S. ^r Pepusch No 35." (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:374
Schwartzkopff	"Sonata à 3, Viola da Gamba et Fagotto con Cembalo" (g)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5815
Schwartzkopff	"Sonata" for two violins and continuo (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5819
Schwartzkopff	"Sonata à 3, 2 Violini et Cembalo" (d)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5824
Schwartzkopff	"Sonata à 3" (g)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5823
Stulyck	"Sinfonia à 3 Strom.: 2 Hautbois e Basso, Sig. ^r Stulyck" (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5918
Telemann	"Sonata Polonese à 3, 1 Violino, 1 Alto Viola et Basso" (a) (TWV42:a8)	Mus. Saec. XVII:4526

Telemann	Sonata for oboe, violin, and continuo (e) (TWV42:e12)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ⁵
Telemann	"Trio 2 Violini et Basso" (e) (TWV42:e11)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ²⁴
Telemann	"Trio Flute à bec, Hautbois, Basso" (F) (TWV42:F15)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ¹⁹

Table 7.10: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 3—Concertos for two instruments (not flute) and continuo.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	"Concertino à 3 Stromenti Con Flauto Traversiere è Violino Basso Continuo" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5133a
Anon	"Concerto à 3, 1 Flut Traversiers, 1 Violino Col Basso Continuo" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5143
Büchler	"Concerto à 3, 1 Flut Traversiers, 1 Violino Col Basso Continuo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:665
Telemann	"Concerto a Oboé d'Amour, Flute traversier con Cembalo, Mons. Telemann . . . Pour S. A. Sme Monseigr. Le Prince" (G) (TWV42:A9/Anh42:G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:4523

Table 7.11: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 4—Flute, two violins, and continuo.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	"Concerto" for flute, two violins, and continuo (C)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5760
Anon	"Concerto a 4, 1 Flaut-traversieur, 2 Violino et Violon Cello" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5136
Anon	Concerto for flute, two violins, and harpsichord (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:668a
Bodinus	Six concertos for flute, two violins, and harpsichord	Mus. Saec. XVIII:85, 7a-e
		Mus. Saec. XVIII:89c & e
Büchler	"Concerto, Flauto Traverso, 2 Violini, Basso" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:104
Credie	"Concerto Flauto Traverso, 2 ^e Violini, Basso Del Sig. ^r Credj" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:1018a
Credie	"Concerto Flauto Traverso, Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, Basso Del Sig. ^r Credie" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:1018b
Hasse	"No 19 Concerto Flauto Traverso, 2 ^e Violini, Basso" (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:4018
Heinichen	"Concerto a4, Flauto Traverso, 2 ^e Violini, Basso" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:1416
Schwartzkopff	"Concerto à 4, Flaute Traversiere, 2 Viol: con Cembalo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5820
Stulyck	"Concertino di Galanteria à 4 Strom: da M. N. Stulyck, Basso Continuo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:5920
Stulyck	"Concerto à 4 Strome, Flaut traversiere, Violino 1mo, Violino	

Stulyck	2do, et Basso Continuo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ²⁸
	"No 13 Sonata Flauto Traverso, 2 Violini, Basso" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ¹⁰
	"Concerto à 4 Stromi; 1 Flut-Traversiere, 2 Violini, et Cembalo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ²³
Telemann	"Sonata Discortato à 4, Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, Traverso, et Basso" (A) (TWV43:A7)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ¹²
Ziegesar	"No 29 Concerto Flauto Traverso, 2 Violini, Basso Del Sig. Rasegeiz" (e)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:54 ¹

Table 7.12: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 4—Treble, two violas, and continuo.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Schwartzkopff	"Overture" for oboe/violin ^a , two violas, and continuo (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ⁹
Telemann	Overture-suite for "Dessus Premier", "Hautecontre", "Taille", and "Cembalo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:66 ³⁴

^aAs in many works by J. C. Pez, this overture-suite features a unison treble line for two oboes and ripieno violin, which very occasionally divides into two solo oboe parts (see Chapter 10).

Table 7.13: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 4—Two violins, viola, and continuo.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Brescianello	"Overture de M. ^r Brescianello" (C)	Mus. Saec. XVII:91
Brescianello	"Ouvert del Sig. ^r Bresc. . . ." (F)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:93
Brescianello	"Overture Con una Chiaconna" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:95
Friedrich Ludwig	"Concerto Della S. A. S. Il Principe Hereditario di Wirtembergo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ¹⁵
Friedrich Ludwig	"Overture" "12 8bre 1730" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ⁵⁰
J. E. v. Sachsen-Weimar	"Concerto n. 6" (a)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ⁴²
Kreß	Eleven sonatas à 4, some scored for "Violino Primo, ò travers., Violino secundo, Viola et Basso" (c; D; d; D; B ^b ; g; F; D; d; A; e)	Mus. Saec. XVII:20 ^{5a-i} , k-l
Kreß	Five sonatas à 4 (D; d; A; E; a)	Mus. Saec. XVII:20 ^{4a} , c-f
Kreß	Two sonatas à 4, for 1st violin or flute, 2nd violin, viola, and continuo "di Kress" (d; D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:20 ¹⁰ , 2 & 5
Kreß	Sonata à 4, for 1st violin or flute, 2nd violin, viola, and continuo (e)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ⁵
Molter	"Concerto Pastorale con Violino primo, Violino Secondo, Alto	

Telemann	Viola e Basso Continuo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:47 ¹⁴
	"Overture" (D)	Mus. Saec XVII:51 ⁴⁸
Telemann	"Concerto Polonoise à 4, Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, Viola et Basso Continuo" (B ^b) (TWV43:B3)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ¹¹

Table 7.14: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 4—Concertos for treble obbligato instrument, two violins or flutes, and continuo.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	"Concerto", "Hautbo AMour" [sic.], two violins, continuo (A)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ³¹
Anon	"Concerto à 4:, 1 Violino, 2 Flut Traversiers, Col Basso Continuo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ⁴⁴
Bodinus	"Concerto . . . à 4 Instr: Violino, Flaut Traversie Primo, Flaut Travers Secondo et Violoncello è Cembalo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:8 ¹⁷
Büchler	"Concerto à 4 V, 1 Flute traversiere, 1 Hautbois, 1 Violino, e Cembalo del Sigl. Büchler" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:10 ³
Händel	"Concerto à 4 Strom: Flauto Piccolo, 2 Violini e Violoncello Di Sig. ^r Hendl" (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:33 ¹⁰

Table 7.15: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 4—Miscellaneous Combinations.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Fasch	"No 43 Concerto, Flauto Traverso, Violino, Fagotto, Basso, Del Sig. ^r Fasch" (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:14 ²
Heinichen	"Concerto, Flauto Traverso, Violoncello, Bassone e Cembalo"	Mus. Saec. XVII:14 ¹⁹
Heinichen	"No 14 Concerto, Flauto Traverso, 3. Bassi, Del Sig. ^r Heinihein [sic.] (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ¹⁴
Schwartzkopff	"Pieces à 3 Viola di Gamba col Basso Continuo" ^a (a)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ¹⁶
Stulyck	"Sinphonia, 1 Flut-Traversiere, 1 Violin, 1 Violoncello obligato, Con Cembalo . . . Auth: Sig. Stulyck, N1, Cop: 1723 Mens: Maji, Nicolai _{impria} " (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ¹⁴ & 24
Stulyck	"Concertino à Stromenti, Haub.; Chalemaux, Fagotto e Basso Cont, da Mathia Nicola Stulyk" (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ¹³
Telemann ["Melante"]	"Concerto a 4, Flauto Traverso, Violino, Violoncello Obligato, Basso" (G) (TWV43:G11)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ⁸

^aThe three viole da gamba are written in the following clefs: I—French violin-clef (G1), II—C3, and III—F4.

Table 7.16: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 5—Flute, oboe or violin, two violins, viola, and continuo.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	"Concert a 5 part con Haubois" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ⁴⁵
Anon	"Concerto", violin principale, two violins, viola, and continuo" (g)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ^{39b}
Anon	"Concerto a 5, 1 Flaut-Traversiere, 2 Violini, 1 Viola et Cembalo . . . Düsseldorf. Nicolai pria" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:13 ⁶
Anon	"Concerto a 5 Strom.; 1 Flut Traversiere, 2 Violini, 1 Viola, Con Basso Continuo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ³⁷
Belitze	Four "Concerto a 5, Flauto Traverso, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Braccia, Basso Del Sig. ^r Giorgio Belitze" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:65 ^{a-d}
Blamont	Concerto for violin principale, two violins, viola, and continuo (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVII:42, ²
Blamont	Concerto for violin principale, two violins, viola, and continuo (violoncello or organ and violone) "di Francesco Blam" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ²⁰
Delluo	"Concerto, Flauto Traverso, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Braccia, Basso Del Sig. ^r Delluo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:13 ^{3a}
Delluo	"Concerto a 5, Flauto Traverso, 2 Violini, Viola, Basso,	

Giosna	Del Sig. ^r Delluo . . . al honeur de Mademoiselle L. K." (A) "Sonata" for oboe or flute principale, two violins, viola, and harpsichord " Three concertos for flute, two violins, viola, and continuo (G; G; D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:13 ^{3b} Mus. Saec. XVIII:33 ¹ Mus. Saec. XVIII:33 ⁴ , 5a-b
Grüneberg		
Händel	"Concerto à 5, 1 Flut Travers. è Hautb, 2 Violino, 1 Alto Viol, Col Basso Continuo . . . Di Sig. ^r Hendel" (g)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:33 ¹¹
Hasse	"No 22 Concerto Flauto Traverso, 2. ^e Violini, Viola, Basso" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:40 ¹⁷
Heinichen	"Concerto Hobuè o Flauto Traverso, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Braccia, Basso" (a)	Mus. Saec. XVII:14 ²⁰
J. E. v. Sachsen-Weimar	"No 48 Concerto Violino Concerto, Violino Primo, Violino, Secundo, Braccia, Basso Del Sig. ^r Vivaldi" ^a (e)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:61 ^{7a}
J. E. v. Sachsen-Weimar	"No 48 Concerto Violino Concerto, Violino Primo, Secundo, Braccia, Basso Del Sig. ^r Vivaldi" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:61 ^{7b}
J. E. v. Sachsen-Weimar	"Concerto" for violin principale, two violins, viola, and continuo (d)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ⁴¹
Loeillet	"N. ^{ro} 32 Concert Chaconne del Sig. ^r Loeillet Con 1 Haubois . . ." for oboe, two violins, viola, and continuo.	Mus. Saec. XVII:22 ¹
Meck	"Sinfonia di Cammera à Violino Principale, 2 Violini, Viola, et	

^aLandmann indexes these concertos as works of Johann Ernst von Sachsen-Weimar, despite the use of Vivaldi's name in their titles.

Nimpf	Cembalo? del Sigl: Gioseppe Meck? [<i>sic.</i>]" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:47 ¹³
	"No 45 Concerto, Flauto Traverso, 2. ^e Violini, Braccia, Basso, Del Sig. ^r Nimpf" (e)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:49 ⁴
Stulyck	"Concerto . . . 1 Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini, 1 Viola con Cembalo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ¹¹
Stulyck	"No 44 Concerto, Flauto Traverso, 2. ^e Violini, Braccia, Basso" (e)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ¹⁶
Theile	"No 10 Concerto, Flauto Traverso, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Braccia, Basso Del Sig. ^r Thil" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:60 ⁴
Telemann	"Concert sine authore" ^b for flute or oboe, two violins, viola, and continuo (d)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ³⁴
Telemann	"Concerto 1 Traversiere, 2 Violino, 1 Viola et Cembalo. Hamburg" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ¹⁶
Telemann	"Concerto, Flauto Traverso, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Braccia, Basso" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ¹⁰
Valentini	"Sonata con Flauto Traversiero ô Oboè, [2] Violini, Violette, Violone è Cembalo, Violoncello del Sign: Valentini" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:61 ²
Zellerino	"Concerto a 5, 1 Flaut: Travers. ô Hautb.; 2 Violino, 1 Viola e Basso Continuo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:62 ¹¹

^bBarbara Linnert of the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock believes this concerto is the work of Telemann.

Table 7.17: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 5—Two treble instruments, two violas, and continuo.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Brescianello	"Passaglia . . . Chaconne" for two concertante violins, two violas, and continuo (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:92
Pepusch	"Sinfonia à 5, 1 Flut-Traversiers: e Violino: ê Cembalo" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:37 ¹⁴
Schwartzkopff	"Overture à 5, 1 Clarino et 4 Viol:" (violins, two violas, and continuo) (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ¹⁰

Table 7.18: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 5—Miscellaneous Combinations.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	"Intrada a 5, 1 Corno di Caccia, 1 Traversa, 2 Violini e Violoncello" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ¹²
Baridoni	"Concerto Con due Oboe; Violini Et Basso" (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:6 ³
Perroni	"Concerto à 5, Authore Sigl: Carlo Perroni" for two oboe, two violins, and continuo (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:50 ⁹

Table 7.19: *Instrumental Music in the Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung (D-ROu): à 6—Two obbligato instruments, two violins, viola, and continuo.*

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>D-ROu Catalogue Number</i>
Anon	"Pastorella" for two solo violins, two ripieno violins, viola, and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5121
Anon	"Overture" for two solo violins, two ripieno violins, viola, and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5151
Anon	"Concerto à 6, 2 Flauto traversie, 2 Violini, 1 Viola et Cembalo, Pour S.sse A. Sme Le Prince Hereditaire"	Mus. Saec. XVIII:638
Anon	"Concerto . . . à 6" for flute, two violins, viola, violoncello, and harpsichord (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:5135
Bodinus	Three "Concerto . . . a 6" for violin concertato, two violins, viola, violoncello, and harpsichord	Mus. Saec. XVIII:83-b, 8
Brivio	"Concerto" for two oboes, two violins, viola, and continuo (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:101
Fasch	"Concerto a 6" for flute, oboe, two violins, viola, and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:143a
Fasch	"Concerto à 6" for flute, oboe, two violins, viola, and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:143b
Fasch	"Concerto a 6" for flute, oboe, two violins, viola, and continuo (e)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:143c

Fasch	"Concerto" for flute, oboe, two violins, viola, and continuo (b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:14 ^{3d}
Friedrich Ludwig	"Concerto per la Tavola, Della S. A. S. il Principe Hereditario di Wirtemberg 1728 a 6 part" for two oboes, two violins, viola, and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:66 ³³
Grüneberg	"Concerto à 6" for flute, two violins, viola, viola da gamba, and continuo (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:33 ^{2A & B}
Grüneberg	"No 32 Concerto . . . Flauto Traverso, Violino Concerto, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Braccia, Basso" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:33 ³
J. E. v. Sachsen-Weimar	"Concerto" for two solo violins, two ripieno violins, viola, and continuo (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ^{39a}
Molter	Two concertos for two solo oboes, two ripieno violins, viola, and continuo (C; F)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:47 ^{15a-b}
Pepusch	"Concerto Grosso a 6, 1 Trombetto, 2 Violini, 1 Viola, 1 Violoncello, Col Basso Continuo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:37 ¹²
Reibens	"No 8 Concerto, Flauto Traverso, Violino Primo, 2. ^e Violini Ripieni, Braccia, Basso Del Sig. ^r Reibens" (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:54 ⁴
Schwartzkopff	"Concerto à 6, 2 Hautbois, 4 Violis.[two violins, viola], con Cembalo" (F)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ¹²
Theile	"Concerto . . . Hautbois Concerto, Violino Concerto, 2 Violin Ripieno, 1 Viola et Fundmento di Thiel [sic.] (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:60 ⁵

Table 7.20: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 6—Miscellaneous Combinations.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	"Concerto a 6 . . . 1 Tromba, 1 Violino Concerto, 1 Violino Primo, 1 Violino Secondo, Viola, et Violoncello" (E ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:66 ³⁸
Brescianello	"Overture" for two violin concertati, two violas, and two "Bassi" (A)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:96
Brescianello	"Overture" for two violin concertati, ripieno violin, two violas, "Basso Violone Con Cembalo" (B ^b)	Mus. Sec. XVIII:51 ⁵⁴
Schwartzkopff	"Sonata All'imitatione del Rossignuolo e del Cucco à 5 Viol: e un flauto" (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ²⁵
Stulycy	"Pastorello à 1 Hautbois, 1 Corno di Caccia, 2 Violini obligati, 1 Viola e Violoncello" (F)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ¹⁷ & 17a

Table 7.21: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 7—Miscellaneous Combinations.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	"Concerto affettuoso a haubois" for violin concertato, two oboes, violin/oboe ripieno, two violas, and continuo (E)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ³⁸

Anon	"Concerto â 7 Strom:" (E ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:66 ³⁶
Anon	"No 11 Concerto, Flauto Traverso, Violino 1. ^o , Violino 2. ^o , Violino Primo Ripieno, 2. ^o Violino Ripieno, 3. ^o Violino Ripieno, Basso Del Sig. ^r C. D." (D)	Mus. Saec. VII:51 ⁴⁶
Anon	"ouvert [sic.] Turckisce partie a 7 part" for violin principale, two violins/oboes, viola, two horns (doubling on 'Turkish' percussion instruments), and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ⁴⁹
Finger	"Concerto Alla Turchesta" for two violins, two oboes, two horns (doubling on 'Turkish' percussion instruments), and continuo (C)	Mus. Saec. XVII:14 ³
J. E. v. Sachsen-Weimar	"Concerto a 6" for two violin concertati, two obbligato violins, two ripieno violins, viola, and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ⁹
Schwartzkopff	"Concerto â 7, 2 Hautbois, 2 Violin, 2 Viola et Fagotto" (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ¹¹
Telemann	"Overture â 7 qui represente L'eau avec ses Divinités . . ."	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ⁴
Telemann	"Concerto a 7, 2 Violin" Concerto, 2 Violin Ripien., 2 Cornu de Chasse et Basso Continuo" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:45 ⁹

Table 7.22: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 8—Miscellaneous Combinations.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	Suite for two violin concertati, violin, two violas, two "Chalumeau Trompette", and continuo (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:66 ⁴⁰
Anon	"Concerts von Hautbois und Trompeten" for two trumpets, two oboes, two violins, viola, and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:51 ³²
Keiser	"Concerto" for flute, violin principale, two violins, two oboes, viola, and continuo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:19 ⁴
Schwartzkopff	"Concerto ab [sic.] 2 Clarini, 2 Hautbois, 4 Viol: et Cembalo (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ¹³

Table 7.23: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): à 9-10—Miscellaneous Combinations.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Schwartzkopff	"Concerto da Camera à 10 vel. 11" for two violins, two violas, two viola da gambe, two oboe, trumpet ad lib, and continuo (C)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ¹⁴
Stulycck	"Concerto del Sg. ^r Stulick a 9 part" for two violin concertati, ripieno violin, two oboes, two "Cornet de Chasse", viola, and continuo (F)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:59 ¹⁵

Table 7.24: Instrumental Music in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* (D-ROu): Partitas.

Composer	Title	D-ROu Catalogue Number
Anon	Parthia for flute, violin, and continuo (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ¹
Anon	"Parthia" from "Pieces pour la Musique de chambre, Un flute seul, Un lut, Un Viola de Gamba. Fait a Deinach, Le 29 ^{me} Jun 1720, Le 2. ^{me} " (F)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ^{26a}
Anon	"Parthia" from "Pieces pour la Musique de Chambre, Un Flut seul, Un lut è Un Viola di Gamba. Le 3. ^{me} Fait à Deinac. Le 10 ^{eme} Julet 1720" (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:64 ^{26b}
Anon	"Partia a 3 . . . Violino, Traversiere Con Basso del Sign. W: F:r" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:66 ⁶
Blamont	"Parthia" for two violins, viola, and continuo (B ^b)	Mus. Saec. XVII:4 ¹
Blamont	"Parthia" for two violins, viola, violoncello, and two horns (D)	Mus. Saec. XVII:4 ^{2,1}
Paret ["Paro"]	"Partie de Plaisances a Traverse, Violino, et Basso" (D)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:50 ¹
Schwartzkopff	"Partie à Viola da Gamba solo con Cembalo" (d)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ¹⁷
Schwartzkopff	"Partie à 2, Viola da Gamba con Cembalo" (a)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ¹⁸
Schwartzkopff	"Partie a Viola da Gamba vel Violino Solo con Cembalo" (a)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ²²
Sporni	"Parthie . . . â Liuto Obligato, Duoi Violini, et Basso, del Sigl:	

Spurni	Spurni ^y " (G)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:591
	"Parthia à 5 Instr: [<i>sic.</i>], 2 Violini, 2 Corni d'Chasse con Violoncello obligato Di Wencesl: Spurni" ^a (F)	Mus. Saec. XVIII:592

^aThe composer was a string bassist in the employ of the Württemberg court from around 2 February 1729, and no doubt he wrote the obligato violoncello part in this work for himself to play; Pfeilsticker, 930, mistakenly lists him as a vocal bassist. Sporni was probably related to the Württemberg horn-player, Franz Spurni (or Sporni), who married the virtuoso lutenist Maria Dorothea St. Piero (also employed at the court)—accounting for the obligato lute part in the G major, and horns in the F major partitas by W. Sporni.

Copyists

In the process of cataloguing the Friedrich Ludwig collection Landmann distinguished the handwriting of thirteen individuals, while numerous other hands remain unidentifiable. A small proportion of these scribes actually signed their work—making it possible to hazard a guess as to the date of a particular copy.

By the time Pez wrote his *Lista* of 1714 it appears that the role of copying had been passed to particular *Hofmusici*, in comparison to the last decade of the seventeenth century when, as we have seen previously, Kusser recruited *Kapellknaben* and all available members of the *Hofkapelle* for the task. Pez mentioned two musicians in this capacity, firstly J. C. Arnold who not only copied but "*darinnen infatigabl*" (is tireless in that) and secondly, Anthonj Meister who must have come close to being considered a professional copist. Pez described him in the following terms: "Antonio Meister . . . schreibt ein *admirable* schöne nothen, wie ihn dann zu München 6: jahr zu vor, ehr ich von Eur Hochfürstl: dhrtl: nacher Stuttgart gndgst berufen worden, in *copiren*, *transponiren*, und auß der *Partitur* zu schreiben *informirt* . . ." ⁴⁸

While this description depicts Meister as a prime candidate for the role of court copyist and while Pez's 1711 *Staat* refers to him as the personal copyist of Pez, there is no evidence in the 1714 *Lista* to suggest that he officially held such a post at the Württemberg court (1711 Pez *S&O* and 1714 Pez *Lista*, see Appendix A, pages 432-438 and 443-450). Pez's entry on

⁴⁸1714 Pez *Lista*; 'Antonio Meister . . . writes admirably beautiful notes, because in Munich six years earlier, before I was called to Stuttgart by Your Most Gracious Royal Highness, I had trained him in copying, transposing, and writing from the score.'

Meister catalogued the instruments he played (violin, viola, and clarinet) and concluded by stating that he "muß *copiren*, und zu gleich dienst thuen, was ein ander *instrumentist* thut, ist fleißig in seinen diensten."⁴⁹ However, in two contemporary *Verzeichnisse* Meister is described as "zu gleich *copist*" (at the same a copyist)⁵⁰ and "Notist" (copyist)⁵¹, which does suggest that he held an official position in this capacity.

Landmann, writing on the Dresden court during this period, notes that "up until 1700, copying duties had been assigned to two relatively under-employed members of the Kapelle, whose payments were made on an *ad hoc* basis."⁵² She states that it wasn't until the first decade of the eighteenth century that copying became recognized as an official duty and the first professional copyists appear in the Dresden court records in 1725.⁵³

Landmann identified four further copyists whose hands frequently appear on the music of the collection and to whom she assigned the titles *Schreiber I-IV*. The first of these was most likely to have been Carl Gustav Hirth, who was employed as a copyist at the court from February 1702 until June 1703 and then again from November 1717 until August

⁴⁹1714 Pez *Lista*; 'has to copy and at the same time serve doing the same thing as other instrumentalists, is diligent in his service.'

⁵⁰1715 *Lista*.

⁵¹1715 *Consignation*.

⁵²Ortrun Landmann, "The Dresden Hofkapelle during the lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach", *EM* 17 (1989), 20.

⁵³Landmann, "The Dresden Hofkapelle", 20.

1718.⁵⁴ His hand can be seen on the work of Brescianello, Pez, and Theile, and also features in the presentation score of Brescianello's *Pyramus und Thisbe*. The manuscript of this *opera pastorale* is dated January 1718 and therefore it is likely that during the final months of 1717 (and into 1718) Hirth was employed copying a selection of Brescianello's works to aid in the latter's bid to win the post of Württemberg *Oberkapellmeister*.

The most likely candidate for *Schreiber III* is Anthony Meister.⁵⁵ He had been mentioned in this capacity in official documents as early as 1714 and in 1717 was specifically described as "Notist bey dem Concertmeister Brescianello gebrauchen, kommt aber selten zur Cappell Music."⁵⁶ *Schreiber III* also wrote out a number of works by Brescianello, as well as by other Italian composers such as Baridoni, Perroni, and Brivio, often featuring a solo violin part.⁵⁷

The other noticeable element in the music copied by *Schreiber III* is the frequency of the horn in the orchestration. As already mentioned, J. C. Pez was probably responsible for introducing the *Waldhorn* into the *Hofkapelle* of the Württemberg court and therefore it is likely that he actively searched for and arranged to have copied works which included

⁵⁴Pfeilsticker, 900.

⁵⁵He was employed at the Württemberg court from March 1707 until September 1717.

⁵⁶1717 Schwartzkopff 27/v; 'used as a copyist by the *Konzertmeister* Brescianello, but seldom comes to the chapel music.'

⁵⁷For example, Baridoni, *Concerto Con due Oboe, Violini, et Basso* (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:6³); Brivio, *Concerto a 8 part* (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:10¹); and Perroni, *Concerto à 5* (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:50⁹), *Schreiber III* also copied works by "Düsseldorf", Johann Ernst von Sachsen-Weimar, Molter, Perroni, Stulycck, and Telemann.

that instrument. And who was more likely to copy these pieces than his personal copyist and former pupil Anthonj Meister? These include two pieces by Matthias Stulyck: *Concerto. . . a 9 part Con 2 Cornet de Chasse, 2 Haubois*⁵⁸; *Pastorello à 1 Hautbois, 1 Corno di Caccia, 2 Violini obligati, 1 Viola e Violoncello*⁵⁹; Telemann's *Concerto [a] 7, 2 Violino Concerto, 2 Violin Ripien., 2 Cornu de Chasse et Basso Continuo*⁶⁰; an *Intrada a 5, 1 Corno di Caccia, 1 Traversa, 2 Violini e Violoncello* by the mysterious "J. V. F."⁶¹; and an anonymous work entitled *Ouvert Turckisce partie a 7 part. . .* which features two horn parts.⁶²

By a process of elimination the most likely candidate for *Schreiber II* is Carl Coraro Belleruche, who held the post of court copyist from September 1718 until his death in 1747 (although he had retired sometime earlier).⁶³

Of the contemporary Württemberg *Kapellmeister* only the writing of Schwartzkopff is recognizable and is seen on a number of his own works, as well as music by Pez, D. G. Treu, and J. G. Linike. Two *Konzertmeister* were also fairly active as copyists: Haumale Des Essarts⁶⁴ copied primarily

⁵⁸D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:59¹¹.

⁵⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:59¹⁷ and 59^{17a}.

⁶⁰D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:45⁹.

⁶¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:51¹².

⁶²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:51⁴⁹.

⁶³Pfeilsticker, 886, he copied works by Orlandini, Bodinus, D'Etri Fleischer, Grüneberg, Hertel, Krelus, Kref, Pepusch, Piorelli, Stulyck, and Telemann.

⁶⁴See page 235ff, employed between June 1724 and October 1731.

French works⁶⁵, while Alessandro Toeschi produced (between 1725 and his release c.1734) music by a wider selection of composers.⁶⁶

The *Obermusikdirektor* Christian Adolf von Ziegesar also copied a small selection of works, generally giving his name backwards, "Rasegeiz", as a signature.⁶⁷ He was originally employed as a *Kammerjunker* (gentleman-in-waiting) at the Württemberg court, on 13 January 1721 (from *Martini* (11 November) 1720).⁶⁸ Almost a decade later a ducal decree dated Ludwigsburg 19 May 1730 appointed the "Camer Junker von Ziegesar zu dero wurckl.-Music Directeur über dero gesamte Music . . . daß derselbe seinen Rang *immediatè* nach denen beyden Hoffmeisters von des herrn Erb-Printzen Durchl-^t und der Frau Erb-Princeßin *Hoheit*, nehmen . . ." ⁶⁹ In the same document he was described as the " . . . adeligen Obermusik directors Christian Adolf von Ziegesar"⁷⁰ and he

⁶⁵Works by ?Brescianello, Campra, Clérambault, Friedrich Ludwig, Michel de La Barre, Loeillet, and Pez—in this and the following footnotes a "?" before a composer indicates that Landmann was not completely sure in her identification of the handwriting: .

⁶⁶Belitze, ?Bodinus, ?Büchler, Credie, Delluo, "D., C.", Dumont, ?Fasch, Grüneberg, Hasse, ?Heinichen, Johann Ernst von Sachsen-Weimar, ?Keiser, Meck, Nimpf, ?Pez, Blockwitz, Ziegesar, Reibens, Resküly, Schwartzkopff, and Telemann.

⁶⁷Grüneberg, Hasse, Johann Ernst von Sachsen-Weimar, Meck, Piorelli, Valentini, and his own compositions.

⁶⁸Pfeilsticker.

⁶⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 612; 'Kammerjunker von Ziegesar [is hereby appointed] actual Music Director over your entire musical establishment, . . . [and] that the same [Ziegesar] takes up his rank immediately after both the stewards of the His Serenity the Crown Prince [Friedrich Ludwig] and Her Majesty the Lady Crown Princess [Henriette Marie] . . . '

⁷⁰D-Sa A21 Büschel 612; 'noble *Obermusikdirektor* Christian Adolf von Ziegesar.'

apparently retained this post until at least 1733, according to the *Dienerbuch*.⁷¹

Not only did Ziegesar copy music in the collection, he also composed a selection of works, and it seems likely that he was an amateur flute-player as well.⁷² Landmann writes

... die Adelslexika darüber Auskunft daß ein Zweig der alten märkischen Adelsfamilie von Ziegesar Anfang des 18. Jh. nach Württemberg zog und dort Hofdienste annahm. Der zur Debatte stehende Herr von Ziegesar—alias Rasegeiz—wäre also sehr gut als Kammerherr des Erbprinzen zu denken, der dessen musikalische Ambitionen teilte, mitmusizierte, mitkopierte und mitkomponierte."⁷³

"Nicolai", whose name appears on the works of thirteen different composers⁷⁴, was the Bavarian Johann Nicolaus Nicolai. He was employed at the Württemberg court as *Hautboist*, *Hofmusicus*, and *Hoforganist* from 1701 until his death in 1728.⁷⁵ In the same year as his appointment he was described in the set of files regarding the various complaints made against the violoncellist Rubini as "Nicolaus Nicolai

⁷¹Pfeilsticker, 884, where he is listed as "v.[on] Ligehar."

⁷²Landmann, 6, it is likely that the flute sonata by Hasse which is inscribed "all'honneur de Mr: de Ziegerer" (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:40⁹) is, in fact, an autograph.

⁷³Landmann, 6-7.

⁷⁴Bourgeois, Brescianello, Caldara, Clérambault, Heinichen, Keiser, Kreß, Pepusch, Pez, Quantz, Senaillé, Stulyc, and Weiß.

⁷⁵Although Pfeilsticker, 905 and 957, lists "Georg Nikolaus Niklas", "Nikolaus Nicolai", and "Joh. Nikolai" as individual musicians, I believe they are all the same man.

Musicus aus München."⁷⁶ These two men had the misfortune to share a room and Nicolai accused Rubini of a multitude of offences, which included such trivialities as stealing his buttons, but also throwing all his music onto the ground! However, in his reply to the latter claim Rubini maintained that "Die Musicalia hab ein geistlicher Director Musices, so bey Ihnen gewesen, aus raillerie auf den Boden geworffen."⁷⁷

The mysterious "C. H. H.", seen on the works of eleven composers in the collection, is most likely to have been Caspar Heinrich Hetsch, the leader of the oboe band of the *Garde Fusilier Regiment*. From 1722 Hetsch was also a member of the *Hofkapelle* (see page 349), until June 1751, when he became the *Stadtzinckenist* in Stuttgart.⁷⁸ The frequently appearing handwriting of "Otto", must have belonged to the trumpeter Johann Friedrich Otto, employed at the court from March 1715 until his death in 1762.⁷⁹

The handwriting of the choirboy, Johann Caspar, who became a *Hofmusicus* in 1736, also features in the collection.⁸⁰ In 1745, upon the marriage of Princess Louisa Frederica, he moved to Mecklenburg along with her other personal servants. This circumstance makes it rather

⁷⁶Scholz, 228; 'Nicolaus Nicolai from Munich.'

⁷⁷Scholz, 228; 'The music was thrown onto the ground in a mocking manner by an ecclesiastical Music Director, who is known to you'—this last mentioned musician was presumably J. G. C. Störl.

⁷⁸Pfeilsticker, 899, the initials 'C. H. H.' appear on music by Orlandini, Brescianello, Büchler, Händel, Heinichen, Keiser, Kreß, Pepusch, Pez, Telemann, and Zellerino.

⁷⁹Pfeilsticker, 873.

⁸⁰Pfeilsticker, 937.

difficult to assign provenance to those works in the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock copied by him.⁸¹

More elusive are two copyists identified on the Württemberg manuscripts as "Krelius" and "Kalb." Krelius copied works by Heinichen, Ziegesar, and Resküly and may also have been a composer. It is possible he was Franz Joseph Crail, a *Cammermusicus* at the court from April 1721 until 1727.⁸² Kalb, on the other hand, did not copy any compositions by Württemberg musicians⁸³ and may have been employed at another court altogether—this is supported by the fact he was the principal copyist for the pieces for violin and continuo by Henry Du Mont dedicated to Friedrich Ludwig dated "Besançon 1723."⁸⁴

The 1684 rules of Magdalena Sibylla mention that the *Hofmusici* were required to practise their own parts at home, which means that they must have been able to take their parts home, a situation which was certainly not allowed in later years. By the time Schwartzkopff signed his *Staat und Ordnung* as *Kapellmeister* in 1692 no musician was allowed to borrow or copy from music without special permission and this was also the case in 1700 when Kusser was appointed *Oberkapellmeister* (1692 Schw S&O, see Appendix A, pages 414-418 and 1700 Kusser S&O, see Scholz, pages 233-238). Furthermore, Kusser's *Staat* required that if an

⁸¹Although those by Brescianello and Sporni must have been copied in Ludwigsburg.

⁸²Pfeilsticker, 891.

⁸³Belitze, Brivio, Credie, Delluo, "D. C.", Fasch, Grüneberg, Hasse, and Telemann.

⁸⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:12.

old, common [*gemein*] piece was given away then another good, foreign one should be acquired in its place.⁸⁵

By 1711 the standard clause requiring the proper preservation of all music and instruments belonging to the *Hofkapelle* is retained in Pez's *Staat*—ensuring that the *Kapellmeister* allowed no one to take or copy from any of the pieces in the ducal collection. Interestingly however, there is sentence newly added to the end of this section which reads:

"sonderheitlich soll und will ich selbstn nichts von allen disen stucken nacher haußnehmen, vielweniger einem andere solches gestatten . . . "⁸⁶

This suggests that Kusser or another *Kapellmeister* had perhaps made a habit of taking music home with them, causing an additional rule to be written into subsequent contracts.

The contemporary employment contract of the Württemberg *Hofmusici* likewise demanded that as soon as each musician was finished playing they were to return their part immediately to the safekeeping of the *Kapellmeister*. It was stressed that none of the musicians should be tempted to take music home with them (or even less to copy or steal from it) without the permission of the Duke and the knowledge of the *Kapellmeister* (1711 HM S&O, see Appendix A, pages 439-442).

A number of different cataloguing systems can be seen on the manuscripts of the Friedrich Ludwig collection: "CNro 1" and twenty-

⁸⁵1700 Kusser S&O, " . . . dass wann je etwas von alten gemein gewordenen mit Dero Bewilligung communicirt wirdt, dardurch andere gute frembde Stuck wechselweis erhalten werden."

⁸⁶1711 Pez S&O; 'above all I shall not take any of these pieces home with me or even less permit another to do so . . . '

four other numbers up to 49; "BNro 1" and thirteen numbers up to 37; and the uncomplicated system "No 1" onwards. These numbers do not appear to relate to divisions of genre, so perhaps the numbers are completely chronological. At some point during his time at the Württemberg court Alessandro Toeschi attempted a reorganization of the collection—for this reason many of the manuscripts feature distinctive covers with titles written in his hand. Landmann describes these in the following terms:

Diese Umschläge sind Doppelblätter in groß Quart- bis Folio-Format aus weißem papier und haben zur Verzierung des Titels rahmenförmig aufgeklebt 4 Streifchen von buntem Papier mit Goldmusteraufdruck, wie es für Einbanddeckel im 18. Jh. beliebt war . . . Die Beschriftungen dieser Umschläge sind fast ausschließlich von zwei Schreibern angefertigt. Einer davon ist mir unbekannt, der anders könnte, wie schon gesagt, unter Umständen Alessandro Toeschi sein.⁸⁷

Earlier in the century Störl had suggested a scheme for the better organization of the music collection. At that time there were three *Kapellmeister* employed by the court: J. S. Kusser, Schwartzkopff, and Störl himself. In a series of notes he submitted regarding the content of his *Staat und Ordnung* (1703) Störl wrote:

Daß so wohl auff die *Instrumenten*, alß die bißhero gesamblete Kirchen: Taffelstuck, *opern*, und andere *Compositiones* die 3 Capellmeister dem *Inventario* gemeß die mit *Inspection*, die *Music* Stuck aber in gute verwahrung zu nehmen haben sollen . . . die *Music* Stuck aber belangend, befinde ich nicht für guth, daß die 3 Capellmeister über solches *Inventarium* die aufsicht haben sollen, sondern hielte ohne untste maßgab vor beßer, daß gesampte Stuck in

⁸⁷Landmann, 6.

3 theil ohnegefahr abgetheilt, und beschrieben, so dann damit nicht einer allein die besten komen, oder einiger vortheil darinen gesucht werden könne, darumb gelaßet . . . ⁸⁸

Störl seemed particularly eager to remain in possession of those pieces he had acquired for the *Hofkapelle*. These included a selection of music he had brought back from his travels in Italy and Austria⁸⁹, as well as those "so durch *Correspondenz* entweder gegen Erkaufung mit baarem geld, oder Eintauschung gegen andern Stücken . . ." ⁹⁰ Störl was adamant that he receive adequate compensation for any pieces he composed for the *Hofkapelle* and made it clear that he did not consider it appropriate for such works to be used without some form of additional payment being awarded to the composer. Overall, he was anxious that the other two *Kapellmeister* did not gain from his industry, particularly mentioning a catalogue in his possession from the *Kapelle* at Onoltzbach: "wie ich dann bereits von der hochfstl. Capell zu Onoltzbach einen *Cataloguen* über alle daselbst befindliche Stuck, zur hand gebracht, und

⁸⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 612, 25 August 1703, Störl's comments on his *Staat und Ordnung*; 'That as far as the instruments are concerned, as well as the church music, table pieces, operas, and other compositions which have been gathered up until now, that as the three *Kapellmeister* are to keep an inventory of these and ensure that the pieces of music are kept in good condition . . . are far as the pieces are music are concerned however, I don't find it a good idea, that the three *Kapellmeister* should all supervise the above-mentioned inventory, but rather that it would be maintained better with the proviso that the collected pieces could be divided roughly into three parts and described, so that no one [*Kapellmeister*] alone received the best pieces or sought to obtain the advantage of the others . . .'

⁸⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 612; ' . . . meine neue auß *Italia* und Wien mitgebrachte Stuck betrifft, welche gdste Herrschaft von mir übernommen, und den Costen dafür in meine Reißrechnung *passiren* haben laßen . . .', (Regarding my new pieces brought back from Italy and Vienna, which our gracious ruler has taken from me, and the cost of which have been included in my travel bill . . .)

⁹⁰D-Sa A21 Büschel 612, 25 August 1703, Störl's comments on his *Staat und Ordnung*; 'which had been acquired through correspondence, either bought with cash or in exchange for other pieces . . .'

davon gegen außweplung mit meinen eigenen oder ander wertigen Stucken, daß beste herauß wehlen und haben kan, wan es nöthig ist" (for the entire document see Appendix A, pages 428-431).⁹¹

The mixed results of these decades of composing and bartering of music by successive *Kapellmeister* can be seen in the varied contents of the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung*. The collection offers considerable scope for further research into the repertoire of German *Hofkapelle* around the turn of the eighteenth century as represented by the example of the Württemberg court.

⁹¹D-Sa A21 Büschel 612, 25 August 1703, Störl's comments on his *Staat und Ordnung*; 'I already have to hand a catalogue of the music to be found in the Royal *Kapelle* at Onoltzbach, from that I can select the best pieces and arrange to have exchanged for those of my own or other worthy pieces, when this is necessary.' This catalogue was presumably from the Brandenburg-Ansbach court of the Hohenzollern margraves, since Percy M. Young's *Grove* 6 article on "Ansbach" mentions the existence of the *Hochfürstliche Brandenburgisch Onoltzbachischen Inventarium de Anno 1686* (Staatsarchiv, Nuremberg), which lists many French works.

Range of Duties and Performance Opportunities of the Württemberg Musicians

The function of the *Hofkapelle* at the Württemberg court at this time was divided into three principal categories: *Kirchen-Music*, *Tafel-Music*, and *Cammer-Music*. In addition to these duties the musicians were also required to take part in performances of dance music for court balls, dancing lessons for the younger members of the nobility, a variety of theatrical productions (a mixture of French *Ballet*, plays, *Singspiel*, and opera), as well as all manner of official ceremonies—in which music played a vital role in displaying the wealth and magnificence of the court. One visitor to Ludwigsburg in 1730, Baron von Pöllnitz, described the court of Duke Eberhard Ludwig in the following terms:

Se.[ine] Durchl. lassen Französische Comödie halten, wo jederman frey zugelassen wird, und haben wir über das fast beständig *Ball*, *Verkleidung*, und *Musicalisches Concert*. Alle Tage ist grosse Gesellschaft bey der *Maitresse* des Herzogs, und spielet man in ihrem Zimmer *Piquet*, *Quadrille* und *Pharaon*, so daß man hier alle Lustbarkeiten, welche an grossen Höfen sonst im Schwange gehen, zu geniessen hat.¹

The first point of the 1684 regulations of Duchess Magdalena Sibylla summarized the various occasions at which the members of the *Hofkapelle* were required to perform:

¹Pöllnitz, 380-381; 'His Royal Highness held French plays, to which everyone was admitted free and apart from these there are almost constant balls, masquerades, and musical concerts. Every day there is a large gathering by the mistress of the Duke and in her rooms one plays piquet, quadrille, and pharaon, so that here one can enjoy all the pleasures which are in vogue at large courts.'

... pour le Service divin que celui de la Table, et pour les autres Festin et Services survenants, soit aux Comedies, Balets et autres rejoissances . . .

... bey der Kirchen: alß Tafel *Music* auf andern bey denen fürstl: festivitäten, und sonsten vorstellenden Auffwartungen *Comoedion, Balleten, und Tüntzen* . . . ²

By the turn of the century Kusser's *Staat und Ordnung* as *Oberkapellmeister* once again mentioned performances of church and table-music, and balls. But, significantly the plays and ballets mentioned in 1684, had now been replaced with "*Opern*" (1700 Kusser *S&O*, see Scholz, page 233-238). The description of the formal duties of the *Hofkapelle* in 1711 are to a large extent the same as eleven years earlier in Kusser's *Staat*. There is, however, one important difference—the mention of performances in the private rooms of the ducal family. This was not a new service, as musicians (especially plucked-string players such as Johann Gumprecht and Schwartzkopff on the double-harp) had been performing music of this nature for some time. However, an official mention of this in Pez's *Staat* suggests a growth in the importance and appreciation of such chamber music by the ruling family (1711 Pez *S&O*, see Appendix A, pages 432-438).

A comparison of the same paragraph from the contracts of both Kusser and Pez, which are virtually identical in other respects, displays clearly the introduction of this genre:

... hab ich mit Ernst daran zu seyn, dass die gesambte Hofmusici und zwar sowol Instrumentisten als Vocalisten, so oft sie in der

²1684 Rules; 'for church as well as table music and for other festivities [Fr: and services] taking place, be they Comedies [plays], ballets, and other festivities [Ger: and dances].'

Cappell oder vor Ihrer Hochfürstl. Dl. Tafel, und Bey Bals
ufzuwartten haben, wie auch zu Opern und denen Exercitien
erfordert werden, jedesmal auff die bestimmte Zeith und an dem
ihnen benennenden Orth, sich gehorsamlich einfinden . . . ³

Soll und will ich mit Ernst daran seÿn, daß die gesamte Hoff
Musici, und zwar so wohl *Instrumentisten*, alß *Vocalisten*, so oft
Sie in der Capell, oder in den Fürstl. Zimmern, oder bei *Bals*
aufgewarten haben, wie durch zu *opern* und denen *Musicalischen*
proben und *exercitien* erfordert werden, jedemahl auf die bestimte
Zeit, und an dem ihnen benennenden Orth sich gehorsamlich
einfinden . . . ⁴

From these examples it can be seen that in 1711 the scribe merely
substituted "in den Fürstl. Zimmern" (in the ducal rooms) for the
statement "vor Ihrer Hochfürstl. Dl. Tafel" (before the table of His
Princely Serene Highness). However, by no means can this be taken
for a total abandonment of *Tafelmusik*, as the following point in Pez's
Staat calls for proper rehearsal of all music whether it be "zu
Kirchenstucken oder *operen*, oder auch aufwartungen vor dero
Fürstl. Tafel, undt Zimern . . . " ⁵

The main functions of the *Hofkapelle* listed in the contemporary
Hofmusici's contract remain much the same as those listed in Pez's
Staat und Ordnung (1711 HM S&O, see Appendix A, pages 439-442).

³1700 Kusser S&O; 'I shall earnestly ensure, that the entire *Hofmusici*, that is
instrumentalists, as well as vocalists, whenever they have to perform in the chapel or
before Your Most Royal Highness's table and at balls, as well also at operas and those
rehearsals which are necessary, shall always appear promptly at the set time and at
the proper location . . . '

⁴1711 Pez S&O; 'I shall and wish to earnestly ensure, that the entire *Hofmusici*, that
is instrumentalists, as well as vocalists, whenever they have to perform in the
chapel, or in the Royal rooms, or at balls, as well also at operas and those rehearsals
which are necessary, shall always appear promptly at the set time and at the proper
location . . . '

⁵1711 Pez S&O; 'of church pieces or operas, or as well serving before the Royal table
and rooms.'

Voices and instruments still play an important role in church music on Sundays and holidays in the court chapel. "Tafel, als Camer Music . . . wie Bals bey Hoff . . ." ⁶ are also categorized, although in this *Staat* no mention is made of opera.

For the first time service in the country is specifically mentioned as a part of the duties of the ordinary *Hofmusici*: " . . . auch So wir Unß auff dem Landt befindeten, und Unßer Hoff Music bey Unß haben wolten, auff Beschehene anzeig von Unßere Cappell Meistern jedesmahlen willig folgen, ohne sonderbahre habene ursachen nicht außbleiben und ohne unßere Gdste Erlaubnüß nicht wird nacher hauß sich begeben."⁷ The Württemberg royal family frequently visited and spent a considerable amount of time at their various country estates—at such places as Wildbad, Liebenzell, and Teinach. Moreover, as Duke Eberhard Ludwig's quest for princely greatness grew, so too did his need for increasing numbers of musicians to enhance the pomp and ceremony surrounding his everyday life.

The *Hofmusici* were entitled to an extra *Kostgelt* for their services performed "auff dem Land" (in the country) and their 1711 contract includes a description of this additional payment: "Und solle alßdem jeden zum wochentl: *extra* costgelt, (wann mit recht ist 2 G. nebst brod

⁶1711 HM S&O; 'table, also chamber music . . . as well as balls at court . . .'

⁷1711 HM S&O; 'also when we are located in the country and want to have with us our court musical establishment, each time the *Kapellmeister* makes such an annoucement each one [musician] will willingly follow and shall not stay [in Stuttgart] without special reasons and shall not return home until our most gracious [ruler] has given permission to do so.' This parallels the situation of the court musicians at Esterháza—which supposedly brought about the composition of Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony, see James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge, 1991), 1-3 and H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza 1766-1790* (Bloomington, 1978), Haydn: Chronicle and Works Vol. II, 180-182.

und wein gereicht werde, dessen sich zu informiren) mit welchen ein jeder alßdem sich zu vergnugen und Unß nicht weiters auch [?] hat."⁸

Each of the three principal musical duties required a unique combination of instrumentalists and vocalists. Luckily, the remaining archival documents give a clear indication of the nature of these ensembles, according to various Württemberg *Kapellmeister*. Of particular importance in this regard are the group of documents dating from 1717 written by Schwartzkopff and Störl which detail the composition of the three groups (see Appendix A, pages 453-473).

Kirchen-Music

The role of musicians in the court church services was important. The use of the term *Hofkapelle* in contemporary documents to indicate the members of the musical establishment points to the religious origins of the ensemble. In addition to the performances at the court chapel performed by the *Hofmusici*, music was provided for the *Stiftskirche* in the centre of Stuttgart by the civic musicians.⁹

It appears that a special *Kantorem* sang at court church services throughout the week and that instrumentalists took part only on Sundays, feast-days, and other celebratory occasions. The 1700 *Staat und Ordnung* of J. S. Kusser confirms this view: "Ich solle auch Achtung geben, dass das Choralgesang in Dero Hofcappell durch den dazu bestellten Cantorem u. die zugehörige Knaben wollautend geführt, auch an Sonn- Fest- und Feyertagen die Instrumentisten, wie

⁸1711 HM S&O; 'And each shall enjoy as a weekly extra *Kostgelt*, (which should properly be 2 *Gulden* as well as bread and wine, but which one will find out about) with which each should be satisfied [gain pleasure from] and not require anything further from us,' once again in the hand of "G. P. de Fontner."

⁹For further information regarding music at the *Stiftskirche* see Bopp.

es hie bevor üblich gewesen, mit ihren Instrumenten einstimmen lassen. . ."¹⁰ This choir consisted of the vocalists of the *Hofkapelle*, a small number of choirboys (who were gradually replaced with female sopranos around the turn of the eighteenth century), and a complement of instrumentalists who were capable singers.

In 1711 the fifth section of the *Hofmusici*'s contract offered an interesting insight into standards of church music performance:

Solle einjeder sich fleißig an denen Sonn und feyertagen in Unßerer Hoff Cappel einfinden, Währendem gesang mit denen *Instrumenten* einstimen, dann, der *Music* beÿ wohnen, und d.jenige *Instrument* so Er zu *tractiren*, oder die stim welche Er zu singen hatt, mit aller zierlichkeit, nach best seinen Verstand, und Kräfte nach dem *tact* worauf Er jedes mahlen wohlachtung zu geben, *tractiren* und singen, und sich nicht wie bißdato beÿ ein oder dem anderm wahrgenomen nachlässig dabey finden laßen, umb d. alles ordentlich hergehen und keine ohnordnung sich ereignen möge.¹¹

The fact that proper attention is expected to be given to the "*tact*" (beat) refers to the common method of leading church music performances in Germany at that time: the beating of the *tactus* with a rolled scroll of music paper.

¹⁰Scholz, 235; 'I shall ensure that the choral singing in Your court chapel is well performed by the *Kantorem* appointed for that purpose and by the *Kapellknaben* belonging to it, also on Sundays, feast-days, and celebratory-days the instrumentalists shall take part with their instruments, as has been usual up until now . . .'

¹¹1711 HM S&O; 'Every [*Hofmusici*] shall be diligently found in the court chapel on those Sundays and holidays, when the singing shall be joined with instruments, [and] each of the musical establishment shall play his instrument or sing with his voice, with all delicateness to the best of his understanding and ability, [and] to give full attention to the beat and therefore no one shall be detected being negligent as has happened previously, and everything shall simply proceed in an orderly fashion and no disorder shall be allowed to occur.'

Several decades later, with the construction of the palace at Ludwigsburg, there arose the problem of providing two sets of church music for every Sunday and feast-day—one for the chapel at Ludwigsburg and another for the Duchess Johanna Elisabetha and her retinue at the castle in Stuttgart. The difficulty of this situation was further compounded by the fact that the number of Catholics amongst the musicians had risen considerably during Eberhard Ludwig's reign and these *Hofmusici* frequently failed to attend the court church services in favour of their own mass.

The division of musicians between the two locations did not satisfy the Duke. In August 1728 he issued a special decree demanding that all the vocalists (male and female), as well as the chamber and ordinary musicians, present themselves at the church music at Ludwigsburg every Sunday and feast-day:

Demnach Unsers Gdsten Fürsten und Herrns Hfrstl: Drchl.^t durch ein Gdstes *Special Decret* gdst Verordnet haben, daß an denen Sonn, und Feÿertägen die Völligen kirchen *Music* in der HoffCapelle alhier, jedesmahlig beÿ einandern seÿn, mithin sämtl:ⁿ vocalisten so männ- als weiblichen Geschlechts, (den *Choral* doch ausgenommen welches in Stuttgardt Verbleiben solle) zu obigen beheust sich aberfallß, wie die andere Camer- und Hoff *Musici* alhier *domicilen* und diesen nach jene die behörige *Intimation* darob gethan werden solle; Alß hat der Rath und Ober Capellmeister *Brescianello* hiernach die behörige publication an die sämtl. vocalisten und übrigen *musicos* zu thun, und daran zu seÿn, daß dieselben jedeszeit beÿ denen Kirchen *Music* in der Hoff Capelle alhier zu gegen seind.¹²

¹²D-Sa A21 Büschel 609, 18 August 1728; 'Accordingly Our Most Gracious Prince and Lord, His Most Royal Serene Highness has ordered through a special decree, that on Sundays and feast-days the entire church music shall assemble here in the court chapel, therefore the complete vocalists, both male and female, (the *Choral* however shall be made an exception of and remain in Stuttgart), for this above purpose, as the other chamber and *Hofmusici* all reside here and to these the necessary statement be made on that account; Therefore the *Rath und Oberkapellmeister Brescianello* shall

As this demonstrates there was one exception to the general rule: the *Choral* was to remain in Stuttgart on Sundays and feast-days. Despite the fact that the word "Choral" normally refers to several people Württemberg seems to have developed its own application. It is not at all clear exactly what is meant by the use of this term—perhaps a small group of singers remained in Stuttgart to sing motets and chorales for Johanna Elisabetha's service. On the other hand, it is possible that the word was intended in the sense that Störl used it in 1717—as a substitute for Schwartzkopff's term "*Cantor*".¹³ Possibly the musician holding this position (J. G. Schimdtbaur, 1717) remained in Stuttgart to lead the congregational singing that played such an important part of the Lutheran service. An organist must have been employed specially for the use of the castle in Stuttgart on these days, as Mattheson wrote ". . . since nowadays almost no chorale is heard without the accompaniment of an organ (except on special days of penance, where this essential instrument is improperly silenced, or in small country churches) . . ." ¹⁴

In their reports to the court authorities in 1717 both Schwartzkopff and Störl begin with their plans for the constitution of a well-appointed church music. This issue is complicated somewhat by the fact that the court had by now effectively split into two parts and it is clear that music was required for the church services at both locations.

herewith inform the collected vocalists and remaining musicians of this information, and next to that, that these same are to be here at the church music in the court chapel.'

