

MUSIC MIGRATION
IN THE EARLY MODERN AGE

CENTRES AND PERIPHERIES – PEOPLE, WORKS, STYLES,
PATHS OF DISSEMINATION AND INFLUENCE

Advisory Board

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Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age:

The Meeting of the European East, West, and South (MusMig)



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Preface

The project ‘Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: The Meeting of the European East, West and South’ was developed under the financial patronage of the European scientific framework ‘Humanities in the European Research Area’ (HERA) in the period from 1 September 2013 to 31 August 2016. The Project Leader was Professor Vjera Katalinić from the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. The participants were scholars and researchers from Croatia, Germany, Poland and Slovenia.

The purpose of the investigations of music migrations was to analyze musical-cultural encounters in spatial terms (European East, West and South), and in temporal terms (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, i. e. Baroque and Classicism). The term ‘musicians’ should be understood broadly and here denoted not only composers, performers, and writers on musical issues, but also other professions related to music.

Three conferences devoted to the topics were organized in Mainz (*Music Migrations: From Source Research to Cultural Studies*, Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz, 24–25 April 2014), Zagreb (*Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles*, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 13–14 October 2014) and Warsaw (*Music Migration in the Early Modern Age: Centres and Peripheries – People, Works, Styles, Paths of Dissemination and Influence*, University of Warsaw – Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, 6–7 May 2016). Three volumes of proceedings, resulting from the conferences within the project, present cultural, social and political aspects of musicians’ mobility as well as problems of the reception of music in Early Modern Europe. The books taken into consideration are: *Musicians’ Mobilities*

and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges, eds. Gesa zur Nieden, Berthold Over, Bielefeld: transcript, 2016, *Glazbene migracije u rano moderno doba: ljudi, tržišta, obrasci i stilovi* / *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles*, ed. Vjera Katalinić, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2016 (Muzikološki zbornici 18) and the present one – *Music Migration in the Early Modern Age: Centres and Peripheries – People, Works, Styles, Paths of Dissemination and Influence*, eds. Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak, Aneta Markuszewska, Warsaw: Liber Pro Arte, 2016.

The last conference and the last book provided a fitting coda for the whole thirty-six month long project and were dedicated especially to the problem of centres and peripheries. The migration of musicians and the transmission of repertoire across Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contributed to the emergence of a network of musical and cultural connections, in which major European centres of musical life were linked to under-researched and mostly smaller centres situated at some distance. In order to investigate the transmission of music in the context of the evolving styles, performance practices, instruments, forms of transmission, music education, music-related institutions and forms of musical life and their adaptation in various milieux, it was vital not only to establish how peripheries were linked to the centres, but also how particular peripheral centres were linked to each other. This was the reason for the inspection of the directions of migration and repertoire transmission, the routes along which both musicians travelled and music was disseminated between the East, the West and the South of Europe, as well as of how both the routes and directions and the factors that favoured or inhibited the exchange of musicians and music changed.

The present volume consists of nineteenth articles by project participants including the texts by invited guests: Prof. Ivano Cavallini (University of Palermo), Prof. Reinhard Strohm (University of Oxford) and Prof. Harry White (University College Dublin).

Fundamentally, the order of the articles in the book reflects the order in the title of the conference: the first texts relate to people, and subsequently to works, starting from general issues to more detailed ones. In brief, the content of the volume is as follows.

In the opening article entitled *The Wanderings of Music through Space and Time*, Reinhard Strohm provided definitions of the key terms of the project, including migration, travel, identity, the unification of musical styles, influence, reception and diaspora. He exemplified the latter term using the example of the eighteenth-century diaspora of Italian musicians, whose presence and influence in many European countries (both central and peripheral) virtually dominated the musical culture of the period, in an attempt to understand better what happens when people living in different spaces or at different times have music in common.

Alina Żórawska-Witkowska (*Eighteenth-Century Warsaw: Periphery, Keystone, (and) Centre of European Musical Culture*) presented an overview of musical life in Warsaw in the eighteenth century, during the reigns of three kings: Augustus II the Strong, Augustus III (both of the Saxon house of Wettin), and Stanislaw Augustus Poniatowski. Żórawska-Witkowska's findings show that in the space of these three reigns Warsaw underwent a metamorphosis: from a provincial backwater, whose musical life centred around visits of itinerant opera troupes, and around adapted French and Italian works, it transformed into a prominent centre of influence for Central-Eastern Europe, where important works of major Italian, French, German and Austrian composers (e.g. Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Don Giovanni*, *Le nozze di Figaro*) were produced soon after their respective premieres. What is more, by the end of the eighteenth century Warsaw became home to the Polish National Opera, which often produced works by immigrant (and assimilated) foreign musicians.