¹³See 1717 Schw 27/v and 1717 Störl 19/v.

¹⁴Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), trans. E. C. Harris (Ann Arbor, 1981), 92.

Störl provided two plans for the *Kirchen-music*, one numbering twenty-eight musicians (plus brass and woodwind) and the other a reduced ensemble of seventeen (see Appendix A, pages 453-459). In both lists he included two *Kantoren*, one for the chapel at Stuttgart and the other for Ludwigsburg, but only in the larger group are organists supplied for the separate residences. Obviously it had become the norm to provide both palaces with church music, Störl commented that with the larger ensemble it would be possible "sowohl in Stuttgardt in der *Capell*, als auch zu Ludwigsburg eine *Music fourniren* und bestellen."¹⁵ However, in the case of the smaller group: "wan so wenig Leütthe warn, so könnte man nicht in Stuttgardt die *Capell* und zu Ludwigsburg zu gleich versehen wie es biß *dato* geschehen ist . . . "¹⁶

Störl's "Vollständigen Kirchen *Music*" (complete church music) can be placed alongside another document in his hand which must date from around this time (given that the musicians included within it match those named in the 1717 *Verzeichnisse* of both Störl and Schwartzkopff).¹⁷ This is especially interesting since it gives us some idea how the musicians (who almost all had wide-ranging instrumental capabilities) might have been distributed in a typical performance of church music at the Württemberg court.

Unfortunately it is not clear whether he expected all the musicians to be present at one location or divided between the chapels at Stuttgart

¹⁵1717 Störl 19/v; 'both in the chapel at Stuttgart, as well as at Ludwigsburg, to provide and summon a *Music*.'

¹⁶1717 Störl 19/v; 'if there were to be so few people, then one couldn't serve the chapel in Stuttgart and at Ludwigsburg at the same time, as has been the case up until now. . . "

¹⁷c.1717 Störl.

and Ludwigsburg. Certainly the two organists he lists were not in attendance at the same location, as Seidel "Schlägt die *Orgel* beÿ der Hoff *Capell* in Stuttgl.", while Nicolai "Schlägt die *orgel* zu Ludwigsburg . . ."¹⁸ As can be seen from Table 8.1 not all aspects of the two documents match perfectly, the *Hand Gamba* which Störl includes in his plan, does not feature amongst the instrumentalists listed in the bass section: instead he has Radauer on the bassoon and Grott playing a violoncello.

¹⁸1717 Störl 19/v, Seidel 'plays the organ in the court chapel at Stuttgart'; Nicola 'plays the organ at Ludwigsburg.'

Table 8.1 1717 Störl, Complete Church Music.

(from 1717 Störl 19/v)	(from c.1717 Störl)
2 sopranos or descants	1st. descant <i>Frau Ruffin</i>
2 descants for the ripieno	2nd. descant <i>Frau Kornbeckin</i>
	1st. ripieno <i>Jungfr.</i> : Schmidtbaur
2 altos	2nd. ripieno <i>Jungfr.</i> : Scharnizgin
2 tenors	2 altos Gabrielis and Arnold
2 basses	2 tenors Höflein and [J. G.] Schmidtbaur
3 on 1st violin	2 basses Ricci and Bleßner
3 on the other violin	3 1st. violinists, Freudenberg, Venturini and Eb. Hildenbrand
2 on 1st viola	3 2nd. violinists, Glockhart, Christoph Hildenbrand and Kress
2 on the other viola	2 1st viola-players Zahn and Castenbauer
	2 2nd. viola-players, Schwahn and <i>Kapellknaben</i> [G. H.]
1 small French <i>Violon</i>	Schmidtbaur or Mayer
1 large <i>Violon</i>	French <i>Baß</i> La Rose
1 <i>Hand Gamba</i>	Large <i>Violon</i> Eberlen
	—
	Bassoon Radauer
	Violoncello Grott
1 organist at Stuttgart,	2 organists, Seidel and Nicolai
1 organist in Ludwigsburg	—
1 on the harpsichord	
1 <i>Cantor</i> in Stuttgart,	
1 <i>Cantor</i> in Ludwigsburg	the 2 <i>Kapellknaben</i> for singing and copying music Schmidtbaur and Mayer.

Störl's specification for a full-sized *Kirchen-Music* parallels J. S. Bach's renowned *Entwurf einer wohlbestallten Kirchenmusik*, the much-discussed memorandum submitted to the Leipzig town council in 1730.¹⁹ The chief area of resemblance is the strings, with Störl listing six, and Bach four to six violinists divided into 1sts and 2nds, both with four violas likewise halved, and three bass strings: Bach with two violoncelli and a single *Violone*, and Störl requiring a small French *Violon*, a *Hand Gamba*, and a *Großen Violon*—thus a maximum total of thirteen for each.

Other instruments mentioned by Bach also feature in the plans of Schwartzkopff and Störl: trumpets, kettledrums, oboes, flutes, and bassoons. The two Württemberg *Kapellmeister* also mention the use of the *Waldhorn* as a possibility for the *Kirchen-Music*. Bach divides his vocalists into two groups—concertists and ripienists—but in the 1717 proposals only Störl actually indicates such a division, differentiating between a *Discantist* and *Ripieno Discantist*.

A *Kirchen-Music* as conceived by Schwartzkopff matches closely the reduced ensemble detailed by Störl with one singer on each part plus an extra *Discantist*, two 1st and two 2nd violins, two violas, a small and a large string bass, as well as the requisite organist (see Table 8.2). However, Störl includes a *Hand Gamba* as part of the bass section and also specifies a French *Baß*, while Schwartzkopff merely asks for "1 Kleiner *Violon*" which could indicate a number of different instruments: French *Baß*, violoncello, and possibly also a viola da gamba.

¹⁹See Chapter 5, fn. 53.

Table 8.2 1717 Schwartzkopff and Störl Church Music.

SCHWARTZKOPFF (from 1717 Schw 27/v)	STÖRL (from 1717 Störl 19/v)
1 oder 2 <i>Discantisten</i> , nach deme die Stückhe seyn.	1 zum ersten <i>discant</i> .
1 <i>Alt</i> .	1 zum andern <i>discant</i> .
1 <i>Tenor</i> , so zugleich den <i>Coral</i> führen kan.	1 <i>Altisten</i> .
1 <i>Bass</i> .	1 <i>Tenoristen</i> .
2 <i>violin</i> en zu der Ersten, und	1 <i>Bassisten</i> .
2 <i>violin</i> en zu deren andern stim, jede wohl besetzt, u: auch man eine Saite Springt, kein mangel erfolgen möchte.	2 zur Ersten <i>Violin</i>
2 <i>Viol</i> en, oder <i>Bratschen</i> .	2 zur andern <i>Violin</i>
1 Kleiner <i>Violon</i>	1 zur Ersten <i>Bratches</i>
1 Großer <i>Violon</i>	1 zur andern <i>Bratches</i>
1 <i>Organist</i> . ^a	1 frantzosischen <i>Bass</i>
	1 handt <i>Gamba</i>
	1 Großen <i>Violon</i>
	1 <i>Organisten</i> .
	2 <i>Choralisten</i> hier und in Ludwigsburg. ^b

a1 or 2 sopranos, depending on the piece; 1 alto; 1 tenor, who leads the *choral* at the same time; 1 bass; 2 first violins and 2 violins on the other [2nd] part, so that each is well filled, and also if a string should break, no lack will occur; 2 violas or *Braccio*; 1 small string bass; 1 large string bass; 1 organist

b1 on first soprano; 1 on the other soprano; 1 alto; 1 tenor; 1 bass; 2 first violins; 2 other [2nd] violins; 2 first violas; 2 other [2nd] violas; 1 French Bass; 1 *Hand Gamba*; 1 large string bass; 1 organist; 2 *Kantors*, here [Stuttgart] and in Ludwigsburg.

Schwartzkopff also addressed the problem of providing church music for a divided court and wrote:

daß wie biß anhero, alß auch noch hinkünfftig so wohl in Ludwigsburg, alß hier zu Stuttgl: an Sonn, und Fejërtagen, eine Kirchen *Music* auf geführt werden solle. Allermaßen auf solchen fall . . . an jedem Orthen Kirchen *Music*, ohne *Trompeten*, und Wald Horn, oder *Hautbois*, wehnigstens 13. biß 14. Persohnen, mithin 28. erfordert würden, mit welchen dan so wohl die Camer, alß Tafel *Music*, auch könnte bestritten werden.²⁰

Both *Kapellmeister* stress the fact that if the reduced ensembles were initiated it would be very difficult to maintain the church music, if any of the musicians were ill or attended mass rather than the court church service.

Unfortunately none of the music performed in these services is known to have survived. It certainly does not form part of the Friedrich Ludwig collection in Rostock, possibly because the church authorities who supplied the salaries of the court musicians kept a closer watch upon, and probably paid for, the music used for religious purposes. The nearest we can come to rediscovering the repertoire of the *Kirchen-Music* is in one section of a list cataloguing the music owned by the *Stiftskirche* in 1695. Unfortunately this information represents the music performed by the *Hofkapelle* in the last decades of the seventeenth century, rather than during the early eighteenth century—for the relevant heading reads "Folgende Stück sind in der

²⁰1717 Schw 27/v; 'that, as has occurred up until now, and will continue in the future, there will be performed here in Ludwigsburg on Sundays and feastdays, as well as in Stuttgart . . . at each place a church music without trumpets and horns, or oboes, at least thirteen to fourteen people, consequently twenty-eight would be required, with whom then as well the chamber and table music can also be provided.'

Cappel außgelesen und zur Stiffts-Music gegeben worden."²¹

Included in the selection are pieces for between two to eight voices *a cappella* by "C. Groß"²², the mysterious "J. H. H."²³, "Joh. Valentini"²⁴, "Vinc. Fux"²⁵, and "Wend. Gueber."²⁶

Also included are number of sacred concerti and other religious works which feature a variety of combinations of one to eight voices and up to fifteen instruments. The composers represented are J. F. Magg, J. A. Kreß, Samuel Capricornus, Philipp Heinrich Erlebach (1657-1714), the Italians Antonio Bertali (1605-1669), Carlo Grossi, Giovanni Valentini, and Pietro Verdina (c.1600-1643), as well as three unidentifiable composers: "Gueber", "Wendelin", and "Vinc. Fux." The instruments involved in these pieces are for the most part strings (with the violin, viola, and viola da gamba predominating), with the occasional inclusion of a bassoon, trombone, or trumpet.

The *Staat und Ordnungen* of successive *Kapellmeister* at the Württemberg court required the rehearsal of new compositions, including church music, so the actual repertoire was probably in a constant state of flux. A major change must have occurred upon the accession of the Catholic Duke Carl Alexander in 1733 and in 1739 an

²¹Bopp, 240-241; 'The following pieces have been rejected by the [court] chapel and have been given to the *Stiftsmusik*.' Although the majority of these works have German titles, a selection are settings of Latin texts—unusual in a Lutheran context.

²²"No. 137. Agmina coelocolum. S., A., B", probably by Carlo Grossi (c.1634-1688).

²³"No. 147. O Maria. 5 voc."

²⁴"No. 153. Deus in adjutorium. 4 von.; No. 157. Similis factus est. S., A.; No.158. Vox Domini super. S., A.; No. 172. Litania. 5 voc", by Giovanni Valentini (1582 or 1583-1649).

²⁵"No. 168. Missa S. Wolffgangi. 8 voc."

²⁶"No. 178. Requiem aeternam. S., A., T., B."

inventory of the "Hochfürstl. Catholische Hoff-Capelle" (Most Royal Catholic Court Chapel) included masses, cantatas, requiems, offertories, litanies, and vespers by Johann Valentin Rathgeber (1682-1750), Christian Ritter (c.1645-1650-after 1717), Johann Michael Breunich (b. early 18thC-1756), Johann Heinrich Buttstett (1666-1727), Benedict Anton Aufschnaiter (1665-1742), Marianus Königspurger (1708-1769), and Carolus Hacquart (c.1640-?1701).²⁷ Later in the same document under the heading "Brescianellischen Sachen" the following pieces are mentioned:

15. gedruckte Bücher zur Kirchen-Music von Petzen.

1. *Kyrie* und

1. *Gloria* von Lotti.

1. *Magnificat*

1. *Misserere* und

1. *Benedictus* von Biffi . . .²⁸

In those periods when Württemberg was under the rule of a Lutheran Duke the divine service was probably similar in content to that which J. S. Bach noted down on the cover of his cantata *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (BWV62) with the date 1724, now believed to correspond to the order of service at Leipzig. His list gives us a fair idea of what music the Württemberg *Hofmusici*, in particular the court organist, might have been expected to provide:

Anordnung des GottesDienstes am 1. *Advent*.

Frühe.

²⁷As well as a selection of unidentifiable composers: Jacobi, Koppü, Münster, Wilkoms, Plankÿ, and Bielings.

²⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 612, *Inventarium*. Oberkapellmeister J. D. Hardt, 19 August 1739; 'Fifteen printed books of church music by Pez; one *Kyrie* and one *Gloria* by [Antonio] Lotti [(c.1667-1740)]; one *Magnificat*, one *Misserere* and one *Benedictus* by [Antonio] Biffi [(1666 or 1667-early 1733)].'

1. *Præludiret* 2. *Motetta*. 3. *Prælud*: auf das *Kyrie*, so gantz *musiciret* wird. 4. *Intoniert* vor dem *Altar*. 5. *Epistola* verleßen. 6. wird die *Litaney* gesungen 7. *Prælud*. auf dem *Choral*. 8. *Evangelium* verleßen 9. *Præludiert* auf die *HauptMusic*. 10. Der *Glaube* gesungen. 11. Die *Predigt*. 12. Nach der *Predigt*, wie gewöhnlich einige *Verse* aus dem *Gesangbuche* gesungen; 13. *Verba institutionis*. 14. *Præludirt* auf die *Music*; und nach selbiger wechselsweise *præludirt* v. *Chorale* gesungen *etc.*²⁹

Tafel-Music

It is with *Tafel* and *Cammer-Music* that we can gain the fullest picture of the music performed at the court. These two duties provided the staple work of the *Kapelle* and entailed simply what their titles imply: table music played as background music during mealtimes and chamber music of a more intimate nature performed in the private rooms of the ducal family.

Of all the performances of the *Hofkapelle* table-music called for the participation of the largest number of musicians. Schwartzkopff and Störl's 1717 plans for the table music are remarkably similar (see Table 8.3), with approximately six violins, two oboes (or recorders), two horns, four violas, one bassoon, two small string basses, (once again Schwartzkopff is not specific, but Störl requires one French *Baß* and a *Hand Gamba*), one *Violone*, and a harpsichord. Furthermore Störl

²⁹W. Neumann and H.-J. Schulze (eds.), *Bach Dokumente I: Schriftstücke von der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Kassel, 1963), 251, trans. H. T. David and A. Mendel (eds.), *The Bach Reader* (New York, 1966), 70: 'First Sunday in Advent: Morning; 1. Preluding; 2. *Motetta*; 3. Preluding on the *Kyrie*, which is performed throughout in concerted music.; 4. Intoning before the altar; 5. Reading of the *Epistle*; 6. Singing of the *Litany*; 7. Preluding on [and singing of] the *Chorale*; 8. Reading of the *Gospel*; 9. Preluding on [and performance of] the principal composition; 10. Singing of the *Creed*; 11. The *Sermon*; 12. After the *Sermon*, as usual, singing of several verses of a hymn; 13. Words of Institution [of the *Sacrament*]; 14. Preluding on [and performance of] the composition [probably the second part of the cantata]. After the same, alternate preluding and singing of chorales until the end of the *Communion*, *et sic porrò*'

adds that: "solten aber *Trompeten* und *Paucken* darzu komen, so erfordert's meherere *personen* . . ." ³⁰

Official descriptions of nameday and birthday celebrations of the royal family frequently refer to table music and make it clear that no vocalists were involved at such performances. The standard phrase "bey der Mittag taffel wurde vollkomene *Instrumental Music* aufgeföhret" ³¹ recurs time and time again and occasionally a performance was given at the evening meal: "und Nachts Vollkomene taffel *Music* aufgeföhret." ³² The use of the word "vollkomene" (complete) implies that the majority of musicians were pressed into service for these entertainments and this is made even clearer in the description of Eberhard Ludwig's birthday celebrations, on Sunday 18 September 1729, when "zu mittag und zu nachts die Große *Music* bey der taffel sowoll Mittags alß abents gehalten." ³³

Based on the 1717 information provided by Schwartzkopff and Störl, a full table-music would involve six or seven parts (depending on how many viola parts were needed: either two or the newly fashionable one)—rising to nine when horns or trumpets were called for.

³⁰1717 Störl 19/v; 'should trumpets and kettledrums be needed, then more people would be required . . .'

³¹D-Sa A21 Büschel 149, nameday celebrations of Johanna Elisabetha, 19 November 1732; 'at the mid-day meal a complete instrumental music was performed.'

³²D-Sa A21 Büschel 148, birthday celebrations of Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz, 1 March 1730; 'and in the evening a complete table music was performed.'

³³D-Sa A21 Büschel 146; 'in the afternoon and night performances of orchestral music was held at the mid-day and evening meals.'

Table 8.3 1717 Schwartzkopff and Störl, Table Music.

SCHWARTZKOPFF

(from 1717 Schw 27/v)

3 zur Ersten Violin
 2 zur zweyten Violin
 2 Hautbois, oder Fleuten

2 Wald Horn

2 zur Ersten, und
 2 zur andern Viola

1 Fagott

2 Kleine Bass Violons

1 Grosser Bass Violon

1 Clavi Cembel^a

STÖRL

(from 1717 Störl 19/v)

4 personen zur Ersten Violin
 3 personen zur Andern Violin
 1 person zur ersten Hautbois
 1 person zur Andern Hautbois
 1 person zum Ersten Waldhorn,
 1 person zum Andern Waldhorn
 2 personen zur Ersten Viola
 2 personen zur Andern Viola
 1 person zum Fagott
 1 person zum frantzösischen Bass
 1 person zur handt Gamba
 1 person zum Großen Violon
 1 person zum Instrument^b

^a3 first violins; 2 second violins; 2 oboes or recorders; 2 horns; 2 first and 2 other [2nd] violas; 1 bassoon; 2 small string basses; 1 large string bass; 1 harpsichord.

^b4 people on first violin; 3 people on the other [2nd] violin; 1 person on first oboe; 1 person on other [2nd] oboe; 1 person on first horn; 1 person on second horn; 1 person on first viola; 1 person on second viola; 1 person on bassoon; 1 person on French *bag*; 1 person on *Hand Gamba*; 1 person on large string bass; 1 person on harpsichord.

Brass instruments were particularly mentioned in this capacity as part of the birthday celebrations of Eberhard Ludwig in 1732: "Beÿ der taffel war einen vollkomene *Instrumental Music*, in welcher sich 2 *Trompeten* sehr annehmlich hören ließen."³⁴ No doubt most of the music in the Friedrich Ludwig collection which is scored for between six and ten parts was used at some time to provide meal-time entertainment for the Württemberg royal family.

Very rarely in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung* is there any more than one copy of any particular part (*Dubletten*) in a set, however, when this does occur, it is generally a violin or basso line that is duplicated. At the most up to three violinists could probably share the same music, with the same holding true for string-bass instruments and the bassoon. With these precepts in mind a performance of J. M. Molter's C major "Concerto a 6. Hautbois primo, Hautbois Secondo concert:, Violino primo, Violino Secondo, Alto Viola e Basso continuo"³⁵ may have been performed with the following forces around 1717:

Oboe 1—Eberhard Hildenbrand
 Oboe 2—Glockhardt
 Violin 1—Freudenberg; Venturini; Bleßner
 Violin 2—Christoph Hildenbrand; Kreß; (Meister)
 Viola—Zahn; Castenbauer; Schwahn
 Bassoon—Radauer
 French *Baß*—La Rose
Großen Violon—Eberlen
 Violoncello—Grott
 Harpsichord—Nicolai or Störl

³⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 146, 18 September 1732; 'At meal-time there was a complete instrumental music, in which two trumpets were heard to advantage.'

³⁵D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:47^{15a}.

This conjecture is based partly upon the information given by Schwartzkopff and Störl regarding their respective ideal *Tafel-Music* ensembles and partly upon the *Hofmusici* listed by Störl as making up a full *Kirchen-Music*.³⁶

However, it is highly unlikely that only large-scale works were performed for the dining nobles, but also a mixture of other smaller combinations—thus forming a pleasing variety of textures and musical styles. Certainly this was the case in Telemann's three sets of table music which he published in 1733. The title-page of this work reads:

MUSIQUE de TABLE,
partagée
en
Trois Productions,
dont chacune contient
I Ouverture avec la suite, à 7 instrumens,
I Quatuor,
I Concert, à 7,
I Trio,
I Solo,
I Conclusion, à 7,
et dont les instruments se
diversifient part tout;
composée
par
George Philippe Telemann . . . ³⁷

Telemann's largest grouping of instrumental parts in this collection requires seven players. A summary of his first, so-called,

³⁶c.1717 Störl.

³⁷J. P. Hinnenthal (ed.), *Georg Philipp Telemann Musique de Table* (1733) (Kassel, 1962).

"*Production*" demonstrates a mixture of scorings which must have been similar to performances of *Tafel-Music* given at the Württemberg court:

Production I

Ouverture-suite: two flutes, two violins, viola, violoncello, basso continuo

Quatuor: flute, oboe, violin, violoncello, basso continuo

Concerto: solo flute, solo violin, two violins, viola, violoncello, basso continuo

Trio: two violins, basso continuo

Solo: flute, basso continuo

Conclusion: two flutes, two violins, viola, violoncello, basso continuo.³⁸

Cammer-Music

Much of the music for small ensembles performed as table music would have been used for chamber music performances as well. Regarding chamber music in 1717 Schwartzkopff offers a more detailed plan than Störl, with four violins, two oboes (or recorders), two violas, a viola da gamba, one small string bass, one large string bass, and a harpsichord, along with a selection of vocalists (see Appendix A, pages 462-470). These were to be Höflein and Ricci and, in addition, he suggests that another virtuoso singer be employed for this purpose. Störl, on the other hand, merely lists four to six unspecified instruments, a keyboard player, and four singers: one each of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass (see Table 8.4). Horns and trumpets are not mentioned—no doubt because they did not suit the intimate atmosphere required for chamber music performances.

³⁸Hinnenthal, *Telemann Musique de Table*, Preface.

Table 8.4 1717 Schwartzkopff and Störl Chamber Music.

SCHWARTZKOPFF (from 1717 Schw 27/v)	STORL (from 1717 Störl 19/v)
4 Violinen, zu zwey stimmen gedoppelt zu besetzen. 2 Hautbois, oder Fleut 2 Viola 1 Viola da Gamba 1 Kleiner Bass Violon 1 Grosser Bass Violon 1 Clavi Cembel	4 à 6 Instrumentisten.
Wor zu neben denen vocalisten Höfflein und Ricci, wohl noch ein virtuoser Vocalist employrt werden könne. ^b	einen zum Clavier
	4 vocalisten, discantist, Altist, Tenorist, u: Bassist. ^a
<hr/>	
^a 4 to 6 instrumentalists; one on the harpsichord; 4 vocalists, soprano, alto, tenor, bass.	
^b 4 violins, on two parts doubled; 2 oboes or recorders; 2 violas; 1 viola da gamba; 1 small string bass; 1 large string bass; 1 harpsichord.	

The sole references to the performance of chamber music in official documents come in the descriptions of birthday and nameday celebrations. On such occasions they formed part of a large social gathering (*Assemblée*) hosted by a particular member of the royal family in their own private rooms. The standard phrase used to describe these performances read: "Abends ware in Ihro. Fstl: Dhl: der Herzogin Zimer große *Assemblée*, worbey auch ein angenehmer Camer Music . . ." ³⁹ Interestingly such events appear to have been hosted only by the royal ladies: by the Duke's mistress Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz and following the former's arrest and imprisonment in Schloß Urach in 1731, by the Duchess Johanna Elisabetha. ⁴⁰

Although much of the music scored for between two and six instrumental parts in the Friedrich Ludwig collection may have been performed as either table or chamber music there was one significant difference between the two —the addition of virtuoso vocalists to the latter genre. The collection includes a number of works which were probably intended for the purpose of chamber music: Brescianello's cantata *Seguir fera che fugge* (dedicated to Princess Louisa Frederica) ⁴¹ and cantatas by J. C. Pez and Reinhard Keiser, both scored for unspecified voice and flute. ⁴²

³⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 149, nameday celebrations of Johanna Elisabetha, November 1732; 'In the evening Her Most Royal Serene Highness the Duchess hosted a large gathering in her rooms, in which there was also a pleasant chamber music [performance] . . .'

⁴⁰Jürgen Rieckenberg, "Grävenitz, Christiane Wilhelmine Friedricke Gräfin", *NDB*.

⁴¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:9⁷.

⁴²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38²⁸ and D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:19¹. Pez's cantata, *Mentre fra mille fiori* was published by Musikverlag H. Sikorski (Hamburg, 1965).

The collection also contains a selection of French and Italian cantatas, with works for voice and a variety of instruments (including recorder, flute, violin, viola, violoncello, and basso continuo) by Louis-Nicolas Clérambault⁴³, André Campra⁴⁴, Thomas-Louis Bourgeois⁴⁵, Giuseppe Orlandini⁴⁶, and Antonio Caldara⁴⁷. One further work for solo voice and instrumental accompaniment is the *Serenata* composed by the Stuttgart-born musician Daniel Gottlob Treu (also known as Fedele).⁴⁸ This was probably written for a special occasion at the Württemberg court and may even be the birthday cantata which reportedly prompted Eberhard Ludwig to send Treu to study music in Italy c.1716.⁴⁹

A number of the Württemberg musicians occupied higher ranking positions than the ordinary *Hofmusici*. Schwartzkopff was obviously held in some esteem by members of the court hierarchy for the *Dienerbuch* records that he acted as keyboard instructor to the two Princesses from *Lichtmeß* (2 February) 1686.⁵⁰ Sittard claims that in

⁴³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:8³, "Le Jaloux", and Mus. Saec. XVII:8⁵, "Orphée", "Poliphème", all from his *Cantates françaises à I. et II. voix avec symphonie et sans symphonie* Book I (1710).

⁴⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:7^{5a}, "Airs avec accompagnement de flutes allemandes et violons et B. c." and Mus. Saec. XVII:7⁵, "Air De Monsieur Campra adjouté a Thetis et Pelée."

⁴⁵D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:5³, "Les Sirènes" from Cantatas Book I (1708).

⁴⁶D-Rou Mus. Saec. XVIII:64²², five Italian arias from "Iphigenia in Tanride", Orlandini's opera of this title appeared in Venice at S. Giovanni Grisostimo in 1719.

⁴⁷D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:10⁹, "Cantata con Violino e Violoncello" begins with the aria "Se d'esserini d'Amor."

⁴⁸D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:60⁸, "Serenata à Soprano, 2 Violini, 1 Viola, 2 Corno di Caccia et Cembalo."

⁴⁹George J. Buelow, "Treu, D. G.", *Grove* 6.

⁵⁰Pfeilsticker, 884.

1687 Schwartzkopff requested the title of chamber musician, along with a rise in salary, and apparently was granted both.⁵¹

Another musician who was granted a similarly high status at this time was Johann Gumprecht. The decree which appointed him to the position of Württemberg *Tutelarrath* in 1688 indicates that a number of the court musicians could be expected to travel with the ducal family in addition to the fulfilment of their ordinary duties.⁵² This document described Gumprecht as excelling "besonders auf der Laute, Engeliq^{ue}⁵³, Theorbe, und Cithara"⁵⁴ and awarded him the same salary as Christian Klotz "an geld, frucht, wein, und dergleichen . . ."⁵⁵

As a lutenist his job-description varies somewhat from that of an ordinary *Hofmusicus*, who, as we have seen above, could be expected to take part in church and table music, plays, ballets, dances, and other festivities. The decree specified

. . . daß Er sowohlen in der Kirch beim Gottesdienst, alß auch sonsten Gdster Herrschaft in denen Fürstlichen Cabinetten, bey der Tafel alhier und auf den Reysen, und wo es gdste. Herrschaft befehlen werden, auf besagten Instrumenten, seine Unthste Aufwartung ohne Exception leisten, auch in ermelten Instrumenten die Hochfürstliche Prinzen Und Prinzeßinen, wo Seine Frs. Dhlt: Ihne anweisen werden, informiren solle.

⁵¹Sittard I, 64.

⁵²See Siedentopf, 342.

⁵³Presumably the Angel Lute (French: *angélique*), see Ian Harwood, "Angel lute", *GroveMI*: "A two-headed lute with ten single strings on the lower head and six or seven on the upper."

⁵⁴Siedentopf, 342; 'especially on the lute, *Engeliq^{ue}*, theorbo and cithara.'

⁵⁵Siedentopf, 342; 'in money, fruit, wine, and the same.'

Decr. Studtgt. d. 12 July 1688.
Friedrich Carl Hz Wbg.⁵⁶

It is obvious that Gumprecht, like Schwartzkopff, held a unique position in the hierarchy of the *Hofkapelle*. Given the nature of his instrumental capabilities, he was not only expected to take part in all the usual performances, but also play in the private rooms of the ducal family, to accompany them on their travels, and to instruct the future Duke and his sisters.

In fact, in addition to their standard duties at the main ducal residences in Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg a number of the Württemberg court musicians were expected to travel elsewhere to perform. A small group of *Cammer Musici* were called upon for this extra service, travelling to the Duke's various estates—at such places as Teinach, Urach, Tübingen, or Stetten. A number of contemporary memoranda throw some light upon the frequency of and remuneration for performances "auf dem Land" (in the country). The most interesting of these documents is undoubtedly that of 1715 (see page 305ff).

Nowhere in the *Verzeichnisse* discussed above is an official differentiation made between *Hofmusici* and *Cammermusici*. A standard, contemporary definition of chamber music appears in J. G. Walther's *Musikalische Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732):

Cammer-Music, ist

⁵⁶Siedentopf, 342; 'that without exception he must undertake to serve on the said instruments, in church services, as well as in the royal rooms of the gracious rulers, at table and on travels, and wherever he is commanded by the gracious rulers, also in those established instruments he is instructed by His Serene Highness to teach their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and the Princesses. Decree Stuttgart 12 July 1688. Friedrich Carl, Duke of Württemberg.'

1. Diejenige, welche in grosser Herren Zimmern pflegt aufgeführt zu werden.
2. die Personen selbst so an nur gedachtem Orte musiciren, heissen auch also.⁵⁷

The term *Cammermusici* only begins to appear in documents related to music at the Württemberg court around the second decade of the eighteenth century. This ties in well with the first known mention of the requirement to perform "in den Fürstl: Zimmern" (in the royal rooms) in 1711.⁵⁸

One document which does mention both *Hofmusici* and *Cammermusici* dates from 20 July 1715. This anonymous letter discusses plans for a reorganization of the payments for those musicians called to provide music for the ducal family while in residence at their various country estates.⁵⁹ It appears that in the past these musicians merely received board and meals while away from home, but plans were underway for this arrangement to be changed to a monetary supplement.⁶⁰

The opening of this letter, addressed to the Duke himself, refers to a decree recently past that called for a salary revision in this area:

Ew: Hochfürstl: Durchl. haben der decretum de dato Teinach d. 6. Julÿ 1715 gndgsten befohlen, daß das Marschallen Amt sich

⁵⁷ J. G. Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732), 130; 'Chamber music is 1. That which is performed in the private rooms of important Lords; 2. The people themselves who make music in that place mentioned above, are also called that.'

⁵⁸ 1711 Pez S&O; 'in the [private] ducal rooms.'

⁵⁹ D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, 20 July 1715.

⁶⁰ The summary title on this document reads "Was denen Musici, so auff das Land gehen, statt der Natural Verpflegung, zur besold. zuschlagess ware." (What those musicians who go into the country, should be given as a supplementary salary, instead being paid through the means of catering).

zusamen thun und dergleichen, solle auf wie Hoch die besoldungs addition für die Hof und Camer Musicanten, welche jedes mahlen mit auf daß land gehen sollen, möchte zu setzen seyn, damit es nicht *ecclesio* herauß Kome . . . ⁶¹

The reference to the church authorities in this excerpt once again serves to demonstrate just how far the *Hofkapelle* had strayed from their original duty of providing music for church services. For although the *Konsistorium* was theoretically in charge, and supplied the salary of the musicians, obviously the court felt it should pay them directly for this special duty.

This letter continued by setting out a plan for the utilization of musicians in a rotational system. The unidentified author considered "daß der Hof deß Jahres ohngefähr 8. monartl. auf dem Land ist"⁶² and listed the musicians required during this time and their deployment as follows:

der Nicolai, nebst dem Antoni, davon der erstere beym Clavir, der andere aber alß ordinair Copist, gebraucht wird, allezeit mit auf das Land gehen müsten, die übrigen Hof und Camer Musici aber könnten folgender gestalt von 4 zu 4 wochen abgelöset werd.

1. Venturini

2. Petz

3. Freudenberg

welchen die erste Violin streichen.

1. Hildebrand

⁶¹D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, 20 July 1715; 'Your Most Royal Serene Highness has ordered through a decree dated Teinach 6 July 1715, that the office of the Marshall should meet together and try to set how high the amount of salary *addition* which is given to the court and chamber musicians every time they have to go with His Highness into the country, should be, so that it won't be left for the church authorities . . . '

⁶²D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, 20 July 1715; 'that the court goes into the country approximately eight months of the year,' the signature on this document is unfortunately illegible, but the author must have been attached to the office of the *Oberhofmarschall*.

2. Bleßner
 3. Glockert
 zu der Hautbois.

1. La Rose
 2. Radauer
 3. Eberle
 zu dem Bass.⁶³

The phrase "von 4 zu 4 wochen" presumably meant that there were to be four performing musicians and a copyist on call at all times—three of whom changed every four weeks. Five men were expected to be available to travel in the country: "Dergestalt daß jederzeit außer denen oben gemelten zwey ordinair dreÿ alß Einer zu der Violin, Einer zur Hautbois und Einer zum Bass, und alß zusammen derer fünfte mit auf dem Lande wären"⁶⁴

The letter also discusses the method of payment for this service in some detail. In the past musicians in the country merely had their meals provided. Apparently the *Oberkapellmeister* ordinarily received four dishes at mealtimes, as well as three *Maß* of win, and four loaves of bread per day. However, according to this new plan they stood to receive money instead: "eine jeden folgende *addition* von der *Visitation* jährlich könnten gereichterer nehmlich dem Nicolai alß ordinario beÿm Clavier 80 G[ulden] dem Antoni alß

⁶³D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, 20 July 1715; 'Nicolai, along with Antoni [Anthony Meister], the first of which is needed at the keyboard, the other however as the ordinary copyist, has to go into the country every time, the other court and chamber musicians however can take turns in the following plan of four to four weeks; Venturini, Petz [F. A. M.], Freudenberg who play the first violin; Hildebrand [J. E. Hildenbrand], Bleßner, Glockert [Glockhart] on the oboe; La Rose, Radauer, Eberle [Erhardt Eberlen] on the bass.'

⁶⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, 20 July 1715; 'In such a way that every time as well as the two mentioned above [J. N. Nicolai and Anthony Meister] there shall ordinarily be three; one on the violin, one on oboe, and one on the bass, and together the five shall go into the country.'

ordinair Copisten 64 G[ulden] jährlich von den übrigen aber einen jeden Jährlich 25 G[ulden] . . . "65

Of great interest in this document is the phrase used to describe the musicians. They are not merely *Musici* or even *Hofmusici*, but "Hof und Camer Musici" (court and chamber musicians) who have been selected to perform in the private rooms of the Duke and his family. Obviously there were not enough *Cammermusici* to undertake this service alone and recruits from the rank and file musicians were also utilized. The only indication of which particular musicians fall into the higher status category of *Cammermusici* is that of salary. Two of the musicians listed, Venturini and Hildenbrand (this must be Johann Eberhard, rather than Georg Christoph) were receiving 400 *Gulden* per annum and another four were earning 300 *Gulden*, J. Nicolaus Nicolai, F. A. M. Pez, Freudenberg, and La Rose. It seems most probable that these men were considered to be of *Cammermusici* status, while the remaining five musicians, Anthonÿ Meister, Bleßner, Glockhart, Radauer, and Eberlen, all receiving the so-called 'ordinary' salary of 247 *Gulden* were classed as *Hofmusici*.

Although the instrumental designations of the first two groups of three in this plan are quite specific: violin and oboe, it is more than likely that each of the men listed took advantage of their wider talents and played a variety of pieces on a selection of instruments. The possible combinations, according to the information provided by Pez in his 1714 *Lista* could be taken from the following:

⁶⁵D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, 20 July 1715; 'each shall receive the following yearly gratuity from the *Visitation* namely, to [J. N.] Nicolai as the ordinary keyboard player 80 *Gulden*, to Antoni [Anthonÿ Meister] as the ordinary copyist 64 *Gulden*, for the rest however each 25 *Gulden* per year . . . '

Group 1

Venturini—violin
Hildebrand—oboe, recorders, violin
La Rose—French *Baß*
Nicolai—keyboards

Group 2

F. A. M. Pez—violin, viola d'amore, *viola da braccio*, clarinet
Bleßner—oboe, recorders, clarinet, violin
Radauer—bassoon, bass recorder, violone, small *Baß* [violoncello or French *Baß*]⁶⁶
Nicolai—keyboards

Group 3

Freudenberg—violin, recorders, oboe, flute, clarinet
Glockert—oboe, recorder, violin
Eberle—violone, bassoon
Nicolai—keyboards.

By 1722 that elaborate system had been abandoned. A decree dated 16 May 1722 stated

Serenissimus haben hierauf gndstr. *Resoluits*, daß denen Jeniges *Musicis* so auf das Land folgen Künfftighin—1. K. wochentlich Kostgeld, von der fürstl. *Visitation* abgereuhl werden, in Ludwigsburg alß der *Residenz* diselbe sich mit Ihrer *ordinari gage* begnügen sollen. Decr. Ludwbl. den 16. May 1722.
Eberhard Ludwig Hzhstl.⁶⁷

This allowance had risen to 3 *Gulden* per week by 1730, however it was often difficult to extract this money from the court coffers,

⁶⁶His instrumental capabilities as described by Schwartzkopff, 1717 Schw 5/viii.

⁶⁷D-Sa A21 Büschel 632; 'His Serene Highness has hereby most graciously resolved, that regarding those musicians who go into the country in the future, shall be paid the weekly allowance of 1 *Gulden*, from the Royal *Visitation*, [but] in Ludwigsburg, as the residence, these same shall content themselves with their ordinary salary. Decree Ludwigsburg 16 May 1722, Eberhard Ludwig, Duke.'

judging from the numerous letters of complaint on the subject.⁶⁸ On 19 May 1730 a group of seven musicians wrote to Eberhard Ludwig "wegen ihren auß dem Teynachen bad her annoch Ruckständigen Kostgeldts zu 1 G[ulden] Täglic."⁶⁹ This group must have constituted a typical selection of musicians chosen to travel into the country around this time: Johann Michael Böhm (woodwind specialist)⁷⁰, Johann Daniel Hardt (viola da gamba player), Giovanni Schiavonetti (oboist)⁷¹, Dorothea Sporni (lutenist), Alessandro Toeschi (violinist), Louis D'Etri (bassoonist), and Wenceslaus Sporni (string-bass).

The concept of a *Rangordnung* (ranking order) in German court life became gradually stronger as the eighteenth century progressed. The holdings of the Staatsarchiv Nürnberg include a *Rangordnungs-Aufstellung* (Hierarchy Table) from the Württemberg court dated 1710, in which the *Kapellmeister* is listed in sixty-ninth place, the "Cammer-Musici-Virtuosi" at ninety-four, the "Musici ordinarii" at one hundred-and-four, and with the *Hautboisten* coming even further down the list.⁷² By 1747 a ducal decree gave the following list of salaries for musicians performing in the country:

⁶⁸See D-Sa A21 Büschel 632.

⁶⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, 19 May 1730; 'regarding their overdue allowance of 1 *Gulden* daily from the resort of Teinach.'

⁷⁰The oboist J. M. Böhm worked from 1711 at the Darmstadt court, but was appointed to the Württemberg court through a decree of 3 June 1729 (Pfeilsticker, 888), see Elisabeth Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit* (Darmstadt, 1967), 180-214; and Bruce Haynes "Telemann's Kleine Kammermusik and the Four Oboists to whom it was dedicated" *IDRS* 15 (1987), 27-32.

⁷¹Pfeilsticker, 890, released 19 October 1734.

⁷²Günther Schmidt, *Die Musik am Hofe der Markgrafen von Brandenburg-Ansbach vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis 1806* (Kassel, 1956), 55, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (Ansbacher Historika Nr. 112).

. . . daß Einem Ober Capellmeister 4 K 30 g Einem Camer *Musico*, statt der ehemahligen 3. K. jezo 4. K. und von denen übrigen Hoff *Musicis*, einem jeden 2. K. Einem *Hautboisten* der 1. K. wochentlich, und wann es etwa nur auff 1. biß 4. tage wohnen sollte, Einem Ober Capellmeister 1 K 20 g. Einem Camer *Musico* 1 K. 10.g . Einem Hoff *Musico* 1. K. und einem *Hautboisten* aber 45. g. täglich vor Kost und *Logis* bezahlt werden solle, jedoch dergestalt, daß wann beÿ solch etlichtägige auffenthalt, das täglich Kostgeld beÿ ein oder anderer gattung benannter *Musicorum* in der berechnung daß wochentlich übersteigen wurde solches als gantzen Wochengeld abzuraichen seÿn; Als wird dem Rath und Ober Capellmeister Brescianello ein solches zur Nachricht wissend gemacht, unt dem anfügen, daß es ob der *Musique* ebenfalls *publicum* solle.⁷³

The Crown Prince, Friedrich Ludwig, suffered from a medical condition (thought to have been a type of wasting disease⁷⁴), and as this worsened towards the end of his life, he made at least three visits to the spa of Liebenzell, accompanied by his wife and a large number of servants. Given the Prince's immense interest in music it is particularly appropriate to investigate the number and type of musicians included in his entourage. A series of memoranda concerning these journeys relate to the months of April to May 1728,

⁷³D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, 17 October 1747; 'that an *Oberkapellmeister* shall receive 4 *Gulden* 30 *Kreutzer*, a *Cammermusicus* instead of the former 3 *Gulden* shall now receive 4 *Gulden*, and the remaining *Hofmusici* shall each receive 2 *Gulden*, [and] an *Hautboist* 1 *Gulden* per week, and when they have to stay [in the country] for only one to four days, then an *Oberkapellmeister* shall receive 1 *Gulden* 20 *Kreutzer*, a *Cammermusicus* 1 *Gulden*, a *Hofmusicus* 1 *Gulden* and an *Hautboist* however 45 *Kreutzer* shall each be paid daily for costs and lodgings, however in such a way, that when such lengthy stays occur the daily allowance, in one or the other named categories of the members of the musical establishment, add up to more than the amount of the total weekly money, then the weekly amount will be paid out instead. The *Rath und Oberkapellmeister* Brescianello will be informed of this news, and to him we add, that he makes it known publically to the members of the musical establishment.'

⁷⁴Albert Moll, *Die Krankheits- und Todesfälle im Württembergischen Regentenhause. Eine historisch-pathologische Studie* (Stuttgart, 1861), 195.

May to June 1730, and May to July 1731 (he died later that year—on 23 November).⁷⁵

In 1728 the party included not only the Crown Prince and his wife, Henriette Marie, but also the Duke's mistress, the *Landhofmeisterin* Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz. Only one musician, a trumpeter, is individually listed in the *Fourier Zettel*, but the document's final summary includes the phrase: "88 Pers. ohne die Music" (eighty-eight people, without the music)—which suggests a larger musical contingent. An official memorandum dated 19 April 1728 and addressed to Eberhard Ludwig, noted that on this occasion Friedrich Ludwig particularly requested that the musician "Cazar" [Des Essarts] accompany him: "Gestalten nicht weniger daß Herrn Erbprinzens durchl. gndstl. geäußert, das *Musicum Cazar* beÿ sich zu haben."⁷⁶

Two years later the total number travelling to Liebenzell was "100 Persohnen ohne die Music" (one hundred people without the *Music*) and five musicians were actually listed:

1. Hoff Trompeter *Otto*, der zugleich *Fourier* dienste thut.
- 1 *Concertmeister Cazar*.
2. Trompeters.
1. Paucker.⁷⁷

⁷⁵D-Sa A21 Büschel 23, section D: *Liebenzeller Badereisen des erbprinzhlichen Paares u. Verpflegung dabei*.

⁷⁶D-Sa A21 Büschel 23, 19 April 1728; 'no less importantly the Crown Prince, His Serene Highness has graciously expressed the wish that the musician Cazar [Des Essarts] accompany him.'

⁷⁷D-Sa A21 Büschel 23, 1730; 'One Court Trumpeter Otto, who shall serve at the same time as *Fourier*; One Concertmaster Cazar [Des Essarts]; Two Trumpeters, One Kettledrum player.'

Furthermore the retinue of the *Erbprinzessin* Henriette Marie included a "Cantor oder Vorsänger", undoubtedly for the singing of Calvinist metrical psalms.

For the final year documented, 1731, the total entourage reached one hundred-and-thirty, travelling with seventy-two horses. The musicians had increased in number by this stage and the suite of Friedrich Ludwig included:

1. Hoff *Fourier* und *Trompeter* Otto

3. *Trompeter*

1. Paucker

1 Bocks Geiger

2. Camer *Musici* alß Freüdenberg und [also described as *Concertmeister*] Cesar

Die *Bande Hautbois* von der *Garde Fusiliers*—9 Persohnen.⁷⁸

Balls and Theatrical Events

In a fairly typical contemporary description of Duke Eberhard Ludwig, Baron von Pöllnitz wrote "Er ist ein aufrichtiger, freundlicher und gegen jedermann recht gefälliger Herr, so, daß wenig Prinzen mit ihren Hof-Bedienten so vertraulich umgehen, als er. Er war zu seiner Zeit einer der vortreflichsten Tänzer . . ." ⁷⁹ During Eberhard's childhood the orientation of Württemberg court under the *Administrator* Friedrich Carl had been so thoroughly French that his

⁷⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 23, *Specificatio der Jenigen Persohnen, so beordert, mit Ihro Hfrstl. Durchl. dem Herrn Erb Prinzen nacher Zellerbaad zu gehen*, 30 May 1731; 'One Court *Fourier* and *Trumpeter* Otto, three trumpeters, one kettledrum player, one Bock fiddler, two chamber musicians: that is Freüdenberg and Cesar [Des Essarts], the oboe band of the Fusilier Guard—nine people'; an accompanying document, entitled "Consignation", includes the phrase "9 *Hautboisten*. davon 8. von Stuttgart und 1 von Ludbbbl:" [Nine Oboists, of them eight from Stuttgart and one from Ludwigsburg].

⁷⁹Pöllnitz, 380-381; 'He is a sincere, friendly man, pleasant towards everyone, so that there are few Princes who are as much at ease with their court subjects than he is. He was one of the most superb dancers of his time. . . '

education included both a French governess and dancing master. Not surprisingly, therefore performing for balls and other occasions when dancing took place was also an important task for the *Hofkapelle* at this time.

A ball which was held on the evening of Friday 1 March 1726, the birthday of Christiane Wilhelmine von Grävenitz, was described as part of an official report of the occasion: "Nach der Nacht Tafel, hatt der Ball angefangen, und biß Morgens frühe ums 2. Uhren gelorhert, nach außgang deßen, Sich alles nach der Logirung begeben, beÿ gedachten Ball, hatt die Hoff Music und das Rothe Bandt auffgewarttet und Eine Tafel Music gehalten."⁸⁰ The "Rothe Bandt" was probably an established oboe band.

Presumably dancing also played a significant role in the numerous performances of French *Ballet*, German *Singspiel*, and the other hybrid stage-works given at the Württemberg court around this time. Unfortunately no dance-music appears to have survived from these productions, at least not in any form that can be linked with a particular stagework. It is possible that many of the overture-suites and other works containing dance movements in the Friedrich Ludwig collection, may have originated as ballet music. This is almost certainly the case for one group of dances arranged for treble instrument and bass⁸¹ and with another manuscript which contains a selection of one hundred-and-fifty-nine Menuets, seventeen Contre

⁸⁰D-Sa A21 Büschel 148; 'After the evening-meal, the ball began, and lasted until very early the next morning, around 2am, after which permission was given for all to return to their lodgings, at the said ball the court musical ensemble and the 'Red Band' performed, and a table music was given.'

⁸¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:75².

Danses, thirty-one Danses d'Polonese, and one hundred-and-eight Danses d'Allemagne, with the dates 1718, 1719, and 1722 mentioned.⁸²

From 1698 the members of the *Hofkapelle* were involved in the opera performances which frequently formed part of the birthday and nameday celebrations for members of the ducal family. 1700 was a typical year in this regard and the following works were presented:

18 September, birthday of Duke Eberhard Ludwig.

Der hochmütige Alexander. (Mauro/Steffani/trans. Fielder)

3 October, birthday of Duchess Johanna Elizabetha.

Medea. (?Bressand/Giannettini/trans. Postel)

11 October, birthday of Princess Eberhardina Louisa (sister of the Duke)

Die wiedergefunden Hermione. (Aureli/Giannettini/trans. Postel)

7 November, birthday of Margravine Magdalena Wilhelmina of Baden (sister of the Duke)

Die unglückliche Liebe des tapfern Jasons.

(Bressand/Kusser/trans. ?Postel)

In addition to the court musicians sizeable numbers of extras were required to act, sing, and dance in the productions. Initially it seems than the authorities were not forthcoming in offering monetary compensation for these services and for the 1698 performances at least payment took the form of medallions: "Demnach Unsseres gdsten. Fürsten und Herrn Durchlaucht gnädigst resolvirt, denen Manns- und Frauen-Persohnen, so bey denen operen, von Endymion, Porus,

⁸²A number of the Polish dances in this set are by Telemann, while the only other composer mentioned on the manuscript is J. M. Molter—for further details see Martin Ruhnke (editor), *Telemann-Werkoerzeichnis (TWV) Instrumentalwerke Band 2* (Kassel, 1992), 214-218 "Polnische Tänze der Handschrift Rostock", with information largely taken from K.-P. Koch, "Die Rostocker Telemann-Quellen", a paper given at the *Internationalen wissenschaftlichen Konferenz* during the 9. Telemann-Festtage, Magdeburg, 1987.

Jason, Erminia und Alaric employret worden, wegen Ihrer Bemühung zu recompensiren, alss haben wir folgender gestalten, an güldenen und Silbern mésdailles machen lassen, und auss getheilt."⁸³

Attached to this decree is a list of twenty-six names headed by Magdalena Sibylla von Bex, "Frantzösin" (French woman), who was the only person to receive a gold medallion (in addition to two silver ones). The majority of the list come under the category of *Jungfrau* (maidens) each receiving one to two silver medallions. Four other women, "Frau Käufin", "Frau Brüningin", "Jungfer Schäferin", and "Jungfer Vischerin" obviously took important roles—for each was allocated three silver medallions. The last two women mentioned were probably Susanna Elizabeth Schafferin (from Ansbach)⁸⁴ and Juliana Dorothea Sophia Fischer⁸⁵, while later in the list "des musicanten Vischers Tochter" (daughter of the musician Fischer)⁸⁶ was undoubtedly Maria Dorothea Fischer (d.1723), daughter of the *Altist* Andreas Fischer.

Ten males were also named, including the two youngest sons of the dancing-master Courcelle, who must have played significant roles in the productions, with each boy receiving three silver medallions. The only musicians mentioned in the list are the "Musicanten Medern,

⁸³Scholz, 201-202; 'As our most gracious Prince and Serene Highness has graciously resolved, that those male and female persons who took part in the operas, Endymion, Porus, Jason, and Alaric, are to be recompensated for their endeavours, we have therefore organised the following: that gold and silver medaillons be made and distributed', unfortunately Scholz does not provide an exact date for this decree.

⁸⁴Pfeilsticker, 935.

⁸⁵Pfeilsticker, 934.

⁸⁶Scholz, 201, see Pfeilsticker, 934.

und Musicanten Seidlen, Jedem auch 3 dergleich."⁸⁷ According to the *Dienerbuch* these two men, Johann Christoph Mader and Isaac Seidel (d.1738), were students at this time, but shortly afterwards given positions in the *Hofkapelle*. Seidel was a *Hof- und Kammerorganist* (court and chamber organist) until his death in 1738⁸⁸, while Mader did not remain long with the musicians—receiving an appointment as *Visitation-Vizesekretarij* in 1702.⁸⁹ It seems highly probable that many of the young people involved in these performances were related to officials working at the court.

Following J. S. Kusser's introduction of Italian opera to the Württemberg court around the end of the eighteenth century it may have been expected that the Italian fashion would completely overwhelm other types of theatrical entertainment. However, this was not to be the case, for even as late as the 1730s French actors were performing with some frequency at Ludwigsburg. A protocol dated 17 May 1732 read: "Fl: *Ober Music Director* und Camer Herr von Ziegesar produciret ein Hfrstl: *Decret* dato. 5ten Maÿ R. ai daß die alhier befindlich *Troupe* französischer *Comoedianten* in Hfrstl. dienste auff 1. Jahr pro 800 G[ulden] gst angenommen worden seÿe . . ."⁹⁰ The 1730s *Staat und Ordnungen* of Brescianello and Ziegesar both

⁸⁷Scholz, 202; 'Musician Medern [Mader] and Musician Seidlen [Seidel], to each three of the same [silver medallions] also.'

⁸⁸Pfeilsticker, 958.

⁸⁹Pfeilsticker, 902, on 9 June 1702 Johnn Christoph Mader stabbed to death the *Visitation-Sekretarij*, Carl Scheinemann, and was subsequently arrested and imprisoned.

⁹⁰D-Sa A21 Büschel 165; 'The *Obermusikdirektor* and Chamberlain von Ziegesar has produced a Royal decree dated 5 May in which the troop of French actors which is to be found here at present is to be appointed to the service of His Most Royal Highness for a year at 800 *Gulden*'; Büschel 165-167 contain documents mentioning French "Komödianten, auch Tänzer" (actors, as well as dancers) for the years 1682-83, 1711-20, 1722-38, and 1750, while Büschel 168 features German "Komödianten und deren

mention "Commoedien", differentiating between "*Pastoralen, opern und Commoediien*"—so it clear that the latter genre included a sizeable musical input.⁹¹

Likewise, the exact nature of the difference between *Singspiel* and opera at this time is uncertain owing to the lack of extant scores. Brockpähler provides a comprehensive list of "Opern und Opernähnlichen Stücken" performed at the Württemberg court around this time.⁹² It seems probable that a wide variety of hybrid forms existed during this period. The title-page of the libretto for the 1700 performance of *Die unglückliche Liebe des tapffern Jasons* stated the work was "In einem Sing-Spiel vorstellet" (Represented as a *Singspiel*) and later informed the reader that "Die Musique zu dieser Opera ist gesetzt durch Mons. Coussern, Hoch-Fürstl. Württembergischen Ober-Capellmeister."⁹³

As can be seen from the information presented in this chapter the daily performance schedule of the musicians employed at the Württemberg court must have been an extremely hectic one. The *Hofmusici* provided musical entertainment for a number of regular events (church, at mealtimes, and in the private royal chambers), but also for a variety of other occasions—and in a number of different locations.

Besoldung" (actors and their salaries), and covers only 1667, 1670, 1698, 1712-13, and 1730.

⁹¹D-Sa A21 Büschel 612, see also Hermann Abert, "Zur Geschichte der Oper in Württemberg", *III Kongress der Internationaler Musik-Gesellschaft* (Vienna, 1909), 186-193; and Brockpähler, 349-359.

⁹²Brockpähler, 354-355.

⁹³Scholz, 175-176; 'The music for this opera was produced by *Monsieur Cousser* [J. S. Kusser], Most Royal Württemberg *Oberkapellmeister*.'

Other Musical Ensembles at the Württemberg Court

In addition to the *Hofkapelle* there existed a number of other groups of musicians employed by Dukes of Württemberg at Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg including a *Bock Music*, trumpeters and kettledrum players, and an oboe band. Yet another body of musicians were employed by the city of Stuttgart and were commonly referred to as *Stadt Musicanten*. Their principal duty was to provide music for the services at the *Stiftskirche* and, therefore, like the *Hofmusici*, their wages were paid by the church authorities.

Bock-Music

The list of musicians of those who accompanied Friedrich Ludwig on his final trip to Liebenzell included a *Bocks Geiger*—a member of the Württemberg ensemble which bore the title "Sämtl: Hejducken und Bockh Music."¹ The *Bock* or *Polnischen Bock* (English, goat) is one of the four types of bagpipe described by Praetorius in his *Syntagma musicum*: "Bock, welcher nur ein groß lang Horn zum Stimmen und die Tiefe C hat. Etliche sind noch umb eine Quart tiefer in GG, und billich der große Bock genennet werden."² A. C. Baines refers to the *Bock* in a discussion on the bagpipes of Eastern Europe and notes that "... in Bohemia, as also

¹'Collected *Hejducken* and *Bock Music*', *Hejducken* were a type of servant dressed in Hungarian costume (see Figure 9.2).

²Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II*, 51; 'the *Bock* has its chanter and bottom C-pipe mounted with large horns. Some are pitched a 4th lower, in GG and so are called great *Bocks*.'

formerly in Germany among the Sorbs and other Slav minorities, the instrument is played at weddings and feasts in company with other instruments, especially violin and clarinet, to which it provides an accompaniment."³

The role played by the *Polnischen Bock* at court was no doubt similar to that in Baines's description of contemporary practices. Although the bagpipe reached aristocratic heights elsewhere during the eighteenth century, most notably at the French court, in Württemberg it remained in the hands of the professional musician.⁴ Sittard wrote

... bestand am württembergischen Hofe auch eine Bockmusik, die von den Haiducken ausgeübt wurde. Sie hatten gleich den Lakaien sowohl in der Residenz wie auf dem Lande Dienste zu thun „und wie diese an Trinkgelder und Schenkungen zu *participiren*." Bei Straf der Cassation war ihnen verboten, die Wirthhäuser zu „*frequentiren* und vor Privaten um Geld oder Trunk" aufzuspielen. Sie griffen nämlich in die Rechtsame der Spielleute ein, was Streit und Klage veranlaßte.⁵

A contemporary illustration of the ballet "Tanz der Nationen", which formed part of the festivities celebrating the baptism of Prince Friedrich in 1616, depicted a man playing a *Bock* along with other musicians (see Figure 9.1).⁶

³A. C. Baines, *Bagpipes*, (Oxford, 1960), 80, the Sorbs were native to an area of eastern Saxony (and are therefore distinct from the Serbian people).

⁴See B. Lindemann, *Pastoral Instruments in French Baroque Music: Musette and Vielle* (diss., Columbia University, 1978).

⁵Sittard II, 12.

⁶Esaias van Hulsen/Matthäus Merian. "Repraesentation der furstlichen Aufzug und Ritterspil" *Die Kupferstichfolge von 1616*. series of *Stuttgarter Hoffeste*, eds. Ludwig Krapf and Christian Wagenknecht, (Tübingen, 1979) No. 3.

Figure 9.1 Matthäus Merian d. Ä., *Repräsentation der fürstlichen Aufzug und Ritterspil* (1616), No. 3 "Ballett: Tanz der Nationen (Kopf-Ballett)."

Figure 9.2 J. C. Weigel, *Musicalische Theatrum* (Nuremberg, c.1715-1725), Plate 31, "Polnischer Bock."

POLNISCHER BOCK.

The components of the Württemberg *Bock-Musik* are summarized in a contemporary document, dated 29 October 1736:⁷

Specification

Von dem Sämtl: Heÿdukhen und Bockh

Music nemlich waß die *Instrumenten*
kosten,

Mizco Gozian

1 Neuen grosten Polnischen Bockh p G[ulden] 50

1 dito alten pro G 40

1 Kleinen neuen dito p G 30

Christian Rörbel

1 Neuen gristen Polnischen Bockh G 50

1 dito alten G 40

1 Kleinen neuen dito G 30

Paul Brudel

1 große Violin G 40

1 Chor Violin G 20

1 Bicoli [?piccolo] Violin G 15

Vor Seythen, Staag, Bögen G 25

Carl Christoph Gozian

1 große Violin G 40

1 Chor Violin G 20

1 Bicoli Violin G 15

Vor Sethen, Staag, und Bögen G 25

Kat. G 440.

Georg Willhelm Weißmann

1 große Violin G 40

⁷This specification is extremely similar to a document described by Sittard II, 13, dated 1737 and could possibly be the same report.

1 Chor Violin	G 20
1 Bicoli Violin	G 15
Vor Seithen, Staag, et Bögen	G 25
	G 100
Katff von hie über	G 440
Suma	G 540

T. Mizgo Gozian
 Christian Rörbel
 Paul Brudel
 Carl Christoph Gotzian
 Georg Wilhelm Weißman.

[Page 2]

Dießes wird dem Ober Capell Meister *Brescianello* zu dem Ende *communicirt*, um hierinn Specificirte *Instrumenta* von denm Heÿduken sich vorlegen zulaßen, Selbige sämtlich zu *taxiren* und solche *Taxation*, mit Bericht zum fürstl.ⁿ Ober Marschall Ambt gelangen zu laßen, ob dieße Heÿduken solcher sämtl. *Instrumenten* benöthiget? od wieviel eigentlich zu einer vollständig Bocks-Music gehörig und erforderlich seÿen [?] Stuttgart in Cons: anl: d 29^{ten} 8bris 1736.

Fürstl: Ober Marschall Ambt.⁸

⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 617; 'Specification of the Collected *Heÿducken* and *Bock-Musik*, namely what their instruments cost: Mizco Gozian, one new large Polish *Bock* at 50 *Gulden*, one old ditto at 40 *Gulden*, one small new ditto at 30 *Gulden*; Christian Rörbel, one new large Polish *Bock* at 50 *Gulden*, one old ditto at 40 *Gulden*, one small new ditto at 30 *Gulden*; Paul Brudel, one large violin at 40 *Gulden*, one Chor [normal-sized] violin at 20 *Gulden*, one small violin at 15 *Gulden*, for strings, bridges, bows at 25 *Gulden*; Carl Christoph Gozian, one large violin at 40 *Gulden*, one Chor [normal-sized] violin at 20 *Gulden*, one small violin at 15 *Gulden*, for strings, bridges, and bows at 25 *Gulden*; 440 *Gulden*; Georg Willhelm Wießmann, one large violin at 40 *Gulden*, one Chor violin at 20 *Gulden*, one small violin at 15 *Gulden*, for strings, bridges, and bows at 25 *Gulden*; 100 *Gulden* with the sum of 440 *Gulden* from above; Sum 540 *Gulden*. [signatures of the above-mentioned musicians]. This will be communicated to the *Oberkapellmeister* *Brescianello*, to the end that it be put forward that these instruments of the *Heÿduken* specified here, be collectively valued and this value, together with a report will be submitted to the Royal *Oberhofmarschallamt*, as to whether these *Heÿduken* need such a collection of instruments? or how many actually belong and are necessary for a complete *Bock-Musik*? Stuttgart . . . 29 October 1736, Royal *Oberhofmarschallamt*.'

This document gives us a clear insight into the structure of the *Bock-Musik*, in which the bagpipe was played, but also the violin—as is the case for the modern-day *Bock* ensemble as described by Baines. Only two members of the Württemberg ensemble specialized in playing the *Bock* (two different sizes: large and small), while the remaining three played the violin (of three different sizes: small, large, and standard). The comment on the second page of this document was written in another hand by an official of the *Oberhofmarschallamt*.

Two years later, in May 1738, an *extractus protocolli* recorded that the "Stuttgart. Statt Zinckenist Eberlen beschwehrt sich über die von denen *Hautboisten*, und fürstl.ⁿ Heÿduken leidende Eingriffe"⁹, in an attempt to uphold the position of the municipal musicians. Apart from this reproach the *Bock-Musik* is little-mentioned in remaining court documents, which perhaps suggests that it quickly faded in importance, and the ensemble vanished from the ducal payroll.

Trumpeters and Kettledrum Players

C. F. D. Schubart commented in his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* that "So wohl die Grafen, als die Herzoge von Wirtemberg, waren immer grosse Schätzer und Beschützer der Musik."¹⁰ He then specifically mentioned Duke Eberhard Ludwig—making the following remark: "Der Herzog, ein kriegerischer Geist, liebte sehr die blasenden

⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 618, 2 May 1738; 'Stuttgart Municipal Zinckenist [Erhardt] Eberlen has laid a complaint regarding the insufferable intervention of the *Hautboisten* and the Royal *Heÿduken*.'

¹⁰Ludwig Schubart (ed.), *C. F. D. Schubart Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna, 1806), 147; 'The Counts, as well as the Dukes of Württemberg always greatly esteemed and supported music.'

und lärmmachenden Instrumente. Die Säle seines Pallastes tönten immer von Trompeten und Paucken wieder . . . "11

In common with most early eighteenth-century German courts there existed two classes of trumpeters and kettledrum players at Württemberg. As seen in Chapter 4 a division was made between the ordinary and the so-called 'musical' types.¹² Court trumpeters of either rank generally began their careers as *Feldtrompeter* connected to a regiment, as was probably also the case for kettledrum players. Of the three men who performed this last instrument at the Württemberg court between 1680 and 1733 the first two, Georg Peel and Jeremias Christian Reusinger, were initially described as *Heerpaucker* (military kettledrum players). However, by 1715 Reusinger had risen to the rank of a *Hofpaucker*.

The third man, Georg Philipp Schwahn, was presumably of an even higher status within the *Hofkapelle*, being described as a "musicalische Paucker." In 1714 he was earning almost three times as much as Peel and Reusinger had received during the 1680s. But then, as Schwartzkopff informs us, Schwahn had been specially trained in this art by gracious permission of the Duke, "und ist außer disem keiner da, welcher noch der *Music* die Paucker zu *tractiren* versteht . . . "13

¹¹L. Schubart (ed.), *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, 147-148; 'The Duke [Eberhard Ludwig], a warlike spirit, loved greatly wind and noisy instruments. The halls of his palace resounded constantly with trumpets and kettledrums . . . '

¹²For further information regarding the role of trumpeters in eighteenth-century Germany see Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721* (Carbondale, 1988), 110-163.

¹³1717 Schw 27/v; 'and apart from him there is no one here, who understands how to practise the art of the kettledrum player in the musical ensemble.'

The principal role of the ordinary trumpeters and kettledrum players was to provide the traditional fanfare ("Trompeten-Schall"), apparently so pleasing to Eberhard Ludwig, which formally announced the arrival of the Duke and his family to the dining table or on other official occasions. The reports of court events generally include a standard phrase describing this flourish:

Donnerstag den 17.ten 7bris p 1727 . . . mittags und Nachts wurde
 under dem Trompeten Schall die Paucken zur Taffel geschlagen . . . ¹⁴

Sonntag d: 5 Martÿ 1730 . . . Mittags wurde wie gewöhnlich die
 Paucken zur tafetel geschlagen . . . ¹⁵

These instrumentalists also played an important role in other court ceremonies, as the description of Friedrich Ludwig's baptism in 1698, demonstrates: "24. Wann mit Paucker und *Trompeten* das andere Zeichen gegeben, solle der Hoff *Marschall* und Hauß Hoffmeister mit Zweÿn von Adel die Gießkanten und Beiken, in den Saal tragen, und auf den zur tauf verordneten tisch sezen."¹⁶

The number of ordinary trumpeters employed at the court at any time averaged at five, plus one kettledrum player¹⁷, However, it is sometimes

¹⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 146, birthday celebrations of Eberhard Ludwig, 17 September 1727; 'Thursday, the 17th September 1727 . . . At mid-day and in the evening under the sound of trumpets the kettledrums were played to announce the meal . . .'

¹⁵D-Sa A21 Büschel 148, birthday celebrations of *Erbprinzessin* Henriette Marie, 6 March 1730; 'Sunday, the 5th March 1730 . . . At mid-day, as usual, the kettledrums were played to announce the meal . . .'

¹⁶D-Sa A21 Büschel 79, Baptism of Eberhard Ludwig, 1676; '24. When the other sign is given by the kettledrum player and trumpeters, the Marshall of the Court and Court House Master, with two nobles shall carry the water canister and cups, into the hall and place them on the prescribed table.'

¹⁷1684—four, 1698—five, 1702—five, and 1717—five.

difficult to be certain, given that the *Kapellmeister* did not always list these musicians in their *Verzeichnisse*, for example Störl, who stated: "*Trompeter, paucker, u: Walthornisteen seyndt zur Music nicht zu rechnen.*"¹⁸

The Friedrich Ludwig collection contains at least one composition which may have been played by these men (and one young woman, Elisabetha Schmid). The "Sonata zu Pferdte" by the unidentifiable "Abraham"¹⁹, scored for four "Clarino" divided into two parts, two "Principal" and two "Dagetten." In his *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713) Mattheson stated that the trumpet: "solte alsdenn eigentlich *Clarino* heissen, wiewol man diese Wort *generalment* von Trompeten im Brauch behält."²⁰ Hans Oskar Koch's research into unique forms of wind instruments reveals the nature of the other parts in this piece:

Mit den Termini *Principal* oder auch *Principale* und *Clarin* respective *Clarino* sind also nicht unterschiedliche Instrumententypen oder -formen, sondern verschiedene Stimmlagen der Naturtrompete gemeint. In der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts wird in der dreistimmigen Trompetenbesetzung die tiefste Stimme meist *Principale*, die beiden oberen Stimmen jedoch mit *Clarino* bezeichnet. . . . In Süddeutschland und Österreich ist außerdem für die vierte Trompetenstimme der Terminus *Dugetto* geläufig; eigentlich *Toccato*,

¹⁸1717 Störl 19/v.

¹⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:51²².

²⁰Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713), 266; 'that should actually be called *Clarino*, for at the same time this word is generally retained in use for trumpets.'

von toccare (schlagen, klopfen), da diese Stimme im allgemeinen mit der Pauckenstimme identisch ist.²¹

Next to none of the music found in the Friedrich Ludwig collection features percussion instruments, with the exception of the two imitation "Turkish" works, one anonymous and the other by Gottfried Finger (see Table 7.21).²²

Written at least forty years earlier than the height of the vogue for music in a Turkish-style, which occurred in Vienna around the 1780s, the anonymous Turkish overture-suite found in the collection displays very few of those traits which came to be characteristic of the genre in later years.²³ The principal similarity between this work and the *stilo alla turca* utilized by Mozart and other composers is the use of percussion instruments, members of the *batterie turque*, represented here by a drum and "Eisen".²⁴

This addition of unusual percussion instruments was the chief means through which a standard musical ensemble could be transformed into an imitation janissary band. At least one performance of pseudo-Turkish

²¹Hans Oskar Koch, *Sonderformen der Blasinstrumente in der deutschen Musik vom späten 17. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (diss., Heidelberg, 1980), 171-172.

²²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:51⁴⁹ and Mus. Saec. XVII:14³. Although Finger (c.1660-1730) had been appointed to the Chapel Royal of James II in 1687, he had left England by 1704. Subsequently he lived in a variety of southern German locations (including Neuburg an die Donau, Heidelberg, and Mannheim) in the employ of Duke Carl Philipp of Neuburg, who later became the Elector Palatine, M. Tilmouth, "Finger, G", *Grove* 6.

²³See the discussion by Thomas Bauman, W. A. Mozart, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (Cambridge, 1987), 62-65, of the main elements of this style, taken largely from Miriam Whaples, *Exoticisms in Dramatic Music, 1600-1800* (diss., Indiana University, 1958).

²⁴'Iron' when literally translated, possibly a triangle or cymbals.

music took place at the Württemberg court around 1720, for a letter to Eberhard Ludwig, dated 9 January 1722, touched upon the topic:

Es erinnern sich Ew: Hfrstl Dhl. annoch außer allem Zweifel gndstl. wasgestalten Höchstfrl. dieselbe vor ein paar Jahren ein gndstl. verlangen gehabt, eine so genante *Tartarische* oder *Türcken Musiq*, mit paucken trumel unf Pfeiffer, auch andern *Instrumenten* zu hören, und sich damit zu *divertiren*. Da man dan dißarts nicht ermanglet, alle veranstaltung hierzu zumachen, auch so weit gebracht, daß eine solche *Musiq* in dannach 1720 würcklich *probirt* und aufgeführt worden. Unter andern *Instrumenten* so zu solchen *Musiq* angeschafft werden müssen, ist auch eine neue Kupferin Paucken, von der Verwittibten Kupferschmidin *Kindir*. und eine grose Tromel und anders von dem Silbmacher *Ebner* gefertigt und gemacht worden.²⁵

Hautboisten Banden

The immediate ancestors of the eighteenth-century *Hautboisten Bande* were the ensembles of *Schalmei* (shawms) used for military purposes during the Thirty Years War in Germany (1618-1648).²⁶ The structure of these groups was typically two treble and one tenor *Schalmeien* (or *Alt-Pommer*), with a dulcian for the bass line. It appears that this combination was discontinued following the war, but subsequently revived nearer the end of the seventeenth century, this time making use

²⁵D-Sa A21 Büschel 629; 'Your Most Royal Highness will without a doubt recall what happened a few years ago when Your Highness most graciously demanded, that You might be able to hear and be entertained with a so-called Tartarian or Turkish music with kettledrums, drums, and pipers, as well as other instruments. As one was not able manage this at that time, all organization has been made for this, so far as is possible, that such a *Music* accordingly be actually rehearsed and performed. Among those instruments which must be purchased for such a *Music*, is a new copper kettledrum, from the widowed coppersmith Kindir [a female], and a large drum, and other [instruments] from the silversmith Ebner, which have been finished and are made.'

²⁶Harold C. Hind and A. C. Baines, "Military Band", *Grove* 6.

of those instruments known as "deutsche Schallmey".²⁷ These so-called German shawms were described by James Talbot, in his jottings regarding the measurements of musical instruments, made around the year 1690:

"Saxon used Much in German Army, etc. Sweeter than Hautbois²⁸.

Several sizes & pitches."²⁹

According to Georges Kastner in his *Manuel général de musique militaire* (Paris, 1848) the French received the idea of using the shawm in military music from the Germans.³⁰ However, following the development of woodwinds in France around 1680, the new baroque *hautbois* quickly superseded the shawm in this role. There soon emerged at the French court a number of ensembles whose members performed principally on the *hautbois*: the twelve *Grands hautbois du roi* (connected with the King's stables, or *Écurie*) and the oboists attached to the *Mousquetaires* (a regiment established by Louis XIII in 1657³¹).³²

²⁷See Bruce Haynes, "Lully and the rise of the oboe as seen in works of art", *EM* 16 (1988), 333-334; and Koch, *Sonderformen*, 85-91.

²⁸He probably refers to shawms in this instance, since he also writes regarding the oboe itself: "The present Hautbois not 40 years old & an improvement of the great French hautbois which is like our Weights [Waits—shawm]."

²⁹A. C. Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187). I. Wind Instruments." *GSJ* 1 (1948), 12.

³⁰Georges Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire a l'usage des Armées Françaises*. (Paris, 1848), 105, "Au reste, tous les éléments nouveaux qui vinrent augmenter les ressources instrumentales de nos armées, provenaient d'emprunts faits aux nations étrangères, et principalement à l'Allemagne. C'est à l'imitation des troupes allemandes que les nôtres adoptèrent les hautbois, les cymbales et les timbales . . ."

³¹Susan G. Sandman, *Wind Band Music under Louis XIV: The Philidor Collection, Music for the Military and the Court* (diss., Stanford, 1974), 86.

³²Rebecca Harris-Warrick, "From score into sound: questions of scoring in Lully's ballets", *EM* 21 (1993), 357; see also Harris-Warrick and Carol G. Marsh, *Musical Theatre at the*

Within a short time French oboists took their new instruments and manner of performance to Germany, where they frequently found work as court musicians.³³ In turn a number of Germans studied the instrument in France—such as the four players from the Munich court who studied with a member of the Hotteterre family in Paris during 1684–85.³⁴ In some German provinces special schools were set up for training *Hautboisten*, one example being that founded at Potsdam in 1724 by King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, directed by Gottfried Pepusch (fl.1690–1720).³⁵ In this way the *deutsche Schallmey* was soon replaced by the new *hautbois* in military music ensembles.

One of the chief contemporary sources regarding German military bands is undoubtedly Hannß Friedrich von Fleming's book *Der vollkommene teutsche Soldat* (Leipzig, 1726). One section of this work relates to the use of *hautbois* and *tambours* and he began with the following comment:

Die Regiments-Pfeiffer wurden vor Zeiten auch Schallmey-Pfeiffer geheissen, indem damahls solche *Instrumenta*, als die einem hellen Laut von sich geben, vor dem Regiment hergeblasen wurden, um die gemeinen Soldaten hiedurch destomehr aufzumuntern. Nachdem sie aber schwer zu blasen, und in der Nähe auf eine gar unangenehme Art die Ohren füllen, so sind an statt der teutschen Schalmeyen

Court of Louis XIV: Le Mariage de la Grosse Cathos (Cambridge, 1994), especially pp 4–8 and 68–73.

³³For detailed information on this phenomenon see Bruce Haynes, "Johann Sebastian Bach's Pitch Standards: The Woodwind Perspective" *JAMIS* 6 (1985), 61–65.

³⁴Haynes, "Johann Sebastian Bach's Pitch Standards", 63, citing Hans Joachim Nösselt, *Ein ältest Orchester 1530–1980* (Munich, 1980), 80.

³⁵Renate Hildebrand, "Das Oboenensemble in der deutschen Regimentsmusik und in den Stadtpfeifereien bis 1720" *Tibia* 1 (1978), 10.

nachgehends die Frantzöischen [*sic.*] *hautbois* aufgekommen, die nunmehr fast allenthalben im Gebrauch sind.³⁶

According to Fleming the structure of this group changed upon the introduction of the *hautbois* due to the difference in timbre:

Die Anzahl dieser Regiments=Pfeiffer ist unterschieden. Da die Schalmeyen noch *Mode* waren, hatte man nur vier Mann, als zwey *Discanten*, einen *Alt*, und einem *Dulcian*. Nachdem aber die *Hautbois* an deren Stelle gekommen, so hat man jetzund sechs *Hautboisten*, weil die *Hautbois* nicht so starck, sondern viel *doucer* klingen, als die Schallmeyen. Um die Harmonie desto angenehmer zu *completiren*, hat man jetzund zwey *Discante*, zwey *la Tailen*, und zwey *Bassons*.³⁷

However, this description represents only one individual's view of the standard composition of an *Hautboisten Band*. In 1704, Johann Philipp Krieger (1652-1735) published a collection of *Lustige Feld-Music* in four parts (*Premier Dessus*, *Second Dessus*, *Taille*, and *Basson*). In order to better facilitate performances he duplicated a number of these parts, accompanied by the following explanation: "Premier Dessus und Basson sind dreyfach, und Second Dessus zweyfach gedruckt worden, damit man

³⁶Hannß Friedrich von Fleming, *Der vollkommene teutsche Soldat* (Leipzig, 1726), 181; 'The Regimental-Pipers were, in the past, also called Shawm-Pipers, because they then played upon those instruments [shawms], which gave out such a loud noise, and were played before the Regiment, all the better to encourage the general soldiers. As they were quite difficult to play and at close range filled the ears with an unpleasant noise, accordingly, instead of the German *Schalmeyen* the French *hautbois* were introduced, which are now in almost general usage.'

³⁷Fleming, *Soldat*, 181, § 2; 'The number of these Regiment-Pipers differs. When the shawm was in fashion, one had only four men, that is two descants, an alto, and a dulcian. Since then however the *hautbois* has replaced them, therefore one now has six *Hautboisten*, because the *hautbois* is not as strong, but rather sounds much sweeter, than the shawm. To complete the harmony in a better manner, one now has two descants, two tenors, and two bassoons.'

bey Feld Musicken und Banden solche Stimmen desto starcker besetzen kan."³⁸ Further variations included the addition of a pair of horns or often a single trumpet. By the second half of the eighteenth century two oboes, two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons had become the standard grouping.³⁹

Krieger's title-page stated that his pieces were "Zur Belustigung der Music Liebhaber und dann auch zum Dienst derer an Höfen und im Feld sich aufhaltenden Hautboisten."⁴⁰ His Preface elaborated upon this statement, specifying that for the convenience of the "Music Liebhaber" two violins and a viola could be substituted for the three upper parts, and that one of the bass parts provided could be used by a harpsichord player.

Two possible uses for these pieces according to Krieger, were described in the following terms: "Die Hautboisten, welche im Marschiren vor denen Compagnien blasen und sonst den Officieren aufwarten, können sich dieser Partien sehr wohl bedienen, angemerckt die Entrées fast alle für Marches zugebrauchen sind."⁴¹ In fact, the performance

³⁸Robert Eitner (ed.), "Johann Philipp Krieger. Eine Sammlung von Kantaten, einer Weihnachts-Andacht, einer Begräbnis-Andacht, Arien und Duette aus seine 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 (1897/98), 95-128; '[The] First Treble and Bassoon are printed three times each and the Second Treble twice, so that for military music and bands, such parts can therefore be filled more strongly.'

³⁹For further information regarding different combinations of instruments see Hildebrand, *Oboensemble*, 7-12.

⁴⁰Eitner, *Krieger*, 95; 'For the Enjoyment of the Musical Amateur and then also for those *Hautboisten* in service at courts and in the field.'

⁴¹Eitner, *Krieger*, 97; 'The *Hautboisten*, who play before the company on marches and furthermore wait upon the officers, could use these partitas very well, especially the *Entrées* which could be used for almost all marches.'

opportunities for *Hautboisten* were many and varied—they played for a variety of official military ceremonies including parades, drills, and funerals (often with muted oboes⁴²). They also provided entertainment for officers, who in some regiments actually financially supported or subsidized the *Hautboisten Bande*.⁴³

Hannß von Fleming also offers a description of the services expected from such an ensemble:

Es machen die *Hautboisten* alle Morgen vor des Obristen-Quartier ein Morgen-Liedgen, einem ihm gefälligen *March*, eine *Entree*, und ein paar *Menuetten*, davon der Obriste ein Liebhaber ist; Und eben dieses wird auch des Abends wiederholet, oder wenn der Obriste Gastgebothe oder *Assembleen* anstellt, so lassen sie sich auf *Violinen* und *Violons*, wie auch *Fleutendoucen* und andern Instrumenten hören; . . . In *marchiren* gehen sie vor das Regiment, haben Corporals-Rang, und gehören zum Stabe.⁴⁴

The military band was not the sole variety of *Hautboisten Band* existing at this time. Maintaining a *Bande*, of any size, became an important status symbol and a plethora of minor nobles, wealthy citizens, and others kept such groups. In 1725 Mattheson described the situation in the following terms:

⁴²See Janet K. Page, "'To soften the sound of the hoboy'. The muted oboe in the 18th and early 19th centuries" *EM* 21 (1993), 65-80.

⁴³Werner Braun, "Entwurf einer Typologie der *Hautboisten*" in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician in the Eighteenth Century (Der Sozialstatus des Berufsmusikers vom 17.-19. Jh.)* ed. Walter Salmen, (Kassel, 1971/trans. 1983), 138.

⁴⁴Fleming, *Soldat*, 181; 'Every morning the *Hautboisten* play a little-morning-song before the Colonel's quarters, a march that he likes, an *Entrée*, and a couple of minuets, of which the Colonel is fond; And these are just repeated in the evening as well or if the Colonel is holding a gathering, or has guests, then these [the *Hautboisten*] are heard on violins and *Violons*, as well as recorders, and other instruments . . . In marches they go in front of the regiment, have the rank of corporals and are members of the staff.'

. . . almost every *Grand Seigneur en diminutif* and every little village chieftain wants to have at his disposal a few *violons, hautbois, cors de chasse*, etc., and in such a manner that they be immediately equipped with all-season uniforms, polished shoes, powdered wigs, and that they stand in attendance behind the coach, to enjoy a lackey's accommodations and pay, when better, professionally trained musicians ought to be performing than all these pipers. One wonders how much such servants really know . . . ⁴⁵

Hautboisten Banden at the Württemberg Court

The composition of the *Hautboisten Bande* employed by the Württemberg court during the first half of the eighteenth century experienced frequent changes. An early mention of such a band at the court comes in a *Verzeichnis* dating from c.1702⁴⁶, which finished with the comment "Nun restiren noch die 8 haubois von dem Bataillon der Grenad. Garde zu Fuss, welche nun ins künfftige auch müssen, zu unsserer Capelle gebraucht, und ihnen lieber etwas wenigens noch gereicht werden."⁴⁷

References to *Hautboisten Banden* in court records are seldom very specific. The few instances in which the size of the group is referred to, a total of between six to nine players is given:

⁴⁵Johann Mattheson, *Critica musica* (Hamburg, 1725), II, 169, cited by Braun, "Entwurf einer Typologie", 135.

⁴⁶Sittard II, 13, claims that the earliest mention in extant archival documents of a *Hautboisten Bande* appears in the year 1680, although he fails to give any reference.

⁴⁷Scholz, 205; 'Now there still remain the eight oboes from the Battalion of the Grenadier Infantry Guard, which in the future, must now also be used by our *Kapelle*, and to those we will hopefully have to still give rather less [presumably than the amount of salary earned by *Hofmusici*].'

Die *Bande Hautbois* von der *Garde Fusilier*—9 Persohnen.⁴⁸

die 9. *hautboisten* . . . von die Hoff Bande . . . ⁴⁹

der *Bande Hautbois* in neun Personen bestehend . . . ⁵⁰

Die *Bande Hautboisten*, welche bestehet in 9. Personen, und von welchen zwar nur der Hetsch und *Comorell*⁵¹ *proprie* der Hoff-Music *dependiren*.⁵²

die 7. *Hautboisten* von löbl: Craÿß *Dragl: Regl:* ⁵³

Denen 6. *Hautboisten* von dem *Creÿß-Dragoner Regiment*, nach Decret von 30.^{tn} Augl. 1748 . . . ⁵⁴

Denen 8. *Hautboisten* von *Creÿß-Dragoner Regiment*, nach Decret vom 7.^{tn} May 1749 . . . ⁵⁵

⁴⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 23, 30 May 1731; 'The *Hautboisten Bande* of the Fusilier Guard—nine people.'

⁴⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 617, 23 August 1734; 'the nine *Hautboisten* . . . from the court band.'

⁵⁰Pfeilsticker, 887, 3 Janaury 1735; 'the *Hautboisten Bande* consists of nine people . . . '

⁵¹Pfeilsticker, 891, Adam Friedrich Commerell (d.1777), appointed as an *Hautboist* 31 January 1723.

⁵²1736 Brescianello; 'The *Hautboisten Bande*, which consists of nine people and from which actually only Hetsch and Comerell strictly belong to the court musical establishment.'

⁵³D-Sa A21 Büschel 618, 19 August 1750; 'the seven *Hautboisten* from the Laudable District Dragoon Regiment.'

⁵⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, c.1751; 'Those six *Hautboisten* from the District Dragoon Regiment, by a decree of 30 August 1728 . . . '

⁵⁵D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, c.1751; 'Those eight *Hautboisten* from the District Dragoon Regiment, by a decree of 7 August 1748 . . . '

Denen *Hautboisten* von den *Garde* zu Fuß, auf 8. Personen, in 17. Wochen à 1. G[ulden] nach *Decret* vom 23.^{tn} Aug. 1749 . . . ⁵⁶

As this list shows there were a selection of different *Hautboisten Banden* serving the court during the first half of the eighteenth century. Two further references mention the *Hautboisten* of the *Bataillon der Grenadier Garde zu Fuß* (c.1702)⁵⁷ and those of the *Leit Bataillon* (1717).⁵⁸ From 1720 onwards two names consistently appear: the *Banden* attached to the *Garde Fusilier Regiment zu Fuß* (later renamed the *Löbl. Leib Regiment zu Fuß*⁵⁹) and the *Craijß Dragoner und Infanterie Regiment*. After the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) Württemberg was a relatively stable province with regard to military action and therefore the *Hautboisten Banden* of these regiments were able to serve the court with some degree of permanency.

Between the years 1734 and 1743 there was also a *Hof Hautboisten Bande* (court oboe band) mentioned in the court records and it is possible that this ensemble was instituted by Duke Carl Alexander soon after his accession in 1733. It apparently dissolved around 1745, for at this time the two regimental *Banden* reappeared, sharing the work-load between them. These three main bands could draw on other *Hautboisten Banden*

⁵⁶D-Sa A21 Büschel 632, c.1751; 'Those *Hautboisten*, from the Infantry Guard, of eight people, for seventeen weeks at 1 *Gulden* by a decree from 23 August 1749 . . . '

⁵⁷Battalion of the Grenadier Infantry Regiment.

⁵⁸Leading Battalion.

⁵⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 618, 13 June 1743, General von Gaisberg.

in Württemberg for personnel: such as those of the *Schwäbl. Kraiß Regiment*⁶⁰ and the *Kaißerl. Erbprinz Württ. Regiment zu Fuß*.⁶¹

Sittard states that the *Hautboisten Bande* belonged with the *Hofmusik* and was under the jurisdiction of the *Oberhofmarschallamt*.⁶² However, in reality, it does not seem to have been that simple. Payment for playing at court functions certainly came from the court coffers, but the *Kriegs Rath* (Council of War) always assumed the principal role in decisions made regarding the *Banden*.

The comparatively low status of *Hautboisten* meant that their salary was considerably less than that of their fellow musicians in the *Hofkapelle*. This can be seen very clearly in the rates of pay listed for musicians serving in the country (see page 311). Many letters were written by the *Hautboisten* of the various *Banden* calling for their overdue *Kostgeld* to be paid to them by the court.

Although we cannot be sure exactly which instruments the *Hautboisten* played, it was certainly a wide variety, as each musician would have been skilled on a number of different instruments. This is confirmed by the sole remaining employment contract relating to *Hautboisten*, entitled *Concept Staats Vor die Instrumentisten, Musikalische Trompeter und Hautboisten*. It is undated but presumably comes from around 1720, as 1716 to 1721 was the only period in which there was no *Oberkapellmeister*, only a *Kapellmeister*. It features the following

⁶⁰Swabian District Regiment.

⁶¹Imperial Württemberg Crown Prince Infantry Regiment.

⁶²Sittard II, 13-14.

paragraph relating to the instrumental capabilities of the *Hautboisten*:

"6ths: Sollen die angenommenen *hautboisten* sich nicht nur bloß auf das blasen der *hautbois* legen, sondern auch auf andere *Instrumenten* sich fleißig üben . . . "63

At some stage a number of musical instruments belonging to the *Hofkapelle* was transferred to the *Hautboisten Bande* of the Fusilier Guard Regiment, but by 1747 this situation was regretted and the request made that "diejenige *Musicalische Instrumenten*, welche auff befehl *Serenissimi* Selbsten von der Hoff *Capell* an die *Hautboisten* bande des *Garde Regiments* zu Füß haben abgegeben worden müßen, in bälde zu gedachter Hoff *Capell* weilen man daselbst solches unumgänglich benöthiget seyn, widerum ersetzen zu laßen."64 The *Oberhofmarschallamt* therefore requested that the *Kriegs Rath* obtain and pay for replacement instruments.

It appears that members of *Hautboisten Banden* were occasionally trained by municipal musicians.⁶⁵ The Stuttgart *Statt Musicus* Erhardt Eberlen mentioned this process in a letter to Duke Carl Alexander regarding his difficulties in acquiring horn-players: "wie ehemals die *Bande*

⁶³Sittard II, 173; '6th. The appointed *Hautboisten* shall play [blow] not only on the oboe, but also on other instruments, which they will diligently practise . . . ' Sittard (II, 14) makes the following extraordinary claim about the Württemberg *Hautboisten Bande*: "Verwunderlich ist es nur, daß während im Allgemeinen Oboe und Fagott die Schalmei und den Baßpommer verdrängten, sie in Stuttgart noch bis in die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts [18 Jh.] friedlich neben den letzteren bestanden."

⁶⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 609, 21 March 1746; 'those musical instruments, which by a request of His Royal Highness himself had to be given to the *Hautboisten Bande* of the Guard Infantry Regiment from the *Hofkapelle*, be replaced as soon as possible to the above-mentioned *Hofkapelle* because these are needed absolutely essentially.'

⁶⁵Braun, "Entwurf einer Typologie", 138.

Württembergl: *Hautboisten* und Waldhornisten von all hießiger Statt Music wären ergänzet worden, wie dann in etlichen Jahren mir 7. Gesellen unter gedachte Regimenter gegangen, die Gesellen auch so rar sind, daß Ich keinen aus Sachßen, Heße, und Hannover mehr haben kan"⁶⁶

The function of the *Hautboisten Bande* at the court was much the same as that of the *Hofkapelle* in providing general musical entertainment, but also taking part in official ceremonies, especially when a military flavour was particularly desired. Their lower status perhaps also indicated that they could be called upon to perform duties not directly related to music. They were undoubtedly well-utilized by the *Hofkapelle* who frequently required additional players to boost their numbers. The *Concept Staats*, cited above, specified that the members of the *Hautboisten Bande* were under the direct authority of the court *Kapellmeister*:

7^{ten}s: die *bande* der *hautboisten*, obwolen Sie nicht nur bey Hof, sondern nach Hochstl. gnädigstem Belieben mehrmals auf dem Land, gebraucht wird, demnach unter deß Capellmeisters *Direction* stehet, alß hat ein jeder *hautboist* deßelben Befehl und geheiß zu *respectiren*, bey deß Capellmeisters abwesenheit aber gegen Dem Jenigen, welchem er unter dieser *bande* das *Directorum* anvertrauet, sich geflissen zuerweisen und dessen Verordnung nachzukommen.⁶⁷

⁶⁶D-Sa A21 Büschel 617, 24 November 1735; 'as happened formerly the Württemberg band of *Hautboisten* and horn-players has been supplemented by the local municipal musical establishment, as for quite some years now seven fellows have left [the municipal musical establishment] and gone into the above-mentioned regiment, such fellows are also so rare, that I can not get any more from Saxony, Hessen, and Hannover.'

⁶⁷Sittard II, 173; '7th, the band of *Hautboisten*, although they are used not only at court, but also at the gracious request of His Royal Highness repeatedly in the country, they still stand under the direction of the *Kapellmeister*, therefore every one of the *Hautboisten* must respect the name and commands of this person, [and] in the case of the

As indicated above, the *Hautboisten Bande* could be called upon by the Duke to travel "auf dem Land" (into the country), as was the case when the *Hautboisten* of the Fusilier Guard Regiment travelled to Liebenzell amongst the entourage of the Friedrich Ludwig in 1731 (see page 317). They were also paid for performing at baptisms, the annual *Karneval*, and other celebratory occasions.⁶⁸

Problems were caused when these musicians ventured outside of the court circle to provide entertainment. In 1739 the municipal *Zinckenist* Erhardt Eberlen, laid a complaint about the court *Hautboisten Bande* and that of the *Craiß Dragoner und Infanterie Regiment*. These two groups had been performing for weddings and other occasions which were officially the realm of the "Stifts Kirchen Music" (civic church music). It was ordered eventually that this practice be discontinued:

Alß das fürsel:ⁿ Oberhof Marschall Amt denen samtl:ⁿ *Hautboisten* von der fürstl:ⁿ Hof *Bande* alles Ernsts, und beÿ straf einer Monats *Gage*, verbieten, daß sie dem Statt Zinkenisten Eberlen mit Aufspielen beÿ denen Hochzeiten und anderen *Compagnien* von nun an keinen weitem Eingrif thun, sondern mit Ihrer *Gage* sich begnügen laßen . . .
Decretum Stuttgart den 8.^{tn} *Augusti*. 1739.⁶⁹

Kapellmeister's absence however towards those, whom he has entrusted with the direction of this band, they shall show their diligence and follow the decrees given.'

⁶⁸For example a comment of Reinhard Keiser relating to a rehearsal of his 1720 *Serenata Der Zur angenehmen Mayen Zeit In Ludwigs-Auen Entstandene Lust-Streit* . . . : "haben von denen *Hautboisten* über 8 Persohnen *manquirt*." (from the *Hautboisten* over eight people failed to attend"), Sittard, "Keiser in Württ.", 9.

⁶⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 618, 8 August 1739; 'The Royal *Oberhofmarschallamt* earnestly forbids those collected *Hautboisten* of the Royal Court Band, on the pain of the retention of one month's salary, that from now on at the request of the *Statt Zinkenisten* Eberlen they refrain from intervening by playing at weddings and other occasions, but rather to content themselves with their current wage . . . Decree Stuttgart 8 August 1739.'

A limited selection of music possibly performed by the court *Hautboisten Bande* can be found in the Friedrich Ludwig collection. One anonymous piece divides the ensemble into two groups of oboes and bassoons—the "Echo" scored for two *Primo Hautbois*, two *Secundo Hautbois*, and two *Basson*⁷⁰:

The musical score is arranged in six staves, labeled on the left as Ob I, Ob II, Bsn I, Ob I, Ob II, and Bsn I. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The notation shows the first five bars of the piece. The first two staves (Ob I and Ob II) play a melodic line in the first bar, followed by a rest in the second bar, and then a new melodic line in the third bar. The next two staves (Ob I and Ob II) play a similar melodic line in the first bar, followed by a rest in the second bar, and then a new melodic line in the third bar. The last two staves (Bsn I and Bsn I) play a similar melodic line in the first bar, followed by a rest in the second bar, and then a new melodic line in the third bar.

Ex. 9.1 Anon, "Echo", bars 1-5, (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:51⁹).

⁷⁰D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:51⁹.

A *Concerto* for *Trompet*, *Hautbois Primo*, *Secundo*, and *Tertio*, and *Basson Primo*, and *Secundo* was probably also composed with an *Hautboisten Bande* in mind.⁷¹ Its six movements feature a *Duetti* for two bassoons and an *Aria* scored for three oboes and the pair of bassoons, which contains numerous "pia:" (piano), "for:" (forte), and "tous" (tutti) markings—suggesting at least a doubling of the oboe parts. Perhaps the nine members of a standard-sized *Hautboisten Bande* may have been divided: trumpet, two first, two second, and two third oboes, with two bassoons.

The only *Hautboisten*-type piece which indicates its authorship is the "Marche" composed in 1711 by Störl and dedicated to his patron Eberhard Ludwig.⁷² Only twenty-four bars in length this work is scored for two oboes, two horns, and bassoon, it is likely that it was performed by a *Bande* of approximately nine *Hautboisten*—four oboes, two horns, and two bassoons (see Ex. 9.2).

⁷¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:51³⁰.

⁷²D-ROu, see Bruce Haynes, *Music for Oboe, 1650-1800*. (Berkley, 1992), 300.

Ex. 9.2 J. G. C. Störl, *Marche* (1711) for two oboes, two horns, and bassoon (D-ROu).

Marche

The musical score is written on ten staves. The first staff is the title "Marche". The next five staves are for two oboes (Hautbois), two horns (Cornu), and a bassoon (Basson). The last four staves are for a string ensemble, indicated by a large brace on the left. The music is in 3/4 time and features a variety of note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

Ex. 9.2 J. G. C. Störl, *Marche* (1711) for two oboes, two horns, and bassoon (D-ROu), continued.

This musical score is a page from a manuscript, featuring ten staves of music. The notation is in a historical style, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The score is divided into two systems of five staves each. The first system contains the first five staves, and the second system contains the next five staves. The music is written for two oboes, two horns, and a bassoon (D-ROu). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs. The staves are connected by a large brace at the bottom, indicating they are part of a single musical piece. The paper shows signs of age, with some staining and wear visible.

Members of the Württemberg court *Hautboisten Bande* were required to participate regularly in performances of "Kirchen Music und andern Musicalischen aufwartungen."⁷³ In 1728 the following decree was issued:

Serenissimo erordnen p *Decretum* dat. 11.^{ten} Augusti h: an gdst, daß das frstl: Ober Marschall Amt mit deren *Brigadier* von Mitscheval die *comunication* dahin pflegen solle, daß derselbe denen *Hautboisten* des *garde Fusilier Regiments* die *ordre* gebe, sich beÿ denen alhiesigen Kirchen und Hoff Musiquen an allen Sonn- und Feÿertagen furterhin fließig einzufinden . . . ⁷⁴

Occasionally *Hautboisten* could be called upon to play with the *Hofkapelle* either on a reasonably permanent basis or on a type of reserve system. The latter arrangement was made with the bassoonist Georg Friedrich Enslin⁷⁵ from the *Craÿß Dragoner Regiment*, who was paid 50 *Thaler* per year for being on call to play the "großen Bass" (violone) or the bassoon for church music performances. However, a formal letter of complaint written by Brescianello, indicates that Enslin was less than satisfactory in this role:

Ew: Hochfürstl:ⁿ Durchl:^t ist ohne allen Zweiffel in gnaden bekannt daß der *Fagottist* Enßlin vom löbl: *Kraÿß- Dragoner- Regiment* von Ew: Hochfürstl: Durchl: Kirchen-Rath jährlich 50.Thlr des Endes zu *gaudiren* hat, um auf Erfordern sich beÿ denen *Musiquen*, besonders in denen Kirchen gebrauchen zu laßen. Diese 6. Jahre nun seit deme

⁷³Sittard II, 173; 'Church Music and other musical performances.'

⁷⁴D-Sa A21 Büschel 609, 18 August 1728; 'His Serene Highness has most graciously ordered through a decree dated 11 August that the Royal *Oberhofmarschallamt* shall take the care to tell the *Brigadier* von Mitscheval, that he must give the order to the *Hautboisten* of the *Fusilier Guard Regiment*, that in the future they should always be present at local church and court music performances on all Sundays and feast-days . . .'

⁷⁵Pfeilsticker, 895, not to be confused with Johann Balthasar Enslin (d.1770).

wie der hier bin, habe ihn zwar wann es nöthig gewesen bestellen laßen, Er ist aber niemahlen erschienen. Wie dann auch erst verwichenen Sonntag, da die 3. *Instrumental-Bassißen* Krankheit selber nicht komen können, ihn zum großen *Bass* oder *Basson*, weilen diese beÿ der Kirchen-*Musique* unentbehrlich seÿnd, bestellen laßen, Er ist aber deßen ohngeachtet weder komen noch sich *excusiret*. Da mir nun nicht wißend ob Er diese 50. Thlr: freÿ undt ohne dienstleistung zu genießen hat oder nicht? Alß habe beÿ Ewr: Hochfürstl:ⁿ Durchl: hiermit unterthänigst anfragen wollen, wie auch hierume zu verhalten habe? Dann, im Fall Er auf Erforderung Dienste thun soll, geziemand bitten- Ihne gnädigst anzu befehlen und bestellt, nicht zu entziehen . . . Stuttgart den 23.^{ten} December: 1749.⁷⁶

More ambitious *Hautboisten* aspired towards a permanent position within the *Hofkapelle* itself. In July 1721 the *Premier Hautboist* (leader) of the *Garde Fusilier Regiment*, Caspar Heinrich Hetsch, requested a post as *Hofmusicus*, but Eberhard Ludwig wished him to remain with the *Bande*. Brescianello contributed a letter suggesting a medium through which he could benefit from Hetsch's talents in the *Hofkapelle* and yet at the same time comply with the Duke's wish:

Kan ich pflichtmäßig *attestiren*, daß der *Hautboist* Hetsch, Zeit der translocation des Hof*Musici* Glokers, beÿ allen Kirchen- Cammer-

⁷⁶D-Sa A21 Büschel 609, 23 December 1749; 'Your Most Royal Serene Highness is without a doubt graciously aware that the bassoonist Enßlin of the Laudable District Dragoon Regiment earns yearly 50 *Thaler* from Your Most Royal Serene Highness's Church Council, to the end that he is available when required by the musical establishment, especially in the church. These six years now that I have been here, I have only asked for him when it is necessary, but he has never appeared. When then for the first time this last Sunday, the three instrumental bassists could not come because of illness, I ordered him to come to play the large bass [violone] or bassoon because these are indispensable for a church music, he paid no attention to this request and did not come or even less excuse himself. Therefore I really do not know whether or not he should enjoy this 50 *Thaler* for free and without doing any service? Therefore with this I wish to ask Your Most Royal Serene Highness most submissively how do things stand regarding this? Then, in the case that he is still required to do service, I properly request most graciously that you urge and order him to serve, rather than to withdraw . . . Stuttgart the 23 December 1749.'

und Tafel- *Musiquen* sich sehr willig, sowohl zur *Hautbois* als andern *Instrumenten*, ohne genießend *Gage* von der Hof Capell, brauchen laßen, mithin dem *Supplicanten* wohl zu gönnen were, wann Ewl: Hochfl. Durchl. ihme, noch seinem *petito*, nur die *naturalien* beÿ eines ordinari Hof *Musicanten* *Gage* gnädigst zu gehen ließen, damit er zu den Hof*music*—diensten nicht nur willig verbleiben—sondern auch *obligirt* seÿn möchte, dann Ewl: Hochfürstl. Durchl. ich nicht bergen soll, daß ein *Second Hautbois* ohnumgänglich beÿ der Hof*music* nöthig seÿ, und dieser Hetsch alle *Qualitäten* darzu habe, zumalen er von der *Bande Hautbois*, nach Ewl: Hochfürstl. Durchl. gnädigsten Befehl, nicht weggehen, sondern allda ausharren will, bis eine ander wertige gnädigste Verordnung mit ihne beliebt werden. Stehet jedoch. I. Stuttgl: den 15ten Februarÿ 1722.⁷⁷

Although the final decision on this matter is no longer extant, it seems that the scheme described by Brescianello was adopted. In that way Hetsch played for church, chamber, and table music, and enjoyed the *Naturalien* of an ordinary Hof *Musici* ("früchten und wein"—produce and wine), while remaining simultaneously with the court *Hautboisten Bande*. By November 1738, however, both "premier Hautboisten von der furstl: Hoff Bande, Hetsch und Commerell"⁷⁸ were requesting a rise in

⁷⁷D-Sa A21 Büschel 615, 15 February 1722; 'Can I dutifully attest, that the *Hautboist* Hetsch, since the time of the translocation of the Hof*musicus* Glocks [Glockhardt], has been used very willingly at all church, chamber, and table music performances, on the oboe as well as on other instruments, without enjoying any payment from the Hof*kapelle*, with that the supplicant would definitely earn, if Your Most Royal Serene Highness would graciously let him, as he has petitioned, to receive only the payments-in-kind of the wage of an ordinary court musician, and with that that he would willingly remain in the service of the court musical establishment, but also as I am compelled to prefer, [and] as I shall not hide from Your Most Royal Serene Highness, as a second oboe is absolutely necessary for the court musical establishment, and this Hetsch has all the qualities for this, at the same time he would not leave the band of oboes, as Your Most Royal Serene Highness has graciously requested, but rather wants to wait, until he is honoured with another worthy, most gracious order from You. That is how it stands however, Stuttgart the 15 February 1722.'

⁷⁸D-Sa A21 Büschel 615, 3 November 1738; 'First *Hautboisten* [leaders] of the Royal Court Band, Hetsch and [Adam Friedrich] Commerell.'

their salary because they could hardly survive on 200 Gulden and "die *disproportion* gegen andern Musicis gar zu gros."⁷⁹

The lower rank and supposedly lesser musical capabilities of *Hautboisten* generally hindered those musicians who wished to rise to higher level of music-making. In 1728 the *Hofkapelle* required a instrumentalist who could play "den großen Violon Bass" (violone) and Brescianello suggested the *Hautboist* Langen of the Laudable Swabian District Infantry Regiment be employed, as no one in the Dragoon Regiment could play that instrument. However, the Duke decided against hiring this him, reminding Brescianello that the quality of the "*vocal Music*" should be improved with a more capable subject than Langen.⁸⁰

As this short survey shows music-making at the Württemberg court, in both Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg, during this time covered a diverse spectrum of activities and was by no means confined to the performances of the *Hofkapelle*. Each ensemble catered to a specific occasion in daily court life, from the ceremonial flourishes of the trumpeters and kettledrum players; the light-weight entertainment provided by the *Bock-Musik*; to the highly-skilled playing of *Cammer-musici* in the private rooms of the ducal family.

⁷⁹D-Sa A21 Büschel 615, 3 November 1738, they suggest that they could halve the money created by the death of court organist, Isaac Seidel; 'the ill-proportion when compared to [the wages of] the other musicians is much too large.'

⁸⁰D-Sa A21 Büschel 618, Brescianello, 3 May 1728; *Oberhofmarschallamt* 4 May 1728; ducal decree 10 January 1729.

The Instrumental Music

of Schwartzkopff and Pez.