Harry White (*Attending His Majesty's State in Ireland': English, German and Italian Musicians in Dublin, 1700–1762*) showed how during the period of relative calm and stability that followed the Williamite War (1690–1691), Ireland became an attractive destination for musicians from continental Europe and from London. The group of immigrant musicians in that period included among others Johann Sigismund Cousser, Matthew Dubourg and the best-known among them, Francesco Geminiani. The author proved how their activities contributed to fostering the tradition of English and Italian musical genres in Ireland, and what were its consequences for Irish musical

culture. One is the extent to which this musical activity represented a political status quo ultimately doomed to rejection by the majority of Irish citizens; the other is the extent to which European musical genres were (correspondingly) polarized in relation to native Irish models of musical discourse as the century progressed.

Berthold Over (*Düsseldorf–Zweibrücken – Munich. Musicians’ Migrations in the Wittelsbach Dynasty*) provided an overview of the employment of musicians by selected branches of the Wittelsbach family, one of the prominent German aristocratic houses, attempting to assess whether there is evidence of the ‘loaning out’ of musicians (composers, singers, instrumentalists) between the different branches of the family. Did close political alliances also result in mobility opportunities for musicians between different courts within the Wittelsbach family? The author analyses the cases of several musicians who were employed in turns by different branches of the family, suggesting that there is evidence of cultural cooperation between parts of the Wittelsbach family.

Gesa zur Nieden (*Music and the Establishment of French Huguenots in Northern Germany during the Eighteenth Century*) writes about the establishment of Huguenot enclaves in North Germany, e.g. Glückstadt and Bützow. The Huguenots preserved their traditions, including musical traditions, because the immigrant communities also included church cantors. A comparison of the music coming from the Huguenot communities and neighbouring German communities proves that the Huguenots managed to preserve their distinct tradition.

Szymon Paczkowski (*Christoph August von Wackerbarth (1662–1734) and His ‘Cammer-Musique’*) describes Wackerbarth – a prominent figure at the Polish-Saxon court in Dresden, and a music-lover who surrounded himself with a hand-picked group of talented musicians, and even insisted on their accompanying him in his travels. He was also one of the people responsible for employing musicians in the Dresden Hofkapelle. The profiles of some of the musicians from Wackerbarth’s circle are provided in the article as well as information about his activities as a music patron. The author tried to establish in which ways this aristocrat participated in the official musical life of the Polish-Saxon court, and how his public and his personal spheres interpenetrated within his musical patronage.

Vjera Katalinić (*Giovanni Giornovichi / Ivan Jarnović in Stockholm: A Centre or a Periphery?*) devoted her text to Giovanni Giornovichi (Ivan Jarnović), one of the most notable violinists and composers of the end of the eighteenth century, who often went on tours to many European countries. In spite of his celebrity status, not all periods of his career are sufficiently well-researched. Until very recently, one of such lacunae was his sojourn in Stockholm, which became the object of recent research by Katalinić. It seems fair to say that the arrival of the eminent virtuoso gave new energy to the musical life of Stockholm, who at that time was something of a backwater.

Katarina Trček Marušič (*Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Migration Flows in the Territory of Today's Slovenia*) provided an overview of statistical data related to the migration of musicians from various musical centres into the territory of today's Slovenia. Many foreign musicians settled in Slovenia permanently, becoming prominent and well-integrated members of the local communities, and contributing to the local musical culture. According to Trček Marušič's research, the immigration of musicians into Slovenia was a surprisingly widespread phenomenon: in the time period which she has researched, the number of immigrant musicians was at least several hundred.