The instrumental music of the Württemberg *Kapellmeister* of the late baroque period has largely been forgotten. Of the four men in charge of the *Hofkapelle* during that time—only Kusser and Brescianello have received any sustained attention.¹ A volume of the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* is devoted to Pez (and the introduction by B. A. Wallner is the most comprehensive examination of his output to date). Schwartzkopff remains unknown to modern musicians.

Pez and Schwartzkopff were recognized in their own time as composers; both merit entries in Walther's *Lexikon*. There, we read that "Schwartzkopff (*Theodorus*) ist schon, gengen das 1680te Jahr, als Componist berühmt, s. Prinzens Mus. Histor. c.12 § 83 und an. 1716 noch am Leben gewesen."² As already mentioned in Chapter 4, Pez wrote of him in 1714 that he "*componirt sehr wohl*."³ In 1719, however, it was reported by a member of the *Hofkapelle* that Schwartzkopff's activity in this area had ceased (see page 42).

¹See Scholz, Kusser, and James H. Mitchell, *The Works of G. A. Brescianello* (unpublished diss., University of North Carolina, 1962); Adelmo Damerini, "Sei concerti a tre sconosciuti di G.A. Brescianello" *SMw* 25, 96-104.

²Walther, *Lexikon*, 560; 'Schwartzkopff (*Theodorus*) was already well-known as a composer around the 1680s, see Prinz's Music History [W. C. Printz, *Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* (Dresden, 1690)] Chapter 12 §83, and in 1716 was still living.'

³1714 Pez *Lista*; 'composes very well.'

Among Schwartzkopff's earliest compositions were the series of ballets performed at the Württemberg court during the 1680s (see page 16) and it appears that he also began writing church music at about the same time. All this activity was required in his employment contract as *Kapellmeister*, but unfortunately this music is now lost. His sacred compositions included a *Magnificat à 7*⁴, a *Fuga melancholiae harmonica* (Stuttgart, 1684)⁵, and *Harmonia sacra* (Stuttgart, 1697). Three further church works are listed as having survived in libraries at Schwerin and Strasbourg but it is unclear whether they are still extant.⁶

In 1721 Schwartzkopff had resumed his compositional activities, producing a *Serenata an dem . . . Jäger-Ordens-Fest* (Ludwigsburg, 3 November)⁷, for the Order of St Hubert which had been established by Eberhard Ludwig in 1702 to raise his prestige.⁸ Although this serenata is now also lost, a significant selection of his instrumental music written for the Württemberg court musicians survives. These pieces form part of the Friedrich Ludwig collection and they include five concerti for between four to ten instrumental parts, two overture-suites, four partitas or "Pieces" for viola da gamba and basso continuo, and six sonatas for

⁴Formerly held by D-DS, see Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1902), "Schwartzkopff, Theodor."

⁵Formerly held by D-B, according to Ulrich Siegele, "Schwartzkopff, T.", MGG.

⁶Ulrich Siegele, "Schwartzkopff, T." MGG, two in D-SW1, one in St. Thomas, Strasbourg; George J. Buelow's more recent article on Schwartzkopff in *Grove 6* fails to mention these works.

⁷Siegele, "Schwartzkopff, T.", MGG.

⁸Friedrich Kübler, *Die Familiengalerie des Württembergischen Fürstenhauses im Kgl. Residenzschloß zu Ludwigsburg* (Ludwigsburg, 1905), 76.

various combinations of strings, flutes, and basso continuo. Particularly conspicuous in his output is the preference given to the viola da gamba—possibly Schwartzkopff played this instrument himself.

Pez's entry in Walther's *Lexikon* is quite extensive:

Pez (Joan. Christoph) der an. 1716 zu Stuttgard verstorbene Capellmeister hat verschiedene Sachen heraus gegeben, als: *Sonate à tre, due Violini, Violoncello e Basso Cont. Opera prima*. Der Titul dieses Werks soll eigentlich also lauten: *Sonate da Camera a due Flauti e Basso, Opera seconda. Sonate da Camera a due Flauti e Basso, Opera terza*. s. Roger *Catal.* p. 24 und 37.⁹ Das 4te an. 1710 zu Stuttgardt in *folio* gedruckte, und unter dem Titul: *Corona Stellarum duodecim* heraus gekommene Werck, so der *Auctor* selbst verlegt, bestehet aus 12 Stücken a *Voce sola, due Violini e Continuo*.¹⁰ Das aus 4 Sing-Stimmen, und 2 Violinen nebst einem G. B. bestehende Missen-Werck in *folio* ist an. 1706, unter dem Titel: *Jubilum Missale sextuplex*, zu Augspurg gedruckt worden.¹¹ Er ist aus München in Bayerland gebürtig, und anfänglich daselbst ein Hof-und Cammer-Musicus, hernach aber bey dem Churfürsten zu Cölln Capellmeister gewesen. Es soll auch einer dieses Nahmens an 1723 bey dem Bischoffe zu Freysingen, als Capellmeister gestanden und ein Geistlicher seyn, der aber vorhero verheyraethet gewesen.¹²

⁹RISM P 1687.

¹⁰RISM P 1682.

¹¹RISM P 1681.

¹²Walther, *Lexikon*, 474; 'Pez (Joh. Christoph) who died in Stuttgart in 1716 as Kapellmeister had had various things issued, such as: *Sonate à 3*, two violins, violoncello, and basso continuo, Opus 1. The title of this work should actually read: *Sonate da Camera* for two flutes and basso, Opus 2; *Sonate da Camera* for two flutes and basso, Opus 3; see Roger Catalogue pages 24 and 37. The fourth work was published at Stuttgart in 1710 in folio and appeared under the title: *Corona Stellarum duodecim* and was published by the author himself, consisted of twelve pieces for solo voice, two violins and continuo. The 'Mass-work' which consisted of four vocal parts and two violins along with a general bass, was published in folio at Augsburg in 1706, under the title: *Jubilum Missale sextuplex*. He was born in Munich in Bavaria, and was originally a Hofmusicus

Wallner provides a detailed summary of the known and extant works of Pez. His vocal output included liturgical music for voices and instruments, dramatic works, serenades, cantatas on both sacred, and secular themes, seven lost school operas, as well as one extant opera, *Trajano, imperator romano* (Bonn, 1699).¹³

It seems that it was principally for his sonatas that Pez became renowned during the eighteenth century. About 1730 Telemann published a poem entitled "Über etliche Teutscher Componisten", which was summarized by Richard Petzoldt as follows:

He [Telemann] ranks them as follows: Johann Kuhnau as a church composer; Reinhard Keiser with his operas; Handel, of whose work, surprisingly, only the cantatas are singled out; as a sonata composer, the Stuttgart Capellmeister Johann Christoph Petz [*sic.*] (1664-1716), nowadays very much a background figure; Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752) in London, whose he concerti he lauds . . . and lastly Pantaleon Hebenstreit (1669-1750), whom Telemann had known in his Eisenach days and who at the time the poem was written held the post of Vice-Capellmeister at Dresden.¹⁴

Pez's Opus 1, *Duplex Genius sive Gallo-Italus Instrumentorum*

Concentus 12. constans Symphoniis, 2 Violinis cum Archiviola & Basso

and chamber musician there, but after that was however with the Elector of Cologne as a *Kapellmeister*. There was another person of this name in 1723 who was *Kapellmeister* at the [court of the] Bishop of Freising, and who was a religious. The Pez mentioned above was married.' *Jubilum MissaleSextuplex* and *Corona Stellarum Duodecim* appear in Wallner (ed.), *Ausgewählte Werke des alt-münchener Tonsetzters Johann Christoph Pez* DTB 35 (Augsburg, 1928), 119-148 and 93-116. Johann Jakob Pez was the son of the *Stadtppfeifer* Franz Pez of Freising and his family had been there since at least 1605 (Wallner, p. xiii).

¹³*Trajano, imperator romano* appears in DTB 35, 77-91.

¹⁴Richard Petzoldt, *Georg Philipp Telemann*, trans. Fitzpatrick (London, 1974), 17-18, he notes that this poem appeared in Christian Friedrich Weichmann, *Poesie der Noedersachsen*.

Continuo, was originally published in Augsburg in 1696 and dedicated to his patron Maximilian II Emanuel.¹⁵ It was soon followed by further sonatas for two flutes and continuo—his Opus 2 and Opus 3.¹⁶ These published works were immensely popular in their own time, having a wide dissemination throughout Europe—copies are located in Rostock, Munich, Berlin, Gießen¹⁷, and Würzburg, while references to his works were included in contemporary catalogues published in Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Amsterdam.

The manuscript copy of *Duplex Genius* now held in Berlin¹⁸ is inscribed with the following passage: "Christopher Pez is the Author of these. I have seen other compositions of this with his name to them."¹⁹ Wallner suggests that this set of parts originated in England, certainly the sonatas of Pez were widely known in London—as amply demonstrated by the catalogue of the music publisher John Walsh (?1665 or 1666-1736). In 1704 Walsh brought out a "Sonata in D # for Violins in 3 Parts by Christophoro Pez As also a Solo for a Violin by Signr Pepusch neither of them before Printed . . . to be Continu'd Monthly with the Best and Choisest Sonatas and Solos by the Greatest Masters"²⁰

¹⁵RISM P 1684. Regarding Pez's sonatas see also William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (New York, 4th ed./1983), 259-260.

¹⁶Pez's Opus 2 was published by Estienne Roger, Amsterdam: RISM P 1686.

¹⁷Later transferred to Berlin, and subsequently to New York, see Wallner, p. lxxi.

¹⁸D-B, Mus. Ms 17310.

¹⁹Wallner, p. lxxii.

²⁰W. C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works published by John Walsh during the Years 1695-1720* (London, 1948), 48, GB-DRC, this was possibly the third sonata from *Duplex Genius* which in D major. RISM P 1690.

Three years later, in 1707, Walsh published two collections of works for two flutes and continuo by Pez: the first "Sonate da Camera or Chamber Musick Consisting of Several Suites of Overtures and Aires for two Flutes and a Bass Compos'd by Sign.^r Christopher Pez Parté Prima"²¹ and the second "A 1st and 2d Collection of Airs and Sonata's for 2 Flutes and a Bass, by Sig. Pez." This edition has achieved some fame because of the addition of "some of Correlli's Solo's for a Flute and a Bass Illustrated throughout with proper Graces, by an eminent Master."²²

In 1709 a collection of "Choice Italian and English Musick for Two Flutes" appeared and this included "Three excellent new Sonata's and a Chaconne by Corelli Nicolini Haim Torelli and Pez."²³ Finally in 1712 the *Post Man* advertised "A New Edition of 12 Sonatas for 2 Violins, and a thorough Bass; composed by Mr. Christopher Pez." Since this advertisement added that "This Edition far exceeds the former, both in Correctness and Order in the graving"²⁴ this was presumably a reissue of *Duplex Genius*.

Other instrumental music by Pez, written in his various capacities as *Kapellmeister* in Bonn, Munich, and Stuttgart disseminated throughout Germany. Today, in addition to the music at D-ROu, we know only of

²¹W. C. Smith, 72-3, from an advertisement which appeared in the *Post Man* January 25-28, 1707, there is a copy of this in GB-Lbl; a selection of Pez's sonatas for two flutes and continuo, formerly attributed to Telemann, are held by D-HRD FÜ 3629a, see Martin Ruhnke (ed.) *Georg Philipp Telemann, Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke. Instrumentalwerke: Band 2* (Kassel, 1992), IX and 6-10. RISM P 1688.

²²W. C. Smith, 75, *Post Man*, April 12-15, 1707.

²³W. C. Smith, 93, *Daily Courant*, March 31, 1709.

²⁴W. C. Smith, 126, *Post Man* March 20-22, 1712.

the existence of eight instrumental suites in Dresden²⁵, arrangements for organ of three suites in Vienna²⁶, and one in Berlin.²⁷ An inventory made in 12 March 1710 at Freising includes a fairly representative selection of Pez's instrumental pieces: *Concerto grosso a 6; Intrada a 4; Partia a 2; Ouverture a 5; Concerto grosso a 8; Pastorella; Piece sive la musique de table; and Pastorale sive la musique de table*.²⁸

Both men composed a selection of chamber music preserved in manuscript form in the Friedrich Ludwig collection. Those by Schwartzkopff include one "Partie" or partita for gamba and harpsichord, a sonata for viola da gamba, bassoon, and basso continuo (harpsichord and violone), a set of *Pieces [sic.]* for three viole da gamba and continuo (again harpsichord and violone), another partita for "viola da gamba picc." with a continuo comprised of a viola da gamba (bass clef) and harpsichord, and finally a partita for viola da gamba or violin and harpsichord²⁹. He also wrote three trio sonatas for two violins and continuo (two with harpsichord and 'violone', the other with harpsichord and violoncello) and, rather surprisingly, given that most other resident composers sought to please the Crown Prince by writing in this form, only one trio sonata for two flutes and harpsichord.³⁰

²⁵D-Dlb MS Mus. D Cx 751-758.

²⁶A-Wn MS 16798 (Supplement 3475).

²⁷Collection of Dr. Werner Wollfheim, Berlin, named the "Möllerische Handschrift."

²⁸Wallner, p. lxxvi.

²⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58^{17, 15, 16, 18, 22 and 22}, the "viola da gamba picc." was written in French violin clef (G1), and therefore possibly written for *pardessus de viole*.

³⁰D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58^{23-24, 19, and 21}.

Pez, on the other hand, did cater for the tastes of Friedrich Ludwig, writing a "Sinphonia" for three flutes dedicated directly to him, with parts I and III in French violin clef—obviously the form of notation favoured by the young royal.³¹ Also in the collection is a "Sinfonia" for two flutes (both in French violin clef) and basso continuo in C major, with another copy of the work transposed into G major, possibly making it easier for the Prince to play.³² Further trio sonatas by Pez include one for two recorders, another for oboe and violin, and one for two violins, all accompanied by continuo.³³ Also featured is probably one of the earliest German oboe sonatas, a "Sÿmphonía" for oboe and basso continuo.³⁴ Table 10.1 summarizes the instrumental music by Pez contained within the Friedrich Ludwig collection.

³¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38⁸.

³²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38³ and 3a.

³³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{2, 4} (unfortunately the oboe part is missing), and ⁵.

³⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38²⁶, published as "Sonata (symphonia) in G minor for oboe and basso continuo" (Vienna: Universal, 1994), UE 30 129.

Table 10.1: Instrumental Music by Johann Christoph Pez in the *Friedrich Ludwig Musiksammlung (D-ROu)*.

<i>Title</i>	<i>Key</i>	<i>Parts</i>	<i>D-ROu Catalogue Numbers</i>
"Trios à 2 Flutes Abecs [<i>sic.</i>] Col Basso Continuo trans ^{to} D"	d	fl 1, fl 2, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ²
"Sinfonia à 3, 2 Flut-Traversier è Basso-Continuo"	G	fl 1, fl 2, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ³
Sinfonia	C	fl 1, fl 2, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ^{3a}
"Sonata a 3, 1 Hautbois, 1 Violino Con Basso Continuo"	g	vn, cont, (ob-missing)	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ⁴
"Trios à 2 Violini Col Basso Continuo"	g	vn 1, vn 2, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ⁵
"6 piecen von Pez, Sonata à 4: 1 Violino, 2 Viola, 1 Basso Violon è Cembalo"	B ^b	vn, vn (G1), va 1, va 2, cont, hpd	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ⁶
"Sonata à 4, 1 Violin, 2 Viola e Cembalo"	G	vn 1 [<i>sic.</i>] (2x), va 1, va 2, vle, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ⁷
"Sinfonia a 3 Flut-Traversieres, Tranpose [<i>sic.</i>] Pour S. A. Sme le Prince Hereditaire, Auth: Pez"	D	fl 1 (G1), fl 2 (G1), cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ⁸
"ouvert [<i>sic.</i>] del Sigre Petz a 7 parts"	B ^b	ob 1, ob 2, ob ripieno, va 1, va 2, vle, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ⁹

"Ouvert Del Sig. ^r Petz a 8 part"	F	fl 1, fl 2, fl or vn (G1), va, va d'am 1, va d'am 2, va d'am 3, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹⁰
"Sonata à 2 Violini Concert. ^{ti} , 2 Viola e Violino per il choro, 1 Basso-Viola, con Cembalo"	G	vn 1 conc., vn conc. 2, vn rip., va 1, va 2, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹¹
"ouvert [sic.] del Sigr Petz a 14 [originally 13] d part"	d	vn 1 conc. (x2), vn 1 conc. (G1) vn 2 conc. (x2), vn rip. (x2), va 1 (x2), va 2 (x2), cont (x3) vn 1 conc., vn 2 conc., vn rip., va 1, va 2, bn, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹²
"Sonata a 6, 2 Violini Concertati, 1 Violino A per il horo [sic.], 2 Violas, 1 Basso Viola con Cembalo"	A	vn, vn rip., va 1, va 2, vle or bn, cont, fl	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹³
"Sonata di Camera, Violino Principale, e 2 Viola, 1 Basso Viola, Con Cembalo in E On peut Joue avec flut Trav: e Violin Principale"	F	vn conc. 1, vn conc. 2, vn rip., va 1, va 2, va 3, bn or vdg conc., cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹⁴
"Concerto Sonat. del Sigr Petz a 9 part"	F	vn 1 conc., vn 2 conc., vn rip., va 1, va 2, vc, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹⁵
"Concerto Pastoral del Sigr Petz a 6 part"	D		Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹⁶

"Concert Sonate del Sigr Petz a 6 part"	F	ob 1, ob 2, va 1, va 2, vle or bn, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹⁷
"Concerto Grosso a 6, 1 Hautbois Concerti, Instr.:"	a	ob 1, ob 2, vn rip., va 1, va 2, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ^{18a}
"Concerto Sinfonia del Sigr Petz a 8 part Co due Haubois [sic.]"	g	ob 1, ob 2, vn 1 (ob 1 in G1 clef), va 1, va 2, bn, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹⁸
"Pieces pour La Musique de table a 6 part"	D	vn 1 conc., vn 1 conc. (G1), vn 2 conc., vn rip., va 1, va 2, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹⁹
"Pieies [sic.] pour la Musique de table, 2 Viol: g o 2 Hautb: Concer. ^{to} de Ant. Concertato"	g	vn 1 conc. (2x), vl 2 conc., vn, va 1, va 2, basso viola	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ^{19a}
"Ouverture a 5 2 Violino è Hautb; 1 Viola Col Basso-Continuo"	d	vn, vn (G1), va 1, va 2, vle, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ²⁰
"Lamento a 2 Hautbouas [sic.] Concert; 2 Violas e Basso Continuo"	c	ob 1, ob 2, va 1, va 2, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ²¹
"Pieces pour le Musique de Table a 7 ex A 2 Hautbois Concerto, 1 Violino Ripino [sic.], 2 Viola, 1 Violon Cello o Cembale [sic.]"	a	ob 1 conc., ob 2 conc., vn, va 1, va 2, bn, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ^{22a}
"Pieces pour le Musique de table, 2 Hautbois Concertati, 1 Violino, 2 Violas, 1 Violoncello,	F	ob 1 conc., ob 2 conc., vn, va 1, va 2, vc, hpd	

è Cembalo"				Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ^{22b}
"Entrée a 6 partes Petz"	F		ob 1 conc., ob 2 conc., vn rip., "Haute-Contre", va, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ²²
"Pices a 2 Viole d'Amours, 2 Flutes Allemandes, 1 Viola da gamba con Basso Continuo F. Pez"	F		fl 1, fl 2, va d'am 1, va d'am 2, vdg, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ²³
Pices pour la Musique de Table à 2 Haubois d Concer: o: Violini, 2 Viola, 1 Bass Continuo"	d		ob 1, ob 2, "Haut-Contree", va, bn, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ²⁴
"Pices pour le Musique de table"	g		vn (2x), va 1, va 2, basso va, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ²⁵
"Sÿmphonía, Hautbois Solo"	g		ob and cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ²⁶
"Concerto pastorella Co due flutts del Sigr Petz a 7 part"	F		rec 1, rec 2, vn, va 1, va 2, vc, vle, cont	Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ²⁹

German 'Orchestral' Music c.1700

E. H. Meyer summarizes the situation of instrumental music in Germany around the turn of the eighteenth century as follows:

Ebenso vielfältig wie das Instrumentarium und die Instrumentenverwendung ist die Formenwelt in der deutschen Musik vor 1700. Die alte Einteilung in Kirchen- und Kammersonaten (die letzteren als Suiten von Tanzsätzen) gilt z. T. auch noch für die Jahrhundertewende. Doch finde sich daneben zahlreiche Kompositionen, in denen beide Typen, Tanzsätze und 'freie' Sätze vermischt sind.³⁵

A diversity of forms was an important characteristic of the period and as with all other aspects of musical life was heavily influenced by developments in both France and Italy. Partitas, concerti, various types of sonatas, trios, solos, cantatas, concert-sonatas, suites, sinfonias, and concerti grossi all appeared in profusion, often with no significant (or at least easily discernable) differences between them.

One of the most significant events to occur was the introduction of the new French 'ouverture-suite'. It appears that this genre came about as the result of grouping together diverse dances and other instrumental pieces taken from ballets and operas, most often drawing on the works of Jean-Baptiste Lully. Louis XIV had a number of these suites specially assembled from Lully's *oeuvre*, as titles like the following illustrate:

Suite des symphonies des vieux ballets de M. de Lully . . . qui se jouent ordinairement entre les actes des comédies chez le roy (1703).³⁶

³⁵E. H. Meyer, "Deutsche Instrumental Gruppenmusik gegen 1700" *Händel-Jahrbuch* 10/11 (1964-65), 87.

³⁶GB-T 225-8, David Fuller, "Suite", *Grove* 6.

The works of Johann Rosenmüller (c.1619-1684) give us some idea of the nature and development of the suite in Germany around the middle of the seventeenth century. The title of a collection he published in 1645 lists the elements of his suites, namely *Paduanen, Allemanden, Couranten, Balletten, Sarabanden*. These remain the standard series of dances in the 'Suiten à 5' which form the major component of his 1654 *Studenten-Music Darinnen zu befinden Allerhand Sachen Mit drey und fünf Violon, oder auch andern Instrumenten zu spielen*. In 1655 Rosenmüller was forced to leave his position of assistant at the *Thomasschule* in Leipzig and, following a brief stay in Hamburg, settled in Venice.³⁷ His eleven *Sonate da Camera à 5 stromenti* were published there in 1667 and contain a significant development: although the series of dances remains basically the same, *Allemanda, Corrente, Ballo*, and *Sarabanda*, the opening *Paduanen* is now replaced by a *Sinfonia*. This was probably the first time a free-movement was included in a German suite.³⁸

As Karl Nef has demonstrated, this advancement soon had its imitators and other types of *freie Sätze* were added to the suite. In Johann Pezel's *Musica Verspertina Lipsica oder Leipsigische Abend Music . . . Nach der neusten heut-tägigen manier* (1669) each suite opened with a *Sonata, Sonatina*, or *Capriccio*, often followed by a *Praelude* and a string of dance movements. Another composer to write in this manner was Hieronymus Kradenthaller of Regensburg who published a collection

³⁷Kerala Johnson Snyder, "Rosenmüller, Johann", *Grove* 6.

³⁸For further information regarding Rosenmüller's early suites see Karl Nef, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Instrumentalmusik in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, (Leipzig, 1902), 2-13.

entitled *Delicarum Musicalium . . . à 4 Viol. Von Sonatinen, Arien, Sarabanden und Giquen* in two parts dated 1675 and 1676.

These developments no doubt made it easier for the new French overture-suite to establish itself within the last quarter of the century. In 1695 Georg Muffat wrote in the Foreword to his *Florilegium Primum*:

. . . in Germany the French style is gradually coming to the fore and becoming the fashion. This same style, which formerly flourished in Paris under the most celebrated Jean Baptiste Lully, I have diligently sought to master, and, returning from France to Alsace, from whence I was driven by the last war, I was perhaps the first to bring this manner . . . into Austria and Bohemia and afterwards to Salzburg and Passau.³⁹

Muffat's claim, to have been the first to introduce Lully's French-style ballets into Germany⁴⁰, seems largely to have been accepted—though it is, in fact, unfounded. Johann Caspar Horn's collected ballet-suites entitled *Parergon musicum bestehend in Allemanden, Couranten, Balletten, Sarabanden, Gigue* (Leipzig, 1664) and Georg Bleyer's *Lust-Music* (Leipzig, 1670) were both described by their authors as being respectively, "nach der lustigen Franzöischen Manier" and "nach jetziger Französischer Manier."⁴¹

³⁹Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: The Baroque Era* (New York, 1965), 83.

⁴⁰Georg Muffat *Außerlesener Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701), ed. E. Luntz, DTÖ 23, XI/2 (Graz, 1959), 20, "J'avois été le premier, qui apportay en Allemagne le style de M. de Lully pr. les balets" (I had been the first to take the style of M. de Lully's ballets into Germany).

⁴¹David Fuller, "Suite", *Grove* 6; 'after the lively French manner'; 'after the current French manner.'

However, a significant change can be distinguished in suites composed within the last two decades of the century, suggesting that a more up-to-date French style was introduced, as Muffat had claimed, around 1695. The titles of two collections by Jacob Scheffelhut (1647-1709) display a change in the selection of dances which surely reflect a shift in contemporary taste—from old titles to more modern ones: the 1685 *Lieblicher Frühlings-Anfang, oder Musicalischen Seyten-Klang . . . in Präludien, Allemanden, Couranten, Ballo, Sarabanden, Arien und Giquen* and the 1707 *Musicalische Klee-Blat . . . Preludien, Entréen, Rondeau, Bouréen, Arien, March, Canarien, Giquen . . . auf . . . frantzösische Art*.

Meyer divides these into the four fundamental forms of Allemande, Sarabande, Courante, and Gigue, along with a number of additional dances such as Ballo, Branle, Marche, Intrada, Rondo, Aria, and Maskeraden, and the newly-fashionable French dances: Menuet, Rigaudon, Ameners, Bourée, and Gavotte. The appearance of any of these last-mentioned galantries, not to mention the overture itself (which was also a modern development), seems to signal the French style discussed by Muffat.

These dance-types can be seen in the works of those Germans who spent time studying in France with the famous Lully and subsequently also in an outburst of music which then appeared in Germany reflecting their influence. Numbered among this category are the following collections of overture-suites:

1682 Johann Sigismund Kusser, *Composition de Musique Suiuant la Methode Francoise contenant Six Ouvertures de Theatre accompagnées de plusieurs Aires* (Stuttgart).

1690 Melchior d'Ardespin, suite of ballet music from his opera *L'Eraclio von Clementi Hader* (Munich).

1692 Rupert Iganx Mayr, *Die Pythagorischen Schmidsfünklein* (Augsburg).

1693 Philipp Heinrich Erlebach, *VI Ouvertüren begleitet mit . . . Aires nach Französischer Art und Manier* (Nuremberg).

1695 Georg Muffat, *Florilegium Primum* (Blumen-Band, Lieblicher Ballet-Stücken, so, aus funffzig außerlesenen, und nach der jetzigen Ballet-Art besonders gesetzten . . .) (Augsburg).

1695 Benedict Anton Aufschnaiter, *Concors Discordia* (Nuremberg).

1695 Johann Caspar Friedrich Fischer, *Le Journal Du Printems Consistant En Aires et Balets . . .* (Augsburg).

1698 Georg Muffat, *Florilegium Secundum* (Passau).

1698 Johann Abraham Schmierer, *Zodiaci musici in XII Partitas balleticas, veluti sua igna divisi Pars I* (Augsburg).

1700 Johann Sigismund Kusser, *Apollon Enjoüé Contenant Six Ouvertures De Theatre Accompagnées De Plusieurs Aires; Festin Des Muses Contenant Six Ouvertures De Theatre Accompagnées De Plusieurs Aires; La Cicalaldella Cetra D'Eunomio, Operetta Musicale* (Stuttgart).

1701 Johann Joseph Fux, *Concentus musico-instrumentalis in septem partitas* (Nuremberg).

Of the composers listed above a handful had studied in France and these included Kusser, Mayr, Erlebach, Muffat, and possibly also Fischer.

However, while J. A. Schmierer (1661-1719) recommends that the "Music-Liebhaber" (musical amateur) consult "der Pythagorisschen Schmidts-Fincklein, *Journal du prim temps, wie auch deß Balletischen Bluem-Bunds*"⁴² with regard to questions of tempo and repetitions for the performance of his *Zodiaci music*⁴³, it is really only Muffat in his Preface to *Florilegium Primum* (which Schmierer refers to as "Balletischen Bluem-Bunds") who offers a significant amount of detailed information regarding the French performance practice of this type of music.⁴⁴

Coexisting in Germany with the immensely popular French-style suite were genres based upon Italian developments in musical form. According to Karl Nef the various *freie Sätze* that had been gradually added to the German suite (such as the *Praelude*, *Sonata*, *Sonatina*, and *Capriccio*) broke off and appeared independently under the name of "Sonate." Among the first Germans to publish works in this form was Johann Rosenmüller, whose *Sonate à 2. 3. 4. è 5. Stromenti* of 1682 consisted of a succession of movements entitled Allegro, Grave, Prestissimo, Largo, and so on. Other composers to write in this manner were Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber (*Fidicinium Sacro-Profanum*, c.1680-1684), Johann Philipp Krieger (*Suonate à doi Violino e Viola da*

⁴²E. von Werra (ed.), J. A. Schmierer *Zodiaci Musici* (Augsburg, 1698), DDT I/10 (1902, 2/1958); 'the Pythagorischen Schmidsfüncklein [R. I. Mayr, 1692], the *Journal Du Printemps* [J. C. F. Fischer, 1695], as well as the *Florilegium Primum* [Blumen-Band, Lieblicher ballet-Stücke, Georg Muffat, 1695].'

⁴³E. von Werra (ed.), J. A. Schmierer, *Zodiaci musici* (Augsburg, 1698), DDT I/10, (1902, 2/1958).

⁴⁴See K. Cooper and J. Zsako, "Georg Muffat's Observations on the Lully Style of Performance", *MQ* 53 (1967), 220-245.

Gamba, 1693), and Dietrich Buxtehude (*Suonate à due Violino & Viola da Gamba*, 1696). Their compositions generally feature between five and nine movements in an individual work. It seems that Johann Georg Rauch, in his *Cithara Orphei Duodecim Sonatarum modulis animata* (1697), was the first German to write consistently between two to five movements in the manner of Archangelo Corelli, often using a slow-fast-slow-fast pattern in imitation of the Italian master.

In the general disarray which immediately followed the Thirty Years War Germany was split into numerous *Kleinstaaterei* which served to discourage the development of a distinct, unified German musical style. Instead of looking to their own country for new ideas composers turned to other nations, principally France and Italy. Not surprisingly the duality of musical life in Germany caused by the mix of these two main elements soon produced attempts to combine both styles. Johann Joachim Quantz summed up the situation when he wrote of the existence of "ein vermischter Geschmack" (a mixed style): "Denn wenn man auch von den Deutschen nicht eben sagen kann, daß sie einen unterschiedenden Geschmack hervor gebracht hätten: so sind sie hingegen desto fähiger, einen andern, welchen sie nur wollen, anzunehmen; und wissen sich das Gute von alle Arten der ausländischen Musik zu Nutzen zu machen."⁴⁵

Probably the most famous example of the attempt to combine the two is Georg Muffat's *Außerlesener mit Ernst- und Lust-gemengter*

⁴⁵J. J. Quantz, *Versuch*, 82; 'Even if it cannot be said that the Germans have produced an individual style entirely different from that of other nations, they are all the more capable in taking whatever they like from another style, and they know how to make use of the good things in all types of foreign music.'

Instrumental Music (Passau, 1701), which he described as containing "nicht allein die muntere und auß dem Lullianischen Brunn geschöpfte Lieblichkeit in den *Ballet-Arien*, unverletzt; sondern auch etliche tieffsinnig außgesuchte *Affecten* der Italiänischen Manier . . ."⁴⁶

The instrumental works of Schwartzkopff and Pez display a similar desire to unite the two national styles, with all the diversity of form and musical characteristics common in German music of this period. The thirty-two works for a large ensemble by the two *Kapellmeister* which exist in the Friedrich Ludwig collection can be divided broadly into three main categories: French dance suites, Italian-influenced forms (concerti and so on), and pieces which freely mix both types.⁴⁷

Twenty-one pieces are in the form of a suite (eighteen by Pez and three by Schwartzkopff)—that is an introductory movement followed by a series of short dances and free-form movements. A number of these works are described on their original covers as being "*Pièces pour la musique de table*" (Pieces of Table Music) and presumably that was the principal use of all of these suites.

Only seven of these can be properly termed overture-suites, since they begin with a movement entitled "*Ouverture*" in the style of the French overture, as popularized in the latter half of the seventeenth century by Jean-Baptiste Lully. Of the two *Kapellmeister* it was Pez who composed

⁴⁶E. Luntz (ed.) Georg Muffat *Außerlesene Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701), DTÖ 23, XI/2 (Graz, 1959), 8; 'not only the lively sweetness created from the fountain of Lully in the ballet-arias, undamaged; but also quite a lot of the profound well-chosen affects of the Italian manner . . .'

⁴⁷In this chapter I will use the expression 'large ensemble' to described the forces required for a musical work consisting of between four to ten parts.

most frequently in the genre of the suite. He was not tied down only to the formal French overture as his opening movement, but made use of a number of other forms. Two of Pez's suites of table music begin with an *Entrée*, modelled on the pieces with that title found in French *ballet de cour*.

In Germany a closely related form to the *Entrée* was assigned the term *Intrada*. Pez heads three of the movements which open his suites found in the Rostock collection with this title. According to Riemann the *intrada* around this time could take a variety of forms ranging from examples in march rhythm, slow pavan-like types, triple metre fast dances, as well as a homophonic song type.⁴⁸ The *Intrada* which opens Pez's suite of table music in G minor⁴⁹ is really the equivalent of his two *Entrées*, with stately dotted rhythms and up-beat flourishes, while that which opens the "Lamento" suite in C minor⁵⁰ is marked "adagio" and features short phrases scored for a concertino group of two oboes and basso continuo.

Unfortunately the two concertato violin parts for Pez's suite in A major⁵¹ which also opens with an *Intrada* are no longer extant, but the remaining parts indicate that the form of this movement in $\frac{3}{4}$ time alternated between slow and fast sections—Grave 10 bars; Presto 6 bars; Grave 9 bars; Presto 22 bars. Given that remaining parts have mostly only down-beats

⁴⁸See M. Riemann, "Materialien zu einer Definition des Terminus und des Begriffs der *Intrada*", *Mf*, 10 (1957), 337.

⁴⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{19a}.

⁵⁰D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38²¹.

⁵¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹³.

during the Prestos it would seem likely that the two solo violins had extended solo passages.

Two of Pez's suites of table music, in A minor and F major⁵², open with a *Prelude (Preludium)*. Both these movements consist of three sections: fast (*Allegro*)—fast (*Presto*)—fast (fugue) and fast (*Allegro e presto*)—slow—fast (fugue). Three further suites by Pez begin with an Italianate movement: two entitled "Sinfonia" and divided respectively into slow—fast—slow—fast (fugue) and slow—fast sections, and one headed "Sonata" consisting of slow—fast (fugue)—slow.⁵³ One suite by Schwartzkopff opens with a "Concerto" in four parts, fast—slow—fast—slow and is followed by an Aria (*presto*), a Siciliana (*Largo*), and two Menuets.⁵⁴

The Friedrich Ludwig collection contains five overture-suites in the Lullian style by Pez and two by Schwartzkopff. The opening themes of the overture movements of these works clearly show their imitation of the majestic dotted rhythms and suspensions in a duple time signature typical of the French overture-style and this can be seen in the two edited examples: Schwartzkopff's Suite in C major for trumpet and strings and Pez's Suite in D minor.⁵⁵ Schwartzkopff alone makes use of *tirades* in the Lullian manner, as can be seen in bars 2-7.

⁵²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{22a} and ^{22b}.

⁵³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹¹, ¹⁸, and ¹⁷.

⁵⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58²⁰.

⁵⁵D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹⁰ and Mus. Saec. XVII:38²⁴.

As is customary in this form the opening Grave section of these two suites conclude firmly on the dominant and continue attacca with a fugal section in a faster tempo. While Schwartzkopff changes to $6/4$ for the fast section, Pez's example is slightly unusual—remaining with common-time rather than shifting to triple or compound time. As can be seen from the following structural plan Schwartzkopff completes his overture with a brief slow section, while Pez concludes his opening movement with the imitative *Presto*:

Schwartzkopff 58¹⁰— Overture [slow] C, 10 bars:||: allegro $6/4$, 34 bars||
adagio C, 11 bars:||

Pez 38²⁴— Overture [slow] C, 14 bars:||: presto C, 36 bars:||

Other examples from contemporary German suites also employ both forms, the bipartite (slow—fast) and the tripartite (slow—fast—slow). Georg Muffat's *Florilegium Secundum* (1698) contains two overtures in three sections and four in two; J. C. F. Fischer, in his *Journal du Printemps* (1695), uses the three-part format eight times and the two-part only thrice, while the six overtures found in Schmieder's *Zodiaci musici* (1698) are evenly split between the two types.

Schwartzkopff's two overtures show slightly more imagination than Pez's in as far as instrumentation is concerned. Not only does he make use of a solo trumpet in his C major overture-suite, but in his other example of the genre the Allegro section of the overture makes use of a concertato group of two oboes, viola, and harpsichord.⁵⁶ Interestingly,

⁵⁶D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹⁰ and 9.

this combination is *not* the standard French trio of two oboes and bassoon, even though this work does include a separate bassoon part.

Both the two overtures from the overture-suites included in Appendix B (see pages 494-511 and 512-535)⁵⁷ are followed by a fairly normal selection of dance movements, mainly drawing on French types, in the case of Pez: *Entrée*, *Air*, *Rondeau*, *Menuet & Trio*, and *Gigue*, while for Schwartzkopff: *Bourée*, *Menuet*, *Chaconne*, and *Gigue*. The overture-suites are in fact the most standardized of all the suites by these two men in the collection, always finishing with a *Gigue* and all containing a *Menuet*.

Of the four fundamental French dance forms of *Allemande*, *Sarabande*, *Courante*, and *Gigue*, only the first and last ever appear in the large ensemble suites of Pez and Schwartzkopff. The number of movements which follow the introductory one number from between four and seven, with seven being the average number, at least in the works of Pez. All of Pez's suites have at least one *Aria* movement and sometimes as many as three, while the *Rondeau* also appears with some frequency.

Of the newly-fashionable French dance-types common in the last decades of the seventeenth century Pez makes use of the *Menuet*, *Rigaudon*, *Bourée*, and *Gavotte*; while Schwartzkopff includes only the *Menuet* and *Bourée* from this selection. Both composers also introduce a variety of other forms: Pez using the *Entrée*, *Aria all'Inglese*, *Hornepippe* (*all'Inglese*), *Passacaglia*, *Chaconne*, *Fuga*, and *Double*; and Schwartzkopff the *Siciliana*, *Passepied*, *Chaconne*, and *Marche*. A typical example of the

⁵⁷Pez: D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38²⁴ and Schwartzkopff: D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹⁰.

structure of these works is Pez's Suite in F major for two oboes, violin, "Haut-Contree" [*sic.*] (viola or possibly an alto oboe), viola, and basso continuo⁵⁸, which opens with an Entrée, followed by an Aria (*adagio*), a Bourée, Menuet & Trio, Aria (*adagio*), Hornepippe, Rondeau, and concludes with a Gigue.

Just as both Württemberg *Kapellmeister* composed suites which opened with an introductory movement in an Italian-style format, they also wrote works which consisted primarily of Italian free-form movements followed by one French-style dance. Examples of this type include Pez's *Sonata da Camera* for violin, two violas, and basso continuo which finishes with a Gigue, as does Schwartzkopff's *Sonata All'imitatione del Rossignuolo e del Cucco*, for recorder, two violins, two violas, and basso continuo.⁵⁹ Schwartzkopff particularly seems to have been fond of this combination of styles, for his *Concerto da Camera* à 10 parts features a string of Italian-titled sections followed by a Rondeau, while his *Concerto ab* [*sic.*] 8 concludes with a Bourée and two dance-like Arias.⁶⁰ His *Concerto à 6*, for two oboes, two violins, viola, and basso continuo, although consisting in the main of a series of alternating sections with Italian titles (*andante—allegro—adagio—vivace*) concludes with a triple-time dance-like movement that bears no tempo indication.⁶¹

⁵⁸D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII: 38²².

⁵⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38 ¹⁴and ²⁵, the title-page of the first work actually describes this as a "Sonate di Camera."

⁶⁰D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58 ¹⁴ and ¹³.

⁶¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹².

Italian influence in such works can be seen clearly in elements other than the prefatory tempo designations. Schwartzkopff's *Concerto à 7* shows this quite clearly.⁶² Its opening section, entitled *Spiritoso*, displays all the bravura typical of Italian fast movements with rushing scalar semiquaver passages, phrases shaped by sequences, wide leaps in the melody line, and the use of two alternating concertino groups: two violins and two oboes with a harpsichord. The Presto movement also features many of these elements, but especially notable is the virtuoso writing for a pair of violins. The work also contains a triple-time *dolce* which ends with a short *adagio* section; and a fugue complemented by a nine bar *Grave*; concluding with an *Aria*, which is more reminiscent of French, than Italian musical style.

Only Pez composed works for a large ensemble that are predominantly in the Italian style and do not contain any overt use of French-influenced forms or melodic material. There are two of these compositions, a *Concert Sonate del Sigr Petz*⁶³ and a *Concerto Grosso a 6 . . . di Sgr Pez*.⁶⁴ No doubt these works stem from during or after Pez's years studying in Rome (1689-1692).

Although Georg Muffat had undertaken a similar venture, studying in Rome with Bernard Pasquini (1637-1710) between 1680-1682, it wasn't until 1701 that he published his collection of concerto grossi, *Außerlesener mit Ernst und Lust gemengter Instrumental-Music*. Even

⁶²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹¹.

⁶³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁷.

⁶⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{18a}.

then he made it quite clear in the Preface to this work that he did not seek to emulate Corelli's concerti, but rather that his works were a mixture of two main styles: the French ballet-style typical of Lully and the Italian manner.⁶⁵

The principal feature of Corelli's *concerti grossi* was the contrast between a *concertino* group (usually comprised of two violins and cello) with the *concerto grosso* (remaining instruments). Interestingly the new form spread only into southern Germany and Austria during the last decade of the seventeenth century, with Muffat claiming " . . . gleichwie schon längstens in meiner zu Ruckkunfft auß Frankreich ich der Erste die Lullianische Ballet-Arth; also have ich diser der Orten annoch unbekanten *Harmoni* einige Probstück der Erste in Teutschland gebracht."⁶⁶ It wasn't until the second decade of the eighteenth century that the genre was introduced into northern parts of Germany, by which time the Venetian concerti of composers such as Antonio Vivaldi and Tomaso Albinoni had become extremely popular almost overshadowing those of the Corellian variety.⁶⁷

A number of Pez's works are extremely similar to Muffat's in their conception, for example his *Concerto Grosso . . . Co due Haubois* in G

⁶⁵Although Muffat did state that he had shown some of these works to an approving Corelli.

⁶⁶E. Luntz (ed.), *Georg Muffat Außerlesene Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701), DTÖ 23, XI/2 (Graz, 1959), 8; 'just as I had already, on my return from France, been the first to introduce the ballet-art of Lully; then I have also been the first to introduce some examples of this unknown [Italian] type of harmony to Germany.'

⁶⁷See A. Hutchings, *The Baroque Concerto* (London, 1959, 3rd edition 1973), 114, for further examples.

minor⁶⁸ scored for two oboes, violin, two violas, "Basso Viola", and bassoon opens with a movement entitled *Sinfonia* but then moves on to a succession of free-form movements and French dances: Rondeau (allegro)—Aria (andante e dolce)—Menuet & Trio—Aria (presto)—Aria (allegro)—Chaconne—Bourée (presto). Likewise his *Concert Sonate* in F major for two oboes, two violas, and basso continuo opens with a Sonata in three sections, slow—fast—slow, which precedes an Aria (presto)—Menuet & Trio—Gavotte—Gigue (presto).⁶⁹

Two works by Pez do not include French dance types but are constructed in the Corellian concerto grosso mold: consisting solely of free-form movements with Italian tempo markings serving as titles. The *Concert Sonat* in F major is scored for two concertante violins, ripieno violin, three violas, concertante bassoon or viola da gamba, and basso continuo.⁷⁰ It opens with a Sonata in three sections: slow—fast—slow and is followed by a Fuga, a virtuoso Presto for the three concertante instruments ending with a tutti Adagio passage, and an Allegro in $\frac{3}{8}$ time.

Pez's *Concerto Grosso* in A minor replaces the two solo violins with oboes, accompanied by violin, two violas, and basso continuo.⁷¹ The work is in five movements, opening with a Sonata (Allegro) in which the two oboes form a concertino group with the basso continuo (only a

⁶⁸D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁸, originally entitled "Concerto Sinfonia."

⁶⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁷.

⁷⁰D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁵.

⁷¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{18a}.

harpsichord part exists in the set). The pair of oboes play semiquaver passages, mostly in thirds, alternating with tutti statements by the concerto grosso group. This is followed by a Fuga in which the thematic material is passed between the strings and continuo, while the oboes merely act as decoration—interchanging a short sequential phrase for the entire movement. The oboes are utilized as a concertino group in the following Grave section, in the Presto which succeeds it, and the Prestissimo movement which completes the work.

Two further works by Pez are written the style of the Italian *Pastorale*, an instrumental composition containing certain stereotypical features which became associated with music for Christmas Eve—primarily pastoral in nature, depicting the shepherds and other rustic elements which appear in the story of the nativity.⁷² These are his "Concert pastorella Co due flutts del Sigr Petz a 7 part in F" for two recorders, violin, two violas, and basso continuo⁷³; and the "Concerto Pastoral del Sigr Petz a 6 part in D#" for two concertante violins, ripieno violin, two violas, and continuo.⁷⁴

Instrumentation

Judging from its frequent appearance in their works the oboe was a favoured instrument of both Schwartzkopff and Pez. Georg Muffat had noted in the Preface to his *Außerlesener Instrumental-Music* that:

⁷²For further informations regarding this genre see G. Chew and O. Jander, "Pastorale", *Grove* 6.

⁷³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38²⁹, published in DTB 35, 47-95, this work features a drone bass typical of the *Pastorale* style.

⁷⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁶.

Wann aber unter deinen *Musicanten* einige die frantzösische *Hautbois*, oder Schallmey lieblich blasen, und *moderiren* können, kanst du derer Zween beste anstatt zweyer *Violisten*, und ein guten *Fagotisten*, anstatt deß Bäßl zur *Formirung* deß *Concertino*, oder Tertzetl in etlichen auß disen *Concerten* oder dere darzue außgesuchten *Arien* löblich brachen . . . ⁷⁵

The Württemberg *Kapellmeister* obviously had at their disposal talented performers on double reed instruments, such as Eberhard Hildenbrand. Certainly this instrumentation does not appear to relate to contemporary Italian performance practice, for the oboe arrived later in Italian orchestras than in Germany—which was more readily influenced by French musical tastes. In fact the French *hautbois* probably arrived in Italy directly from Germany as a result of the strong trading links present the two countries.⁷⁶ In Italy the new instrument was not widely used until the 1690s, but by 1700 had been introduced into the musical life of almost every part of Italy.⁷⁷

Pez used a pair of oboes as concertante instruments in eight of his large-scale works⁷⁸ and in three further compositions offers the option of

⁷⁵E. Luntz (ed.), Georg Muffat *Außerlesene Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701), DTÖ 23, XI/2 (Graz, 1959), 9; 'If it happens that your performers include some who play those instruments known as French oboes or shawms, you could get the two best to take the Violin 1 and 2 concertino parts, with a bassoon on the basso continuo; with these you could have your trio for many of these concerti, or at least in some of their movements.'

⁷⁶Alfredo Bernardini, "Oboe playing in the Venetian Republic, 1692-1797", *EM* 16/3 (1988), 374.

⁷⁷Bernardini, 374, see also his *Oboe Playing in Italy from the origins to 1800* (diss., Oxford, 1985).

⁷⁸D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38⁹, 17, 18, 18a, 21, 22, 22a, and 22b.

either a pair of violins or oboes as soloists.⁷⁹ Five of Schwartzkopff's eight extant works for a large ensemble include a pair of solo oboes in their scoring, often in combination with two solo violins.⁸⁰ Pez also frequently made use of violins as concertante instruments, accompanied by a string ensemble with basso continuo.⁸¹ Occasionally within the collection such violin parts are transposed for flute, obviously for the use of the Crown Prince, as in Pez's *Sonata da Camera* which is marked "L'An 1723 . . . On peut jouer avec Flute trav. le Violon principale."⁸²

Twice Pez employed a pair of flutes and once, in a Christmas Pastoral, two recorders. Rather interestingly he never required horns or any variety of brass instruments despite the fact that he is known to have introduced horns into the ranks of the *Hofkapelle*. Schwartzkopff did, however, occasionally make use of trumpets or "Clarini" as he terms them: a pair in his *Concerto ab* [*sic.*] 8 and one in his *Concerto da Camera* and *Ouverture à 5*.⁸³

There can be no doubting that Quantz would have condemned these last two works and, indeed, many other aspects of this repertoire. In the section of his flute treatise entitled "Die Instrumentalmusik der

⁷⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{19a}, 20, and 24.

⁸⁰D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58⁹, 11-14.

⁸¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹¹⁻¹³, 15-16, and 19.

⁸²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁴; 'In the year 1723 . . . One may play the solo violin part on the transverse flute.'

⁸³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹³, 14 and 10.

Deutschen in den vorigen Zeiten"⁸⁴, he writes disparagingly of the faults of earlier music and these included, among other things, the use of the trumpet.⁸⁵ Quantz also complains of compositions which aim to imitate bird-song. This writes off Schwartzkopff's *Sonata All'imitatione del Rossignuolo e del Cucco à 5 Viol: e un flauto*.⁸⁶ This piece assigns the role of the nightingale to the first violin with a florid line into which stereotypical descending minor third cuckoo-calls are slotted neatly by a "Flauto" (recorder). As previously mentioned, Schwartzkopff wrote only one work which included a flute in its instrumentation—a sonata for flute, two violins, and basso continuo.⁸⁷

Not surprisingly, given their frequent appearance in his works for smaller combinations, Schwartzkopff employs two viole da gamba as soloists in sections of his *Concerto da Camera*, which is imaginatively scored for two oboes, two violins, two violas, trumpet "ad lib", two viole da gamba, violone, bassoon, and harpsichord.⁸⁸ Pez offers the option of "Fagott o Viola da gamba concertato", in addition to two concertante

⁸⁴'The Instrumental Music of the Germans in times past.'

⁸⁵Quantz, *Versuch*, 81.

⁸⁶D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58²⁵, as well as an entire repertory of pieces (which Quantz must have had in mind), including Johann Caspar Kerll's (1627-1693) *Capriccio sopra il cucu* (1679) and H. I. F. Biber's (1644-1704) *Sonata rappresentativa* which features not only the standard nightingale and cuckoo, but also a veritable menagerie (with a hen, a quail, some frogs, and a cat).

⁸⁷D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58²⁰.

⁸⁸D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹⁴.

violins, accompanied by three violas and basso continuo, in his *Concert sonat. [sic.]* in F major.⁸⁹

The string body used to accompany soloists in the works of Pez and Schwartzkopff, cannot be directly described as either French or Italian in its proportions. It might have been expected that in his earlier suites Pez employ a five-part string band after the manner of the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi* in France, as other Germans had done before him when imitating the French style. Local examples of this emulation include J. S. Kusser's *Composition de Musique* (1682), scored for *Premier et Second Dessus* (generally in unison), *Haut-Contre*, *Taille*, *Quinte*, and *Bassus*, and J. C. F. Fischer, *Kapellmeister* at the nearby court of Baden, whose *Le Journal du Printems* (1695) included parts for *Dessus* (G1), *Hautcontre* (C1), *Taille* (C3), *Quinte* (C4), and *Basse* (F4), as well as two "Trompettes à plaisir" in certain movements—which possibly served as a model for Schwartzkopff's use of "Clarino ad. lib."

Even in Italy during the second half of the seventeenth century a five-part string ensemble was in vogue, however the Italian version consisted of two violins, two violas, and bass, as opposed to the standard French scoring which included three different sizes of viola. During the final decades of the century one of the two viola parts in Italian instrumental music was dropped and a combination of two violins, one viola, and basso continuo became the norm.⁹⁰

⁸⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁶.

⁹⁰Simon Harris, "Lully, Corelli, Muffat and the Eighteenth-century Orchestral String Body", *ML* 54 (1973), 199.

Instead of choosing between these arrangements Pez most frequently used a scoring which may possibly be considered a German development. The majority of his works require a four-part ensemble of violin, two violas (C1 and C3), and basso continuo. A similar scoring can be seen in the works of other Germans. Schmierer's collection of French-style overture-suites, *Zodiaci musici*, is scored for four-part strings consisting of Violino (G1), Violetta (C1), Viola (C3), with "Violone o Cembalo", while Biber's *Fidicinium Sacro-Profanum* (which probably dates from around 1680-1684)⁹¹, contains six sonatas for two violins, two violas, and violone and another six scored for one violin (G1), two violas (C1 and C3), and violone—indicating that either combination was appropriate for use in Germany around the last decades of the century. Likewise Georg Muffat offers a choice, utilizing the four-part combination of Violine, Violetta, Viola, Violoncino, and Basso Continuo ad libitum and the five-part, Violine, Violetta, Viola, Quinta parte, Violone, and Basso continuo ad libitum, in his *Florilegium Primum* (1695).

In Pez's compositions the violin or oboe parts while predominantly in unison sometimes split into two concertante lines to perform trio passages with the bass part. For this reason the original sets of parts usually contain three separate versions of the treble line—Violin/Oboe 1 Concert., Violin/Oboe 2 Concert., and Violin/Oboe Ripieno. The majority of the music on these three treble parts is exactly the same, but occasionally passages on the two upper parts are marked "Solo", "à 3", or

⁹¹Karl Nef, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Instrumentalmusik in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1902), 28.

"Trio" and cancelled out by the terms "Tutti" or "Tous", while the *ripieno* is tacet at these points.

Although Simon Harris suggested that B. A. Aufschnaiter's use of this same instrumentation in his 1695 suite collection, *Concordia discors*, was rather unusual, this usage may have been quite common in Germany.⁹² The *ripieno* parts are generally labelled clearly as such: "Violino Ripieno" or "Violino per il choro." The title of at least one work makes it clear that more than one musician was required to fill this part—*Sonata à 2 Violini Concerti, 2 Violas e Violini per il choro . . .*⁹³ Parts are often duplicated in the French violin clef, as for Pez's suite of table music in G minor which includes two parts for Violino 1^{mo} Concert., one in G2 and the other in G1.⁹⁴

This distribution of parts would allow the number of instrumentalists involved in a performance to reach approximately six violins and two violas; or alternatively two oboes, four violins, and two violas, if every part is shared by two musicians, and even more if three were required to share. The introduction to J. A. Schmierer's *Zodiaci musici* (1698) gives the following advice on maintaining the correct proportions of such an ensemble:

⁹²Simon Harris, "Lully, Corelli, Muffat and the Eighteenth-Century Orchestral String Body", *ML* 54, 202, "In Germany the influence of Lully led not only to the appearance of suite collections like Muffat's two 'Florilegia' (1695 and 1698) and J. K. F. Fischer's 'Journal de Printemps' (1695), using a purely Lullian band, but also to some interesting hybrids between concerto and suite. The most intriguing is the collection of suites entitled *Concordia Discors* (1695) by Aufschnaiter. It appears that the basic orchestral texture in these is a four-part with one violin and two violas; but periodically there are *concertante* passages in which the violin part split into solo parts."

⁹³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹¹.

⁹⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{19a}.

Worbey sonderbahr zu mercken, daß die *Violin* und *Violon* vor denen andern 2. Mittel-Geigen, benanntlich der *Violett* und *Alt Viola* mercklich zubesetzen, und zu *duplieren*: Ja nach gestallten Sachen, und wann so vil Liebhaber verhanden, daß auch die *Violon* zweyfach besetzt werden können, dergestaltt zu *triplieren* oder zu *quadruplieren* seyen, daß jedoch die *Violin* allezeit umb eines mehr, dann der *Violon* verstärcket werde.⁹⁵

Such advice certainly ties in with the numbers given by Schwartzkopff and Störl, in their 1717 plans for the reorganization of the *Hofkapelle*. In Schmierer's opinion when there are enough players to double the viola parts, then the violin parts should be tripled or even quadrupled.

Schwartzkopff lists three 1st and two 2nd violins, with two violas on each of the two parts, while Störl suggests the same number of violas, but includes even more violinists: four 1sts and three 2nds.

Only three of Pez's large-scale works do not contain parts for two violas. His *Concert Sonat* in F major is scored for two concertante violins (plus ripieno), concertante bassoon or viola da gamba, three violas (G1, C1, and C3), and basso continuo.⁹⁶ Two further compositions make use of the viola d'amore, an instrument played by F. A. M. Pez, G. A. Kreß, and possibly also by Pez himself: the overture-suite in F major for two flutes,

⁹⁵E. von Werra (ed.), J. A. Schmierer *Zodiaci musici* (Augsburg, 1698), DDT I/10 (1902, 2/1958), 91, In which it is especially to be remarked, that the violin and *Violon* [string-bass], are to be particularly filled and duplicated above the two other middle-fiddles, namely the *Violett* and *Alt Viola*: Indeed in certain things [pieces], and when you have to hand so many enthusiasts, that it is possible to double the violas [middle-parts], then you should triple or quadruple the others, so that, however, the violin is always stronger than than the *Violon* by one more [person].'

⁹⁶D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁵.

viola, three viola d'amore, and basso continuo⁹⁷ and the *Pieces a 2. Viole d'Amours, 2 Flutes Allemandes, 1 Viola di gamba con Basso Continuo*.⁹⁸

Of Schwartzkopff's eight works for a large ensemble, five feature two violas. These often use C3 and C4 clefs, as for example in his overture-suite for trumpet, violin, two violas, and basso continuo.⁹⁹ On the other hand two of his concerti require the more modern scoring of only one viola (C3), in combination with two oboes, two violins, and basso continuo, and in one of the two works two trumpets are also added.¹⁰⁰ Only one of Schwartzkopff's compositions truly matches Pez's style of instrumentation: the overture-suite in E flat major for two oboes, violin (generally in unison—with the oboes occasionally dividing for solo passages), two violas (C1 and C3), and basso continuo.¹⁰¹

Overall Schwartzkopff tends to allow his treble lines more individuality than Pez, so that works such as his *Concerto à 7* in C major really contain two sets of opposing concertino groups, in this case two oboes versus two violins, accompanied by two violas and basso continuo.¹⁰² Or in the case of his *Concerto da Camera* he gives a variety of instruments a chance at

⁹⁷D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁰.

⁹⁸D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38²³.

⁹⁹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹⁰.

¹⁰⁰D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹² and 13.

¹⁰¹D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58⁹.

¹⁰²D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹¹.

display, generally in pairs: two oboes, two violins, two violas, trumpet, two viole da gamba, with basso continuo.¹⁰³

Schwartzkopff's *Concerto â* [sic.] 4 for flute, two violins, and basso continuo, may have been composed in an attempt to impress the Crown Prince, this certainly all the more likely given that the flute part is written out in the French violin clef, which it seems was favoured by the young dilettante.¹⁰⁴ His one programmatic piece, the 'nightingale and cuckoo' sonata, is scored with the rather more conventional choice (concerning the strings at least), of recorder, two violins, two violas, and basso continuo.¹⁰⁵

Use of Basso Continuo

The original sets of parts for music by Schwartzkopff and Pez offer clues regarding the constitution of the basso continuo group used in performances by the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*. Those remaining parts for Schwartzkopff's large-scale works are the most consistent in this regard: each piece includes parts for harpsichord ("Cembalo"/"Basso Continuo"), always with a lavish amount of figuring, and a "Violone" or "Violon". Although it is clear that in 1714 Pez used the word "Violone" to indicate a 16' bass string instrument, we cannot be sure whether this was also what Schwartzkopff intended. However, from the evidence provided by Schwartzkopff and Störl in 1717 (see Chapter 8) it is apparent

¹⁰³D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹⁴.

¹⁰⁴D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58²⁰.

¹⁰⁵D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58²⁵.

that both men considered a double bass to be an integral part of a well-appointed church, table or chamber music performance.

Three of Schwartzkopff's works also include a part for a bassoon.¹⁰⁶ It is worth noting, however, that in neither the compositions of Schwartzkopff or Pez does the appearance of a bassoon (always doubling the harpsichord part) necessarily relate to the use of oboes in the overall instrumentation of the work. At any rate Schwartzkopff does not utilize the Lullian double-reed trio combination, preferring to accompany solo passages for a pair of oboes with a harpsichord, rather than a bassoon. Schwartzkopff writes into his harpsichord parts the unison doubling of fugal entries and similar unsupported passages by the upper instruments.

Pez's idea of a typical group of instruments for the performance of basso continuo lines is even less certain. The evidence provided by the parts still extant from his compositions presents a very mixed picture. It is obvious that many of these works date back many years and a sizeable number were probably originally composed for the service of the courts at Munich or Bonn (where the Elector of Cologne, Joseph Clemens, was in residence). A change of taste in matters of scoring can be seen through the appearance of the violoncello in three of his works¹⁰⁷, an instrument which came into vogue around the turn of the eighteenth century.

Pez and his copyists use a variety of terms to indicate instruments required for his basso lines: "Violone", "Fagotto"/"Basson"/"Bassono", "Viola da Gamba", "Basso Viola", "Violoncello", "Cembalo", and merely

¹⁰⁶D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58⁹, 11 and 14.

¹⁰⁷D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38¹⁶, 22a and 22b.

"Basso"/"Basso Continuo." The information regarding these instruments on the title-pages of his works often fails to match the remaining parts, which adds further to the confusion. Generally separate parts are entitled "Basso Continuo", "Violone", "Fagotto", or sometimes even offering a choice between "Violone o Fagotto." Surprisingly, when compared to those of Schwartzkopff, only five of Pez's basso continuo parts are actually figured.

Overall the remaining parts for Pez's basso lines are too diverse for any informed generalisations to be made regarding the composition of his continuo group. However, given the limited evidence it seems probable that the part labelled "Basso Continuo" normally served a keyboard player and at least one bass string instrumentalist, possibly even up to two—one on either side. Contemporary iconographical evidence shows that this practice was not at all unusual.¹⁰⁸

It is clear that the music of Schwartzkopff and Pez was not considered by its composers to be 'orchestral' in nature, since the concept of an orchestra did not appear to exist in the minds of the Württemberg *Kapellmeister*.¹⁰⁹ Instead the *Hofkapelle* was viewed as a pool of multi-talented musicians, from which a wide variety of ensembles could be chosen, depending upon the function required of them.

¹⁰⁸See, for example, the drawing of the layout of the Leipzig *Gross Konzertgesellschaft* 1746–48 in the chronicle of Johann Salomon Riemer, reproduced in G. J. Buelow (ed.), *The Late Baroque Era. From the 1680s to 1740* (London, 1993), 290.

¹⁰⁹Certainly the structure of the musical establishment at the Württemberg court at this time does not correspond to the orchestra as defined by Neal Zaslaw, "When is an Orchestra not an Orchestra?" *EM* 16 (1988), 491–495.

The music composed by these two men for performance at the court blended elements of two main musical styles. French influence can be seen in their frequent use of double-reed instruments which was such an important characteristic of French 'orchestral' sound (especially doubling outer voices with these and occasionally in the typical Lullian double-reed trio texture), the doubling of the viola part, and the prominent use of the viola da gamba in works for small ensembles. Characteristic features of French musical composition are also present in their output: including the adoption of French dances, the use of the French overture form, and melodies of a subtle and stepwise nature. On the other hand, aspects of Italian musical style are exhibited in their use of Italian tempo and movement terms; frequent imitation and sequential passages; bravura and driving rhythms especially in virtuosic writing for violins; wide leaps and a wide range in the melodic lines as well as increased chromaticism, and the contrast between a *concertino* and *concerto grosso*. Overall the music of Schwartzkopff displays a greater inventiveness and is more pleasing to the ear than that of Pez, which is often rather tedious in its use of the Italianate sequence (see the *Prestissimo* movement of his *Concerto Grosso à 6* in Appendix B, with its incredibly repetitive oboe lines)—despite the fact that the latter had a reputation as a 'great' composer during his own lifetime.

Conclusion

The information contained in the 1718 inventory of musical instruments is among the most revealing with regard to the changing nature of the Württemberg *Instrumental-Musique* at this time (1718 Castenbauer, see Appendix A, pages 476-480). In addition to listing those instruments which were in either constant or occasional use, there is a third section which records "*Der jenigen Instrumenten, welche vor ohnbrauchbahr und nicht zutractiren, alß alte Sachen, dienlich seynd.*" Included are the following items:

1. *Ein Stimwercks querflöthen sauber beschlagen, in Einem foutral 7. stl:*
2. *Sechs Ragetten in Einem foutral.*
3. *Ein großer quint Pomer:*
4. *Zwey Zimlich alt und beraits geflickte Trompeten.*
5. *5. Kühhörner.*
6. *dreÿ Cornet von Elfenbein in Einem foutral;*
7. *Ein quint Fagot.*
8. *Zwey Tenor Pomer, darund Einer in Einem foutral.*
9. *Ein alter teütscher Fagot.*
10. *Ein Serpanter.*
11. *fünst Tenor Zincken.*
12. *32. Corneti muti.*
13. *10. Krumhörner.*
14. *4. Bassflöthen*
15. *2. Fagots.*
16. *2. Cornetinichen.*
17. *1. Zimbell, so Vbroch¹*

¹1718 Castenbauer; '1. A set of tranverse flutes, cleanly fitting, in a case, seven pieces; 2. Six racketts in a case; 3. A large *quint* bombard; 4. Two rather old and already mended trumpets; 5. Five cowhorns; 6. Three *Cornets* made of ivory in a case; 7. A *quint* bassoon; 8. Two tenor bombards, together in a case; 9. An old German bassoon; 10. A serpent; 11. Five

The numerous *Stimwercks* in this list is typical of the Renaissance concept of owning a consort of different sizes of like-instruments.² These included a set of transverse flutes, ten rackets, six crumhorns, a serpent, a number of bassoons, two different types of bombard³, a set of five cow-horns, and in addition to two dilapidated trumpets there remained a variety of cornetts (ivory cornetts, tenor cornetts, and an astonishing collection of thirty-two *Corneti muti*). That the Württemberg court owned virtually an entire room full of instruments which were considered to be totally useless, but had not yet been thrown away, is a striking sign of the rapidly changing times.

These outmoded instruments had only recently been replaced with a selection of totally new instruments (which are listed in the first two sections of the 1718 inventory). The newly introduced instruments were to take a regular place in the *Hofkapelle* and, in fact, were those which later formed the basis of the standard Baroque orchestra: transverse flutes, oboes, bassoons, trumpets, horns, violins, violas, cellos, double basses, and harpsichord. Somewhat remarkably Castenbauer's inventory also included the clarinet, an instrument which was not to become an

tenor Zinks; 12. Thirty-two muted cornets; 13. Ten crumhorns; 14. Four bass recorders; 15. Two bassoons; 16. Two little cornets; 17. One cymbal, broken.'

²The term *Stimwercks* implies that various sizes were available, as in many of the illustrations of Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum*—such as the nine sizes of recorder which are given the combined title of "Blockflöten/ganz Stimwerck" (recorders/full set of sizes) and three sizes of flute, "Querflöten/ganz Stimwerck" (transverse flutes/full set of sizes) Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II*, from *Sciagraphia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620), Plate 9, 115.

³A tenor and a large *quint*.. The "großer *quint Pommer*" is possibly the same as the "Groß Doppel Quint-Pommer" or perhaps the "Bass Pommer" pictured by Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II*, Plate 11, 117.

established part of the orchestra until the Classical Era, and yet had been played in the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* from as early as 1714.

Even at least as late as 1721 the musicians at Stuttgart would not have considered themselves to be an 'orchestra'; they were certainly never described as such. Yet in the period covered by this thesis we see the emergence of an orchestra at the Württemberg court. All the defining features documented by Neal Zaslaw are present.⁴ First, the Württemberg *Instrumental-Musique* was based on a balanced ensemble of bowed strings, with violins being multiplied more than the others; as we have seen (Table 8.3) Störl's 1717 plan for a *Tafel-Music* included four first and three second violins, four violas, one French bass, one *Hand Gamba*, and a violone. Taken in conjunction with the surviving music of the Friedrich Ludwig collection the 1717 plans of both Schwartzkopff and Störl suggest that a four or five-part string ensemble had become fairly standard. Similarly these sources demonstrate that at the Württemberg court large-scale works were normally performed with both a 16' register instrument (a violone) and a harpsichord or organ.⁵

Second, the *Hofkapelle* at Württemberg was an established ensemble with a clear leadership and hierarchical structure, ranging from the *Oberkapellmeister* down to the *Kalkant*. A certain amount of orchestral discipline was also a feature of the Württemberg *Instrumental-Musique*

⁴Neal Zaslaw, "When is an Orchestra not an Orchestra?" *EM* 16 (1988), 491-495.

⁵In fact, two comments taken from his 1717 *Lista* demonstrate that Pez considered the violone to be an instrument of some importance: firstly when writing of Aegidius Mühlhäuser he noted that the violone was the fundament of a musical performance and secondly he claimed that the violone-playing of the organist Seidel was so good that he was sought after by other courts for this very reason.

at this time—with Pez specifically mentioning that the musicians under his direction who played stringed instruments did so "mit sauberen französischen Zug so net und *unit:te* zusammen, das ich ein *Music* in ganzem Römhl: Reich mir getraue heraus zufordern, seye möchte noch 5: mahl so starkh sein, die es der Unserigen beuor thuen solte."⁶ His reference to the possible range of size in such ensembles shows that he is thinking in orchestral terms.

While the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* never reached the size and virtuosity of, say that at the Imperial court in Vienna it is of exceptional interest given that the rich archival material is complemented by the survival of a substantial part of the court music collection.⁷ Through the combination of these elements we can establish with some precision exactly the kind of ensemble for which Schwartzkopff and Pez wrote their Italianate concerti. The makeup, artistic priorities, and standards of few early baroque orchestras can be so well documented.

For these reasons, this dissertation is substantially a case study in the early history of the orchestra. But the interest of the Württemberg material extends even further. It illuminates a number of other important changes taking place in early eighteenth-century Europe, both vocal and instrumental.

⁶1714 Pez *Lista*; 'with clean French characteristics so nicely and unitedly together, that I dare to challenge any musical establishment in the Roman Empire, should they be five times the size of us, to be better than us.'

⁷See Eleanor Selfridge-Field, "The Viennese court orchestra in the time of Caldara" in *Antonio Caldara: Essays on his life and times*, ed. B. Pritchard (Aldershot, 1987), 115-151.

The confusion which arose as the result of the twenty year separation of Duke Eberhard Ludwig from his wife Johanna Elisabetha and the ensuing division of the Württemberg court between residences in Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg, combined with the employment of growing numbers of foreign Catholic musicians (who frequently failed to attend the Protestant *Kirchen-Music* performances) hastened the disintegration of the traditional relationship between the Stuttgart church council and the court musicians (despite the fact that the church council continued to pay the larger part of the musician's wages). In addition, the presence of adherents to three different religious denominations within the royal family itself served to weaken further the importance of the performance of sacred music, perhaps even more so than in other parts of Germany. In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that secular instrumental music became gradually more important than church music—and we see the disintegration of a centuries-old musical establishment some years before this development occurred elsewhere in Germany and decades before the Josephine reforms precipitated their virtual demise in Austria.

The replacement of the *Kapellknaben* with female singers towards the end of the seventeenth century, was the direct result of the integration of sacred and secular activities, as the distinction between these two functions became blurred.⁸ In 1698 the Frenchwoman Magdalena Sibylla von Bex was the first female virtuoso soprano to be appointed, with the

⁸Ellen T. Harris, 'Voices', in *The New Grove Performance Practice Handbook. Music after 1600* (London, 1989), 115, notes that women rarely sang in sacred choirs during the Baroque era, but that "French opera contained real choruses, as opposed to solo ensembles, and in 1713 the opera chorus at the Royal Academy of Music included 22 men and 12 women; this is one of the clearest instances of the existence of female choristers during the Baroque, and it is not surprising that it occurs in secular dramatic music."

astoundingly high salary of 500 *Gulden*. Thereafter the number of women vocalists in Württemberg employment steadily grew and, furthermore, girls began to number among the court *Kapellknaben*. However, the acceptance of female sopranos also brought about the demise of the choirboys. By 1717 all that was left were two boys with already broken voices, who were used for copying and carrying music, playing a variety of instruments when required by the *Hofkapelle*, and singing alongside adult tenors and basses for church music performances.

Another important change which can be observed after the turn of the century was that which occurred in the structure of the *Hautboisten Banden*. This group was altered to include horns (and later other instruments)⁹—an expansion which surely then led to the development of the *Harmoniemusik* ensemble, despite the assumption of Roger Hellyer and others that the oboe band was primarily a military group and therefore unrelated to the development of *Harmonien*. As we have seen, the Württemberg court oboe band was—during peacetime at least—first and foremost a courtly ensemble.¹⁰

Apart from the central musical issues reviewed in this chapter, this dissertation has hopefully thrown some light on the daily lives and social position of eighteenth-century musicians. It stops in 1721—but only as a way of bringing it within a manageable length. The Hauptstaatsarchiv

⁹In fact, it came to be referred to as "die *Bande* Württemberg: *hautboisten und Waldhornisten*" (the Württemberg band of *Hautboisten* and horn-players), D-Sa A21 Büschel 617, 24 November 1735, letter of Stuttgart municipal musician Erhardt Eberlen.

¹⁰See Roger Hellyer, '*Harmoniemusik: music for small wind band in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century* (diss., University of Oxford, 1973), 43-53. I am currently writing an article on the evolution of *Harmonien* from *Hautboisten Banden*.

Stuttgart has much to tell us about Giuseppe Brescianello's chequered career as *Oberkapellmeister* which began in 1721. His term saw not only a sizeable increase in the number of musicians employed and the accession of a Catholic monarch, but also the appointment of an aristocratic *Obermusikdirektor* whose role in the administration of the *Hofkapelle* needs to be clarified through an investigation of the relevant *Staat und Ordnungen*. But that, as they say, will be revealed in the next enthralling episode.

Appendix A

Transcribed Documents from the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart

Nature of *Naturalien*

Unlike later *Verzeichnisse* those from 1684 and 1699 both include information regarding the nature and quantity of payments 'in-kind' (*Naturalien*), that were awarded yearly to the musicians in addition to money. The average *Hofmusicus* in 1684 received approximately four bushels of rye, eighteen bushels of buckwheat, and between three-six *Eimer* of wine. Out of the twenty-three musicians, ten men also received eight and three men four fathom cords of firewood, and all thirteen received four *Gulden* for "Lichtergelt" (light-money). Furthermore the trumpeter, Johann Bertram, also received one *Eimer* of "Schlaftrunk" (sleeping draught), as did the *Kapellmeister*.

It is only natural that J. F. Magg, as *Kapellmeister*, received a greater variety of payments-in-kind than ordinary *Hofmusici*, he was given a cartload of straw, four bushels of oats, sixteen fathom cords of wood and three hundred bundles of brushwood/fagots—although these last two items were specifically intended for the use of the *Kapelle*, presumably heating for rehearsals. Interestingly the entry for the Frenchman La Rose stated only that he "Hat neben d Cost bei Hof Gelt 130 G[ulden]." ¹ The situation was much the same in 1699, with only the *Kapellmeister* and the ten *Knaben* receiving any oats. Magdalena Sibylla von Bex was an

¹1684 *Specificatio*, 'had alongside the cost of being at court, money worth 130 *Gulden*.'

exception to the rule, her 500 *Gulden* salary standing alone with no other payments of any kind.

Similar payments-in-kind were given to servants at other courts at the time. In 1707 when Bach was offered the position of organist at the church of St. Blasius in Mühlhausen he requested

85 gfl so Er zur Arnstadt hette
 Und das *Deputat* Herrn Ahlen² alß.
 3 mltr Korn
 2 l. Holtz 1 buchenen und 1 ander
 6 sch. reißig an statt des ackers, vor die thür geführet³

In comparison Bach's expectations match the variety of J. F. Magg's salary quite well, with only the absence of wine and extra money for candles outstanding. Several decades later the musicians at the Esterházy court enjoyed a much wider variety of *Naturalien*. According to a *Conventionale* of 1760 the violinist Adam Sturm received:

cash annually	50 f.[lorins]
Lodging money	12 f.
Wheat	4 Mezen
Corn	12 "
Lentils, barley <i>et</i> millet-pap	1/4 "
Beef	300 lb.
Salt	40 "
Lard	30 "
Candles	30 "

²The recently deceased organist Johann Georg Ahle (1651-1706).

³W. Neumann and H.-J. Schulze (eds.), *Bach-Dokumente II* (Kassel, 1969), 23, 14 June 1707, '85 gulden, which he received at Arnstadt, and the emoluments in kind as received by Mr. Ahle, to wit: 54 bushels of grain, 2 cords of wood, 1 beech and 1 other, 6 times threescore fagots, in place of the acreage. Delivered to the door', trans. H. T. David and A. C. Mendel, *The Bach Reader* (London, 1966), 54.

Wine <i>Eisenstädter Hämb</i>	9 Eimer
Cabbage and beets each	1/2 "
Pig	1
Firewood	6 fathom cords. ⁴

Glossary of *Naturalien*

Rockhen—rye

Habern—oats

Dinckhel—buckwheat

Lichtergelt—light-money

Schlaftrunk—sleeping draught

Reisig—brushwood, fagots

Wein—wine

Holz/Brennholz—firewood

Clafft—fathom cord

Aimer—liquid measure keg

G.—*Gulden*

Scheffel—bushel

Stroh—straw

Fuder—cartload

⁴H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Early Years* (Bloomington, 1980), 319.

i. 1684 *Specificatio*
(D-Sa A21 *Büschel* 607)

1684. *Specificatio*. Der gesambten Hoff-Musicorum Besoldung.
Collt:

[Page 2]

Specificatio.

Der Gesambten Hof *Musicorum* Besoldung.

Capellmeister Johann Friderich Maggen.

deßen jezmalige besoldung bestehet in

Geltt . . . 200 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 4 scfl.

Habern . . . 4 scfl.

Wein . . . 6 Äyl:

Schlafrunck . . . 1 Äyl:

Holz . . . 8 Clafft.

Stroh . . . 1 fued.

Ferners wegen *Capell*.

Holz . . . 16 Clafft.

Reyßech . . . 300 beschel.

Und von einen *Capell-Knaben*.

Geltt . . . 40 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 srj

Habern . . . 6 erj.

Dinckhel . . . 4 scfl. 4 srj.

Wein . . . 1 Äyl 2 jrjn.

Hat als ein *Bassist* bereits genoßen.

Geltt . . . 177 G.

Liechtergeltt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 5 äyl.
 Holz . . . 8 Clafft
 Und alß Er zur einen V Capellmeister *in anno*
 1666 angenommen
 Ist ihme *attirt* worden . . . 23 G.
 Habern . . . 4 scfl.
 Wein . . . 1 äyl.
 Beÿ der in *anno*. 1674 mit der Hof *Music* vorgenomener verenderung
 aber, wurde solch wieder *reduciert*, auf
 Geltt . . . 175 G.
 Liechtergeltt . . . 4 G.
 Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.
 Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.
 Habern . . . 4 scfl.
 Wein . . . 6 äyl
 Holz zuer Besoldung.
 . . . 4 Clafft.
 und vor die Capell . . . 8 [Clafft]

[Page 3]

V Capellmeister Albrecht Kreß Besoldung.
 Jezmahlig.
 Geltt . . . 152 G.
 Liechtergelt . . . 4 G..
 Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.
 Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.
 Wein . . . 6 äyl.
 Holz . . . 8 Clafft.
 Und wan Er ein Capell-Knaben in d. Cost und *Information* hat, hat Er
 gleich Costgelt wie der Cappellmeister zurerheben, zu fruchten, an geld
 aber vor Jeden . . . 34 G.
 Ferner hat Kreß *pro compositione* darumben Er jürlich einkomen solle . .
 . 25 G.
 Hat Ersteichen empfang,
 Geltt . . . 100 G.
 Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 3 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 12 scfl.

Wein . . . 3 Äyl.

Holz . . . 4 Clafft.

Ist aber *anno*. 1660 erhöht worden, auf

Gelt . . . 118 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 13 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 Äyl.

Holz . . . 4 Clafft.

darzue ihme ferners in *anno*. 1668 *addirt*.

Geltt . . . 18 G.

Dinckhel . . . 2 scfl.

Holz . . . 2 Clafft.

den 16. *octob*. 1664 aber ist ihme zuer Besoldung gesetzt worden.

Geltt . . . 152 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen..4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 5 äyl.

Holz . . . 8 Clafft.

[Page 4]

Vice Capellmeister Albrecht Kreßen.

Und den 29. *augl*: 1672 hierzue empferners *addirt* . . . 1 äyl: wein beÿ der in *anno*: 1674. mit der Hof Capell vorgenomener Enderung wurde Ihme gleich andern nur

Geltt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl:

verordnet gleich darauf aber den 23. *9bris* 1675 wegen seiner *Musical*:

composition biß zur anderwertiger verordnung . . . 20 G. und wein . . . 1 äyl. *addirt*, welche aber vermög *decreti*, den. 29. *10bris*. *anno* 1676 wieder gefallen, ihme aber hingegen wie der die in *Anno* 1669 bereits ihme

geschöpfte besoldung völlig geraicht worden, worzue Er uf [sic.] *Simonis-
et Jud*: 1678 wegen d. *composition* . . . 20 G.

den 7 April 1681 aber . . . 25 G. alß ein *gratiale* zueraichen erlangt.

[Page 5]

Johann Bolch, Trompeter.

Jeziges *Salarium*.

Geltt . . . 150 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 5 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 19 scfl.

Wein . . . 6 Äyl.

Brenholz . . . 8 Clafft.

Georg Mur.

Geltt . . . 150 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 5 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 19 scfl.

Wein..6 äyl.

Brenholz . . . 8 Clafft.

Anno 1668 wurde Er angenommen, und zuer Besoldung ihm verordnet

Geltt . . . 100 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 12 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Brenholz . . . 4 Clafft.

auf Liechtmaß 1673 wurde solche erhöht, auf

Geltt . . . 152 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 18 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 5 äyl.

Holz . . . 8 Clafft.

Gleich *anno*. 1674 aber wird *reducirt*, auf

Gelt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

[Page 6]

Georg Mur.

Anno 1676 hierauf attirt.

Gelt . . . 12 G.

Wein . . . 1 äyl.

Holz . . . 8 Clafft.

In *ano*.*[sic.]* 1678 aber jezige besoldung geschöpft.

Jezmalige Besold: Hanß *Conrad Schukard*.

Geltt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Hat zwar anfänglich nur Järlich an Besoldung gehabt.

Geltt . . . 118 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen..4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 13 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

In *anno*. 1682 aber wurde ihme jezige Besoldung verordnet.

[Page 7]

Johann Bertram, Trompeter.

Dißmahlig *Salarium*.

Gelt . . . 136 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 3 äyl.

Schlafrunck . . . 1 äyl.

Brenholz . . . 6 Clafft.

War im Anfang, den 30 *Maij* anno 1657.

Gelt . . . 157 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 14 scfl.

Wein . . . 3 ayl.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Und den 15 April 1672 *addirt*.

Gelt . . . 18 G.

Dinckhel . . . 4 scfl.

Holz . . . 2 Clafft.

Johann Michael *Nicolaj*.

Gelt . . . 152 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 5 ayl.

Hölz . . . 8 Clafft.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Beÿ der in anno. 1674 mit der Hof Capell vorgenomener *reduction*,
wurde zwar ihme nur verordnet,

Geltt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 ayl.

den 10 Febrl: anno. 1682

aber, wieder jezige besoldung geschöpft.

[Page 8]

Paul Krefß.

Jezmalige Besoldung.

Gelt . . . 152 G.

Roggen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 5 ayl.

Hölz . . . 8 Clafft.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Anfanglich 1660 war seine Besoldung

Gelt . . . 100 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Wein . . . 3 ayl.

Dinckhel . . . 12 scfl.

Rockhen . . . 3 scfl.

Holz . . . 4 Clafft.

darzu den 27 *augl.* 1662 *addition addirt.*

Gelt . . . 16 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 srj

Dinckhel . . . 3 scfl.

Holz . . . 3 Clafft.

den 26 *octobl.* 1669 bekam er zwar die jezmilige besoldung, wurde aber *anno* 1674 *reducirt* auf

Gelt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 ayl.

den 2 *Junij anno* 1676 ist ihme zue jährlichen *gratiale* 20 G. geschöpfft worden, biß Er *anno*. 1680 wird die dißmalig besoldung erlangt.

[Page 9]

Christian Kloz.

Jezige Besoldung.

Gelt . . . 152 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 5 ayl.

Holz . . . 8 Clafft.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Hat bei *reception* seiner zuer Hof Capell gehabt, Jahrs besoldung

Gelt . . . 100 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 12 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 ayl.

Holz . . . 4 Clafft.

Von *Martini* biß *Georgij* 1671 aber

Gelt . . . 136 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 14 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 ayl.

Holz . . . 6 Clafft.

Von *Georgij anno* 1671 biß 1674 erhielt er, die jezmal wied.

empfangende besoldung, bei der *reduction* aber

Gelt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 ayl.

Von *anno*. 1676 an würde ihme hierauf alß ein *gratiale* jährlich 20 G.

geraicht, biß auff 1682 da ihme jezige besoldung wieder geraicht wird.

[Page 10]

Philipp Dockh.

Empfahet Jezund Järlich.

Gelt . . . 152 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18scfl.

Wein . . . 4 ayl.

Holz . . . 8 Clafft.

Anfangs aber

Gelt . . . 100 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 12 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 ayl.

Holz . . . 4 Clafft.

Ao. 1671 erhöht auff

Geltt . . . 118 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 13 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Holz . . . 4 Clafft.

So ihme auch bei *reduction* 1674 verbleiben, biß ihme den 22 9bris 1675
ferner verordnet worden,

Gelt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Und anno. 1681 vollend
dise jezmalige besoldung.

[Page 11]

Andreas Fischer.

Besoldung:

Gelt . . . 152 G.

Liechtergelt..4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Anno 1679 befunde sie in

Gelt . . . 118 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 13 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

den 2 *Junij anno* 1680 ist aber jezige besoldung gdst: Bewilligt worden.

Johann Frohmaÿer.

Gelt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl:

Anfangs anno. 1675 wurde ihme verordnet.

Geltt . . . 100 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 12 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Anno 1674 aber hieübstehende besoldung.

[Page 12]

Theodorus Schwartzkopf.

Besoldung.

Gelt . . . 140 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Holz . . . 8 Clafft.

Ist ihme zwar Erstlich nur zuem *Salario* geschöpft worden.

Gelt . . . 76 G.

Liechtergelt . . . 2 G.

Rockhen . . . 2 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 9 scfl.

Wein . . . 3 äyl:

gleich aber darauff den 3 *Julij anno* 1682 die gdste: *resolution* erfolgt, die hieübstehende besoldung ihme wiederfahren zuelaßen.

Johann Christoph Stierlin.

Gelt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl:

Ist zwar in *anno*. 1674 gänzlich seines diensts erlaßen, darauf aber wird *recipirt*, und ihme diße besoldung von Steuern geschöpft worden.

[Page 13]

Eberhard Jäger, *Organist*.

Gelt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

In anno. 1680 zu solchen dienst in diser besoldung angenommen worden.

Johann Caspar Hopf.

Gelt . . . 75 G.

Rockhen . . . 3 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 12 scfl.

Wein . . . 3 äyl:

Hat zwar von anno 1671 biß anno 1674 jürlich empfangen.

Gelt . . . 100 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 12 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Holz . . . 4 Clafft.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

Ao. 1674 aber seines diensts erlaßen und anno. 1678 er erst wird in der
Jezigen besoldung wiederumb angenommen worden.

[Page 14]

Georg Pul, Herpauckhen.

Gelt . . . 40 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 14 scfl.

Wein . . . 3 äyl. 15 srj.

Rinsal.

Geltt . . . 100 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 15 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Holz . . . 4 Clafft.

Anno 1683 d. 3 Julij also gdst: *resolvirt*.

Daniel Rousselin, Trompeter.

Ist dem *Rinsal* durch aus gleich, auch in solcher Hochfrstl: *resolution* den
3 Julij 1683 begrift.

[Page 15]

Hanß Michel Weiß, Trompeter.

Gelt . . . 30 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 15 scfl.

Wein . . . 3 äyl.

Holz . . . 4 Clafft.

Vermög *Resolution* den 11 *augl.* 1683.

Nicolaus Leonhard Steiner.

Gelt . . . 140 G.

Rockhen . . . 4 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 18 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

Holz . . . 8 Clafft.

Liechtergelt . . . 4 G.

den 1 *Julij anno* 1683.

Föelix Friderich Magg.

Gelt . . . 100 G.

Rockhen . . . 3 scfl.

Dinckhel . . . 12 scfl.

Wein . . . 4 äyl.

den 31 *Martij anno* 1683.

[Page 15]

Französl: *Bassist La Ros.*

Hat neben d. Cost bei Hof.

Gelt . . . 130 G.

Vermög *Decreti* d. 31 *octobl.* 1683.

ii. 1692 Schwartzkopff *Staat und Ordnung*

(D-Sa A21 Büschel 612).

Staat und Ordnung

Deßen sich der Jetzige Cappelmeister *Theodorus Schwartzkopff* seinem Ambt und Dienst verhalten solle.

Erstlich solle unß Derselbe getreü und Hold, auch gehorsamb und gewerttig sein, Unsern nützen schaffen, schaden warnen und wenden, von Unser [?] auf Unsern Landhofmeister, oder Seinen abwesenheit auf der Hoff Marschallen, Hauß Hoffmeister, Burg Vogt, *Directoren* und Kürchenrätthe, alß von Unß verordnete *Superintendenten* Unserer Cappel, ein fleißiges auffsehen haben, und in all[?] Unserer Cappel Ordnung, auch Befelchen, die wür Verordnet, gegeben, und füran Jederzeitlich Unserer Cappel und seines *Officij* halber verordnen und geben werden, wie füran getreüen, redlichen diener geziembt und gebührt, sich erzaigen und verhalten.

Zuem Andern, Gleich wie Er selbst mit einem erbarn, aufrichtigen Wandel und Christlichen Leben, der Jugendt und gantzer Cappel Vor [Page 2] zuestehen sich Befleißen würdt, also solle Er auch seinen getreüe *superattendent* ins Gemein auf die Cappelverwandte haben, daß Ihr jeder seinen Befehlen treülichen nachsetzen Ein ehrlich Leben und Wandel führe die auch an statt Unser auff Ihnen sehen, und seinen Befelchen und Gehaiß, die *Music* und Cappel betreffendt, gehorsamen sollen.

Zumaßen, dann zum Dritten, allen und Jeden, Unseren Cappelverwandten zuerwißen, daß Er *Theodorus Schwartzkopff* von Unß der Cappel und gantzer *Music* zu Einem Cappelmeister vorgesetzt worden, darumben Sie Ihme auch seines tragenden Ambt gebührlich *respectiren*, Er aber auf die sambtliche Hoff *Musicos* seine getreüe aufsicht tragen, Und sonderlich dieselbe erinnern solle, daß Sie sich eines wohlständigen Erbarn Lebens und wandels befleißigen, und aller ohnrühmlicher Händel, Beuvorab des Zuevihlen Zechens,

Umblauffens, Spihlens und anderer *exorbitantien* allerdings mäßig gehen sollen.

Zum Viedrten, solle Er Cappellmeister die Ihme anvertraute [Page 3] Cappel Knaben mit gueter *disciplin* allßo in Obacht nehmen, daß Sie sittsamb und höflich auferzogen, und in der *Music* alles Bestes fleißes *instruirt*, [?] der Cost gegen dem Ververordneten [*sic.*] Costgeltt, mit dem Eßen nothdürftiglich und wohlgekocht gehalten, und zur anderer Haußarbait, so Ihnen an Ihren *studijs* und *exercitijs* hinderlich, nicht gebraucht, auch da Einer von Ihnen Umb Boßheit oder Verfleiß sträfflich befunden würde, mit gebührender Beschaidenheit abgestrafft werden.

Fünfftens, solle Er Vorsehen, daß Ihr feder und Bettgewandt (wann selbiges dem deßwegen erheilten Befelch gemäl *reparirt*) auch Leinwath, wie die Ihme mit Einem *Inventario* verzeichnet, Zuegestalt, mit Betten, waschen, und in andere wohl erhalten und ohnverändert gelaßen werden, und was daran zerschließen, die alte stückh, gegen empfähung der neuen, Bühren, und das *Inventarium* damit ergänzen laßen.

Sechstens, wann Er Cappellmeister [Page 4] eine nothdürfft zue sein erachten würdt, einge Cappel Knaben anzunehmen, solle Er Unß oder Unserer Räthen deßen zu [?] Berichten, ingleichen so bald ein Knab anfang *mutiren*, solches anzaigen, damit Er sich ein Jugend und *captu* nach eintweders beÿ Unseren *Theologischen* Schulen selbiger Ordnung nach zu seinem ferneren *progressu*, von Unß Bedacht, oder beÿ Unserer Cappel *Music*, wann dieselbig wegen Verhoffend anderer guter stimmen, oder erlernten *Instrumenten*, tüchtig, *accomodirt*, oder sonsten der gelegenheit nach, wie sich gebührt, abgefertiget, und ein anderer beÿ Zeithen, an sein statt verordnet werden möge.

Wie Er dan auch zum Siebenden alles Ernsts darob halten solle, daß die Jenige welche neben Ihren *ordinari Exercitijs* in der *Vocal music*, auß Unser Beraits gethanen absonderlichen gnädigsten Bewilligung Ein oder ander *Instrument* zuerlernen haben, die darzue bestimbtzen zeith und stunden fleißig *observiren*, und zue erlernung derselben *Instruments*,

[Page 5] nicht aber Umbvagiren und mäßigung anlegen, damit die darauff wendende Uncosten nicht Umbsonst außgelegt werden.

Zum Achten, sein aufmerkhen haben, Und Verordnen, daß dem Cappel Jungen Ihre Klaidlein, auf erachtenden nothfall richtig gemacht und gegeben werden, und die zue Ihrer nothdurfft zuegebrauchen aufheben, nicht aber vermertzlen, oder Unnützlich darmit umbgehen laßen.

Zum Neündten, die *Instrumentisten* sollen ins gesambt hinfüro nicht weniger, allß die *Vocalisten* dem Cappelmeister in allem, was die *Music* belanget, es seÿ in der Cappel, vor der Tafel, oder so [?] sonsten vor Ihme erfordert werden gebührlichen gehormsamb laisten, bevorab auf Jedes erfordern, sich beÿ dem *probiren* und *Musicalischen Exercitijs* fleißig und auf die bestimpte Zeith einfinden, insonderheit aufsicht haben, daß Jedesmahls in der Cappel das *choralgesang* durch die wohlbestimbtten *Vocalisten* ordenlich und wohl lauttend, mit denen darzu gehörig Knaben geführet werden mögen. [Page 6]

Zum Zehenden, solle Er auch zue zeithen, und so oft Ers {sic.} nothdürfftig zuesein erachten würdt, *ordinarie* aber wochentlich dreÿmahl, alle Cappelverwandten, und sonderlich die *Instrumentisten* in sein Hauß zusammen berueffen laßen, dieselbe in denen Vorhandenen Kirchen: und Tafel Stuckhen üben, und dergestalten *exerciren*, daß Sie in der Cappel, vor der Tafel, und sonsten Jederzeit wohlgeübt und Bericht erscheinen, auch gewißlich und ohne fehlen zuegegen seÿen, und Jeder seine Tüchtige gebührlich vertreten.

Zum Eilfften, wan Er beÿ Einem oder mehr deßhalben einigen ohngehorsamb, mangel oder fehl erfahren oder befinden würde, daßelbig allßbald Unsern *Directori* und Kirchenräthen und so was etwa hochsträffliches Unseren Land Hoffmeister, Hauß Hoffmeister, oder Burg Vogten, anzaigen, Und deßen niemand verschonen, damit von Unsertwegen, ein gebührliches einsehen geschehen möge.

Zwölfften, auch Unserer Ordnung nach, mit denen Knaben, Und Cappelverwandten von derselben [Page 7] gebührend Alß gesetzten zeith,

in Unserer Cappel erscheinen, Und alda Ihres Diensts und Singens mit treuen fleiß aufwartten, und die Jenige, so zur statt komen, oder gar außbleiben, verzaichen, Und deßen Unß Berichten, dargegen Unserer Ordnung nach die gebührliche Straf haben vor zuenehmen.

Zum Dreyzehenden, Und nachdem Ihme nicht allein alle *partes*, so Er auß Inserter Cappel gegen Einem *Inventario* zu Jetziger *Music* taugenlich erachten würdt, sondern auch die Jenige stückhe, und *compositiones*, welche Unser verstorbener Cappelmeister, *Samuel Fridrich Capricornus*, hinderlaßen, und von deßen wittiben zur Unserer Cappel erhandelt, neben denen darzu gehörigen *Partituren*, zu seinen handen gegeben werden; Zumahlen gnädigst erlaubt, daß von denen besten und tauglichsten, so wohl *Italianisch*, allß andern neüen *authoribus* Jährlich etwas erkaufft, oder von anderen Orthen frembd und neüe *Compositiones* erworben werden; So solle Er dieselbe von Unsert [Page 8] wegen seinen Underthänigst: schuldigster und von Unß Verpflichten Diensten nach, biß zue seiner abstehung, und auf so begebenden ander erstattung, in gueter verwaltung haben, darüber Ein ordentliche Beschreibung in *duplo* verfertigen, und deren Ein *Exemplar* in die *Visitations Registratur* lüfern, das andere ader beÿ handen behalten, selbigens auch alle neü erworbene *Compositiones* und Stückhe, so dann die Jenige *Authores*, welche neü erkaufft werden, wie nicht weniger alle Stückh, welche von des verstorbenen Cappelmeisters *composition* etwan verändert, und mit andern *Texten* belegt, wie auch die Er selbst *componirt*, jedesmahl fleißig bezaichen und ein verleiben, darvon niemand wer der auch seÿe, ohne sonder unser erlaubnus und außen [?] geben oder abnotiren laßen, es were [*sic.*] dan, daß dardurch andere gute frembde Stuckh, wepelweiß [*sic.*] erhalten, und zur handen gebracht würden, warzur aber nicht die beste und vornembste, sondern allein die jenige, welche beÿ [Page 9] Unßerer Cappel gemein worden, und eraltet, zuegerauchen sein.

Zum Vierzehenden, da sich auch in Zeith seines diensts, zwischen Unß oder Unsern zuegehörigen Und Ihme Irrung und Spän zuetragen würden, vor Unseren Landhoffmeister, *Consistorial*: Ober Und

Kürchenrath, oder wohin von Unß Er jederzeit Beschaiden würdt, Recht geben und nemmen, und sich derselben entschidts [*sic.*] ohne fernerer Verwaigerung und, *appelliren*, sättigen und bemüegen [*sic.*] laßen, darzue auch ohne Unser voraußen und erlauben, in keine anderer dienst begeben, und da Er gleich erlaubnus erlangte, sich Unsers Hertzogthumbs und Obrigkeit mit enteüßtern, es seÿe dan Nämiglich von Ihme der gebühr nach bezahlt und zuefriden gestalt, ohne gefährde.

[?] dann, selbe Er so lang Er die Cappelmeistereÿ tragen würdt, anstatt der bißhero gehabt: fürauß zue Einer Jährlichen besoldung haben, [?] namentlich an [Page 10]

Gelltt Sold	Zweÿhundert gulden.
Liechtergeltt	Vier gulden
Rockhen	Vier Schöffel
Dinckhel	Achtzehen: Schöffel
Habern	Vier Schöffel
Wein	Sechs Aÿmer
und	
Holtz	Acht Claffter.

Geschehen und geben zu Stuttgart Unter Unserem hiefürgetruckhten Fürstl: *Decret* Insigel dem 16.^{tn} Monatstag *Februarj*, Anno Ein Taußendt, Sechshundert, Neünzig und Zweÿ.

iii. 1699 Verzeichnis
(D-Sa A21 Büschel 607).

1686

Verzeichnüß.

Dass dermahlen dem Gaistlichen Gueth, auff nachgesetzte Musicalische Bediente an Besoldung und zwar jedem *in Specie* ausgefolgt würdt wabei *annectirt* zusehen, was Ein oder Andern auch wegen *Sustentation* der Cappell

Cappellmeister Vor sich.

Gellt. 300: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 2: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 26: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Wein. Äyl: 7: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Vor *Information* der Capellknaben.

Gellt. 38: G.

auff .7: Capellknaben.

Gellt. 260: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 3: Sy: 4:

Dinckel. Schfl: 31: Sy: 4:

Habern. Schfl: 5: Sy: 2:

Wein. Äyl: 7: Irn: 14:

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Johann Bolch.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Christian Klotz.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Johann Fromäyer.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Andreas Fischer.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Johann Balthasar Leichtl:

Gellt. 40: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 15: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 3: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Daniel Rußlin.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Johann Philipp Beckerhenn.
Gellt. 144: G:
Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Johann Elias Zimmermann.
Gellt. 144: G:
Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Johann Georg Horn.
Gellt. 144: G:
Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Georg Melchior Fenchel.
Gellt. 154: G:
Rocken. Schfl: 5: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 19: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 6: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Zu Subsistentz eines Knaben.

Gellt. 34: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4 [crossed out]: Sy: 4

Dinckel. Schfl: 4: Sy: 4

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: 6

Wein. Äyl: 1: Irn: 2:

Holtz. Claffter. 0.

Jeremias Christian Reüsing, Heer bauckern.

Gellt. 40: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 14: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: 15:

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Georg Christoph Hildebrandt.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 16: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:"

[Page 2]

Georg Michael Schwarzkopff vor sich.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

auff 2: Hautboisten jungen.

Gellt. 68: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 1: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 9: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: 1: Sy: 4:
Wein. Äyl: 2: Irn: 4:
Holtz. Claffter. 0:

Johann Casimir Gundel.

Gellt. 144: G:
Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Johann Georg Schmidbaur.

Gellt. 144: G:
Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 21: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 5: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 10:

Johann Eberhardt Hildenbrandt.

Gellt. 144: G:
Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Christoph Reinhardt Schwartzkopff.

Gellt. 144: G:
Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Agidio Mühlhausen.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Georg Matthas Gauger.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Georg Christian Störrl:

Gellt. 126: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 13: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 5:

Remigio Francisco La Rose.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Ernst Anßfeldern.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Joh: Antonio Dorern, und deßen ältisten Sohn

Gellt. 432: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 8: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 36: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 8: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 14:

dessen beeden Jungern Söhnen aber Capell=
knaben *Tractament*.

Gellt. [included in above amount 432: G:]

Rocken. Schfl: 1: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 9: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 2: Irn: 4:
Holtz. Claffter. 0:

Philipp Satzgern.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 4: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

dem Orgelmacher.

Gellt. 20: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 2: Sy: "
Dinckel. Schfl: 10: Sy: "
Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 1: Irn: 8:
Holtz. Claffter. 0.

dem Calcanten.

Gellt. 13: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 2: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 8: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 1: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 0.

Magdalena Sýbilla von Bex.

Gellt. 500: G:

Rocken. Schfl: -

Dinckel. Schfl: -

Habern. -

Wein. -

Holtz. Claffter. 0.

Johann Rudolph Vischer.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 2: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Christian Herbst.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 2: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -

Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .

Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Michaël Reiff.

Gellt. 144: G:

Rocken. Schfl: 2: Sy: "

Dinckel. Schfl: 18: Sy: "

Habern. Schfl: - Sy: -
Wein. Äyl: 4: Irn: .
Holtz. Claffter. 7:

Summa: Gellt 5193: G:
Rocken 119: Schl.
Dinckel 592:
Habern 11:-4
Wein 137:=15:
Holtz 211:Cl:"

iv. 1703 Störl, Comments on his *Staat und Ordnung*
(D-Sa A21 Büschel 612).

This document features two distinct of hands, firstly that of Störl, and secondly the often nearly illegible hand of an anonymous official (writing later on behalf of himself and three other signatories) represented in this transcription by the use of a smaller font size.

1703

Weilen in dem mir gdst eingereichten Staat, einige *puncten*, welche mir schwer fallen wollen einzugehen enthalten, also habe ich darüber mit gdster Erlaubnus vorhero folgende Untste anerinnerung thun sollen, ob darin noch gdstem Belieben, einige änderung vorgenommen werden möchte.

Zum 3^{ten} puncten, dem Ober Capellmeister *Cusser* auch dem Capellmeister Schwartzkopffen wird nicht *weniger alß mir obligen, der hochfstl. Verordnung geneeß abweplungs weis die *Music* in Fürstl.ⁿ Hoff Capell auffzuführen, und was die *harmonie* unter uns, alß den *respect* beÿ denen untergegebenen zu erhalten dienlich, gebührend zu beobachten; Solte aber etwas wichtiges fürfallen, So werde vorderist an die hochfürstl. herrn Rätthe und hohe vorgesetzte mich halten, denen selben solches münd: oder schriftlich gebührend hinderbringen, umb die *remedur* darüber haben vor zu stehen.

*dergleichen *passage* komt auch in dem übrig Cappell M Staad.

Zum 5.^{ten} et 6.^{ten} Halte ich die *Comunication* mit dem Ober: und andern Capellmeister wegen der Capell-Knaben, wie Sie wohl zu *educiren*, und zu *informiren* pp. Vor unnöthig, weilen die lebendige [Page 2] *Exempla* zu gegen stehen, daß Sie sehr wenig weder zu Schulen, Rechnen, *Instrumental Music* **oder andern wißenschafften angehalten, sondern mehr versaumt alß befördert worden, dahero ich die jenige Knaben, so mir irgend Gftst anvertraut werden möchten, solcher gestallten zu *tractiren* und *informiren* wißen werde, daß gdste herrschafft ein Gdstes *Contentement* an ihren *progressen* und untst leistenden diensten, Sie

keine erhebliche klage zu führen, hingegen ihren eigenen Nutzen spühren, und mir einist darvor zu dancken haben werden;

**Man wüst wohl daß der staten dermahlen in der Cappel Comiscten, dise ohnordnung aber kenne eine gute ordnung nicht auffhaben, eß Sie Ihnen an vertrautte Knaben lrtl. lehman das vertrau zu thun d. fes wohl beobesl werden. Daß aber die beÿ anden lrtl. hrtt E zu Einen wann E von abnehme so zuverlässen und wan erstlich beÿ welchen Sie seind hiernach beÿ d holen in staat.

9^{tens} Bin ich gar wohl zu frieden, daß ich von meiner eigenen *Composition* mit neuen Kirchen; und Tafel stucken, auch *opern* Gdste Herrschafft Untst bedienen, und dieße hochfrstl. Capell gegen andern frembden in mehrere *renommée* zu setzen verholffen seÿn ***solle, deme werde ich auch nach eußeristen vermögen nachkomen, anbeÿ aber untst hoffen will, man werde solches nicht allein von mir, sondern auch von dem Ober Capellmeister *Cusser* und Capellmeister Schwartzkopfen ein gleiches *prætentiren*, das was dem einen Recht, dem andern billich ist. [Page 3]

***die andere seines in alle drey schuldig und werde [?]es besser observire als jene dienen es thun die sand bühnen lob.

10^{tens} Daß so wohl auff die *Instrumenten*, alß die bißhero gesamblete Kirchen: Taffelstuck, *opern*, und andere *Compositiones* die 3 Capellmeister dem *Inventario* gemeß die mit *Inspection*, die *Music* Stuck aber in gute verwahrung zu nehmen haben sollen. So ist, was die Erste betrifft, so billich alß nöthig, daß ein jeder von Ihnen, welcher die *Music* auffführet, so viel an [ihme ligt hiereinefallß] dem *Instrument*-verwalter beÿ seinem Staat *manuteniren* zu helffen, die *Music* Stuck aber belangend, befinde ich nicht für guth, daß die 3 Capellmeister über solches *Inventarium* die aufsicht haben sollen, sondern hielte ohne untste maßgab vor beßer, [†]daß gesambte Stuck in 3 theil ohngefehr abgetheilt, und beschrieben, so dann damit nicht einer allein die besten komen, oder einiger vorthail darinen gesucht werden könne, darumb gelaßet, und jedem eine *portion* zugestellt werden solte, darvor haben zu stehen, und red und antwort zu geben, dann sonst es schwerlich guth thun, und imer einer die Schuld, da was *manquiren*, auff den anderen schieben würde.

† die Stück die wucklich beÿ d Cappel seÿnd können in dessen Seiner verwahrung bleiben d in der Cappel wohne (doch das die andern [?] ganzsten solche abzu[?]) die übrige aber die win Cappel M von dato anschafft keinen deme welchen Sie componret od beÿ gekaufft, in d inspection gelassen und dem Inventen ein [?] werd solten.