Maja Milošević (*From the Periphery to the Centre and Back: The Case of Giuseppe Raffaelli (1767–1843) from Hvar*) Milošević presented the biography of Giuseppe Raffaelli, a priest, organist and composer who worked in various Italian centres (mostly Venice and Padua), and who in 1804 decided to come back to his native island of Hvar to continue his music career in a more provincial setting. In Hvar he became a key figure of church music, holding the positions of *maestro di capella* and organist in the Cathedral throughout most of the first half of the 19th century. Considering the quantity and quality of his sacred works – preserved in manuscripts, mainly in the Archives of the Hvar Cathedral – it seems that church music (practice) in town was significantly improved during the period of Raffaelli's service in the Cathedral. Raffaelli's biography is an interesting case of a migration from the peripheries to the centre and back again.

Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska (*Music Repertory in the Seventeenth-Century Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Import, Production, Export*)

introduced seventeenth-century musical collections and repertoires, whose records are preserved for various Polish musical centres from the period. The article focused on the work of foreign composers visiting Poland (both on the music that they brought with them, composed earlier, and on the pieces composed during their sojourns in Poland). Leaving Poland, after their longer or shorter stays, the composers routinely took with them copies of music which they had composed in Poland, as well as copies of music by local Polish artists. By doing so, they became agents of musical diffusion, popularising the repertoires created at the courts of Polish kings, aristocrats and nobles. The author indicated those genres and characteristics of the repertory created in Poland that aroused foreign musicians' interest and facilitated the reception of some compositions in the neighbouring countries and their assimilation and adaptation in various ethnic and religious milieux (among the adherents of Catholic, Protestant, Uniate and Orthodox Churches).

Tomasz Jeż (*The Italian Music Collection of Daniel Sartorius from Breslau*) concentrated on the important role of the library, not only as a place of the preservation of repertoire records, but also as a centre of influence shaping the culture of the period. This statement was exemplified using an example of the libraries of three collectors from the city of Wrocław (then called Breslau, and the capital of the Habsburg-controlled region of Lower Silesia). The collectors include the organist Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661); Daniel Sartorius (1612–1671), a teacher in Wrocław's St Elisabeth College; and the humanist Thomas Rehdiger (1540–1576).

Klemen Grabnar (*The 'Litaniarum liber' (SI-Lnr, Ms 344): Transmission of Musical Litanies from Graz to the Duchy of Carniola*), after a brief overview of the importance of litany as a genre in seventeenth-century Catholic Europe, moved on to point out the strong connection in terms of litany repertoire between Bavaria and Inner Austria, which is proved by the existence of 'Litaniarum liber', a book by Karl Kuglmann of Graz dedicated to the prince-bishop of Ljubljana, whose analysis was the main focus of his article.

Anna Ryszka-Komarnicka (*Operas, Dialogues and Oratorios Based on the Book of Judith in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe. Migrations of Subject, Librettos and Musicians*) tracked the migration of this fascinating and

important motif of the Biblical Judith, one of most preponderant recurring characters in the musical culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Judith's story became very popular with audiences by virtue of its emotional appeal, ingenious plot twists and also its potential for interpretation which could suit the contemporary political context and the needs of the moment. 'Judith pieces' were written by many noted poets and composers, but the most important surge of the popularity of this character can be associated with Metastasio's libretto *Betulia liberata*.

Aneta Markuszewska (*Eumene: A Case Study of an Opera Hero Migration in the Early Modern Age*) focused on the migration of a group of librettos presenting the life of Eumene, a heroic ancient Greek general in the armies of Alexander the Great. Though somewhat forgotten today, Eumene was a very popular character on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century operatic stages. The author comprehensively presents the European migration of Eumene, showing links between particular librettos and the manner of presentation of Eumene in selected productions of the opera and – on a broader plane – offers some remarks on the phenomenon of migration of tropes, themes, plot formulas and characters in early modern opera.

Metoda Kokole (*Did Andrea Bernasconi Compose 'Adriano in Siria' Twice?*) described the case of an opera by Bernasconi (one of the most celebrated eighteenth-century opera composers, whose arias are stored in many collections around the world). In the collection which belonged to Count Ignaz von Attems and his wife Josepha in Graz (today: Provincial Archives of Maribor, Slovenia), there are 13 arias by Bernasconi, several of which come from his version of *Adriano in Siria* by Pietro Metastasio. While records exist that Bernasconi received a commission for *Adriano in Siria* in 1755 from the court of Munich, the arias preserved in the von Attems collection do not match the surviving score from Munich. Kokole suggests that Bernasconi must have composed one more version of *Adriano* for a production in Milan, around 1736, a version whose existence scholars have so far not suspected. The presentation makes a compelling case that the study of repertoire migrations in smaller collections, such as the one on which Kokole based her research, can be a rich source of knowledge about the hitherto under-researched activities of even major composers.

Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (*Schikaneder in Ljubljana: Repertoire Transmission Routes*) analyses how the appearance of the theatre company of Emanuel Schikaneder for two winter seasons (1779/80 and 1781/82) in Ljubljana determined the changes in cultural dynamics at the periphery of the Habsburg Monarchy. The musical repertoire produced symptomatically reveals a gradual replacement of the then widely popular Italian opera with musical works in the German language.

Stanislav Tuksar (*'Quid agat musica in tarantis & in aliis morbis' – Ideas on Music Therapy in Dissertatio VI (1695) by Giorgio Baglivi*) presented the career of Giorgio Baglivi, a physician who pursued medical studies in many European universities and finally settled in Rome, where he established a successful practice and became celebrated for his original theories regarding music therapy, and, more generally, the influence of music on the human organism. Baglivi's theories gained popularity and his works were translated into many European languages, making him something of a celebrity. Thus one musico-medical theory created in a centre turned towards a peripheral practice, closing the imaginary circle periphery-centre-periphery both in its genesis and in the destiny of his creator.

Lucija Konfic (*Stratico and Tartini – Student and Master. Giuseppe Michele Stratico's Music System in Comparison with Tartini's Music Theory*) showed the transfer of knowledge and ideas from mentor to student, using the example of Giuseppe Michele Stratico (1728-1783) and Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770), the head of the famous 'School of Nations'. Both Tartini and Stratico were violinists, composers and music theorists. In the field of music theory, Tartini was a starting point for the development of Stratico's music system – and at the same time Stratico was a critic of Tartini's theory. Konfic, writing about the shared ideas and performance styles of musicians in such mentor-student teams, also presented the underlying differences, e.g. in their understanding of and attitudes to music theory.

The last text by Ivano Cavallini (*Music Migrations from Bohemian Lands to Trieste and the National Awakening of Southern Slavs*) proved that migrations of musicians did not end with the eighteenth century, but continued in the nineteenth century, which Cavallini exemplified using the example of Trieste,

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a city that in the nineteenth century attracted musicians from Slovenia, Bohemia, Poland, Croatia, and Serbia. In 1848 the *Slavjansko društvo* (Slavic Society) was founded in Trieste and in 1861 the *Slavjanska narodna čitalnica* (Slavic National Reading Room) arose, which attempted to unify the Slavic communities of the city. The main activities of the *čitalnice* were focused on choral music, Lieder and national anthems. Cavallini's article served both as a conclusion for the conference and as a possible inspiration for future research.

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To summarise the research conducted within the framework of the MusMig project, it is our intention to address the fundamental question concerning the significance of the encounters between the East, the West and the South of Europe for musical culture, both broadly defined and local in the places where the encounters occurred. Music migrations have considerably contributed to the dynamics and synergy of the European cultural scene at large, stimulating innovations, changes of styles and patterns of musical and social behaviour, and contributing to the cohesive forces in the common European cultural identity. Three books devoted to the subject show the great diversity of materials and problems, which will give, as we hope, new stimulus to further research into the fascinating matter of music migrations.

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The Wanderings of Music through Space and Time

INITIAL QUESTIONS

In this keynote I consider several historical aspects of musical migration. Accounts of music history usually understand geographical space as a distance or difference, which impedes unity or identity. Such difference is overcome by 'influence', for example between composers, or 'migration', for example between nations. Alternative views to this linkage between identity and space appear in concepts of 'world music', in 'diaspora' research, and in new historical models that address dialogue and exchange. The temporal dimension of music is conceptualised in a very similar fashion: the further away in time, the more difference must be overcome, usually by 'reception'. An alternative exploration might prefer the concept of 'tradition'. But what do all these terms imply? How useful are they really? The terms 'migration' or 'travel' themselves, when referring to music, need clarification. Who migrates: people, artefacts, or sound?