Hergegen was meine neue auß *Italia* und Wien mitgebrachte Stuck betrifft, welche gdste Herrschafft von mir übernommen, und den Costen dafür in meine [Page 4] Reißrechnung *passiren* haben laßen, wird man mir nicht zu muthen können, daß ich einen jeden darüber leßemeister seÿn, sondern ich will dafür stehen †† und selbige beÿ handen behalten, auch über solche, und diejenige, so durch *Correspondenz* entweder gegen Erhaftung mit baarem geld, oder Eintauschung gegen andern Stücken, mit gdster genehm haltung möchten darzu komen, ein *Inventarium* fertigen und gehörig ein lieffern.

†† disen Puncten hat keinem andern verstand als Er meldet.

Mit meiner eigenen *Composition* werde gdster Herrschafft ich jederzeit in allen begebenheiten es seÿe gleich mit Kirchen: oder taffel stucken auch *opern* untst auffwarten, daß ichs aber ohne Bezahlung Unst über beßen solle, wird man nicht begehren können, dann es beÿ keiner Capell gebräuchlich ist. Wird auch hier niemahlen geweßen, noch geschehen seÿn, Ein Capellmeister ist zwarschuldig, damit gdster herrschafft untst auff zu warten, die Stuck aber blieben ihme, und läßet keiner gern über seine eigene Stuck einen andern gewalt, daher ich die meinige ebenfalls nicht auß handen geben kan, verlange hingegen auch nicht, daß man mir frembde Stuck, wie bißhero dem [Page 5] Schwartzkopff und andern in zimblicher *quantität* angeschafft worden, erkauffen soll, sondern ich will mit meiner *Composition*, und durch *Correspondenz*, so viel der zeit mich die ordnung trifft, die *Music* auff zu führen, mich gnugsam versehen, wie ich dann bereits von der hochfstl. Capell zu Onoltzbach einen *Cataloguen* über alle daselbst befindliche Stuck, zur hand gebracht, und davon gegen außweplung mit meinen eigenen oder ander wertigen Stucken, daß beste herauß wehlen und haben kan, wan es nöthig ist. Wird also mir die hand gantz ohngebunden seÿen, und bleiben, auff solche art. Voras mit meinen aigenen Stucken einige *Correspondenz* zu pflegen;

Gleichwie ein undschied zwischen Ihme als d in fl: Hlschafft kosten dise kunst [?] G[ulden]
und andern die Ihr Kunst mit hergedrisst ohne hlschaftl [?]sen . . . [largely illegible]

Gleich wie Ew: Hochfstl. Drchl.

12. ^{tens} zu dero untsten diensten mich *obligiren*: also will
13 ^{tens} untster Hoffnung geleben, die in dem Staat *inserirte* Besoldung
werde mir nichts *prejudicen*, sondern höchsterleücht dieselbe nach
Gdster vertröstung hiernächst mir ein mehres angedeyhen laßen, [Page 6]
dabeÿ ich Ehrlich möge bestehen können, in untste versicherung, daß ich
alles was zu auff nahm der hochfürstl. Capell dienen mag, ich jeder zeit
bey zu tragen mich eüßerst bestreben werde, mit untstern *respect*
beharend

Ewer Hochfürstl. Drchl.

Stuttgard d 25 Augusti
1703.

unterthänigst gehorsambster
Johann Georg Christian Störl.

[end of page 5]

Wann gdst herrschafft Ihme alß weitters [?] Ihme die Gnaden thun nicht p schliessen,
inspecie aber wann dise *numery ternanij* sich *diminuren* sollte.

Welches dem M. Störten intimirt word, vorauff Er sich all solche gefallen lassen. In Con.

Vist. Stuttgl d. 25. Augl. 1703. [4 signatures]

v. 1711 *Pez Staat und Ordnung*(D-Sa A21 *Büschel* 612).

Ich Johann Christoph Bez, Bekenne; und Thae kund hieuns, daß der durchleüchtigste Fürst und Herr, Herr Eberhard Ludwig, Herzog zu Württemberg und Teck, Graf zu Mömpelgard, Herr zu Heidenheim p. Dero Röml. K. Mayl. deß H.R.R. wie auch L. Schwäbl. Craiset respect General Feldmarschall, und General der Cavallierie. p. Mein gnadigster Fürst und Herr, mich zu dero Rath und Ober Capellmeistern, über dero Fürstl Hoff-Capell gndstl. angenommen, und habe ich mich in solch meiner anvertrauten Charge zuverhalden, wie folgs.

1.

Soll und will Ihro Hfl. Dhl: Ich, getreü und huld, auch gehorsam und gewartig seÿn, dero Nuzen und fromen nach besten meinem vermögen schaffen und fördern, hingegen schaden warnen und wenden, demnachst auf Dero Landhoffmeister, Oberhoff Marschallen, Ober Schenken; auch Kirchenraths *Directorn* und Räte, alß verordneten *Superintendenten* Dero Fürstl Hoff *Capelle*, allen gebührenden *respect* und aufsehen haben, und dem was von wegen Ihro Hfürstl. Dhl. Sie mir schrift- oder mündlich anzeigen werden, jedesmahl schuldigen [Page 2] gehorsam, gleich Ihro Hfl. Dhl. selbsten, leisten, Auch dero Fürstl. *Capell* und Hofordnung und befelchen, die Höchsterml. Ihro Dhl. schon ertheils, oder auch noch fürauß [?] der Fürstl. *Capell*, und meines *officij* halb verordnen und geben werden, unterthstl nachgeleben, wie nicht weniger sonst alß einen getreüen redlichen diener geziemt, und gebührt, mich in allem unklagbar erzeigen, aufführen und verhalten.

2.

Soll und will alß Ober Cappelmeister, ich dero Fürstl. Hof *Capelle dirigiren*, weil aber dieselbe mit noch einem Capell Meistern, nemlich dem *Theodoro* Schwarzköpfen versehen, deme die Neben *Directori* seiner Staat gemäß mit bleibt, mich mitselbigem frid- und verträglich begehen, sonderlich wegen aufführung der Stuck, wobey mir der vorzug und Ober *Inspection* gelaßen, freündl: vernehmen, auch in allen

vorfällenheiten der Capell, mit selbigem behörig *Commericirlen*, damit die nöhtige gute *harmonie* zwischen Unß *Cultivirt*, auch beederseits der nöhtige *respect* beÿ denen Untergebenen erhalten, und Ihro Hfln Dhl: mit unnötigen Klagden ohnbehelliget bleiben mögen. [Page 3]

3.

Gleichwie ich alß Roht und Ober Cappelmeister der Jugend und ganzer Capell selbst und einem erbarn aufrichtigen fridlichen und Christlichen Wandel gefleißentlich vorzuleuchten habe, Also soll und will ich auch meine sorgfältig und getreue Aufsicht auf die Fürstl. Hoff*musicos* und Capell Knaben haben, daß solche ein ehr- und Christliches Leben führen, hingegen daß zu vielen Sachens, umlaufens, Spielens und anderer *exorbitantilen* sich allerdings bemäßigen, und daß Sie gegen mir, und dem Andern Capellmeister alß ihren vorgesetzten, den behörigen *Respect* und Gehorsam, so viel die *Music* und Capell betrifft, jederzeit ohnklagbar erweisen thun, dargegen ich selbige zu ihrer schuldigkeit glimpf- und bescheidenlich anzuweisen und *honnetement* zu *tractiren*, mich befeisen werde.

4.

Soll und will ich die genaue und zuverlässige oberoaufsicht tragen, daß die jedesmahls vorhandener Capell Knaben in guter *disciplin* und obacht beständig gehalten, zur fromkeit und fleisigem gebett, auch lesen, schreiben, rechnen, und denen *bonis literis*, nach dem Jeder die Fähigkeit hab, wie nicht weniger zur Bescheidenheit [Page 4] und höflichkeit, auch reinlichkeit an Leib und Haaren, Kleidern und weisem Gezeug fleisig angezogen, von Boßheit, unsauber- und liederlichkeit hingegen abgehalten, und wann sie sträflich erfunden werden, *correction* und straff mit guter Bescheidenheit gegen sie für gekehrt werden.

5.

Wie aber das Haubtabstehen, warum Capell Knaben aufgenommen- und unterhalten werden, die *Music* ist, daß Sie so wohl *instrumentaliter* also *vocaliter* darbei zugebrauchen, unterrichtet und fähig gemacht werden, Also hab Ich Ober Capellmeister, auch genaue achtung darauf zu geben, daß Sie in der *Music* durch die Jenige, denen, deren *Information*

committirt ist, besten fleises *instruirt*, auch zu punctlicher *observirung* der Stunden, die Sie so wohl zum singen, alß auß gndstl. bewilligung zu erlernung ein oder anderen *Instruments* anzuwenden haben, angehalten, zu andern Hauß= und *trempe*larbeiten hergegen, so ihnen an ihren *Studijs* und *exercitijs* hinderlich, nicht misbraucht werden; Wann auch ein Knab in der Stim zu *mutiren* begnute, oder auch [Page 5] schlechte *profectus* bei solchen sich zeigen, und die *Information* an ihme nicht anschlagen wolte, oder auch sonst grose Boßheit und *in corrigibilität* sich herfür thun solte, So soll und will Ihro Hfl. Dhl: oder eingangs gedl. dero Rächten, Ich, solches zeitlich anzeigen, damit die *mutirende* oder zur *music* nicht genugsam tüchtige nach befinden anderwärts *accommidirt*, und ihnen fortgehalten, die boßhafftige oder böser *Consequenz* vorzukomen, ab- und fortgeschafft werden können: Demnagst wann man widerum andere *Subjecta* an der abkomenden Stelle haben muß, durch gehorsamsten schriftlichen Bericht, zum Fürstl. Kirchenraht, andere tüchtige so schon einen feinen anfang und *fundament* in der *music*, auch schöne, helle, und nicht zu schwache Stimmen haben, vorschlagen, damit alda die weitere erkundigung darüber eingezogen, und so folglich mit guthachten an Unß gebracht werden mögen.

6.

Soll und will ich mit Ernst daran seyn, daß die gesamte Hoff *Musici*, und zwar so wohl *Instrumentisten*, alß *Vocalisten*, so oft Sie in der Capell, oder in den Fürstl Zimmern [Page 6], oder bei *Bals* aufgewarten haben, wie durch zu *opern* und denen *Musicalischen* proben und *exercitien* erfordert werden, jedesmahl auf die bestimmte Zeit, und an dem ihnen benennenden Orth sich gehorsamlich efinden, außer, wo Ihro Hfl Dhl: ein oder andern, diser oder jener aufwartung auß sonderbahren ursachen überhebt heilten [?], oder noch fürter *dispensiren* würden, da solche, mit vorbehalt der *Extraordinari* fäll, in so fern alß es Ihnen gndstl. bewilligt, damit gleichwohl zuverschonen; Ich soll und will auch achtung geben, daß das *Choral* Gesang in der Fürstl. Hoff *Capell*, durch den darzu bestelten *Cantorem*, und die zugehörige Knaben, wohl lautend geführt werde, auch an Sonn- Fest- und Feÿer-tägen, die *Instrumentisten*, wie es

hiebevor üblich gewesen, mit ihren *Instrumenten* einstimen lassen, und weilen

7.

Zu mehrerer *perfectionirung* der Hoff *Musicorum* und Capell Knaben auch folglich fertigerer aufführung der *Musiquen* viel daran gelegen, daß die *Musicalische proben* und *Exercitien*, es seye zu [Page 7]

Kirchenstucken oder *operen*, oder auch aufwartungen vor dero Fürstl. Tafel, undt Zimern fleisig gehalten werden, Alß soll und will ich daran seyn, daß nach dem herkommen, deren wochentlich *ordinari* drei gehalten, und dabei auch die neüe stuck, so ich oder der andere Capellmeister von Zeit zu Zeiten Componirt, aufprobirt werden und gleich wie

8.

Ihro Hfürstl. Dhl: die aufnahm dero Fürstl. Hoff *Capell* sonderbar angelegen, Höchsterl: Dieselbe auch in solchen absehen, selbige mit mehrern tüchtigen *Musici* bei einiger Zeit verstärckt, zumahlen mich alß Raht und Ober Capellmeister, angenommen, beÿ wohlbestelten Capellen aber viel auf neüe *Compositionen*, an Kirchen und Tafelstucken auch opern gesehen, und eine wohlständige *æmulation*, welche Capell es der andern zuvor thut, beobachtet wird, Also soll und will ich mich auch, nach denen mir hierunder von Gott verliehenen *qualitäten*, anzugreifen, und mit neüen stucken so wohl, alß mithin auch mit neüen *operen*, die man anderer Orthen nicht schon aufgeführt, Ihro Hfl. Dhl. zu bedienen [Page 8] und zu *contentiren*, mithin auch dero Fürstl. Hoff *Capell* in mehrere *Renomée* zusezen, nur alles fleißes angelegen seyn lassen. Solte aber

9.

Bei dem Kapellmeister Schwartzkopf oder dem, der sich in deßen stell befinden möchte, so dann auch bei denen *Musicis*, gegen mir einiger Ungehorsam auch sonst fehl und mängel bei ein- oder andern sich hervor thun, So soll und will ich solche vor mich bescheiden, ihnen die ungebühr, es seye in Unfleiß, ohngehorsam, oder sonst ohnziemlichen *Conduite* mit ernst zu untersagen, und zur beßerung mit Betrohung, daß

ich es sonst an höhere orth berichten müste, erinnern, Wan aber solche Vorstellung und *exhortation* ein- und andermahl nichts verfangen wolte, die sach mit ihren Umbständen zuverlässig und impaßionirt, dem Fürstl. Kirchenrahts *Directori* und Rächten wo aber etwas Hochträfliches vorköme, Ihro Hfl Dhl. Landhofmeister, Ober Hof Marschalln und Ober Schenccken, zu behörigem weitem Einsehen, unterthstl gelangen [Page 9] laßen, auch hierunder keinen schonen, so lieb mir die Beihaltung Ihro Hfürstl Dhl. Gnad seÿn mag, Nachdem Ihro Hfürstl. Dhl. auch zum

10.

ernstlich wollen und verlangen, daß die vorhandene allerhand *Musicalische Instrumenta* und zugehör, so wohl alß die bei dero Fürstl. Hof Capell von Zeit zu Zeit gesambte, Capricornische, Kreßische, Maggische, Schwartzkopfsche, Kußerische, und alle andere Kirchen, Tafel und *operen* stuck und *Compositionen*, auch was von der Kirchnerischen *wittib* und sonst erhandelt, oder auch durch *Dedicationen* bekommen worden, oder nach *Successive* darzu gebracht würde, jedesmahlen in guter verwahrung gehalten, und für schaden und abgang *präservirt*, zumahl das darüber zu haltende *Inventarium* fertig geführt, was noch nicht einverleibt, oder künfftig noch ferner dazu komt, besonders auch mein Pezen von Zeit zu Zeit eigene neüe Stuck, *operen*, und *Compositionen*, welche Ich bei der Capell alhier laßen soll und will, *inserirt*, auch damit man deßen versichert seÿe, alle Jahr umb Georgij ein Sturz vorgenommen werde, deme Ihro Hfl Durchl. dan jederzeit dero Ober Schenken, und einen der Kirchen Rächten, bei wohnen [Page 10] laßen wollen, Alß soll und will ich solches wohl in acht nehmen, und bewerckstelligen, auch Ihro Hfl. Durchl. dafür *responsable* seÿn, besonders die Hof *Musicos* und Cappel Knaben anhalten, mit denen ihnen unter hand gebenden *Instrumenten* schon umbgehen, und nichts nichtwillig [?] daran verderben, Ich soll und will auch, was die vorhandene *Musicalische* Stuck anbetrifft, ohne Ihro Hfl. Durchl. vorwißen und Erlaubnus mein ander davon etwas da [?] *comunciren*, oder *abnotiren* laßen, sondern vielmehr dahin trachten, daß wan je etwas von alten Gemein gewordenen, mit Ihro Dhl. bewilligung *Comunicirt* wird, dardurch andere gute fremde stuck wechselsweißen erhalten werden, sonderheitlich soll und will ich selbstn nichts von allen disen

stucken nacher haußnehmen, vielweniger einem andere solches gestatten, es seÿe dann zu angestellten proben.

Soll und will ich, so lang in Ihro Hofl. Dhl. diensten ich stehen werde, auch in dero Herzogthum und Lande mich enthalte, an Ihro Dhl. Land Recht und ordnungen wie besondert auch an dero Hoffordnung [Page 11], bei deren Verlaßung ich mich jederzeit einfinden werde und Beobachtung darin enthaltenen Burofridens gebunden seÿn, und darwider nicht handten, bei denen darin enthaltenen Strafen. Wann auch zwischen Ihro Hfürstl. Durchl. und dere zugehörigen und mir in Zeit solch meines diensts sich irrung und spaün zutragen würden, vor dero Land Hoffmeister, Hoffrahtstuben, Ober *Consistorial* und Kirchenräthen, oder wohin ich weiter bescheiden werde, recht geben und nehmen, auch mich deren Endscheids, ohne verweigerung oder weiteres *appelliren*, allerdings sättigen und benüge laßen.

12.

Solls aber Ihro Hfürstl. Durchl. meiner Dienste nicht mehr verlangen, oder auch ich auß dero diensten zu gehen vorhabens verwollen höchsterl. Dieselbe mir, und soll und will ich alßdan Deroselben, ein viertel Jahr vorhero aufkünden, doch soll ich dabei, gehalten seÿn, daß, wan ich alßdan spaün und Irrungen mit Ihro Hfldhl. oder Dero zugehörigen hette, die erörterung deren zu Erwarten, und der außfallender *decision*, gehorsame statt zu thun, auch eher nicht auß dem Land zuweisen, oder [Page 12] wenigst mit Ihro Dhl. verwilligung deßhalben genugsame *Caution* zuleisten.

13.

Weilen Ihro Hfl. Dhl. gndstl. gehorsam laßen, daß ich und die Meinige, wegen der von Unß *profitirenden* Römisch- Catholischen *Religion*, von niemanden angefachten, oder *tourbirt* werde, sondern selbige in einen benachbarten Dorff *exercire*, alß will ich hingegen nicht nur allein von der Augspurgischen *Confession*, und Evangelischer *Religion*, in aller *discourse* mich entweder aller Anzüigkeiten enthalten, oder dergleichen Glaubenssachen betreffende strittigkeiten gänzlich *evitiren*, sondern auch gegen meine Untergebene, ohne absehen der presohn und glaubens

profession, amtshalber unpassionirt procediren, nichtweniger zu denen Kirchenstücken solche text erwehlen, welche nicht wider die Evangelische Lehrsätze streiten, oder bei denen Evangelischen, einiger Ärgernus erwecken. Hereer und

14.

[?]aken Ihro Hfürstl. Durchl: wegen deß übrigen, was in solch mein Amt [Page 13] laufend, vorfallen möchte, so in gegenwärtigen Staat nicht *Specialiter* enthalten, dero verordnung wie auch den mir ertheilten Staat nach erheischender gelegenheit zumehren oder zu mindern sich gndst vorbehalten; deme indesmahlen gehorsambst geleben soll und will.

Für diesen meinen Dienst, haben Ihro Hfl. Dhl. mir, vor mich, meine Tochter, und Copisten, aljährlich, und so-lang wir in dero diensten bleiben werden, zur besoldung reichen zu laßen, gndstl zugesagt und versprochen.

Alß an

Geltt . . . 1200. K.

Roggen . . . 5.

Dinckel . . . 46. Schl:

Habern..30.

Wein..10 Äyl.

Holz . . . 12 Meß.

Nebst der ferien wohnung in dem Capellhauß.

Deßen zu wahrem Urkund habe ich mich eigenhändig unterschriben und mein gewöhnlich pittschofft hiefür gekrukt. Stuttgart auf *Georgii* 1711.

Rath und Ober Capellmeister

Gio: Christ: Pez.

vi. 1711 *Hofmusici Staat und Ordnung*
(D-Sa A21 Büschel 611).

Concept Staats vor die Sambt: Hoff *Musicos*.

Staat und Ordnung.

Weßen Unßers *Eberhard Ludwig* Hertzogens zu Württbg: tot. tit.
jedesmahlige in diensten stehende, und angenomene Hoff *Musici* sambt
und Sonders in Ihren Diensten sich zu verhalten.

1. Solle unß Ein jeder nach dem Er in Unßere Dienste gekomen, in
Unßerm Hoff Rath stublen einen Leibl: äyds zu gott schwören Unß
getreu und Hold zu sein, Unßern nutzen zubefördern, und schaden
zuwarnen, ingleichem seÿe beständiges auffsetzen auff Unßern Ober Hoff
Ml Ober Schenken, Fürstl: [Kirchen Raths *Directorem* und Rätthe] Hoff
Rath Stublen und Unßern Rath und Ober und Unter *Cappellmeister*
zuhaben, und allem dem jenigen waß Selbe ein jedes befehlen werden
jedesmahlen gehorsl: zugeleben, sich allezeit beÿ Verlaßung Unßerer
Hoffordnung einzufinden, deren *puncten* in allen stücken
bestemöglichst nach zu komen und ob Unßerm Burgfrieden zuhalten.

2. Solle ein jeder so Er etwas hoüste, oder hin kunfftig hören sehen, und
erfahren würde, welches wieder Unßere Hohe Ehr *respect* ja gar Leib und
Leben, oder auch Unßere vornehmste *Ministers machinirt* wäre, solches
gleichbalden Unßerm Oberhoff Ml. oder Unßeren im Frstl: Hoff Rath
Stublen beÿ zu befahren habender hartter Bestrafung an haab und guth ja
gar Leib und leben gebuhrend anzeigen, und keiner d. geringste
nichts davon verschweigen [Page 2] Und weilen wir

3. Unßerm Rath und Ober Cappelmeister *Betzen*, nebst Unßerm
Cappellmeister Schwartzkopfen die Oberaufsicht und die *Direction*
Unßerer gantzen Hoff Cappel anvertraut, alß solle Ein jeder sein mit
aufsehen auff Selbe haben, und deren Befehlhen inder Zeit
gehorsamblich nachkomen.
Zudemende auch

4. Ein jeder beÿ zubefahren habender hartt Bestraffung, auff jedesmahliges erfordern Unßerer Cappellmeistere beÿ Selben sich einfinden, beÿ jeden *proben*, und *Musiquen* beÿwohnen, und Ihnen allen *respect* erweißen. [welche Sie in Häußern, oder dem Cappelhauß halten würden]

gleichergestalten

5. Solle einjeder sich fleißig an denen Sonn und feÿertagen in Unßerer Hoff Cappel einfinden, Währendem gesang mit denen *Instrumenten* einstimen, dann, der *Music* [beÿ wohnen, und] d. jenige *Instrument* so Er zu *tractiren*, oder die stim welche Er zu singen hatt, mit aller zierlichkeit, nach best seinen Verstand, und Kräfte[n] [nach dem *tact* worauf Er jedes mahlen wohlachtung zu geben], *tractiren* und singen, und sich nicht wie bißdato beÿ ein oder dem andern wahrgenomen nachlässig dabey finden laßen, umb d. alles ordentlich hergehen und keine ohnordnung sich ereignen möge.

Nichtweniger 5. Solle ein jeder so wie eine Tafel, als Camer *Music* haben wollen, oder auch so wie *Bals* beÿ Hoff halten würden, jedesmahlen auff die Ihme von Unßern Cappelmeistern angezeigte Zeit erscheinen, dabey sich fleißig und *modeste* auff führen, und alles [unmäßigen] trinckens beÿ straff enthalten, deßgleichen auch So wir Unß auff dem Landt befindeten, und Unßer Hoff *Music* beÿ Unß haben wolten, auff [Page 3] Beschehene anzeig von Unßere Cappel Meistern jedesmahlen willig folgen, ohne sonderbahre habende ursachen nicht außbleiben und ohne Unßere Gdste Erlaubnuß nicht wird nacher hauß sich begeben. [Und solle alßdem jeden zum wochentl: *extra* costgelt, (wann mit recht ist 2 K. nebst brod und wein gereicht werde, dessen sich zu informiren) mit welchen ein jeder alßdem sich zu vergnugen und Unß nicht weiters auch Kunst hat.]

[So wie auch 6. einigen Unßerem Cappel Knaben, auß sonderbahrer Gdsten Erlaubnuß ein oder ander *Instrument* erlernen laßen wolten. So solle ein jeder Unßerer Hoff *Musicor*, deme ein Cappel Knab gegeben worden, sich außerst bemühen Selben mit aller *dexterität* zu *infomiren*,

nichts an Ihme zu verabsäumen, die ordentliche stunden, und dar zu bestimbte Zeit wohl zu *observiren*, umb das die darauf wendende uncosten nicht vergebens außgelegt werden mögen.]
[die Kapellknaben [?] abgehen]

Mit denen *Musicalische Instrumenten* Solle

6. ein jeder schon Umbgehen, und sorge tragen, d. daran nichts verdorben werden möge, wiedeigenfalß Er Unß daß schaden zu ersetzen schuldig sein, und wir Ihme den Belauff von seiner Besoldung abzuziehen lassen wollen; Zu gleichem

7. Solle ein jeder seine stim *partie* wann Selbe einer gebraucht wird gleichbalden Unßern Cappell Meistern in die Verwahrung wieder zustellen, und keiner [bey zubefahren habender hartter Bestraffung, ohne Unßere Gdste Erlaubnuß, und verwißen Unßer Cappellmeistere] sich Gelusten lassen einig stuck mit nacher hauß zunehmen, noch vielweniger abzu *notiren*, und etwas davon zuentwenden.

8. Sollen auch alle Unßere Bereits in Dienstenstehende und noch hin künfftig darinn kommende Hoff *Musici* ein Christlich, erbar euchtern und züchtig leben führen, alles ebermäßigem spiehlen und *debauchirens* sich enthalten, mus d. ein jeder auf erforderungs fals, dienste thun, und wie ohne Klag bediendt werden mögen wiedeigen falß wie sonst die übertretere, mit gebührender straff an zusehen wißen werden. Ubrigens und letzens solle ein jede sich alßo in seinen dienst auff führen wie es einen ehrlichen getreuen diener zukommt, damit Unßer nützen befördert u: schaden gewendet werde, und wie Er es vor Gott und Unß [Page 4] zu verantwortten getrauet, alles getreulich und ohne gefähede. Für und umb solchen Ihren Dienst wollen wir seinem hin kunfftig daßjenige zur jährlichen besoldung reichen lassen, wie solches auß der jüngst *regulirten besoldungs tabell* zu ersichen. [und denen nachdem von Unß auß besonderer Frstl: gnad entheilten *Decreten special.*]

Deßen zu wahren Urkundt haben wir Unßer Frstl: Hoff Rath Stublent Insigel herfür drücken lassen, so geschehen Stuttgl. auff *Georgii anno* 1711.

Weilen der numery der Hoff *Musicor*, gar zu groß, und auch Ihre Besoldung sich beständig verandern, alß habe Unterthänig anfragen sollen, ob der obige letztern [?].stig (Für und umb solch threm Dienst) alßo zulaßen, oder ob Einen jeden *Musico* seine Besoldung nichts desto weniger zuinserviren seÿe?

Es kan woll nicht anderst seÿn, alß dess jede, *musico* sein staat und alßo davon seinen Besoldung auß zu [?] seÿe werde.
legitet correrit.

d. 26. Martÿ. 1711 haben des HIn Ober Hoff Ml gnaden Befohlen allen Hoff *Musicis* nur einen Staat zu machen nur auff Selben in gegenwart des HIn Ober Cappel M *Betzen* zubeaÿdigen.

vii. 1714 Pez *Lista*
(D-Sa A21 *Büschel* 607).

Lista.

Der gantzem Württembergl: Hochfürstl: *Musicorum*, was die für
Besoldungen, und Qualitäten haben.

Eur Hoch Fürstl: Dhrt: vorgestellt durch dero andst vnd zeichneten
vndthgsten diener.

Cappellmeister Schwartzkopf hat Besoldung . . . 300 [G:]
ist ein 4: biß 26: jähriger diener, und *componist* sehr wohl.

die vocalisten seind vollgende.

Discantisten.

1. Kornbakhin hat . . . 250 [G:]

Singt sehr wohl, und verricht ihre dienst fleißig und Embsig. ist auch
darbey schon ein alte dienerin.

2. Schmidtbäurin hat . . . 150 [G:]

singt in gleichem sehr wohl, und verricht ihre dienst mit aber
punctualität.

3. Scherlizkin hat Kostgelt 39: und zur Kleidung 45: G: zusammen . . . 84 [G:]

Hat ein rechte *admirable voce di petto*, und wird noch ein guthe singerin
werden.

Altisten.

1. Gabrielis hat . . . 247 [G:]

welches mann die *ordinari* Besoldung nennet, hat ein sehr guthe Alt
stim, singt guth, und streicht auch ein guthes *Violin*, den ich beneben.
allzeit bey einer *instrumental Music* gebrauch.

[Page 2]

"2. Arnold hat . . . 150 [G:]

Singt ein guthen Alt, *copirt*, und darinnen *infatigabl*, geigt auch darbey ein Brätschen.

Tenoristen.

1. *Secretari* Höflein hat . . . 400 [G:]

ist ein guther *Tenorist*, welcher so wohl welsch, francösisch, lateinisch, alß teutsch singt.

2. Schmidt baur hat . . . 248 [G:]

ist ein guther *Tenorist*, darbey *Cantor* in der Hochfürstl: Cappelle, geigt auch ein *Violin*.

Baßisten.

1. Ricci hat . . . 480 [G:]

ist ein sehr guther welscher *Baßist*.

Folgen die *Instrumentisten*.

1. *Tutelar* Rhat Bumbrecht hat . . . 247 [G:]

ist ein alter diener, schlägt ein guthe Lauthen, und *Teorba*, verricht seine dienst fleißig.

2. *Venturini* hat . . . 400 [G:]

welcher ein sehr guthes *Violin* streicht, auch einen guthe *violoncello*, verricht allzeit seine dienst fleißig.

3. Eberhard Hildebrand hat . . . 400 [G:]

Bläst ein sehr guthe *Houtbois*, und Fleten, streicht auch ein guth *violin*, ist schon ein alter, stiller, und fleißiger diener.

4. *Nicolai* blast ein sehr guthe Fletten, wie auch die *Flute Allemande*, und *Houtbois*, *accompgniret* auch sehr wohl auf den *cembalo*, für welchen ich ihn oft brauche

[Page 3]

Verricht seine dienst fleißig, und wohl und hat Besoldung . . . 300 [G:]

5. Seidl der Hoforganist hat . . . 300 [G:]

schlägt sehr wohl, und ist franc: im *accompagniren* streicht auch einen guthen *violone* beÿ einer *opera* zu *accompagniren*, waßentwegen er schon von andern Höfen darumber worden, ist in seinen diensten fleißig, und embsig.

6. Freÿdenberg hat . . . 300 [G:]

Streicht ein sehr guthes *violin*, blast ein sehr guthe Fletten, und *Houtbois*, wie auch die *Flute Allemande* schlägt ein artlichen *cembal*, *enfin*, was er nur angriefft, ist vollkhomen, ist ein fleißiger diener.

7. Pez hat . . . 300 [G:]

Obwohlen Er mein Sohn, so ist doch bekhandt, das er ein *penetrantes violin* streicht trutz einem, auch ein guthe *viola d' Amore*, und *viola da braccio*, blast auch ein guthes *Clarinet*, verricht seine dienst mit unermüdetem fleiß.

8. Feinchl hat . . . 75 [G:]

ist ein Trompetter, und damit er sich beÿ der *Music* gebrauchen last, hat mann ihm die *addition* gegeben, geigt ein sehr guthes *Violin*, wie auch *viola da Gamba*, welchen ich überall beÿm *accompaniren* konnethen hab, ist gar ein fleißiger alter diener.

9. Kreß hat . . . 247 [G:]

Streicht ein guthes *violin*, *viola d' Amore*, und *viola da braccio*, blast auch ein guthe Fletten, hat sich auch auf die *composition* gelegt, in welcher guthen *gusto*

[Page 4]

hat, und wann er einen meister hette, der Ihm aus dem *fundament instruirte*, wurde er sicherlich einen guthen *effect* machen.

10. Klokhart hat . . . 247 [G:]

streicht ein sehr guthes *violin*, auch das gleichen *Houtbois*, und Fletten, streicht anbeÿ einen guthen französischen *Baß*, und ist sehr fleißig in seinen diensten.

11. Bleßner hat . . . 247 [G:]

Streicht ein sehr guthes *Violin*, blast auch ein sehr guthe *Houtbois*, Fletten, und *clarinet*, und wanns die noth erfordt, so last er sich auch in der Hof Cappellen zum *Baß* singen brauchen, ist ein sehr fleißiger diener.

12. Christoph Hildebrand hat . . . 247 [G:]

streicht ein *paßables violin*, *discant*, und Brätschen, ist darbeÿ ein 26: jährigen diener, und verricht seine dienst *punctual*.

13. Antonio Meister hat . . . 247 [G:]

schreibt ein *admirable* schöne nothen, wie ihn dann zu München 6: jahr zu vor, ehr ich von Eur Hochfürstl: dhrtl: nacher Stuttgard gndgst berufen worden, in *copiren*, *transponiren*, und auß ider *Partitur* zu schreiben *informirt*, streicht ein guthes *Violin*, *Discant*, und Brätschen, blast auch das *clarinet*, muß*copiren*, und zu gleich die dienst thuen, was ein ander *instrument* ist thut, ist fleißig in seinen diensten.

14. Jahn hat . . . 150 [G:]

Streicht ein guthes *Violin*, und Brätschen, blast ein guthe Fletten, *tractirt* dabey das *Clavier* gar arthig, ist in wahrheit ein guthes *Subjectum*, und fleißig in seinen diensten.

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15. Sigmund hat . . . 247 [G:]

ist der erste *Houtboist* gewesen, den Eur Hochfrstl: Durchlt: under dero Garde aufgenommen, streicht ein guthes *Violin*, und Brätschen, blast auch den *Fagott*, und geigt den *Baß*. ist ein fleißiger, und nutzlichen diener.

16. Schwan hat . . . 119 [G:]

ist der *musicalische* Hof Paukher, welcher sein *Music* wohl versteht, geigt ein guthes *violin*, und Brätschen, ist fleißig in seinen diensten.

Wegen die zum *Baß* gehorig.

17. *La Rose* hat . . . 300 [G:]

streicht einen guthen frantzösischen *Baß* mit schener *mannier*, wie auch ein guthes *Violin* ist ein etlich, und zwanzig jähriger, und fleißiger diener.

18. *Egidi* hat . . . 247 [G:]

Streicht einen guthen *violone*, so ein mühesames, zumachen nothwerdiges *Instrument*, und das *Fundament* bey einer *Music* ist, blast einen guthen *Fagott*, wie auch eine guthe *Baß* Fletten, ist dabey ein villjährigen und fleißiger diener.

19. *Eberlin* hat . . . 247 [G:]

Streicht einen guthen *violone*, blast auch darbey einen sehr guthen *Fagott*, ist in wahrheit ein nothwendiger und nutzlicher diener.

20. *Grot* hat . . . 247 [G:]

Streicht einen guthen *Violoncello*, ist auch darbey ein Hofmahlen, den Ihro Hochfürstl: Dhrtl: zu disem ende inß welschlandt geschekht haben, ist ein guther, und fleißiger diener.

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Zwey Waldhornisten.

Wilhelm Lumbe und Christoph Böhner hat ieder 300: G: zu samen. welche sehr guth blasen, wie es dann die prob täglich weist, seind auch sehr fleißig in ihren diensten.

Cappell Knaben.

1. *Schmidt baur* hat . . . 75 [G:]

2. *Maÿr* hat . . . 75 [G:]

Calcant hat . . . 140 [G:]

Orgelmacher . . . 63 [G:]

Von meiner tochter will ich nicht välen, welche schon etlich jahr hero gedient, in der *Camer Music* oft 2: Stund geßungen, wie seÿe ihr dann getraut (ohne rheuen zu welchen) welsch, franösisch, und Lateinisch zu singen, auch das seÿe ihr dauon haben solle, und doch den geringsten pfennig daruon nicht empfangen, verhoffet aber mit einem allergnädigstem aug angesehen zu werden.

Nun Gnädigster Fürst, und Herr dises ist der *numerus* der Hof *Musicorum*, wie auch ihre qualitäten. *Vocalisten* haben wür so wenig, das wür just, ein *quatuor* mit seiner *Ripien* in der Hofcappella khönnen besetzen, solte aber ein oder der ander Krankh werden, so dises auch nicht geschehen, das mann als nur mit 2: oder 3: etwas machen khan, welches ja für eine so vornembe Hochfürstl: Cappella nicht anständig ist, und oft gezwungen, auß denen *Instrumentisten* alles

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heruör zu suchen, was nur singen khan, wann ich andst alle Stimen besetzen will; Wann eine *Camer Music* ist, so haben wür nur zweÿ auß den *vocalisten*, nemblich den *Ricci*, und Höflein, so welsch oder fränzösich singen khönnen. Waß die *Instrumentisten* anbelangt, so finde ich in allen 17: den Feinchl, Grot, und Bumbrecht nicht darzu gerechnet, weilen den Feinchl ein Trompeter, und nur 75: G: von der *Music* hat dabey er doppelte dienst thuen muß, anbey aber bey der *Music* Höchst nöthig, und unentpöhrlich sein will.

der Grott ist ein Hofmahler, und muß zu gleich bey der Hofmusic dienen, wie ein anderen: der Gumprecht ein *Tutelarrhat*, also finde ich in wahrheit nit, das ich den geringsten entpöhren khönne:

Dann erstlich versichere ich Eur Hochfrstl: Dhrtl: das dise leuthe mich, und mein *mannier* dergestalten gewohnt seind, daß ich seÿe *Salvo rispetto* mit einem Fuß getraue zu *dirigiren*.

2^{do}. Wann seÿe in etwas anstundten, das seÿe nicht wüßten, so getraue ich mir seÿe zu *instruiren*, wie ich schon an einem und anderen gethan.

3:^{tens} Wann Eur Hochfürstl: dhrtl: dise *Lista* gdgst betrachten, so werden seÿe finden, das schon alle in 3: 4: biß 5:^{er} bey *sorten* der *instrumenten*

versirt sein, streichen auch mit sauberen französischen Zug so net und *unit:te* zusammen, das ich ein *Music* in ganzem Römhl: Reich mir getraue heraus zu fordern, seye möchte noch 5: mahl so starkh sein, die es der Unserigen Beuor thuen sollte.

4:tens weyln wür nun sehr guthe Waldhornisten haben, darbey die *parthion* wohl beseyt sein müssen, wie es denn meine *concerti Graßi* allzeit erfordern, so habe ich an disen Unsern *Instrumentisten* nicht genug, sonde muß nach die *Houtboisten* darzu ziehen, sambt den *vocalisten* die Geigen khönnen, wann ich anderst die Ehr und *reputaon*

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von Ihro Hochfürstl: Dhtl: bey großem *Festinen*, und Taffel-*Musicquen*, wo meistens frembde Fürsten, und Gäst da sein, will *observiren*, so der vornembste *punct* eines rechten trauen dienst sein muß.

5:tens Wann für Hochfürstl: Dhrtl: der *Musicorum* Besoldung gnädigst *consideriren*, so wird sichs finden, das nur 3: ieder 400: G: und vier, ieder 300: G: Besoldung haben, die übrige alle aber die *ordinari* Besoldung nemblichen 247: G: und etliche wohl gar 100: Rhlr: also zwar das sich zu verwundern, das seye mit Weib, und Kinden in einem so grund theuren ohrt, alß da Stuttgart ist (in dem seye alhier sonst den geringsten heller *accidens* nicht finden) leben khönnen.

6:tens Wann einer wäre, der Eur Hochfürstl: Dhrtl: ungefähr vorbrächte, das mann die Hochfürstl: *Music* mit 8: *Musici* bestreithen Könte, dem getraute ich mir zu antworthen, das er entweder auß *paßion*, oder aus *ignoranz* dises råde, dann Eur Hochfürstl: Dhrtl: geruhen nur gnädigst zu *consideriren*, vierstundt taffel *Music*, zwey biß drithalbstundt *Camer Music*, widerumb Taffel *Music*, und biß wielen noch einer Ball darzu, das Khönnen 8: *Musici* ohne abwecplung nicht außthauen, welches doch Unser *Musici* mit grösten fleiß, und *punctualität* thuen; Mann khan zwar *Music* machen mit 2: und 3: Persohnen, das khan auch ein Burger haben, aber einem Durchleüchtigsten *regirenden* Hertzogen von Württemberg seine Hochfürstl: Cappell= und Hof *Music* zu *fourniren*

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(verstehe ich nach *decor*, und Ehr Seines Hochfürstl: Hauses) da gehören mehreres alß 8: *Musici* darzu.

Dise meiner unpartheyische, und in grundder wahrheit *fundirte*
Relation habe ich alß ein tres verpflichten, und undthgster diener zu Eur
Hochfürstl: Dhrtl: gnädigster *disposition* und Hochfürstl: *ordre* anheim
stellen, mich aber anbey zu ihro fürsten werffendt undthgst gehorsambt
empfehlen wollen.

Eur Hochfürstl: Durchl:

Stuttgard den 14 Januar
1714.

Vndterthl: drnd Verpflichtst gehorsambsten
Rath Vnd Ober Capellmeister
Gio: Christ: Pez.

viii. 1715 *Lista*
(D-Sa A21 *Büschel* 607).
The '1720' *Verzeichnis*

1720.

Lista.

Der ganzen Württenbl: Hftrl: Hof *Music*, Wie Vill Diner seÿn, und Was sie Kosten.

Ober *Capellmeister* Pez hat . . . 1500.K.

Capellmeister Schwarzkopf hat Wart geld . . . 300.K.

Vocalisten.

discant stimmen

Kornbeckhin hat die *ordinari* Besoldung . . . 247.K.

Schmidbauerin . . . hat . . . 150 K.

Scharnizqin hat d große Kostgelt . . . 119 K.

Altisten

Gabriel . . . hat die *ord:* Be: . . . 247.K.

Arnold altist zu gleich copist und instructor von der *Scharnizqin* hat . . . 180.K.

Tenoristen

Höflein zu gleich Camer Secretarius hat . . . 400.K.

Schmidbaur zu gleich Cantor in der Hof Capell hat . . . 247 K.

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Bassisten.

Ricci . . . hat . . . 480 K.

Wagner *Käysl: notarius* hat . . . 247.K.

Capell Knaben.

Maÿr . . . hat Kost geld . . . 75.K.

Schmidbaur . . . hat Kost geld . . . 75 K.

Nun folgen die instrumentisten

Gumprecht zu gleich tutelar rath hat . . . 247.K.

Venturini . . . hat . . . 400.K.

Eber: Hildebrand . . . hat . . . 400 K.

Nicolai..hat . . . 300 K.

Fenchel *trompetter* hat *addition* von der *Music* . . . 75 K.

Freudenberg . . . hat . . . 300 K.

Pez . . . hat . . . 300 K.

Seidel *Organist* . . . hat . . . 247.K.

Klockhart . . . hat . . . 247.K.

Bleßner . . . hat . . . 247.K.

Mamer . . . hat . . . 247 K.

Kreß . . . hat . . . 247 K.

Wilhelm zu gleich Waldhornist hat . . . 450 K.

Christ: Pönner zu gleich Waldhornist . . . 300 K.

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Christ: Hildebrand . . . hat . . . 247.K.

Schwan Capellpauckher hat . . . 200.K.

Antonius Meister zu gleich copist hat . . . 247.K.

Sigmund . . . hat . . . 247 K.

Zahn . . . hat . . . 247.K.

La Rose . . . hat . . . 300 K.

Eberle . . . hat . . . 247.K.

Grott zu gleich hofmahler hat . . . 247.K.

Radauer . . . hat . . . 247.K.

Orgelmacher hat Wart geld . . . 66 K.

Calcant zu gleich instrument Ver Walter- . . . hat . . . 158 K.

Suma

10780 K.

ix. 1717 Störl 19/v
(D-Sa A21 *Büschel* 607).

1717.

Lista.

Der Jenigen *personen*, so der mahlen beÿ Hochfstl: Hoff-Capell sich befinden, Was dieselbe so *vocaliter* als *Instrumentaliter tractiren*, auch vor *qualitäten* haben, und dienste thun.

Vocalisten.

1. Frau Ruestin

Singt einen *Soprano*, od *Discant*, in guter *perfection* und *Manier*, und ist die beste Stim beÿ d *Capell*.

2. Frau Kornbeckin

Singt einen *Soprano*, in feiner *perfection*, doch ist die Stim etwas schwachs.

3. Jungster Schmidbaüerin

Singt einen *Soprano* in Zimblicher *perfection*, und Wirdt künstig hin so sie beßer zu Kräften kompt, Ihr schwester der Frau Ruestin Wenig nachgeben.

4. Jungster *Scharnizki*

Singt eine *Soprano*, und hat eine starcke stim, gleichsam Wie eine *Trompett* so hell und laut, braucht aber noch Zimbleiche *information* in der *Music*, in dem sie noch sehr schwach ist.

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5. *Gabriel*

Singt eine schönen *Alt perfect*, und spielt eine feine *Violin*, kan auch beÿ der taffel *Music* gebraucht worden.

6. Arnold

Singt einen feinen *Alt*, streicht eine *Bratcha*, kan auch beÿ taffel und *Camer Musiquen* mit spiehlen, und als ein *notist* gebraucht werden.

7. Höfflein

Singt einen *Tenor*, in Welscher *Manier* und *perfection*.

8. Schmidtbauer

Singt eine *Tenor* in guter *perfection*, führt den *choral* und streicht eine *Bratcha*, den beÿ der taffel *Music* wohl gebraucht werden.

9. Ricci

Singt einen schonen *Bass*, in Welscher *Manier* und guter *perfection*.

Pez

Streicht eine *Violin* in guter *Manier* und *perfection*, blaßt eine flöten, und streicht die *Viola d'Amour* und handt *Gamba* zum *accompagnement*, Welcher dem vernemen nach von hier hinweg gehet.

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10. Freüdenberg

Spielt eine *Violin* sauber und nett, Blaßt die Flöte *Traversire*, ist auch gut in der *Viola d'Amour* und in der *Hautbois* und gemeine Flöte, in allem *perfect* und in guter *Manier*.

11. Venturini

Spielt eine gute *Violin*, *perfect*, ist auch zum *Violoncello* zu gebrauchen.

12. Eberhardt Hildenbrand

Bläßt in sonderbahren, *Manier* und gutes *perfection* die *Hautbois* und Flött, streicht auch eine feine *Violin*.

13. Glockhardt

Secundirt den Hildenbrandt in der *Hautbois* und Flött. Spielt eine sauber *Violin* und den frantzösischen *Bass*, in guter *perfection* und *Manier*.

14. Blessner

Spielt eine gute *Violin*, Bläst eine *Hautbois* und Flöte, läßt sich auch in er *Capell* zu den teutschen Stucken alß ein *Bassist* gebrauchen.

15. Christoph Hildebrand.

Spielt eine feine *Violin* und Bläst eine Flöte.

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16. Kress.

Spielt eine gute *Violin* streicht die *Viola d'Amour*, und handt *Gamba*, schlägt auch das *Clavier*.

17. Jahn.

Spielt das *Clavier* und *Orgel perfect*. Singt eine *Bass* so es von Nöthen, streicht eine *Violin*, und Bläst eine gute Flöte, ist auch alß ein *Notist* wohl zu gebrauchen.

18. Schwan

Spielt eine gute *Violin*, und bläst eine Flötte, hat das Paucken nach der Kunst gelehrt, und so man ein Stuck mit *Trompeten* und Paucken machen Will, Ist Er darzu von Nöthen, Weilen derselbe die *Music* verstehet.

19. Castenbauer

Spielt eine *Violin*, und Bläst eine Flötte, ist zur Mittelstim wohl zu gebrauchen.

20. Meister

Spielt eine *Violin* und handt *Gamba*, Wirdt aber meistens zum Nothen schreiben *emploirt*.

[Page 5]

21. Seidel

Schlägt die *Orgel* bey der Hoff *Capell* in Stuttgl. ist auch zum *Contra Bass* wohl zu gebrauchen.

22. Nicola

Schlägt die *Orgel* zu Ludwigsburg, bläst die Flötte *traversire*, auch eine gemeine Flöte in guter *Manier* und *perfection*.

23. Eberle

Spielt den Großen *Violon*, und Bläst einen *fagott*, *perfect* und mit guter *Manier*.

24. La Rose

Spielt einen saubern frantzösischen *Bass* in guter *perfection*.

25. Radauer

Spielt den Großen und Kleinen frantzösischen *Violon*, und Bläst einen *fagott*. *perfect* und mit *manier*.

26. Groth.

Spielt einen frantzösischen *Bass*, Bläst auch eine gute Flöte in *perfection* und *Manier*.

2 Capellknaben Schmidtbauer und Majer

seyndt beÿ der *Music* so wohl *Vocaliter* als *Instrumentaliter* wohl zugebrauchen, führen auch zu weilen das *choral* in der Hof *Capell*, wan der Hoff *Musicus* Schmidtbauer nicht vorhanden.

[Page 6]

Zu einer Vollständigen Kirchen *Music* seyndt nachfolgende *personen* von Nöthen.

Zur *Vocal Music*

2 *Soprano* od *discantisten*

2 *discantisten* zu *Ripieno*.

2 *Altisten*.

2 *Tenoristen*.

2 *Bassisten*.

Zur *Instrumental Music*.3 zur ersten *Violin*3 zur andern *Violin*2 zur ersten *Bratcha*2 zur andern *Bratcha*1 *Organisten* zu Stuttgart,1 *Organisten* in Ludwigsburg1 zum *Instrument*.1 Großen *Violon*1 Kleinen Frantzösische *Violon*1 hand *Gamba*.1 *Cantor* in Stuttgart,1 *Cantor* in Ludwigsburg

und so man Will etwas mit [Page 7] *Trompeten* und *Paucken*, oder *Waldhorn*, *Hautbois* und *Flöten Musiciren*, Werden darzu Meheres *personen* erfordert, mit solchen *personen* aber könnte man allezeit füglich, sowohl in Stuttgart in der *Capell*, als auch zu Ludwigsburg eine *Music fourniren* und bestellen. Wolten aber Ew: Hochfstl: Drchl. nicht so viele Leüte haben, sondern alles entweder 2 fach oder gar nur ein fach bestellen lassen, so könnten Ewer Hochfstl. Drchl von selbstem Gdst befehlen und *choisiren*, Wen Sie haben Wolten darbey War aber ohne Untst maß, gab dieses zu *observiren*, wan so wenig Leütthe warn, so könnte man nicht in Stuttgart die *Capell* und zu Ludwigsburg zu gleich versehen wie es biß *dato* geschehen ist, Auch wan ein od die andere *person* solte krank od nicht zu gegen seyn, könnte man Wiederum nicht *Musiciren*, Meines wenigen Orths ist eine gleich Viel ob ich mit 20 od 30 und mehrern *personen* eine *Music* mache, od nur mit 4. 6. biß 8 *personen*, [Page 8] Kompt nur pur auff diß an, Wie sich Ewer Hochfstl Drchl. wollen Gdst vergnügen und bedienen lassen. Wolten aber Ew: Hochfstl. Drchl. dennoch die Kirchen *Music* gar gering, und von wenig *personen* haben, so könnte man ohnmaßgeblich darzu nehmen.

Vocalisten.

- 1 zum ersten *discant*
- 1 zum andern *discant*
- 1 *Altisten*
- 1 *Tenoristen*
- 1 *Bassisten*
- 1 *Organisten*
- 2 zur Ersten *Violin*
- 2 zur andern *Violin*
- 1 zur Ersten *Bratches*
- 1 zur andern *Bratches*
- 1 Großen *Violon*
- 1 frantzosischen *Bass*
- 1 handt *Gamba*
- 2 *Choralisten* hier und in Ludwigsburg. Wan aber 17 *personen* solte von obigen *personen*, absonderheitlich von *vocalisten* einige [Page 9] Krank od abwesendt seÿn, so müßte man die ermangelnde *person* mit einer andern zu ersetzen wissen, oder Widrigens entweder beÿ der Hoff *Capell* allhier, od zu Ludwigsburg ohne Kirchen *Music* seÿn.

Eine Taffel *Music* kan bestehen, in nachfolgenden *personen*.

- 1 *person* zur ersten *Hautbois*
- 1 *person* zur Andern *Hautbois*
- 4 *personen* zur Ersten *Violin*
- 3 *personen* zur Andern *Violin*
- 2 *personen* zur Ersten *Viola*
- 2 *personen* zur Andern *Viola*
- 1 *person* zum *Instrument*
- 1 *person* zum Großen *Violon*
- 1 *person* zum frantzösischen *Bass*
- 1 *person* zur handt *Gamba*
- 1 *person* zum *Fagott*
- 1 *person* zum Ersten *Waldhorn*,
- 1 *person* zum Andern *Waldhorn*,
- 20 *personen*

solten aber *Trompeten* und *Paucken* darzu komen, so erfordert mehrere personen, [Page 10] Eine *Camer Music* aber kurtz zu bestreiten erfordert 4 vocalisten, *discantist* *Altist*. *Tenorist*, v: *Bassist*, einen zum *Clavier* nebst 4 à 6 *Instrumentisten*. Stelle jedoch alles zu Ewer *Hochfstl Drchl*. Gdst *disposition* ohne alle Untste maßgab in Untster *Submission* anheim mit gehorsamsten *respect* verharrendt.

Ew: *Hochfstl. Drchl*.

Unterthänigst- pflicht gehorsamster *Capellmeister*
Johan Georg Christian Störl.

Stuttgl. d 19 *Maj*
1717.

Possibly a cover for previous document:

"*Hochfürstl Hoff Capell*
betrestendt."

x. 1717 Störl 7 June and 5 August

(D-Sa A21 *Büschel* 607).

Hoch Edler gestreng und Hochgelehrter
Hochgeneigt Hochgefhetister Herr *Patron*

Ew: *Excellenz* habe hiebey die Hoff *Music* Sache wiederum zu senden wollen, wobey ich den auszug der *personen* begehrtter massen *specificirt*, wie es am kürztzesten seyn kan, Es kompt aber alles auff denjenigen anwelcher sowohl die Kirchen als taffel *Musiquen* [Page 2] Wirdt zu *dirigiren* und austzuführen haben, solche mit Vielen od Wenigen *personen* zubestreiten, welches hiermit ohnmaßgeblich beinachrichten sollen, nebst meiner gehorsamsten *recomendation* verharr ich beständig

Ew: Exc:

Stuttgl. d 7 Juny
1717

gehorsamster
diener
JGC Störl.

[new page]

"Hoch Edler! Gestrenger und
Großachbarer Grgl. HochgeEhrtister
Herr Schwager und *Patron*:

Auff der beliebstes an mich Untern 4 *Augustj* nochmahlen eine *Consignation* Wegen der Hoff *Music*, deren der *Numerus* auff 25 *personen* bestehen soll, eileand endzu schicken, habe nicht *manquiren* wollen, hiebey solche zu übersenden, worbey meine wenigl: zu führwehrender Grgl. gewogenheit gehorsaml: überlaste und verharr
Meines HochgeEhrlisten Herrn Schwagers Und *Patron*
Stuttgl. d 5 *Augustj* 1717
gehorsamster

JGC Störl.

xi. 1717 Schwartzkopff 27/v
(D-Sa A21 Büschel 609).

1717.

Unterthänigstes Guthachten
an Seine Hoch Gräffl. *Excellen.*
Herrn Graffen Von Grävenitz.

PP.

Theodori Schwartzkopffs, Frstl: Cappellmeisters zu Stuttgardt.

Die Hoff und Cappell *Music* betreffend.

[Page 2]

Hochgeborhrner Reichs Graff
Gnädigster Graff und Herr.

Nach dem Ewl: Hoch Gräffl. *Excellen:* mir unter dem 15. May Gdgst
befohlen, daß, weilen Ihro Hfrstl. Durchl. seithero in einem und andern
Stück eine beßers *Menage* ein führen zu laßen Gdgst. *resolirt* seyn,
mithin auch wollen daß bey der mit vielen und ohn nöthigen leüthen
übersetzen Cappell-und Taffel *Music* einge änderung getroffen werden
solle, ich Cappellmeister die *Consignation* aller und jeder von Ihro
Hfrstl. Durchl. dermahlen bestallten *Musicorum* zur hand nemen, und
selbige nach der mir obliegenden Pflicht genau *examiniren*, darbey aber
Hauptsächlich dahin, wie fürohin solche große anzahl mehr gedachter
Hoff-*Musicorum* *diminuiret*, hingegen die beste, und nöthigste
virtuosen, choisirt, und solcher gestalten *Serenissimo*

[Page 3]

so wohl in der Cappell, und Camer, alß bey der Tafel mit einer zwar
compendiosen, doch aber wohl besetzten *Music* zu Dero *contentement*
jedes mahlen auff gewarthet werden köne, sehen, hierüber aber meinen
auß führlichen Bericht, und reiftlicher wogenes Guthachten, abfaßen, u:
solches Ewl: Hoch Gräfflen *Excellen:* in aller geheim zusenden solle; So

habe ich zu unthgster folge deßen solches alles nach Möglichkeit zu bewerckstellen, nicht ermanglen und deßentwegen hier allforderisten die Nahmen, und *quatitäten*, der gesamten, so wohl Hoff, und Cappell *Musicorum*, alß Trompeter, *praemittiren* wollen, welche folgende seynd, und zwar

1. Ruffin, verheürathet, Hat ein schöne *discant* Stim, und zimliche *perfection*, dahero sie der zeit die beste unter denen Singerinnen ist.
 2. Kornbeckin auch verheürathet, last zimlich noch, so wohl mit der *discant*-stimen, alß *perfection*.
 3. Schmitbauerin, ledig, Hat eine starcke *discant* Stim, und *perfectionirt* sich noch imer weitters.
 4. *Chernizgin* auch ledig, Hat zwar eine starcke, helle, und nahes *discant*-stim, komt aber schwehrlich zur *perfection*, so, daß sie ein Stuck *extempore* wird singen können.
- [Page 4]
5. *Matthias Gabrielis*, ist ein guther *Altist*, Hat eine guthe reine Stim, und Streicht auch eine mittel mäßige *Violin*.
 6. Joh. Christian Arnold, ein Castrat, Hat zwar keine so gar guthe *Alt*-stim, und *Manieren*, läst sich aber darneben auch zur *Viol*, und alß ein *Copist* gebrauchen, ist *obligat*, weilen er alß ein noch Kleiner, und Eltern laßer Knab, in die Cappell auf genommen worden.
 7. Joh. Christoph Höffelin singt einen schönen *Tenor*, und last sich besonders beÿ den *Camer Musiquen* wohl gebrauchen, Rhat darneben beÿ Hfrstl. Renth *Camer*, alß *Secretarius* dienst.
 8. Joh Georg Schmidbaur singt einen feinen *Tenor*, und führt den *Coral* in Hfrstl. Hoff-Capell, streicht auch beÿ denen Taffel *Musiquen* eine *Viol*.

9. *Giovanne Maria Ricci*, ein Italianer, singt einen schönen *Bass*, besonders beÿ den *Camer Musiquen*, weilen er aber nocht wohl Teütsch singen kan, auch Catholische *Religion* ist, und dahero öffters über Feld in seine Kirch geht, alß kann er nicht beständig, und jedesmahlen in der Cappell gebraucht werden.

10. Georg Christoph Bleßner, singt einen starcken *Bass*, mittelmässiger *Manier*, tractirt

[Page 5]

Auch eine feine *Violin*, *Fleut* und *Hautbois*, so wohlen in der Cappell, alß beÿ denen *Camer*, und Taffel *Musiquen*.

Diese nun wären Gnädigster Graff und Herr diejenige so biß anhero vornehmlich zu der *Vocal-Music* gebraucht worden, und dienste gethan haben.

Instrumentisten und *Trompetter* aber seÿnd folgende, nemlich.

11. Stephan Freüdenberg, ist der beste in der *Violin* und *Viol d'Amour*, bläst eine schöne *Fleut*, auch zwar noth eine *Hautbois*, *Fleut Allemand*, und *Fagott*, schlägt auch guth auf dem *Cembal*.

12. Joh. Eberhard Hildenbrand, ist der beste auff der *Hautbois*, Plast auch eine schöne *Fleut*, und Streicht eine guthe *Violin*.

13. *Francesco Venturini* ein Iatianer, streicht zwahr eine guthe *Violin*, versteth auch den *Violon Cello*, bleibt aber öffters von der Cappell *Music*, wan er alß ein *Catholique* seiner Kirch besucht.

14. Joh. Michael Klockhart ist guth auff der *Hautbois*, *Fleut*, und *Violin*.

[Page 6]

15. Georg Philipp Schwahn ist nicht nur beÿ d *Violin*, und *Viol*, sondern auch besonders als ein *Musicalischer* Paucker wohl zugebrauchen, und ist außer disem keiner da, welcher noch der *Music* die Paucker zu

tractiren versteht, welche Kunst Seine Hfrstl. Durchl. ihn erlernen laßen, dahero er *obligirt* ist, u: alß er vor 3. Jahren von Ihro Durchl: dem Herrn Marggraven zu Baden Durlach, in dienst, vorlangt worden, keine *Dimission* erhalten.

16. *La Rosse* Streicht einen Frantzösischen *Violon* mit schöner *Grace*, besucht aber öffters die Catholische Kirch, und versaumet mithin die *Cappell Music*.

17. Eberhardt Eberlin, streicht den Grossen *Violon* guth, und zur noth eine *Viol*, Plast auch einen *Fagott*.

18. Carl Gustav Radauer streicht den Groß und Kleinen *Violon*, guth, in gleichem eine *Viol*, Plast auch einen *Fagott*, und *Bass-Fleut*.

19. Georg Albrecht Kress streicht das Hand Bassetlein nebst der *Viol*, guth, *tractirt* auch das *Clavir*, und eine *Viol d'Amour*.

20. Joh. Nicola Nicolaj *tractirt* das *Clavir*, und die *Fleut* wohl, Plast auch eine *Hautbois*, und *Fleut Allemand*.

[Page 7]

21. Isaac Seidlen, ist bißhero *organist*, und der beste auff dem *Clavir* geweßen, streicht auch guth den Großen *Violon*.

22. Joh. Georg Zahn, schlägt ein guthes *Clavier*, und streicht eine *Viol*.

23. Georg Christoph Hildenbrand, einer von den ältisten *Musicus*, streicht noch seinen vermögen nach eine, aber schlechte, *Violin*.

24. Sigmund Castenbauer, streicht eine mittelmäßiger *Viol*, und Plast zur noth einen *Fagott*.

25. Joh. Christoph Groth, streicht den *Violoncello*, und eine *Viol*, legt sich aber mehrstens auf die *Mahlerey*, und versaumet damit die *Music*.

26. Joh. Gumbrecht Hat sonsten die *Teorbe*, und Lautten geschlagen, ist aber nunmehr 72. Jahr alt, und einige zeither beständig bettlägerig, dahero zu vermuthen, daß er nicht mehr lang leben werde.

27. *Antoni Maister*, ein Catholique, ist mit den verstorbenen Ober Cappellmeister Petzen, alß *Notist*, anhero komen, streicht eine mittelmäßige *Viol*, und läst sich alß *Notist* beÿ dem *Concertmeister Brescianello* gebrauchen, komt aber selten zur Cappell *Music*.

[Page 8]

28. Maÿer, ist alß ein Kappell Knab beÿ den Hof *Musico* Klockhart um die *Hautbois* zu lernen, streicht eine *Viol*, und frantzösischen *Bass*, Singt auch zur noth einen, aber noch um etwas schwachen *Bass*, und wird zum *nothen* schreiben gebraucht.

29. Georg Heinrich Schmidbauer, ist alß ein Capell Knab, und beÿ seinen Vatter, streicht eine *Viol*, und *Viola da Gamba*, schlägt ein *Clavir*, und Singt einen *Tenor*, beedes zur noth, führet auch in abwesenheit seines Vatters, wan derselbe alß *Coralist* in Ludwigsburg ist, den *Coral* in der Hof Cappel.

30. Joh. Frohmeÿer ein *Castrat*, ist vor 40. Jahren in die Hoff Cappell angenommen worden, genüßt aber dermahlen nur ein leibgeding, und *Dirigirt* seit ettlichen Jahren auf Hfrstl: Gdgste Verordnung, die *Music* in der Stiffts Kirch, dahero er nimer in die Hoff Cappell komt.

31. Joh. Wilhelm *Lumpes* Plast ein guthes Waldhorn, Verstünde auch eine Violin wann er solche nur *tractiren* möchte geht aber alß ein Catholique in seine Kirch, und komt dahero nicht in die Cappell.

[Page 9]

32. Joh. Christoph Biener, Plast auff das Wald Horn guth, und *tractirt* daneben zur noth so wohl eine *Viol*, alß *Fagott*, last sich auch zu zeithen in der Cappell gebrauchen.

33. Georg Melchior Fenchel, ist ein guther *Musicalischer Trompeter*, und Streicht neben einer *perfecten Violin*, auch auf der *Viola da Gamba* gar guth.
34. Otto, ist auch ein guther *Trompeter*, und streicht eine zimlich guthe *Violin*.
35. Schmid, so vor mehr dan einen Halben Jahr alß *Trompeter* in die Cappell angenommen worden, Plast zwar eine passable *Trompet*, Hat aber bißhero noch keine dienste gethan, sondern Hat sich gleich nach Gdgster *Reception*, under dem Vorwand seinen abschied zu Hollen, nacher Hauß begeben, von dar er noch nicht *retournirt*, ohn erachtet in dessen, wie ich berichtet bin, die besoldung auf ihne gereicht worden.
36. Erst ermeldten Schmiden Tochter, so zugleicher zeit mit ihrem Vatter in Diensten Gdgst angenommen worden, [Page 10] Weist zwar mit ihrem Vatter, oder bruder so unter der *Garde* ist, auf der *Trompet* etliche Stück zu Plaffen, Versteht aber im übrigen von der *Music* gar wenig.
37. Schachtenbeck, lässt sich jezuweilen wan es verlangt wird, mit der *Trompet* in der Cappell gebrauchen, Ingleichem
38. Casimiro. und
39. Rieger, welche dreÿ letzen aber mehstens alß Hoff- und Staats *Trompeter* gebraucht werden.
40. Leichtlin. und
41. Russelin, Haben ein leibgeding, Thun aber, wan es die noth erfordert, anoch mit *Trompeten*, nach ihres Kräfte dienst.
42. Reisinger Hoff Paucker, ist zum Staat angenommen, Thut auch beÿ der *Music* keiner Dienst.
Von dem Petzen ist der Ursach hier nichts zugedencken, weilen derselbe in Bayern *engagirt* ist, und bereits seinen abschied allhier sucht. [Page 11]

Hierauf nun Gdgst befohlener maßen maßen mein unthgstes, und unvorschreibliches Guthachten von mir zu geben, so bedunckt mich, daß die gantze Sach hauptsächlich darauf ankome, ob Seine Hfrstl: Durchl: Gdgst *intentionirt* seynen, daß wie biß anhero, alß auch noch hinkünfftig so wohl in Ludwigsburg, alß hier zu Stuttgl: an Sonn, und Fejërtagen, eine Kirchen *Music* auf geführt werden solle. Allermaßen auf solchen fall nach dem Lit. . unthgst beÿ gehendem *Project*, an jedem Orthen Kirchen *Music*, ohne *Trompeten*, und Wald Horn, oder *Hautbois*, wehnigstens 13. biß 14. Persohnen, mithin 28. erfordert würden, mit welchen dan so wohl die Camer, alß Tafel *Music*, auch könnte bestritten werden. Gestalten nach dem *Project Sub Lit. B.* mit 12. *Instrumentisten*, und etliche *virtuosen vocalisten*, eine artige Camer *Music*, nach dem *Project Sub Lit. C.* aber [Page 12] mit 19. biß 20. *Instrumentisten*, eine feine Tafel *Music* gemacht werden könnte. Worbeÿ jedoch zu *consideriren* ist, daß jezu weilen ein, oder andere erkranket, auch von denen Catholiquen beÿ *frequentirung* ihres Gottes Diensts, öftters einige abgehen, so daß danenhero über die auf das genaueste *Specificirte* Persohnene, ohnmaßgäblich, noch einige zur *Reserve* beÿ zu halten nöthig seÿn wird. Wollten aber Seine Hfrstl: Durchl: entweder zu Ludwigsburg, oder Stuttgart, des Sontags die Kirchen *Music*, wider vermuthen, einstellen, so könnte man sich zwar endlich mit etwa 14. Persohnen behelffen, wann nemlich keine Starcke Stuck gemacht würden, und das Jahr durch niemand erkrankte, oder sonsten anderer [?] wegen abgienge.

Gleich wie man aber deßen nicht versichert ist, zumahlen auch die beste Stuck mit mehr dan einfachen *vocal*-stimen, u: nur gedoppelten *Instrumenten* besetzt werden müsten, vornehmlich aber wann die Taffel *Music* wohl besetzt seÿn, u: Haißen solle, wehnigstens 19. biß 20. *Instrumentisten* erfordert werden, alß werden Seine Hf: Durchl: weder [Page 13] von den *Instrumentisten*, nach *vocalisten* wenig, oder wohl gar keine entbehren können. Wolten aber gleich wohlten Seine Hfurstl: Durchl: deßen ungeachtet einige davon zu *dimittiren* Gdgst beliebenso *relinquire* ich solches um so eher Deroselben *Aijudicatur*, alß ich einiges jeden *qualitaeten*, und bißher verrichtete Dienst, Pflichtmäßig beschriben, mir aber nicht andern, entweder wegen seiner besondern

qualitaeten, oder viel Jährigen treü geleisten dienste, eine *Special* Gnad, und *regard* beÿ sich Fügen möchten. Im übrigen aber empfelhe ich mich so wohl zu Seiner H Frstl: Durchl: alß Ewl: Hoch Gräffl. *Excellen:* beharrenden Hohen *Gratien*, und Verharr mit all unterthänigster *Devotion*,

Ewl: Hoch Gräffl. *Excellen:*

Stuttgl. d 27. *Maij* 1717.

Untgst-Gehorsamster
Knecht,

Theodory Schwartzkopff,
Fürstl: Cappellmeister zu Stuttgart.

[Page 14]

A. Zu einer Kirchen *Music* werden auf das wenigste erfordert.

1. oder 2 *Discantisten*, nach deme die Stückhe seÿn.

1. *Alt*.

1. *Tenor*, so zugleich den *Coral* führen kan.

1. *Bass*.

2. *violinen* zu der Ersten, und

2. *violinen* zu deren andern stim, das jede wohl besetzt, u: auch man eine

Saite Springt, kein mangel erfolgen möchte.

2. *Violen*, oder Bratschen.

1. Kleiner *Violon*

1. Großer *[Violon.]*

1. *Organist*.

13. biß 14.

B. Zur *Camer Music* Hat man nöthig.

4. *Violinen*, zu zwey stimen gedoppelt zu besetzen.
2. *Hautbois*, oder *Fleut*.
2. *Viola*.
1. *Viola da Gamba*.
- 1 Kleiner *Bass Violon*.
- 1 Grosser *Bass Violon*.
1. *Clavi Cembel*.

12.

Wor zu neben denen *vocalisten* Höffelin und Ricci, wohl noch ein *virtuoser Vocalist* employirt werden könnte.[Page 15]

C. Eine *Tafel Music* aber wohl zu besetzen werden erfordert.

3. zur Ersten *Violin*.
2. zur zweyten *Violin*.
2. *Hautbois*, oder *Fleuten*.
2. Wald Horn.
2. zur Ersten, und
2. zur andern *Viola*.
1. *Fagott*.
2. Kleine *Bass Violons*.
1. Grosser *Bass Violon*.
1. *Clavi Cembel*.

19. Persohnen.

xii. 1717 Schwartzkopff 5/viii
(D-Sa A21 *Büschel* 607).

1717. Hof *Capell Music*.

Hoch Edel Gestreng und Hochachbarer
Insonders Grgl. Hochgelährter Herr
und *Patron*.

Zu folg in Verwichener Nacht mir *infinuirten ordre*, daß ich ohnverlängt eine *consignation* der besten vorhandenen *Musicorum* aus 25. Personen bestehend, einsenden solle, habe ein solches zubewerkstelligen nicht ermanglen Wollen; Wie dan hierbey eine solche *consignation* folgt; worunter aber weder die 2. Waldhornisten Wilhelm Lumpes, und Joh: Christoph Biener, und die beede *Trompeter* Fenchel und Otto, die biß *dato* auch mit *violinen* dienst gethan, nach die beede Cappell-knaben Maÿer, und Schmidbauer begriffen seÿnd. Sollten aber diese alle auch unter der Zahl der 25. Würcklichen *Musicorum* seÿn, so könnte statt der 2. Waldhornisten hinweg gethan werden Christoph Hildenbrand, und *Anthoni* Maister; anstatt der beeden *Trompter* Fenchel und Otto, könnte hinweg gethan werden Joh: Christoph Kroth und Sigmund Castenbauer; und an statt der beeden Cappell Knaben, die man

[Page 2]

Wegen abschreibung der Noten, und andern zu thun habenden diensten nicht wohl bey der Cappell entbehren kan, die auch sonsten beßer alß der Christoph Hildebrand und *Anth.* Maister zugebrauchen, und zumachen *ratione* ihres habenden *tractaments* nur von eine Persohn zu rechnen seÿnd, könnte hinweg gethan werden die Kornbeckin und abwohlen ich hier auch gern den Arnold bemerken wolte, so muß ich aber melden daß weilen Er wegen daß *Altisten Gabrielis* öfterer unpäßligkeit auß noht den *Alt* singen muß, und auch sonsten sach zu der *viol* zustreichen, und *noten* schreiben gebrauchen last, nicht wohl zu entbehren ist. Und diß wäre, so ich hiebey hätte anden können. Wormit ich mich zu beharrl: Großgunst empfehle unter Gött Schirms erlaßung verharrend.

Meines Gegl: Hochge[?]ten Herren
und *Patronen*.

Stuttgl: den 5. Augl:
1717.

Ergebenßer Diener

Theodory Schwartzkopff
Cappellmeister.

[Page 3]

A Monsieur,
Monsieur Erhard, Conseilier d'Expeditione dela Chambre de S.A. S.
Monseigl. le Duc de Wurtembl. present à Louisbourg.

[Page 4]

Consignation Würcklicher Musicorum von 25. Persohnen.

Ruffin.

Kornbeckin.

Schmidbaurin.

Matthias Gabrielis.

Joh: Christoph Höfflein.

Joh: Georg Schmidbauer.

Giovanne Maria Ricci.

Stephan Freüdenberg

Eberhard Hildenbrand.

Francesco Venturini.

Joh: Michael Klockhart

Georg Christoph Blessner

Georg Philipp Schwahn

Isacc Seidlin

Joh: Nicola Nicolaj

Eberhard Eberlin.

La Ross

Carl Gustav Radauer

Georg Albrecht Kress

Joh: Georg Zahn

Joh: Christian Arnold

Sigmund Castenbauer

Joh: Christoph Kroth

Georg Christoph Hildenbrand

Anthoni Maister.

xiii. *c.1717 Störl Kirchen Music*
(D-Sa A21 Büschel 609).

Zu einer vollständig und Wohlbesetzten Kirchen Music seynd von
Nöthen

Vocalisten

Sopranisten 4.

1. *discant* Frau Ruestin
2. *discant* Frau Kornbecken
- 1 *Ripieno* Jungfr: Schmidtbaüern
2. *Ripieno* Jungfr: *Scharnizki.*
- 2 *Altisten Gabriel*, v: *Arnold*
- 2 *Tenoristen Höflein* v: *Schmidtbauer*
- 2 *Bassisten Ricci* v: *Bleßner.*

10 *personen.*

Instrumentisten

- 2 *Organisten*, *Seidel* und *Nicolaj.*
- 3./1. *Violinisten*, *Freüdenberg*, *Venturini* v: *Eb: Hildenbrandt.*
- 3./2. *Violinisten Klockart*, *Christ: Hildenbrandt* v: *Kress."*

Page 2

- "2/1 *Bratchanisten Zahn*, und *Castenbauer*
- 2/2 *Bratchanisten*, *Schwan*, v: *Capellknaben*
Schmidtbauer od *Majer*

11 *personen*

Bassisten

Frantzösischen <i>Bass</i>	<i>La Ros.</i>
Großen <i>Violon.</i>	<i>Eberle</i>

Fagott
Violoncello

Radauer
Groth.

item die 2 *Capellknaben* zum *choral* und Nothen schreiben,
Schmidbauer und Majer. 4 *personen*.

zusamen 27 *personen*, mit denen *Capellknaben*.

Mit obigen *personen* kan man nicht nur allein die Kirchen *Music*, sondern auch die taffel und *Camer Music* bestreiten. So aber davon einige solten abgehen, so Wirdt [Page 3] es so Wohl beÿ der Kirch: alß taffel *Music* schwach herauß komen, da fern einige Krank od nicht zu gegen seÿndt: die *Vocalisten* müßen sich zum theil auch beÿ der taffel *Music* gebrauchen lassen, sonstn dieselbe nicht genugsam besetzt würde. Übrige *personen* so auch beÿ Fstl. *Visitation* allwo Ihnen die besoldungen Angewießen, zufinden seÿn. Wolten aber Ew: Hochfstl. Drchl. die *Capelle* gar mit Wenig leüthen bestellt haben, so müßte man den *Numerum* nur auff 17 biß 20 *personen* einrichten, ob Waren aber die stimen gar schwach besetzt.

Störl.

xiv. 1718 Castenbauer *Inventarium*
(D-Sa A21 Büschel 609).

Inventarium.

*Derjenigen Instrumenten, welche dato dem neu angenommenen
Instrumenten Verwalter, Sigmund Castenbauren, tradirt worden;*

1. *Eine orgel, welche in der frstl: Hof Capell unden stehet und beÿ dem Gottesdienst, auch Musiquen gebraucht wird, mit .5. Register, sogar schlecht;*
2. *Ein Positiv, mit .4. Register, so zu ludwigsburg sich befindet;*
3. *Ein orgelwercks mit .8. Register im frstl: Gymnasio, allhier, so guth und wohl zu gebrauchen;*
4. *Ein orgelwercks mit .4. Register von aichen holz der Cast, so zu ludwigsburg.*
5. *Ein aufrechtes Spinet, so in der Hof Cappell steht;*

[Page 2]

6. *Ein großer flügel mit Einem Sub bass, steht im frstl: Schloß allhier;*
7. *Ein dreÿfaches Instrument im Capellhauß stehend;*
8. *Ein geflügelt Instrument mit doppelten dackhen, steht in dem thurn.*
9. *Ein alt langes Instrument hat gedoppelte dackhen ohne Zug, mit Elfenbeinen Clavier und Zierath, ist incomplet v: übel zugereicht, steht in dem thurn;*

10. *Ein alt langes Instrument* mit doppelten dackhen ohne Zug, mit Einem braunen *Clavier, incomplet* und übel zugereicht;

11. *Ein Clave Cymbel*, so beÿ denen *opern* gebraucht wird, so Hl: *Brescianello* im hauß;

12. *Ein Instrument* von Hl: *Secret: Schafern* erkaufft.

[Page 3]

13. *Ein Instrument* vom Capellmt: *Pezen* erhandelt;

Violons.

1. 15. güthe Münchenes *Violinen*.

2. 6. *Braccio*.

3. 2. alte dergl:

4. 2. große *Violons*.

5. Ein halber großer *Bass*.

6. 7. frantzösische *Bäss*.

7. 2. Hand *Gamba* v: 1. *Viola du Gamba*.

8. 2. *Hautbois* von Cornet-thon.

9. 1. dergleichen von buchbaum.

10. 2. *Hautbois* vom braunen holz.

[Page 4]

11. 2. frantzösischer *Fagots*.

12. 1. Teütscher *Fagot*.

Daß vorstehende *Instrumenten* in beÿ sein Unterzogenen außerlesen und alß brauchbahr zur Hof Capell und andern Herrschaftl: *Musiquen* erachtet: und zugleich dem *Instrum:* Verwalter behörig *tradirt* worden, bescheint; Sigl: Stuttgl: in der Hof-Capell, d. 24.ten 9br: 1718./.

[Page 5]

Consignatio,

Derjenigen Instrumenten, welche noch theils reparirt: und theils zur Noth gebraucht werden können.

1. 2. [10 crossed out] *Violins.*
2. 7. *Braccio.* [crossed out]
3. 1. großer *Violon.*
4. 7. frantzös.[abbrev. symbol] *Bäss.*
5. 2. *Viola du Gamba.*
6. 2. *Viola d' amour.*
7. 1. *Laute.*
8. 2. *Theorbe,* worund die einte mit Elfenbeinren stähnen;
9. 2. flöthen.
10. 2. flöth *Bäss.*
11. 3. *Posaunen.*
12. 1. *Clarinet.*

daß verstehendes gleichfalß dem *Instrumenten* Verwalten übergeben word, befindt; d. 24. tn. 9br 1718.

[Page 6]

Consignatio,

Derjenigen Instrumenten, welche vor ohnbrauchbahr und nicht zutractiren, alß alte Sachen, dienlich seynd;

1. Ein *Stimwercks* querflöthen sauber beschlagen, in Einem *foutral* 7. stl:
2. Sechs *Ragetten* in Einem *foutral*.
3. Ein großer *quint Pomer*:
4. Zwey Zimlich alt und bereits geflickte Trompeten.
5. 5. Rühhörner.
6. dreÿ *Cornet* von Elfenbein in Einem *foutral*;
7. Ein *quint Fagot*.
8. Zwey *Tenor Pomer*, darund Einer in Einem *foutral*.
9. Ein alter teütscher *Fagot*.
10. Ein *Serpanter*.
11. fünst *Tenor Zincken*.

[Page 7]

12. 32. *Corneti muti*.

13. 10. Krumhörner.

14. 4. *Bassflöthen*

15. 2. *Fagots.*

16. 2. *Cornetinichen.*

17. 1. *Zimbell, so Vbroch;*

Daß vorstehendes auch empfangen und.

xv. 1720 Brescianello
(D-Sa A21 Büschel 609).

Address.

Dem Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Eberhard Ludwig, Herzogen zur Wirtenberg, und Täk, Graffen zur Mömppegardt, Herrn zu Heÿdenheim der R: R M: des Heÿl: Römß: Reichs, und deß Löbl: Schwäbl: Creÿses *General Feld Marchallen*, auch Obristen über dreÿ Regimenter zu Roß und Fuß. Meinem Gnädigsten Fürsten und Herrn.

[Page 2]

Durchleuchtigster Herzog
Gnädigster Fürst und Herr.

Nach deme Ewer Hochfürstl: Durchl: an das Ober Hoff-Marchallen-Ambt, *per Signaturam, Sub dato* den 8.^{ten} Jan: dieses Jahres, die Gnädigste *Resolution* ergehen Laßen, daß Höchst-besorgt dieselbe Gnädigst Wißen möchten, wie dero Hoff *Music* dermahlen so wohl an *Vocalisten* alß *Instrumentisten* beschaffen, dahero mich *Subsignirten* hierüber Vernehmen, und ich deren habenden *qualiteten* deutlich *consigniren*, und einschicken solle, um das weiter hierüb Sich Gnädigst entschließen zu kennen. Alß hab ich Ewer: Hochfrstl: Dhl: zu unterthönigster folge gehorsambst berichten sollen, wie nemlich ein und des andern *Musici* Seine *qualiteten*, und auch wie ein oder der andere in seinem *officio* sich aufführet;

Anlangendt um die
Vocalisten.

Ruffin	gut
Höfflein	

Ricci
Schmidbaur

Kornbeckin die seind nicht unrecht
Gabriel
Arnold
[Page 3]
Instrumentalisten

Seidel, dieser ist gewis guth.

Nicolaj.
Freudenberg
Eberhard Hildebrand gute.
Venturini
Fischer

Bleßner. dieser thut so wohl *vocalist-* alß *Instrumentist* seine dienste, daß man mit ihme zufriden und ohne Klag sein kan.

Bener: der *tractiret* das Waldhorn garwohl, der mir gar nöthig in der taffel *Music*, und mein unterthänigstes bitten, ihme einen Cameraden gnädigst zu geben zu laßen, daß Er sich in solchen *Instrument* beßer *exerciren* könnte.

Eberle
Radauer gute.
La Rase

Schwan. dieser *tracirt* die *Musicalische* Paucken

Grott. passabel.

Sigmund, dieser thut was er kan, und zwar gantz willig und ist alß *Instrument* Verwalter fleisig dabey.
Bellerosch, dieser ist mein *Copist*, und thut bey der *Music* auch was Er kan.

[Page 4]

Hildebrand der alte, diser *meritirt* als ein alter diener eine Gnad, weilen
Er seine dienst noch fleisich Versicht.

Und dieses ist was ich Vor diesesmal berichten kan.
und stelle mich mit underthänigster *submission* zu dero stets wehrender
Gnad und Hulden, und empfehl

Ewr Hochfrstl: Dhl:

Stuttgardt den 2. *Martij*
N:1720.

Unterthänigst Verpflicht
gehorsamster

Brescianello
Musices Director

xvi. 1722 *Consignation*
(D-Sa A21 *Büschel* 607).

1722.

Consignation

Samthis beÿ fürstl: Hoff= *Capell engagirter* Persohnen, wie hoch deren *Numerus anno* 1717 gewesen und *anno* 1721 gestanden, auch welchergestalten selbige damahlen und anjetzo besoldet wurden,

Beschrieben im *Febr*: 1722.

[Page 2-3]

Cappelmeister.

Joseph Brescianello, Director Musices, hat Jährlich zu empfangen samt 100 thlr: Haußzinnß . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 1150 K

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Theodorus Schwartzkopff hat in allem . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 300 K

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Johann Georg Christian Störlle . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 150 K

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Erringert . . . 354 K.

Discantisten.

des *Visitations Cancellisten* Ruoffen Frau alß des Schmidbauren Tochter hat . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 150 K

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Maria Dorothea Kornbeckhin samt 21. Gvor holtz . . .
Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G
Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Altisten.

Matthaeus Gabrielis hat sam 21.G. vor Holtz . . .
Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G
Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Johann Christian Arnold samt 8. G. vor Holtz . . .
Besoldung 1717 . . . 150 G
Numerus personarum . . . 1.

[Page 4-5]

Tenoristen.

Johann Christoph Höflein samt 30. G. vor Holtz..
Besoldung 1717 . . . 300 G
Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Johann Georg Schmidbaur, so zugleich *Choralist* samt 25. G. vor Holtz . . .
Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G
Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Bassisten.

Giovani Mario Riccy . . .
Besoldung 1717 . . . 480 G
Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Georg Christoph Bleßner, so zugleich *Violist* samt 21. G. vor Holtz . . .
Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G
Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Instrumentisten.

Stephan Freudenberg sambt 30. G. vor Holtz . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 300 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Francisco Venturini . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 400 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Johann Eberhardt Hildebrand gleichfalß . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 400 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Georg Christoph Hildebrand samt 21. G. vor Holtz . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Johann Michaël Glockhart

Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Johann Georg Zahn . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Georg Philipp Schwan, zugleich Pauckher samt 15. G. vor Holtz . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 200 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

[Page 6-7]

Instrumentisten.

Georg Albrecht Kreß samt 21. G. vor Holtz . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Erhardt Eberl gleichfalß . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

La Rose samt 30. G. vor Holtz . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 300 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Isaac Seidel auch also . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 300 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Nicola Nicolai . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 300 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Gustav Radauer samt 21. G. vor Holtz . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 247 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Georg Melchior Fenchel Musicalischer Trompeter samt 30. G. vor Holtz .

..

Besoldung 1717 . . . 325 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Johann Fridrich Otto auch also . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 30 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

2. Cappel Knaben Schmidbauer und Maÿer vor die Cost . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 141 G 45 p

Numerus personarum . . . 2.

2. Waldhornisten alß Lumpe und Bühner à. 300 . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 600 G

Numerus personarum . . . 2.

[Page 8-9]

Trompeter.

Johann Casimir Gundel samt 30. G. vor Holtz . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 250 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Johann Heinrich Schachtenbeckh, gleichflaß . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 250 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Philipp Heinrich Riegger . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 250 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Johann Christoph Schmid..

Besoldung 1717 . . . 250 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Deßen Tochter Elisabetha Schmidin, so auch die Trompeten blast . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 150 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Hoff Pauckher.

Jeremias Christian Reysinger samt 14. G. vor Holtz . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 174 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Hoff Calcant

Philipp Jungheim samt 10. G. vor Holtz . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 140 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Hofforgelmacher

Baumeister . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 61 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

[Page 10-11]

Victalitia und Leibgeding.

Johann Gumprecht hat ad dies vita . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 150 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Christian Klotz gleichfalß . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 150 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Neujahr, weil Er bey fürstl: Kirchen-Raths Schreibtisch auch noch Dienst thut, gleich andern *Cancellisten* . . . 9. G.

Johann Frommaÿer . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 150 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Daniel Rousle Trompeter . . .

Besoldung 1717 . . . 100 G

Numerus personarum . . . 1.

Appendix B

Edited Music of Schwartzkopff and Pez

Critical Commentary

As the sources for this edition consist of the original performing parts the majority of mistakes have already been corrected by the Württemberg court musicians themselves (most often the addition of accidentals) and as the manuscripts were prepared by semi-professional copyists errors have been kept to a minimum. The copyist of the two works by Schwartzkopff presented here (probably the composer himself) was particularly meticulous. Spelling of movement titles has been modernized on the score and all dynamics, articulation, and other markings are preserved as they appear in the source. Clefs have been modernized, in particular the unusually high Viola I parts of Pez's *Concerto* (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{18a}), and Schwartzkopff's overture-suite (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹⁰)—from a C1 to a G2 clef.

i. Theodor Schwartzkopff, *Overture à 5* for trumpet, violin, two violas, and basso continuo

SOURCE: D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹⁰

TITLE-PAGE: "Ouverture à 5. 1 Clarino et 4 Viol: . . . Theodory Schwarzkopff."

MOVEMENTS: I—*Ouverture*; II—*Bouree*; III—*Menuet*; IV—*Chaconne*; V—*Gigue*.

PARTS: i—*Clarino*; ii—*Violino*; iii—*Viola 1*; iv—*Viola 2*; v—*Violon*; vi—*Cimbalo*.

The continuo line is a reduction of parts v and vi, and use of the terms "Cemb." and "Tutti" indicates when these divided. Clef changes in vi originally matched whichever part was being doubled. The first and

second-time bars in I are editorial additions based on modern convention, the source itself makes use of the sign J

The "tous" and "Sol:" markings on i were probably made by the only French trumpeter employed by the court around this time—Daniel Rousselin.

I vi 12 last crotchet, option of g' or g"/ I vi 56 last crotchet, option of g' or g"/ I i 39 2nd quaver g' should possibly be a b' to match ii?/

ii. Johann Christoph Pez, *Ouverture à 4* for two oboes, *Haute-Contre, Taille*, and basso continuo

SOURCE: D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38²⁴

TITLE-PAGE: "B. N^{ro} 24 Ouverture [crossed out—*Pieces pour la Musique de Table*] à 2 Haubois Concer: o Violini, 2 Violas, 1 Bass Continuo Di J. C. Pez."

MOVEMENTS: I—*Ouverture* (vi—*Ouuerture*); II—*Entree*; III—*Air* (vi—*Aria*); IV—*Rondeau*; V—*Menuet Alternativement avec le Trio suivant*; VI—*Trio*; VII—*Gigue*.

PARTS: i—*Hautbois 1mo*; ii—*Hautbois 2d^o*; iii—*Haute-Contre*; iv—*Taille*; v—*Basson*; vi—*Basso* (in a different hand from the remaining parts).

Parts i and ii are identical and therefore have been reduced to a single line, as is also the case for v and vi. The key-signature of g minor has been added to conform to modern convention.

I iii 19 1st note b'/ I iv 20 6th note b'/ I iv 27 3rd note b'/ I v & vi 28 4th note B/ I v & vi 29 11th note f#/ I i & ii 30 5th note b'/ I v & vi 34 4th note c/ I iv 41 1st note b/ II i & ii 15 2nd note f'/ III ii 2 1st note b"/ III iv 13 2nd note c"/ III iv 14 2nd note c"/ IV ii 9 1st note b"/ IV iv 9 4th note b^b/ IV iv 10 1st note b'/ IV iv 12 4th note b'/ IV i & ii 20 4th note b"/ IV v & vi 22 2nd note c/ IV ii 26 3rd note b'/ IV ii 36 4th note b"/ V v has an extra bar 6—cut/ V v & vi 6 4th note b"/ VI v & vi 12 3rd note b/ VII i & ii 3 1st note b"/ VII iii 9 1st note b'/ VII iv 10 2nd note b'/ VII iii 24 4th note b'.

iii. Theodor Schwartzkopff, *Concerto à 7* for two oboes, two violins, two violas, and basso continuo

SOURCE: D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹¹

TITLE-PAGE: "Concerto à 7. 2 Hautbois, 2 Violin, 2 Viola et Fagotto. Theodorus Schwartzkopff."

MOVEMENTS: *Concerto* I—*Spiritoso*; II—*dolce, adagio*; III—*Fuga, allegro*; IV—*Grave, presto*; V—*Aria*.

PARTS: i—*Hautbois 1.^{mo}*; ii—*Hautbois 2.^{do}*; iii—*Violino 1.^{mo}*; iv—*Violino 2.^{do}*; v—*Viola 1.^{ma}*; vi—*Viola 2.^{da}*; vii—*Violon*; viii—*Basson*; ix—*Cembalo*.

The continuo line in I, II, and IV is a reduction of parts vii-ix. Clef changes in the ix originally matched whichever part was being doubled.

I iii 19 8th note g[#]/ II ix 16 option of d' or d" given/ III ii, v, viii & ix 4th note g[#]/ III viii & ix 22 3rd note G[#]/ III ii 22 4th note crotchet/ IV i & iii 4 4th note c[#]/ IV viii & ix 5 3rd note G[#]/ IV ix 33 2nd note g/ IV ii 38 5th note a'/ IV i & ii 53 1st note c".

iv. Johann Christoph Pez, *Concerto Grosso à 6* for two oboes, violin, two violas, and basso continuo

SOURCE: D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{18a}

TITLE-PAGE: "C. N.^{ro} 11 Concerto Grosso a 6, 2 Hautbois Concer^{ti}, 4 Instr: di Sgr Pez."

MOVEMENTS: I—*Sonata, allegro* (vi—*Sinfonia*); II—*Fuga* (vi—*Fuga, allegro*); III—*Grave*; IV—*Presto*; V—*Prestissimo*.

PARTS: i—*Hautbois 1^{mo}*; ii—*Hautbois Secondo*; iii—*Violino per il Coro*; iv—*Viola 1^{ma}*; v—*Viola Seconda*; vi—*Basso Continuo*.

Clef changes in II vi originally matched whichever part was being doubled.

I ii 6 11th note c[#]/ I ii 7 8th note c[#]/ I ii 10 12th note c[#]/ I iii 21 1st note b"/ I iv 30 1st note g'/ I iii 21 1st note b"/ II iii 28 7th note g[#]/ II ii 43 first note c"/ III ii 8 missing ninth and tenth quavers e" and d",

added/ III v 43 crotchet rest added before b' / V iv one whole bar missing,
repeated 21.

Theodor Schwartzkopff

Overture à 5

for trumpet, violin, two violas,
and basso continuo

D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹⁰.

Trumpet Overture

Violin tous.

Viola I

Viola II

Cont

1. 10 2. allegro

sol.

Cemb.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Overture à 5 (58¹⁰), 496

First system of the musical score, measures 1-3. The score is written for five staves: four treble clefs and one bass clef. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The first staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The second staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The third staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The fourth staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The fifth staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure.

15

Second system of the musical score, measures 4-6. The score is written for five staves: four treble clefs and one bass clef. The music continues with the same complex rhythmic pattern. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The first staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The second staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The third staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The fourth staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The fifth staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The word "tous." is written above the first staff in measure 6. The word "Tutti" is written above the fifth staff in measure 6.

20

Third system of the musical score, measures 7-9. The score is written for five staves: four treble clefs and one bass clef. The music continues with the same complex rhythmic pattern. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The first staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The second staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The third staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The fourth staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The fifth staff has a repeat sign at the end of the first measure. The word "Tutti" is written above the fifth staff in measure 7. The word "tous." is written above the first staff in measure 9. The key signature changes to two flats (B-flat and E-flat) in measure 9.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Overture à 5 (58¹⁰), 497

sol. tous.

Cemb.

TuHi

56 6 6

25

cemb.

4 3 6

TuHi

4 2 # 6 6 #

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Overture à 5 (58¹⁰), 498

30

sol.

cemb.

35

tous.

Tutti

6 6 6

7 6 7 6 7 6

40

sol. tous.

7 6 6 4 5 3 7

sol.

6 4 3 6 6

45 *adagio*

6 6 # 7 6 # 6 6

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Overture à 5 (58¹⁰), 500

50

4045.

6 7 4 3 6b 6 6

55

1.

6 43

2.

6 43

Bourrée

The musical score for the Bourrée consists of five staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a 'sol.' marking. The second staff is a treble clef. The third staff is a treble clef with a sharp sign. The fourth staff is a treble clef with a sharp sign. The fifth staff is a bass clef. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and fingerings (6, 4, 3). The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the first staff starting on a treble clef and the fifth staff on a bass clef. The second system shows the continuation of the piece, with the first staff on a treble clef and the fifth staff on a bass clef. The third system shows the continuation of the piece, with the first staff on a treble clef and the fifth staff on a bass clef.

sol.

6 6

5

6 4 3

10

6 6 6

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Overture à 5 (58¹⁰), 502

15

43 6

20

6 6 6 5

25

tous.

6 6 b

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Overture à 5 (58¹⁰), 503

30

43

This musical score consists of five staves. The first two staves are in treble clef, the third in treble clef, the fourth in alto clef (C-clef), and the fifth in bass clef. The music is written in a 5/8 time signature. Measures 30 and 31 show a melodic line in the upper staves and a bass line in the lower staves. Measures 32 through 43 show a continuation of this pattern, with the upper staves playing a melodic line and the lower staves playing a bass line. The score ends with a double bar line at measure 43. A forte dynamic marking (f) is present at the beginning of measure 32 and at the end of measures 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, and 43.

Menuet

5

sol.

43 6

Detailed description: This system contains measures 1 through 5 of the Minuet. It features five staves: two treble clefs, two alto clefs, and one bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. Measure 1 includes a 'sol.' (soprano) instruction. Measure 5 ends with a repeat sign. Fingerings 43 and 6 are indicated at the bottom.

10

Detailed description: This system contains measures 6 through 10. It continues the five-staff arrangement. Measure 10 ends with a repeat sign. The musical notation includes various note values and rests across all staves.

15

43

Detailed description: This system contains measures 11 through 15. It continues the five-staff arrangement. Measure 15 ends with a repeat sign. The notation shows a continuation of the melodic and harmonic lines from the previous systems.

Chaconne

sol.

5

6 5 43 5

10

6 5 56

15

56 6 4 5 3 6 5b 5 6 4+

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Overture à 5 (58¹⁰), 506

20 25

6 5 6 5b 5 6 4+ 6 4 5 3

30

5 6 3 4 6 4 5 4 3 5 6 3 4

35

6 5 4 3

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Overture à 5 (58¹⁰), 507

40

4 3

This system contains measures 40 through 44. It features five staves: four treble clefs and one bass clef. The music is written in a complex, rhythmic style with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The key signature has one flat. Measure numbers 40 and 43 are indicated above the first staff. The numbers 4 and 3 are written below the bass staff at the end of the system.

45

6 4 5 3

6 4 5 3

This system contains measures 45 through 49. It features five staves: four treble clefs and one bass clef. The music continues with complex rhythmic patterns. Measure numbers 45 and 48 are indicated above the first staff. The numbers 6 4 5 3 are written below the bass staff at the end of the system, appearing twice.

50

55

6 4 5 3

This system contains measures 50 through 54. It features five staves: four treble clefs and one bass clef. The music continues with complex rhythmic patterns. Measure numbers 50 and 55 are indicated above the first staff. The numbers 6 4 5 3 are written below the bass staff at the end of the system.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Overture à 5 (58¹⁰), 508

60

6 4 5 3

6 4 5 3

This system contains measures 60 through 64. It features five staves: four treble clefs and one bass clef. The music is written in a complex, rhythmic style with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Measure 60 starts with a treble staff containing a half note, a quarter note, and a half note, followed by a whole rest. The bass staff begins with a 6/4 time signature, which changes to 5/3 in measure 61. The system concludes with a 6/4 time signature that changes to 5/3 in measure 64.

65

4 3

This system contains measures 65 through 69. It features five staves: four treble clefs and one bass clef. The music continues with complex rhythmic patterns. Measure 65 starts with a treble staff containing a whole rest, followed by a half note, a quarter note, and a half note. The system concludes with a 4/3 time signature in the bass staff in measure 69.

70

4 3

This system contains measures 70 through 74. It features five staves: four treble clefs and one bass clef. The music continues with complex rhythmic patterns. Measure 70 starts with a treble staff containing a half note, a quarter note, and a half note, followed by a whole rest. The system concludes with a 4/3 time signature in the bass staff in measure 74.

75

This musical system contains measures 75 through 79. It is written for five staves: two treble clefs, an alto clef, and two bass clefs. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests. A key signature change to one flat is indicated by a flat symbol on a note in measure 77. Below the staves, the figured bass notation is given as 4 3 for measures 75-76, 6 5b for measures 77-78, and 6 4 5 3 for measure 79.

80

This musical system contains measures 80 through 83. It continues the five-staff arrangement. The notation features similar rhythmic patterns to the previous system. The figured bass notation below the staves is 6 5b for measures 80-81 and 6 4 5 3 for measures 82-83.

Gigue

sol.

6

6

The first system of the musical score for the Gigue, measures 1-5. It features five staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature. The second staff is in treble clef and contains a whole rest. The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp. The fourth staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one sharp. The fifth staff is in bass clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The word 'sol.' is written above the second staff. The number '6' appears below the third and fifth staves.

tous.

6 6

The second system of the musical score, measures 6-10. It features five staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp. The second staff is in treble clef. The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp. The fourth staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one sharp. The fifth staff is in bass clef. The music continues with eighth and sixteenth notes. The word 'tous.' is written above the second staff. The number '6 6' appears below the fifth staff.

10

15

6

6

The third system of the musical score, measures 11-15. It features five staves. The top staff is in treble clef. The second staff is in treble clef. The third staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one sharp. The fourth staff is in bass clef. The music continues with eighth and sixteenth notes. The number '10' is written above the first staff, and '15' is written above the second staff. The number '6' appears below the fourth and fifth staves.

Johann Christoph Pez

Overture à 4

for two oboes, *Haute-Contre, Taille,*
and basso continuo

D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38²⁴.

Oboe I & II **Overture**

Haute-Contre

Taille

Cont

5

10

First system of the musical score, measures 1-3. The score is written for four staves: two treble clefs (top two staves) and two bass clefs (bottom two staves). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music consists of eighth and quarter notes, with some rests.

Second system of the musical score, measures 15-16. The system is marked with a repeat sign and a first ending bracket labeled '15' and a second ending bracket labeled '2.'. The tempo marking 'presto' is written above the staff. The music features a mix of eighth and quarter notes, with some rests.

Third system of the musical score, measures 17-18. The music continues with eighth and quarter notes, maintaining the B-flat key signature.

20

First system of the musical score, measures 19-20. The score is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The first staff (top) has a treble clef and a B-flat key signature. The second staff has a treble clef and a B-flat key signature. The third staff has an alto clef and a B-flat key signature. The fourth staff has a bass clef and a B-flat key signature. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and ties.

Second system of the musical score, measures 21-22. The score continues with the same four-staff structure and key signature. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and ties.

Third system of the musical score, measures 23-24. The score continues with the same four-staff structure and key signature. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and ties.

25

Two systems of four staves each. The first system contains measures 25 and 26. The second system contains measures 27 and 28. The music is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests and accidentals.

Two systems of four staves each. The first system contains measures 29 and 30. The second system contains measures 31 and 32. The music continues in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat. The notation features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

30

Two systems of four staves each. The first system contains measures 33 and 34. The second system contains measures 35 and 36. The music is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat. The notation includes eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, along with rests and accidentals.

The first system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second staff is also in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The third staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The music features a variety of note values including eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing rests.

The second system of musical notation continues the piece with four staves. The notation is consistent with the first system, featuring treble, alto, and bass clefs with a key signature of one flat. The music includes complex rhythmic patterns with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes.

35

The third system of musical notation begins at measure 35 and consists of four staves. The notation continues with the same instrumental parts and key signature. The music is characterized by dense, fast-moving passages in several of the staves.

The first system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and one flat (Bb). The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, creating a dense texture. The first measure of the system contains a key signature change from one sharp to one flat.

40

The second system of musical notation consists of four staves, continuing the piece. The notation is dense with rapid sixteenth-note passages. The key signature remains one flat (Bb). The system begins with a measure that contains a key signature change from one flat to one sharp (F#).

The third system of musical notation consists of four staves. The notation continues with complex rhythmic patterns. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The system begins with a measure that contains a key signature change from one sharp to one flat (Bb).

First system of musical notation, measures 1-44. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the second and third staves are in alto clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many eighth and sixteenth notes, and some rests.

45

Second system of musical notation, measures 45-88. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the second and third staves are in alto clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music continues with a complex rhythmic pattern, including many eighth and sixteenth notes, and some rests.

Third system of musical notation, measures 89-132. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the second and third staves are in alto clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music continues with a complex rhythmic pattern, including many eighth and sixteenth notes, and some rests.

50

This musical system contains measures 50 and 51. It features four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 50 shows continuous eighth-note patterns across all staves. Measure 51 introduces a key change to two sharps (F# and C#) in the second and fourth staves, while the first and third staves remain in the original key.

1. 2.

This musical system contains measures 52, 53, and 54, marked with first and second endings. The first ending (marked '1.') spans measures 52 and 53, leading to a repeat sign. The second ending (marked '2.') is a single measure (measure 54) that concludes the section. The notation includes various rests and melodic lines across the four staves, with the bass staff showing a more active eighth-note pattern in measure 52.

Entrée

The first system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The music begins with a whole rest on the first staff, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes across the four staves.

The second system of musical notation continues the piece. It features four staves with various note values including eighth, quarter, and half notes. A measure number '5' is placed above the first staff of this system.

The third system of musical notation includes first and second endings. It starts with a first ending bracket over two measures, followed by a double bar line and a second ending bracket over two measures. A measure number '10' is placed above the first staff. The system concludes with a series of eighth and quarter notes.

The fourth system of musical notation continues the piece with four staves. It features various note values and rests, including a half note and a quarter note. The system ends with a key signature change to two flats (B-flat and E-flat).

15

This system contains measures 15 through 18. It features four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music consists of eighth and quarter notes, with some measures containing rests. Measure 15 starts with a treble staff containing a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4, followed by a half note G4. The bass staff contains a quarter note F3, a quarter note G3, and a quarter note A3, followed by a half note F3. Measure 16 continues the melodic lines. Measure 17 has a whole rest in the first treble staff. Measure 18 ends with a double bar line.

20

This system contains measures 19 through 22. It features four staves. Measure 19 begins with a treble staff containing a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4, followed by a half note G4. The bass staff contains a quarter note F3, a quarter note G3, and a quarter note A3, followed by a half note F3. Measure 20 continues the melodic lines. Measure 21 has a whole rest in the first treble staff. Measure 22 ends with a double bar line.

25

This system contains measures 23 through 26. It features four staves. Measure 23 begins with a treble staff containing a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4, followed by a half note G4. The bass staff contains a quarter note F3, a quarter note G3, and a quarter note A3, followed by a half note F3. Measure 24 continues the melodic lines. Measure 25 has a whole rest in the first treble staff. Measure 26 ends with a double bar line.

Air

Measures 1-4 of the 'Air' section. The score is written for four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The music features a melodic line in the upper staves and a supporting bass line in the lower staves.

5

Measures 5-8 of the 'Air' section. The musical notation continues with similar melodic and harmonic patterns. A repeat sign is visible at the end of measure 8.

10

Measures 9-12 of the 'Air' section. Dynamic markings are present: *p:* (piano) above the first staff in measure 10, *f:* (forte) above the first staff in measure 11, and *p:* below the second staff in measure 11.

15

Measures 13-16 of the 'Air' section. Dynamic markings include *p:* above the first staff in measure 14, *f:* above the first staff in measure 15, and *p:* below the third staff in measure 16.

20

This musical score is for measures 20 through 24 of the Pez Overture à 4. It is written for four staves, with the first two in treble clef and the last two in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and one flat (Bb). The time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and repeat signs at the end of each measure. The music is arranged in a four-part setting.

Rondeau

presto

The first system of the musical score for 'Rondeau' consists of four staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The tempo marking 'presto' is written above the first staff. The music begins with a fermata on the first measure of the top staff, followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes across the system.

5

The second system of the musical score continues from the first. It consists of four staves. The music features a variety of note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A dynamic marking 'p:' (piano) is present in the second measure of the top staff. The system ends with a measure containing a fermata.

10

The third system of the musical score continues from the second. It consists of four staves. The music features a variety of note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A dynamic marking 'f:' (forte) is present in the second measure of the top staff. The system ends with a measure containing a fermata.