MIGRATION STUDIES IMPLY A CONCEPT OF UNITY

The innumerable paths and locations, forms and performances which music takes in space and time would perhaps not interest us so much if we did not believe that their diversity hides an intrinsic unity and communality. What we like best when speaking of musical wanderings through time and space is to prove music's identity with itself. Bach's chorales, the Polish mazurka, the Argentinian tango are admired for having conquered many parts of the world. The diversity that arises in this dissemination of genres becomes an exciting and colourful commodity when it is measured against the yardstick of unity. The statement, for example, that the genre of *opera buffa* was 'transferred' to

Vienna in 1763, depends on a concept of the *unity of the genre* – it was the same as in Italy – but may also imply the question about the diverse forms and styles of the genre in new location.

The tendency to compare and measure typifies musicological research. Other people who make music on opposite sides of the globe or in distant epochs do not have to care whether their antipodes or ancestors do the same thing or not. But they may care about it if they have a more general conception of their own music: if they imagine that the music they perform has a global or transcultural significance. In that case they might wonder whether other musicians do the same thing or a variant thing or something entirely dissimilar. Much of the work of ethnomusicology, and an even greater proportion of Early Music studies, is spent on questioning transcultural connections or derivations, whether across the continents or across epochs. The idea of transcultural significance is awkward in music, since the concept of *musica* has varied enormously in past cultures, is absent from some cultural traditions, and is still divergent in today's world.¹ Hence there is not much reason to believe in the unity of this art. If people in different world regions or in different historical epochs have incompatible concepts of what music actually is, then it may be futile to compare what they do with sound. Nevertheless, the idea of universality or global coherence is a tenacious modern Western ideology. By supposing connections and by measuring degrees of coherence, it also opens the door to explorations of difference. Transcultural and migration studies, as far as they emphasise difference, could be considered the flipside of universalism and globalisation.²

PLAINSONG ON THE RAILROADS

In the beginning of Western art music, in the seventh to tenth centuries, we find a development that has often been described as a spatial process:

¹ Reinhard STROHM, 'Musica – a Changing Concept in European Societies', *Muzyka* 53/2 (2008), pp. 3–23.

² See Max Peter BAUMANN, 'The "Transformation of the World": Notes on the Intertwining of Western European and East Asian Music Traditions', in: *Studies on a global history of music*, ed. Reinhard Strohm, Abingdon: Routledge [in preparation].

the distribution of the so-called 'Gregorian' plainsong over Europe, from southern Italy to Ireland. The Roman Church, which endorsed this repertoire, had a typically centralistic view of geography, shown for example in the foundations of bishoprics and designing of dioceses. The further away from Rome a country was, the fewer bishops it needed. In the most distant lands, extremely vast spaces had to be governed by single central authorities. The wish to introduce Roman rituals and plainsong in all the territories under the Pope was not built on a sympathetic estimate of the travelling and transfer requirements. Rather, plainsong migrated on the channels provided by political administrations such as the Frankish empire, and even more importantly, it travelled on the 'railroads' (as Christopher Page called it) of musical literacy and theoretical education.³ To enable you to sing the Offices as they did in Rome, it mattered more whether you could read and memorise the plainsongs than where you were in Christendom. Although chant books got carried from one place to another, this distribution was more like a learning process rather than a transfer of commodities.

An apparent exception to this rule was the legendary transfer of alleluia jubilus melodies from Jumièges in Normandy to St Gallen in the ninth century. Some monks of Jumièges, driven from their monastery by the Vikings, sought refuge in the Swiss abbey and brought their chant book with them, where those melodies were written. Notker of Saint Gall, who told this story, provided the melodies with newly-written texts, creating what is known as the plainsong genre of the sequence. Thus the musical transfer was for the first time achieved with the help of a travelling object, a book, accompanied by much interpretation and adaptation. And, with the essential assistance of fugitive musicians. Previously, travelling musicians would have taught their new companions what they knew only orally. The requirement of a human transmitter was challenged by the migration of the book. It was further weakened, in the eleventh century, by Guido d'Arezzo, who designed a method of learning melodies from a book even without a teacher, on the basis of pitch notation and new theoretical education.⁴

³ Christopher PAGE, 'Towards: Music in the Rise of Europe', *The Musical Times* 136/3 (1995), pp. 127–134.

⁴ David HILEY, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 466–470.