15

This system contains measures 15 through 18. The music is written for four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 15 begins with a treble staff featuring eighth-note patterns and a bass staff with quarter notes. The piece concludes with a final quarter note in the bass staff.

This system contains measures 19 through 22. The notation continues across the four staves. Measures 19 and 20 show more complex rhythmic patterns in the treble staves, while the bass staves provide a steady accompaniment. The system ends with a final measure in measure 22.

20

This system contains measures 23 through 26. The notation continues across the four staves. Dynamic markings are present: a *p:* (piano) marking is placed below the first measure of the first treble staff, and another *p:* marking is placed below the first measure of the first bass staff. The system concludes with a final measure in measure 26.

25

f:

This system contains measures 25 through 28. It features four staves: two treble staves and two bass staves. The music is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. Measure 25 begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The melody in the first treble staff is marked with a forte *f* and a colon. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 28.

30

This system contains measures 30 through 33. It features four staves: two treble staves and two bass staves. The music continues in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 33.

35

This system contains measures 35 through 38. It features four staves: two treble staves and two bass staves. The music continues in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 38.

Musical score for Pez Overture à 4 (38²⁴), 528. The score consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The third staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The music is written in 4/4 time. The first staff contains a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff contains a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes. The third staff contains a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes. The fourth staff contains a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes. The score is divided into three measures by vertical bar lines. Each measure ends with a fermata. The first measure is marked with a forte (f) dynamic. The second measure is marked with a forte (f) dynamic. The third measure is marked with a forte (f) dynamic.

Menuet Alternativement avec le Trio suivant

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The music begins with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The melody in the top staves features eighth and sixteenth notes, while the bass staves provide a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes.

5

The second system of the musical score, starting at measure 5, continues the piece. It features a repeat sign at the end of the first measure of the system. The notation remains consistent with the first system, with treble and bass clefs and a key signature of one flat.

10

The third system of the musical score, starting at measure 10, continues the piece. It features a key signature change to two flats (B-flat and E-flat) at the beginning of the system. The notation remains consistent with the previous systems, with treble and bass clefs.

15

This musical score is for measures 15, 16, and 17 of the piece 'Pez Overture' à 4. It is written for four staves: two treble clefs (top two staves) and two bass clefs (bottom two staves). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 15 (the first measure shown) contains: Treble 1: eighth notes G4, A4, B4, C5; Treble 2: eighth notes A4, B4, C5, D5; Bass 1: quarter notes G3, A3; Bass 2: quarter notes F3, G3. Measure 16 contains: Treble 1: eighth notes D5, C5, B4, A4; Treble 2: eighth notes G4, A4, B4, C5; Bass 1: quarter notes A2, B2; Bass 2: quarter notes G2, A2. Measure 17 contains: Treble 1: half note G4; Treble 2: half note A4; Bass 1: half note G2; Bass 2: half note F2. Each measure ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Oboe I & II Trio

Haute-Contre

Cont

5 10

15

20

Appendix B: Pez Overture à 4 (38²⁴), 532

Gigue

Oboe I & II
Haute-Contre
Taille
Cont

The first system of the musical score for 'Gigue' features four staves. The top staff is for Oboe I & II, the second for Haute-Contre, the third for Taille, and the fourth for Cont. The music is in 6/8 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first measure shows a half note G4 in the Oboe, a half note F#4 in the Haute-Contre, a half note G4 in the Taille, and a half note F4 in the Cont. The subsequent measures continue with a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.

5

The second system of the musical score begins at measure 5. It continues the four-staff arrangement. The Oboe part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The other parts provide harmonic support with similar rhythmic patterns. The system concludes with a repeat sign at the end of the fourth measure.

10

The third system of the musical score begins at measure 10. It continues the four-staff arrangement. The Oboe part has a more active melodic line. The system concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs at the end of the fourth measure.

15

System 15 of the musical score. It consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The music is in 4/4 time and features a variety of note values including eighth, quarter, and half notes, along with rests. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

System 16 of the musical score. It consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The music continues with similar notation to the previous system, featuring eighth, quarter, and half notes. The key signature remains one flat (B-flat).

20

System 20 of the musical score. It consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The music continues with similar notation, featuring eighth, quarter, and half notes. The key signature remains one flat (B-flat).

25

This system contains measures 25 through 28. It features four staves: two treble clefs (top two) and two bass clefs (bottom two). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 25 begins with a treble staff playing a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a half note. Measures 26-28 show more complex rhythmic patterns with various note values and rests across all staves.

30

This system contains measures 30 through 32. It features four staves: two treble clefs (top two) and two bass clefs (bottom two). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 30 starts with a treble staff playing eighth notes and a bass staff with a half note. Measures 31-32 continue the musical themes, ending with a double bar line and repeat dots in the final measure of each staff.

Theodor Schwartzkopff

Concerto à 7

for two oboes, two violins, two violas,
and basso continuo

D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII:58¹¹.

Concerto

Spiritoso

Ob I

Ob II

Vn I

Vn II

Va I

Va II

Cont

Cemb.

5 6 5 6 5 6 7 8 5 6 5 3

5

7 5 10 6 6 6 6 6 43

First system of the musical score, measures 1-3. The score is written for seven staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the last two are in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music features a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The word "Tutti" is written above the bass staff in measure 1. Below the bass staff, there are fingering numbers: 5, 3, 6, 4, 5, 6, 4, 2, 5, 3, 6, 7, 8, 3, 7, 5, #, 6, #, 6.

10

Second system of the musical score, measures 4-6. The score continues with the same seven staves. The music is highly technical, with rapid passages and complex rhythms. Below the bass staff, there are fingering numbers: #, 6, 6, 4#, 5, 3, 6, 4, 5, 6, 4, 5, 3, 7, 5, 10, 9, 6.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 539

15

6 6 6 6 43 5 6 5 6 7 4 2

5 6 5 # 6 # 6

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 540

The first system of the musical score consists of seven staves. The top four staves are in treble clef, and the bottom three are in bass clef. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The system concludes with a double bar line. Below the bottom staff, there are fingering numbers: #, 6, 6, 4#, b, 6, #, 6.

20

The second system of the musical score consists of seven staves, continuing from the first system. The notation is similar, with complex rhythmic patterns. The system concludes with a double bar line. Below the bottom staff, there are fingering numbers: 6, 6, and a section marked 'Cemb.' with a 6 below it.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 541

The first system of the musical score consists of seven staves. The top four staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The music features a complex, fast-paced melody in the upper staves, with a more rhythmic and melodic line in the lower staves. The bottom staff includes the word "Tutti" and a series of fingerings: 6, 6, 43, 5/3, 6/4, 5/3, 6/2, 7/2.

The second system of the musical score consists of seven staves. The top four staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The music continues the complex, fast-paced melody from the first system. The bottom staff includes a series of fingerings: 5, 6, 6, 5/3, 6/4, 5/3, 6/4.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 542

30

This system contains measures 30, 31, and 32. It features seven staves: four treble clefs and three bass clefs. The music is written in a complex, multi-measure format. The first four staves (treble clefs) show intricate melodic lines with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The fifth and sixth staves (bass clefs) provide harmonic support with longer note values. The seventh staff (bass clef) contains a continuous bass line with frequent sixteenth-note patterns. Fingering numbers (5, 7, 5, 10, 9, 6, 6, 6, 6, 4, 3) are written below the bottom staff.

This system contains measures 33, 34, and 35. It continues the seven-staff format from the previous system. The melodic lines in the upper staves remain highly active, while the lower staves provide a steady harmonic and rhythmic foundation. Fingering numbers (5, 6, 5, 6, 2, 5, 6, 7, 5, 3, 6, 6, 6) are written below the bottom staff.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 543

[attacca]

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 544

dolce

Ob I
Ob II
Vn I
Vn II
Va I
Va II
Bn
Violon/
Cembalo

Cemb.
k

5

p:
f:
p:
f:
p:
f:
Tutti
p:
f:
6

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 545

10

This system contains measures 10, 11, and 12. It features seven staves: five treble clefs and two bass clefs. The key signature has one sharp (F#). Measures 10 and 11 show complex rhythmic patterns with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Measure 12 has some rests. Fingering numbers 6 and # are visible below the bottom two staves.

15

This system contains measures 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. It features seven staves: five treble clefs and two bass clefs. Measures 15 and 16 have a key signature change to one flat (Bb). Measures 17 and 18 continue with complex rhythmic patterns. Measure 19 has a rest. Fingering numbers 6, 43, and 6 are visible below the bottom two staves. The label "Cemb." is written above the bottom staff in measure 19.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 546

20

This system of musical notation covers measures 20 through 24. It features seven staves: four treble clefs, two alto clefs, and one bass clef. The music is written in a key with one sharp (F#). Measures 20-21 show active melodic lines in the upper staves, while measures 22-24 show more complex rhythmic patterns and rests. The lower staves (alto and bass) are mostly empty, with some notes appearing in measure 24. Below the staves, there are fingerings: '6 6' and '#' under measure 20, and '5 6' and '#' under measure 24.

6 6 # 5 6 #

25

This system of musical notation covers measures 25 through 29. It features the same seven-staff arrangement as the previous system. Measures 25-26 show active melodic lines in the upper staves, while measures 27-29 show more complex rhythmic patterns and rests. The lower staves (alto and bass) are mostly empty, with some notes appearing in measure 29. Below the staves, there are fingerings: '4#' under measure 25, and '#', '#', and '#' under measures 27, 28, and 29 respectively. The word 'TuHi' is written above the bass staff in measure 26.

TuHi

4# # # #

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 547

30

6 5 4 3

35

6 # # 7 6 # # 6

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 548

40

65 # # 6 5 4 # 6# 5 65 # 6

45 *adagio*

6 5 4 # # # # 9 8 6 5 #

50

A musical score for a 7-part setting, measures 50-51. The score is written on seven staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the last three are in bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and rests. The first measure (measure 50) contains a whole rest in the first staff, a quarter note in the second, a quarter note in the third, a quarter note in the fourth, a quarter note in the fifth, a quarter note in the sixth, and a quarter note in the seventh. The second measure (measure 51) contains a quarter note in the first staff, a quarter note in the second, a quarter note in the third, a quarter note in the fourth, a quarter note in the fifth, a quarter note in the sixth, and a quarter note in the seventh. The staves are grouped by a brace on the left.

[attacca]

Fuga *allegro*

Ob I

Ob II

Vn I

Vn II

Va I

Va II

Cont

Cemb.

5

Tutti

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 551

10

This system contains measures 10 through 14. It features seven staves: four treble clefs (1-4) and three bass clefs (5-7). Measures 10 and 12 show a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Measures 11 and 13 have some rests in the upper staves. Measure 14 ends with a repeat sign. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. Sharps are used for accidentals.

15

This system contains measures 15 through 19. It features the same seven-staff layout as the previous system. Measures 15 and 17 have some rests in the upper staves. Measures 16 and 18 show more active notation. Measure 19 ends with a repeat sign. Fingerings and sharps are indicated as in the previous system.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 552

20

6 # 6 # 6 6 5 6 5 6 6 6 6

4+

6 6 7 6 #

[attacca]

Grave

The first system of the musical score consists of seven staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the last three are in bass clef. The time signature is common time (C). The music features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. Below the staves, there are figured bass notations: 4/2, 6, 7 6, 7 6, and 7 6.

The second system of the musical score consists of seven staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the last three are in bass clef. The time signature is common time (C). The music features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. Below the staves, there are figured bass notations: 6, 7, 65, 6/4, 6, 76, 65, 9/5, 8/6, 7/3, 6/4, 5/4, 3, and 6.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 554

10 presto

This system contains measures 10 through 14. It features seven staves. The first two staves are treble clefs, the next two are also treble clefs, and the last three are bass clefs. The music is in common time (C). Measures 10-11 show a melodic line in the third staff (treble clef) with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the other staves have rests. Measures 12-14 continue this melodic line, with the fourth staff (treble clef) also playing a similar melodic line. The bottom three staves (bass clefs) have rests throughout this system.

15

This system contains measures 15 through 19. It features seven staves. Measures 15-16 show a complex melodic line in the first staff (treble clef) with many sixteenth notes, while the other staves have rests. Measures 17-19 continue this melodic line, with the second staff (treble clef) also playing a similar melodic line. The bottom three staves (bass clefs) have rests throughout this system. A bracketed 'b' is placed above the third staff in measure 17. The bottom staff (bass clef) has a '6' under the first four measures and a '#' under the last three measures.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 555

20

This system contains measures 20 through 23. Measures 20 and 21 are whole rests for all staves. Measures 22 and 23 feature a melodic line in the third and fourth staves (treble clef), with a sharp sign on the second staff. The first and second staves are whole rests. The fifth and sixth staves (bass clef) are whole rests. Fingering numbers 6, #, and 6 are written below the first staff in measures 22 and 23.

25

This system contains measures 24 through 27. Measures 24 and 25 show a melodic line in the third and fourth staves, with a sharp sign on the second staff. Measures 26 and 27 continue the melodic line in the third and fourth staves. The first and second staves are whole rests. The fifth and sixth staves (bass clef) are whole rests. Fingering numbers 6, 6, 6, 6, 7, and 5 are written below the first staff in measures 24 through 27.

30

Musical score for measures 30-34. The score is written for seven staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the last three are in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. Below the first staff, there are fingerings: 10, 9, 6, 4, 3.

35

Musical score for measures 35-39. The score is written for seven staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the last three are in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. Below the first staff, there are fingerings: 6, #, 6, 6.

Musical score system 1, measures 37-40. The system consists of seven staves. The first staff (treble clef) contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a sharp sign. The second staff (treble clef) contains a similar melodic line. The third and fourth staves (treble clef) contain a single note followed by rests. The fifth and sixth staves (bass clef) contain a single note followed by rests. The seventh staff (bass clef) contains a single note followed by rests. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 7/8, indicated by the numbers 7 and 8 below the bottom staff.

Musical score system 2, measures 41-44. The system consists of seven staves. The first staff (treble clef) contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a sharp sign. The second staff (treble clef) contains a similar melodic line. The third and fourth staves (treble clef) contain a single note followed by rests. The fifth and sixth staves (bass clef) contain a single note followed by rests. The seventh staff (bass clef) contains a single note followed by rests. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 7/8, indicated by the numbers 7 and 8 below the bottom staff. The measure number 40 is written above the first staff.

45

Musical score for measures 45-49. The score is written for seven staves. Measures 45 and 46 show a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 47 and 48 show a more melodic line with eighth notes. Measure 49 shows a final chord with a 7th and 5th indicated below the bass staff.

50

Musical score for measures 50-53. The score is written for seven staves. Measures 50 and 51 show a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 52 and 53 show a more melodic line with eighth notes. Measure 53 shows a final chord with a 7th and 5th indicated below the bass staff.

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 559

The musical score for 'The Rose Tree' is presented on a grand staff with five systems. The first system contains the vocal melody (Soprano and Alto parts) and the piano accompaniment (Right and Left Hand parts). The second system continues the vocal melody and piano accompaniment. The third system shows the vocal melody and piano accompaniment, with the piano part featuring a prominent bass line. The fourth system shows the vocal melody and piano accompaniment, with the piano part featuring a prominent bass line. The fifth system shows the vocal melody and piano accompaniment, with the piano part featuring a prominent bass line. The score is written in G major and 2/4 time.

55

A musical score for a piece titled 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written for a piano and features seven staves. The first six staves are arranged in three pairs, with the top staff of each pair in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef. The seventh staff is a single bass clef staff at the bottom. The music is in 2/4 time and consists of four measures. The melody is primarily in the treble staves, with the bass staves providing a harmonic accompaniment. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, sixteenth notes, and rests. At the bottom of the page, there are some handwritten markings: a sharp sign, the number 6, and some other symbols.

70

Musical score for measures 70-73. The score is written for seven staves. Measures 70 and 71 show a complex rhythmic pattern with many eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 72 and 73 show a continuation of this pattern, with some measures containing rests. The bottom staff has a 6/8 time signature. The bottom staff has a 6/8 time signature. The bottom staff has a 6/8 time signature.

Musical score for measures 74-77. The score is written for seven staves. Measures 74 and 75 show a continuation of the complex rhythmic pattern. Measures 76 and 77 show a continuation of this pattern, with some measures containing rests. The bottom staff has a 6/8 time signature. The bottom staff has a 6/8 time signature. The bottom staff has a 6/8 time signature.

60

This system of musical notation covers measures 60 through 63. It consists of seven staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the last three are in bass clef. Measures 60 and 61 show a melodic line in the first staff with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the other staves have rests. Measures 62 and 63 show more complex rhythmic patterns in the first four staves, including sixteenth-note runs and chords. The last three staves continue with rests or simple harmonic accompaniment.

65

This system of musical notation covers measures 64 through 67. It consists of seven staves. Measures 64 and 65 feature a prominent sixteenth-note run in the first staff, with other staves providing harmonic support. Measures 66 and 67 show a continuation of the melodic and harmonic development. The bottom staff (bass clef) includes figured bass notation: '6' under measures 64, 65, and 66, and '7 6' under measure 67. The notation includes various accidentals such as flats and sharps.

Aria

Ob I 5

Ob II

Vn I

Vn II

Va I

Va II

Bn

Violon/
Cembalo

6

1. 2. 10

6 65

Appendix B: Schwartzkopff Concerto à 7 (58¹¹), 563

15

This system of musical notation contains measures 15 through 20. It features eight staves: four treble clefs (measures 15-16) and four bass clefs (measures 17-20). The key signature has one sharp (F#). Measure 15 begins with a treble staff containing a whole note F# and a whole rest, followed by eighth-note patterns in the other treble staves. The bass staves contain whole notes and rests. Measure 16 continues the eighth-note patterns in the treble staves. Measure 17 shows a change in the bass staves, with a whole note F# appearing in the second bass staff. Measure 18 features a whole note F# in the first bass staff. Measure 19 has a whole note F# in the second bass staff. Measure 20 concludes with eighth-note patterns in the treble staves and a whole note F# in the first bass staff. Below the staves, there are markings: a sharp symbol (#) under the first bass staff, the number 65 under the second bass staff, a sharp symbol (#) under the third bass staff, and the number 4 # under the fourth bass staff.

65 # 4

20

This system of musical notation contains measures 21 through 26. It features eight staves: four treble clefs (measures 21-22) and four bass clefs (measures 23-26). The key signature has one sharp (F#). Measure 21 begins with a treble staff containing a whole rest, followed by eighth-note patterns in the other treble staves. The bass staves contain whole notes and rests. Measure 22 continues the eighth-note patterns in the treble staves. Measure 23 shows a change in the bass staves, with a whole note F# appearing in the second bass staff. Measure 24 features a whole note F# in the first bass staff. Measure 25 has a whole note F# in the second bass staff. Measure 26 concludes with eighth-note patterns in the treble staves and a whole note F# in the first bass staff.

25

6 4 3

This musical score is for a 7-part setting of the Lord's Prayer, specifically measures 25 and 26. It consists of seven staves, each with a different clef: the top four staves are in treble clef, the fifth and sixth are in alto clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The music is written in a single system with a repeat sign at the end of measure 26. The notes are as follows:

Staff	Clef	Measure 25	Measure 26
1	Treble	G4, A4, B4, A4	G4, A4, B4, A4
2	Treble	G4, A4, B4, A4	G4, A4, B4, A4
3	Treble	G4, A4, B4, A4	G4, A4, B4, A4
4	Treble	G4, A4, B4, A4	G4, A4, B4, A4
5	Alto	G4, A4, B4, A4	G4, A4, B4, A4
6	Alto	G4, A4, B4, A4	G4, A4, B4, A4
7	Bass	G3, A3, B3, A3	G3, A3, B3, A3

The numbers 6, 4, and 3 are written below the bottom staff, indicating the fingerings for the first three notes of the final measure.

Johann Christoph Pez

Concerto Grosso à 6

for two oboes, violin, two violas,
and basso continuo

D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII:38^{18a}

Sonata allegro

Ob I
Ob II
Vn
Va I
Va II
Cont

tutti
trio

6

tutti
trio

tutti
trio

5

tutti

tutti

tutti

tutti

tutti

tutti

6

#

tutti

tutti

tutti

tutti

tutti

tutti

#

#

10

trio

concertato sempre

trio

concertato se:[mpre]

6 #

#

This block contains the first system of a musical score, measures 10 and 11. It consists of six staves. The first two staves are treble clef, and the last three are bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). Measure 10 is marked 'trio' and measure 11 is marked 'concertato sempre'. The first two staves have a 'trio' marking in measure 11. The last three staves have a 'concertato se:[mpre]' marking in measure 11. The bottom staff has a '6' and a '#' marking in measure 10, and a '#' marking in measure 11.

This block contains the second system of the musical score, measures 12 and 13. It consists of six staves, continuing from the first system. The key signature remains one sharp (F#). The notation continues with various rhythmic patterns and rests across the staves.

System 1 of the musical score. It consists of six staves. The first two staves (treble clef) contain dense, continuous sixteenth-note passages. The third staff (treble clef) has a sparse melody with eighth and sixteenth notes. The fourth staff (treble clef) has a similar sparse melody. The fifth staff (alto clef) has a sparse melody with eighth and sixteenth notes. The sixth staff (bass clef) has a sparse melody with eighth and sixteenth notes. A key signature change to one flat (B-flat) is indicated by a 'b' symbol above the first staff in the second measure.

15

System 2 of the musical score, starting at measure 15. It consists of six staves. The first two staves (treble clef) continue with dense, continuous sixteenth-note passages. The third staff (treble clef) has a sparse melody with eighth and sixteenth notes. The fourth staff (treble clef) has a similar sparse melody. The fifth staff (alto clef) has a sparse melody with eighth and sixteenth notes. The sixth staff (bass clef) has a sparse melody with eighth and sixteenth notes.

First system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The top two staves are treble clef, and the bottom four staves are bass clef. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and rests.

Second system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The top two staves are treble clef, and the bottom four staves are bass clef. The music continues the complex rhythmic pattern from the first system. A measure number '20' is written above the first staff of this system. A flat symbol (b) is written above the first staff of the second measure in this system.

First system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The top two staves are treble clefs, and the bottom two are bass clefs. The middle two staves are also treble clefs. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals). The system is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line. The first measure contains a complex melodic line in the top two staves, while the bottom two staves have a simpler, more rhythmic accompaniment. The second measure continues the melodic development in the top two staves, with the bottom two staves providing harmonic support.

Second system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The top two staves are treble clefs, and the bottom two are bass clefs. The middle two staves are also treble clefs. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals). The system is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line. The first measure contains a complex melodic line in the top two staves, while the bottom two staves have a simpler, more rhythmic accompaniment. The second measure continues the melodic development in the top two staves, with the bottom two staves providing harmonic support.

25

This system contains measures 25 and 26. Measure 25 features a continuous sixteenth-note pattern in the first two staves, while the remaining four staves have whole rests. Measure 26 continues the sixteenth-note pattern in the first two staves, with the third staff having a half rest and the fourth and fifth staves having eighth-note patterns. The sixth staff has a half rest.

This system contains measures 27 and 28. Measure 27 features a continuous sixteenth-note pattern in the first two staves, while the remaining four staves have whole rests. Measure 28 continues the sixteenth-note pattern in the first two staves, with the third staff having a half rest and the fourth and fifth staves having eighth-note patterns. The sixth staff has a half rest.

6#

First system of musical notation, measures 1-2. The system consists of six staves. The top two staves are treble clefs, and the bottom three are bass clefs. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

30

Second system of musical notation, measures 3-4. The system consists of six staves. The top two staves are treble clefs, and the bottom three are bass clefs. The music continues with a complex rhythmic pattern. The key signature has one sharp (F#). There is a measure rest in the third staff of measure 3.

[attacca]

Fuga

allegro

The first system of the musical score consists of six staves. The first two staves are treble clefs with a common time signature 'C'. The third staff is a treble clef with a common time signature 'C'. The fourth staff is a treble clef with a common time signature 'C'. The fifth staff is a bass clef with a common time signature 'C'. The sixth staff is a treble clef with a common time signature 'C'. The music begins with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature 'C'. The first measure shows a whole note G4 in the third staff, a whole note A4 in the fourth staff, and a whole note B4 in the sixth staff. The second measure shows a whole note C5 in the third staff, a whole note D5 in the fourth staff, and a whole note E5 in the sixth staff. The third measure shows a whole note F#5 in the third staff, a whole note G5 in the fourth staff, and a whole note A5 in the sixth staff. The fourth measure shows a whole note B5 in the third staff, a whole note C6 in the fourth staff, and a whole note D6 in the sixth staff.

The second system of the musical score consists of six staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a common time signature 'C'. The second staff is a treble clef with a common time signature 'C'. The third staff is a treble clef with a common time signature 'C'. The fourth staff is a treble clef with a common time signature 'C'. The fifth staff is a bass clef with a common time signature 'C'. The sixth staff is a treble clef with a common time signature 'C'. The music begins with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature 'C'. The fifth measure shows a whole note G4 in the third staff, a whole note A4 in the fourth staff, and a whole note B4 in the sixth staff. The sixth measure shows a whole note C5 in the third staff, a whole note D5 in the fourth staff, and a whole note E5 in the sixth staff. The seventh measure shows a whole note F#5 in the third staff, a whole note G5 in the fourth staff, and a whole note A5 in the sixth staff. The eighth measure shows a whole note B5 in the third staff, a whole note C6 in the fourth staff, and a whole note D6 in the sixth staff. The system ends with a double bar line.

First system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. A bracket labeled '6' is positioned below the bottom staff.

Second system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. A bracket labeled '6' is positioned below the bottom staff, and a sharp symbol (#) is located below the fifth staff.

10

System 10, measures 1-2. The system consists of six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth is in bass clef. The music is in 3/4 time. Measure 1: Treble staves 1-5 have various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes. Bass staff 6 has a whole note G2. Measure 2: Treble staves 1-5 continue with similar patterns. Bass staff 6 has a whole note G2. Fingering numbers 7, 6, 4, 3, and 6 are written below the bass staff.

System 11, measures 3-4. The system consists of six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth is in bass clef. The music is in 3/4 time. Measure 3: Treble staves 1-5 have various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes. Bass staff 6 has a whole note G2. Measure 4: Treble staves 1-5 continue with similar patterns. Bass staff 6 has a whole note G2. Fingering numbers 6 and 6 are written below the bass staff.

15

This system contains measures 14 and 15. Measure 14 features a treble staff with eighth-note patterns, a second treble staff with a sixteenth-note run, a third treble staff with a half-note chord, a fourth treble staff with a half-note chord, a fifth staff (alto clef) with a half-note chord, and a bass staff with a half-note chord. Measure 15 continues with similar textures, including a treble staff with eighth-note patterns, a second treble staff with a sixteenth-note run, a third treble staff with a half-note chord, a fourth treble staff with a half-note chord, a fifth staff (alto clef) with a half-note chord, and a bass staff with a half-note chord. Fingering numbers are provided below the bass staff: 7 6# # b 6 b 6.

This system contains measures 16 and 17. Measure 16 features a treble staff with eighth-note patterns, a second treble staff with a sixteenth-note run, a third treble staff with a half-note chord, a fourth treble staff with a half-note chord, a fifth staff (alto clef) with a half-note chord, and a bass staff with a half-note chord. Measure 17 continues with similar textures, including a treble staff with eighth-note patterns, a second treble staff with a sixteenth-note run, a third treble staff with a half-note chord, a fourth treble staff with a half-note chord, a fifth staff (alto clef) with a half-note chord, and a bass staff with a half-note chord. Fingering numbers are provided below the bass staff: 4 # b.

First system of musical notation, measures 1 and 2. The system consists of six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth staff is in bass clef. The music features various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A key signature change is indicated by a sharp sign (#) under the first staff and a flat sign (b) under the sixth staff.

20

Second system of musical notation, measures 20 and 21. The system consists of six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth staff is in bass clef. The music continues with various rhythmic patterns. A measure rest is present in the fifth staff of measure 21. The system concludes with a 4 3 time signature.

First system of musical notation, measures 1-2. The system consists of six staves. The top five staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music features various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A flat symbol (b) is present below the bottom staff in measure 2.

Second system of musical notation, measures 3-4. The system consists of six staves. The top five staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music continues with various rhythmic patterns. A measure number '25' is written above the first staff in measure 3. Below the bottom staff, there are fingering numbers: #, 6, 6 5 6, and #.

First system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The bottom staff features a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The system is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line.

Second system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The bottom staff features a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F-sharp). The system is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line.

30

A musical score for a piano piece titled 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written on six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth staff is in bass clef. The music is in 2/4 time and consists of two measures. The first measure contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the second measure contains a series of quarter and eighth notes. The score is written in a simple, clear style with black ink on a white background.

A musical score for the song 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written for five staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the fifth staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 6/8. The music is divided into two measures. The first measure contains a melody in the first staff, a harmony in the second staff, and a bass line in the fifth staff. The second measure contains a continuation of the melody in the first staff, a harmony in the second staff, and a bass line in the fifth staff. The score is written in a simple, clear style.

35

This system contains measures 34 and 35. Measure 34 features a treble staff with a half note G4, a quarter rest, and a quarter note A4. The second treble staff has a quarter rest followed by a sixteenth-note triplet (F#4, G4, A4). The third treble staff has a half note G4. The fourth treble staff has a quarter note G#4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fifth staff (alto clef) has a half note G3. The bass staff has a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measure 35 features a treble staff with a half note G4, a quarter rest, and a quarter note A4. The second treble staff has a quarter rest followed by a sixteenth-note triplet (F#4, G4, A4). The third treble staff has a half note G4. The fourth treble staff has a quarter note G#4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fifth staff has a half note G3. The bass staff has a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Fingering numbers 4# and 6 are present in the bass staff of measure 34, and 6 is present in the bass staff of measure 35.

This system contains measures 36 and 37. Measure 36 features a treble staff with a half note G4, a quarter rest, and a quarter note A4. The second treble staff has a quarter rest followed by a sixteenth-note triplet (F#4, G4, A4). The third treble staff has a half note G4. The fourth treble staff has a quarter note G#4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fifth staff has a half note G3. The bass staff has a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measure 37 features a treble staff with a half note G4, a quarter rest, and a quarter note A4. The second treble staff has a quarter rest followed by a sixteenth-note triplet (F#4, G4, A4). The third treble staff has a half note G4. The fourth treble staff has a quarter note G#4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fifth staff has a half note G3. The bass staff has a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Fingering numbers 6, #, and 6 are present in the bass staff of measure 36, and # and 6 are present in the bass staff of measure 37.

Measures 38 and 39 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6. The score is written for six staves (three systems of two staves each). The first system (top two staves) contains measures 38 and 39. The second system (middle two staves) contains measures 38 and 39. The third system (bottom two staves) contains measures 38 and 39. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. Below the staves, there are fingerings: 6 5 6 # for measure 38 and 9 8 6 for measure 39.

40

Measures 40 and 41 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6. The score is written for six staves (three systems of two staves each). The first system (top two staves) contains measures 40 and 41. The second system (middle two staves) contains measures 40 and 41. The third system (bottom two staves) contains measures 40 and 41. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. Below the staves, there are fingerings: # for measure 40 and 6 6 for measure 41.

First system of musical notation, measures 38 to 39. The system consists of six staves. The first five staves are treble clefs, and the sixth is a bass clef. The music features various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A double bar line is present between measures 38 and 39. Below the bass staff, there are markings: '6' under measure 38, a sharp sign '#' under measure 39, and '6' under measure 40.

Second system of musical notation, measures 40 to 41. The system consists of six staves. The first five staves are treble clefs, and the sixth is a bass clef. The music continues with various rhythmic patterns. A double bar line is present between measures 40 and 41. Above the first staff, the number '45' is written. To the right of the system, the word '[attacca]' is written. Below the bass staff, there are markings: '4 3' under measure 40 and '4 #' under measure 41.

Grave

The first system of the musical score consists of six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth is in bass clef. The time signature is 3/2. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The first measure of each staff contains a whole note, followed by a half rest, and then a half note. The word "tutti" is written below the first two staves. The second measure of each staff contains a whole note, followed by a half rest, and then a half note. The third measure of each staff contains a whole note, followed by a half rest, and then a half note.

The second system of the musical score consists of six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth is in bass clef. The time signature is 3/2. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The first measure of each staff contains a whole note, followed by a half rest, and then a half note. The second measure of each staff contains a whole note, followed by a half rest, and then a half note. The third measure of each staff contains a whole note, followed by a half rest, and then a half note. The fourth measure of each staff contains a whole note, followed by a half rest, and then a half note. The fifth measure of each staff contains a whole note, followed by a half rest, and then a half note. The sixth measure of each staff contains a whole note, followed by a half rest, and then a half note. The word "tutti" is written below the first two staves.

5

56 5 6

This musical system contains measures 55 and 56. It features six staves: five treble clefs and one bass clef. Measures 55 and 56 are marked at the bottom. The notation includes various note values and rests across the staves.

43 trio

This musical system contains measures 43 and 44. It features six staves: five treble clefs and one bass clef. Measures 43 and 44 are marked at the bottom. The notation includes various note values and rests across the staves. The word "trio" is written below the first two staves in measure 44.

10 [sim.]

[sim.]

This musical system consists of six staves. The first two staves contain sixteenth-note patterns with beams. The first staff has a measure number '10' and a '[sim.]' marking above it. The second staff has a '[sim.]' marking above it. The third and fourth staves are empty. The fifth staff is a bass staff with a single note in the first measure and rests in the second. The sixth staff is also empty.

6

6

This musical system consists of six staves. The first two staves contain sixteenth-note patterns with beams. The first staff has a measure number '6' below it. The second staff has a '6' below it. The third and fourth staves are empty. The fifth staff is a bass staff with a single note in the first measure and rests in the second. The sixth staff is also empty.

Musical score for measures 1 and 2 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6. The score is written for six staves. The first two staves contain melodic lines, with the second staff marked [sic.]. The third, fourth, and fifth staves are empty. The sixth staff contains a single note in measure 1 and a single note in measure 2, with a '6' written below it in measure 2.

15

Musical score for measures 15, 16, and 17 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6. The score is written for six staves. The first two staves contain melodic lines, with the word 'tutti' written above the notes in measures 16 and 17. The third, fourth, and fifth staves are empty. The sixth staff contains a single note in measure 15 and a single note in measure 16, with a '6' written below it in measure 15. In measure 17, the word 'tutti' is written below the notes, and the numbers '4' and '3' are written below the notes.

Appendix B: Pez Concerto Grosso à 6 (38^{18a}), 590

Measures 1-19 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6. The score is written for six staves, grouped in pairs. The first three staves are in treble clef, and the last three are in bass clef. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. A measure number '6' is printed below the first staff of the first system.

Measures 20-37 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6. The score continues on six staves, grouped in pairs. The first three staves are in treble clef, and the last three are in bass clef. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns. A measure number '20' is printed above the first staff of the second system. At the bottom of the second system, the numbers '5 6' are printed under the first and second staves of the bass clef group, respectively.

Appendix B: *Pez* Concerto Grosso à 6 (38^{18a}), 591

Handwritten musical score for 'Trio' by Schubert. The score consists of six staves. The first two staves are in treble clef, and the last two are in bass clef. The middle two staves are empty. The notation includes various notes, rests, and the word 'trio' written multiple times. The first staff has a 'trio' marking under the second measure. The second staff has a 'trio' marking under the second measure. The fifth staff has a 'trio' marking under the second measure. The sixth staff has a 'trio' marking under the second measure. The score is written on a single page with a vertical line separating the first and second measures.

Handwritten musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The score is written on five staves. The first two staves are for the vocal melody, and the last three are for the piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The melody is marked with "[sim.]" (simile) above the first two staves. The piano accompaniment consists of a simple bass line in the left hand and a treble line in the right hand, both marked with "[sim.]" above the first two staves. The melody is a simple, catchy tune, and the piano accompaniment provides a simple harmonic support.

Appendix B: Pez Concerto Grosso à 6 (3818a), 595

25

This musical system contains measures 25 through 30. It features six staves. The first two staves have a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The third, fourth, and fifth staves are empty. The sixth staff has a bass clef. Measures 25-29 show a continuous melodic line in the first staff, with the second staff providing a harmonic accompaniment. Measure 30 is a whole rest for all parts. Below the staves, the numbers '5' and '6' are written under measures 25 and 26 respectively.

This musical system contains measures 31 through 35. It features six staves. The first two staves have a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F-sharp). The third, fourth, and fifth staves are empty. The sixth staff has a bass clef. Measures 31-35 show a continuous melodic line in the first staff, with the second staff providing a harmonic accompaniment. Measure 36 is a whole rest for all parts. Below the staves, the numbers '4', '6', and '5' are written under measures 31, 33, and 35 respectively. The word 'tutti' is written below the first staff in measures 31, 32, and 33.

trio

[sic.]

30

be

trio

trio

6

5 b

tutti

tutti

4 #

tutti

Measures 31-34 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6 (38^{18a}), 594. The score is written for six staves. Measures 31-34 are marked with a '6 #' time signature. The first two staves feature a 'trio' section with a 'sim.' (sustained) marking. The third staff has a 'trio' marking. The fourth staff has a 'trio' marking. The fifth staff has a 'trio' marking. The sixth staff has a 'trio' marking. The music is in 6/8 time and features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes.

Measures 35-38 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6 (38^{18a}), 594. The score is written for six staves. Measures 35-38 are marked with a '35' measure number. The first staff features a 'sim.' (sustained) marking. The music is in 6/8 time and features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes.

First system of the musical score. It consists of six staves. The top two staves (treble clef) contain a continuous sixteenth-note melody. The third and fourth staves (treble clef) are empty. The fifth staff (bass clef) contains a single half note. The sixth staff (bass clef) contains a single half note.

Second system of the musical score. It consists of six staves. The top two staves (treble clef) contain a continuous sixteenth-note melody. The third and fourth staves (treble clef) are empty. The fifth staff (bass clef) contains a single half note. The sixth staff (bass clef) contains a single half note. The word "tutti" is written below the first staff, the second staff, and the sixth staff.

40

trio

trio

trio

4 #

Detailed description: This system contains measures 40, 41, and 42. Measure 40 is marked with a forte 'f' dynamic. Measures 41 and 42 are marked with a piano 'p' dynamic. The word 'trio' appears three times, indicating the entry of the third part. The score is written for six staves: three treble clefs and three bass clefs. The key signature has one sharp (F#). Measure numbers 4 and a sharp sign are written below the first bass staff.

tutti

tutti

tutti

5 6 6 #

Detailed description: This system contains measures 43, 44, and 45. Measures 43 and 44 are marked with a piano 'p' dynamic. Measure 45 is marked with a forte 'f' dynamic. The word 'tutti' appears three times, indicating the entry of all parts. The score is written for six staves: three treble clefs and three bass clefs. The key signature has one sharp (F#). Measure numbers 5, 6, 6, and a sharp sign are written below the first bass staff.

45

This system contains measures 44 and 45 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6. Measures 44 and 45 are identical. The first three staves (treble clef) play a dotted half note followed by a quarter note. The fourth staff (treble clef) plays a dotted half note followed by a quarter note. The fifth staff (alto clef) plays a dotted half note followed by a quarter note. The sixth staff (bass clef) plays a dotted half note followed by a quarter note. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

This system contains measures 46, 47, and 48. Measures 46 and 47 are identical. The first three staves (treble clef) play a dotted half note followed by a quarter note. The fourth staff (treble clef) plays a dotted half note followed by a quarter note. The fifth staff (alto clef) plays a dotted half note followed by a quarter note. The sixth staff (bass clef) plays a dotted half note followed by a quarter note. The key signature has one sharp (F#). Measure 48 is the final measure of the system, marked with a double bar line. The word "[attacca]" is written to the right of the system.

[attacca]

6

Presto

concertato sc:[mpre]

concertato semp:[re]

This system contains the first two measures of the piece. It features six staves: five treble clefs and one bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The first measure shows the beginning of the piece with various melodic and harmonic entries. The second measure continues the development. The annotation 'concertato sc:[mpre]' is placed above the first staff, and 'concertato semp:[re]' is placed above the second staff. A sharp sign is visible below the bass staff in both measures.

5

This system contains measures 3 through 5. It continues the six-staff arrangement. Measure 3 shows further melodic and harmonic development. Measure 4 features a more active melodic line in the first staff. Measure 5 concludes the system with a final melodic flourish in the first staff, marked with a '5' above it, indicating a fifth measure or a specific fingering. The key signature and time signature remain consistent with the first system.

First system of musical notation, measures 1-3. The system consists of six staves. The top two staves (treble clef) contain melodic lines with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom four staves (three treble clef, one bass clef) contain harmonic support with whole and half notes, and rests.

Second system of musical notation, measures 4-6. The system consists of six staves. The top two staves (treble clef) contain melodic lines with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom four staves (three treble clef, one bass clef) contain harmonic support with whole and half notes, and rests. A measure number '10' is written above the first staff of this system. A measure number '6' is written below the first staff of the system.

15

This system contains the first four measures of the piece. It features six staves: two treble clefs (Violins I and II), two more treble clefs (Violins III and IV), a C-clef (Viola), and a bass clef (Cello/Double Bass). The first two staves have a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The third and fourth staves have a similar melodic line. The fifth staff (Viola) has a sustained note. The sixth staff (Cello/Double Bass) has a sustained note. The measure numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 are indicated above the first staff.

This system contains measures 5 through 7. It features the same six staves as the first system. The first two staves have a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The third and fourth staves have a similar melodic line. The fifth staff (Viola) has a sustained note. The sixth staff (Cello/Double Bass) has a sustained note. The measure numbers 5, 6, and 7 are indicated above the first staff.

20

This system of musical notation contains measures 20, 21, and 22. It features six staves: two treble clefs, two alto clefs, and two bass clefs. The first staff (treble) has a measure rest in 20, a sixteenth-note melody in 21, and a measure rest in 22. The second staff (treble) has a sixteenth-note melody in 20, a half-note in 21, and a sixteenth-note melody in 22. The third staff (alto) has a half-note in 20, a half-note in 21, and a half-note in 22. The fourth staff (alto) has a half-note in 20, a half-note in 21, and a half-note in 22. The fifth staff (bass) has a half-note in 20, a half-note in 21, and a half-note in 22. The sixth staff (bass) has a half-note in 20, a half-note in 21, and a half-note in 22. A sharp sign (#) is located below the sixth staff at the beginning of measure 21.

This system of musical notation contains measures 23, 24, and 25. It features six staves: two treble clefs, two alto clefs, and two bass clefs. The first staff (treble) has a sixteenth-note melody in 23, a half-note in 24, and a sixteenth-note melody in 25. The second staff (treble) has a half-note in 23, a sixteenth-note melody in 24, and a sixteenth-note melody in 25. The third staff (alto) has a half-note in 23, a half-note in 24, and a half-note in 25. The fourth staff (alto) has a half-note in 23, a half-note in 24, and a half-note in 25. The fifth staff (bass) has a half-note in 23, a half-note in 24, and a half-note in 25. The sixth staff (bass) has a half-note in 23, a half-note in 24, and a half-note in 25. Sharp signs (#) are located below the sixth staff at the beginning of measures 23 and 24.

25

Measures 25-27 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6. The score is written for six staves (three treble and three bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#). The music features a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes in the upper staves, while the lower staves have more rests and longer note values. Measure 25 starts with a treble clef and a sharp sign. Measure 26 has a sharp sign. Measure 27 has a sharp sign.

30

Measures 30-33 of the Pez Concerto Grosso à 6. The score continues with the same six-staff format. Measure 30 starts with a treble clef and a sharp sign. Measure 31 has a sharp sign. Measure 32 has a sharp sign. Measure 33 has a sharp sign. The music continues with similar complex textures and note values as the previous section.

First system of the musical score. It consists of six staves. The top two staves are treble clefs, the third is a soprano clef, the fourth is an alto clef, the fifth is a bass clef, and the sixth is a bass clef. The music is in 3/4 time. The first staff has a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first two staves have a melody of eighth notes. The third staff has a melody of quarter notes. The fourth staff has a melody of quarter notes. The fifth staff has a melody of quarter notes. The sixth staff has a melody of quarter notes. A sharp symbol (#) is located below the first staff.

35

Second system of the musical score, starting at measure 35. It consists of six staves. The top two staves are treble clefs, the third is a soprano clef, the fourth is an alto clef, the fifth is a bass clef, and the sixth is a bass clef. The music is in 3/4 time. The first staff has a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first two staves have a melody of eighth notes. The third staff has a melody of quarter notes. The fourth staff has a melody of quarter notes. The fifth staff has a melody of quarter notes. The sixth staff has a melody of quarter notes.

40

First system of musical notation, measures 1-3. The system includes six staves. The top staff features a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The fifth staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The sixth staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The music is in 4/4 time. The first staff contains a continuous melody of eighth and sixteenth notes. The other staves contain rests and occasional notes.

Second system of musical notation, measures 4-7. The system includes six staves. The top staff features a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The fifth staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The sixth staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The music is in 4/4 time. The first staff contains a continuous melody of eighth and sixteenth notes. The other staves contain rests and occasional notes.

Appendix B: *Pez Concerto Grosso à 6* (38^{18a}), 605

45

A musical score for the song 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written for six staves. The first two staves are for the vocal melody, the third and fourth staves are for the piano accompaniment (treble and bass clef), and the fifth and sixth staves are for the guitar accompaniment (treble and bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The melody is in the first staff, and the accompaniment is in the second staff. The guitar part is in the fifth and sixth staves. The score is divided into three measures by vertical bar lines. The first measure contains the first line of the melody and the first line of the accompaniment. The second measure contains the second line of the melody and the second line of the accompaniment. The third measure contains the third line of the melody and the third line of the accompaniment. The score ends with a double bar line.

50 adagio

A musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The score is written for a four-part vocal ensemble (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The melody is simple and repetitive, with the piano accompaniment providing a steady harmonic foundation. The score is presented in a clean, black-and-white format with standard musical notation.

55

trio

trio

6b 5 7b b # trio 9 8

6

60

First system of musical notation, measures 60-61. The system consists of five staves: two treble clefs, two alto clefs, and one bass clef. The first staff (treble) has a half note G4 in measure 60 and a half note A4 in measure 61. The second staff (treble) has a half note G4 in measure 60 and a half note A4 in measure 61. The third staff (alto) has a half note G4 in measure 60 and a half note A4 in measure 61. The fourth staff (alto) has a half note G4 in measure 60 and a half note A4 in measure 61. The fifth staff (bass) has a half note G3 in measure 60 and a half note A3 in measure 61. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 6/8.

Second system of musical notation, measures 62-64. The system consists of five staves: two treble clefs, two alto clefs, and one bass clef. The first staff (treble) has a half note G4 in measure 62, a half note A4 in measure 63, and a half note B4 in measure 64. The second staff (treble) has a half note G4 in measure 62, a half note A4 in measure 63, and a half note B4 in measure 64. The third staff (alto) has a half note G4 in measure 62, a half note A4 in measure 63, and a half note B4 in measure 64. The fourth staff (alto) has a half note G4 in measure 62, a half note A4 in measure 63, and a half note B4 in measure 64. The fifth staff (bass) has a half note G3 in measure 62, a half note A3 in measure 63, and a half note B3 in measure 64. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 6/8.

65

[sim.]

98

6

70

tutti

tutti

6 # b tutti 7

75

This system contains measures 74 and 75. It features six staves. The first two staves are labeled 'trio' and contain melodic lines. The third and fourth staves are empty. The fifth staff, in bass clef, contains a melodic line with a 'trio' label and a '5' with a sharp sign below it. Measure 75 begins with a treble clef and contains a melodic line.

This system contains measures 76 and 77. It features six staves. The first staff has a melodic line with a slur. The second staff has a melodic line with a slur. The third, fourth, and fifth staves are empty. The sixth staff, in bass clef, contains a melodic line with a sharp sign and a '6' below it. Measure 77 begins with a treble clef and contains a melodic line with a slur.

Appendix B: *Pez Concerto Grosso à 6* (381^{8a}), 610

80

This system of musical notation covers measures 80, 81, and 82. It features a grand staff with five staves. The top staff (treble clef) contains a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and rests. The second staff (treble clef) contains a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and rests. The third, fourth, and fifth staves (all treble clefs) are empty, indicating rests for those parts. The bottom staff (bass clef) contains a bass line with notes and rests. Measure numbers 80, 81, and 82 are printed below the bottom staff. A sharp symbol (#) is placed below the first measure of the bottom staff.

This system of musical notation covers measures 83, 84, and 85. It features a grand staff with five staves. The top staff (treble clef) contains a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and rests. The second staff (treble clef) contains a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and rests. The third, fourth, and fifth staves (all treble clefs) are empty, indicating rests for those parts. The bottom staff (bass clef) contains a bass line with notes and rests. Measure numbers 83, 84, and 85 are printed below the bottom staff.

85

tutti

tutti

6 # tutti # # 6

90

[attacca]

6 #

Prestissimo

The first system of musical notation consists of six staves. The top five staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The time signature is common time (C). The music features a variety of note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A double bar line is present after the first measure of each staff. The bottom staff has a '6' and a '#' symbol below it.

The second system of musical notation continues the piece and is divided into two measures by a central double bar line. It consists of six staves, with the top five in treble clef and the bottom in bass clef. The notation includes complex rhythmic patterns with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The bottom staff has a '6' and a '#' symbol below it.

5

This system contains the first two measures of a musical piece. It features six staves: two treble clefs, two alto clefs, and two bass clefs. The first measure shows a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes in the upper staves and eighth notes in the lower staves. The second measure continues this pattern with some rests and different rhythmic groupings. A measure rest is present at the end of the second measure.

This system contains the next two measures of the musical piece. The notation continues with similar rhythmic complexity, featuring dense sixteenth-note passages in the upper staves and more rhythmic accompaniment in the lower staves. The system concludes with a measure rest.

System 1 of the musical score, consisting of six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a 16th-century style, featuring complex rhythmic patterns and accidentals. The system is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line. The first measure contains six staves of music, and the second measure contains six staves of music. The bottom staff of the second measure has a '6' and a sharp symbol (#) below it.

10

System 2 of the musical score, consisting of six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a 16th-century style, featuring complex rhythmic patterns and accidentals. The system is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line. The first measure contains six staves of music, and the second measure contains six staves of music. The bottom staff of the first measure has a '6' below it, and the bottom staff of the second measure has a '6' below it.

The first system of musical notation consists of six staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a continuous eighth-note melody. The second staff is a treble clef with a single eighth note followed by a whole rest. The third staff is a treble clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests. The fourth staff is a treble clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests, ending with a sharp sign. The fifth staff is an alto clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests. The sixth staff is a bass clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests, including a sharp sign.

The second system of musical notation consists of six staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests. The second staff is a treble clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests. The third staff is a treble clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests, including a sharp sign. The fourth staff is a treble clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests. The fifth staff is an alto clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests. The sixth staff is a bass clef with a sequence of eighth notes and rests, including a sharp sign. A sharp sign is also present below the sixth staff.

System 1 of the musical score. It consists of six staves. The first staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. The second staff (treble clef) contains a whole rest followed by a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The third staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. The fourth staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. The fifth staff (alto clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. The sixth staff (bass clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. There are sharp signs (#) under the fifth staff and the sixth staff.

15

System 2 of the musical score, starting at measure 15. It consists of six staves. The first staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. The second staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. The third staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. The fourth staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. The fifth staff (alto clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. The sixth staff (bass clef) contains a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, followed by a quarter rest. There are sharp signs (#) under the fifth staff and the sixth staff. A '6' is written under the sixth staff.

System 1 of the musical score. It consists of six staves. The first staff (treble clef) begins with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and contains a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff (treble clef) has a whole rest followed by a sixteenth rest, then a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The third staff (treble clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The fourth staff (treble clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The fifth staff (alto clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The sixth staff (bass clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The system ends with a double bar line.

System 2 of the musical score. It consists of six staves. The first staff (treble clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The second staff (treble clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The third staff (treble clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The fourth staff (treble clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The fifth staff (alto clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The sixth staff (bass clef) contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The system ends with a double bar line.

20

This system contains measures 20 and 21. Measure 20 features a treble staff with eighth-note runs, a second treble staff with sixteenth-note runs, and three lower staves (two treble, one bass) with eighth-note patterns. Measure 21 continues these patterns with some melodic variation in the upper staves. A sharp symbol (#) is located below the first bass staff line.

This system contains measures 22 and 23. Measure 22 shows a treble staff with a melodic line, a second treble staff with eighth-note patterns, and three lower staves with eighth-note patterns. Measure 23 continues the patterns with some melodic variation in the upper staves. A sharp symbol (#) is located below the first bass staff line.

First system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The top five staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values (eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes) and rests. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The system concludes with a double bar line.

Second system of musical notation, consisting of six staves. The top five staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values (eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes) and rests. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The system concludes with a double bar line.

25

First system of musical notation, measures 25-26. The system consists of six staves. The first staff (treble clef) has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff (treble clef) has a similar melodic line. The third staff (treble clef) has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The fourth staff (treble clef) has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The fifth staff (alto clef) has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The sixth staff (bass clef) has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. A sharp symbol (#) is present below the sixth staff in measure 26.

Second system of musical notation, measures 27-28. The system consists of six staves. The first staff (treble clef) has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff (treble clef) has a similar melodic line. The third staff (treble clef) has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The fourth staff (treble clef) has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The fifth staff (alto clef) has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The sixth staff (bass clef) has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. A sharp symbol (#) is present below the sixth staff in measure 28. A '6' is written below the sixth staff in measure 27.

30

This system contains measures 30 and 31. It features six staves: five treble clefs and one bass clef. The music is written in a 6-part setting. Measure 30 shows a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Measure 31 continues this pattern. The bass staff has a '6' and a sharp sign below it, indicating a figured bass line.

This system contains measures 32 and 33. It continues the six-part setting with five treble staves and one bass staff. The notation is similar to the previous system, with intricate rhythmic figures. The bass staff has two sharp signs below it, indicating the figured bass line.

System 1 of the musical score. It consists of six staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the fifth and sixth are in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and accidentals (sharps and naturals). The bottom staff has a '6' under a note, indicating a sixteenth note.

System 2 of the musical score, continuing from the first system. It also consists of six staves with the same clef and key signature arrangement. The notation continues with similar rhythmic patterns and accidentals. The bottom staff has a '6' under a note, indicating a sixteenth note.

35

A musical score for six staves, likely representing a six-part setting. The first system contains measures 35 and 36. The notation includes various rhythmic values (eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes), rests, and accidentals (sharps and naturals). The key signature is one sharp (F#). The bottom staff has a '6' below it, indicating a six-part setting. The staves are connected by a brace on the left.

A musical score for six staves, likely representing a six-part setting. The second system contains measures 37 and 38. The notation is simpler, featuring mostly whole notes and rests, with some accidentals. The staves are connected by a brace on the left.

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