It may seem immaterial for the concept of a musical transfer or migration whether there is a person travelling who teaches another the music he knows in the new location, or whether there is a travelling book from which the people in the new location can learn new music. But yes, there are two differences. First, Guido's reason for teaching how to learn plainsong from a book rather than from a teacher arose from his profound mistrust towards the musicians all over Christendom whose individual variant versions he wanted to replace with a book of central authority, a unified version approved by the Pope. Second, in the post-Guidonian era, musicians have been able to learn unknown music even when it was transmitted by non-musicians: riding messengers, military personnel, the postal system or in fact by the internet. No *musician* needs to travel in those cases. Musical script, print, literacy and computer technology have made the wanderings of musicians redundant.

Thus the medieval railroads for the migration of chant were, on one hand, purely intellectual and non-spatial: the understanding of musical writing, the theory of the intervals, and so forth. On the other hand, they did involve spatial materiality by transporting objects, written books, across the spaces. There was a give-and-take between these modes of transfer – to some extent a rivalry.

THE DIASPORA OF THE APOSTLES

Church authorities in medieval and early modern times designed networks of administrative power by appointing local deputies and hierarchically-organised centres, a strategy that had been developed in the Roman Empire. Travelling and migrating was what ordinary people had to do, as they would be sent from command-point to command-point. In order to describe its power structure in biblical terms, the Church cultivated the story of Christ sending out his Apostles: the original reference for the term 'diaspora'. The psalm verse 'Their sound – or voice – went out in all the lands' (*In omnes terras exivit sonus eorum*) was used in St Paul's letter to the Romans to denote the so-called *Divisio Apostolorum*, the dispersion of the apostles, which is alluded to in the Gospel of St Mark (Mark 16: 19–20)

and mentioned by early church historians.⁵ The psalm verse later became a plainsong offertory for the Mass of Apostles; it describes the spreading of the gospel as a spontaneous, expanding migration, and as a human sound. This essential formula of all musical diasporas was used by Ulrich Richental as the motto of his famous chronicle of the Council of Constance, 1414–1418;⁶ at the time two ‘musicians’ motets’ had already been circulated which praised contemporary musicians and used the verse *In omnes terras* as tenor.⁷ Here the formula definitely also implies a transmission of music, not only of words. But Richental’s chronicle described not the *spreading out* but the *coming together* of many different people and cultural traditions at the Constance gathering. The spreading out was to follow when those people returned home, having learned new things at the ecumenical Council. Thus the theological, liturgical and musical effect of the Council was by intention aimed at *unification* of cultures rather than diversification, an effect corroborated by the analysis of the musical repertoires. This diaspora was generated from a central point of origin, it happened by order of superior authorities, and it was intended to strengthen unity.

But the relationship between musical diversity and authority is subjected to a strange dialectic. The invention of music notation in the medieval Church for the sake of centralising control, and the creation of a musical literacy that could function without oral teaching, were two sides of the same coin. It was precisely the awareness that a central authority could standardise the performance of its artefacts that also encouraged dissent and enabled variants to achieve similar acceptance. The device which strengthened central authority also encouraged peripheral autonomy.

⁵ The *Divisio Apostolorum* was a feast usually celebrated on 15 July. It was first introduced by Godescalc (d. 1098) at Aachen and became common in many medieval churches, but was abolished by the Council of Trent.

⁶ Ulrich RICHENTAL, *Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils, 1414–1418*, ed. Otto Feger, facsimile edition, 2 vols., Constance: Bahn, 1964, first verso of the manuscript.

⁷ See Reinhard STROHM, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 116.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF DISTANCE

In later centuries, the inventions of music printing and publishing, libraries, telecommunication, music recording and lastly, internet transmission, step by step reduced the spatial conditioning of music transfer. Just as with the medieval hierarchies which dropped its commands on you from far away or high above, today it does not matter where you are when you download a song from the net. You may in fact migrate around the globe and yet find yourself facing the same music over there. This *catholic* condition, in the literal sense of the Greek word ‘across the whole’, has swallowed up the effects of distance, has made migration redundant. And, the disappearance of distance in music, like in other cultural activities, is typically linked to power systems.

A phenomenon that typifies early modern Europe is the dissemination of music in printed and manuscript form. The philosopher Lydia Goehr, in her book on the musical work-concept, emphasises how little control Joseph Haydn had over the performances of his music in distant locations.⁸ But most of the musical genres practised in the eighteenth century did not require the presence of the composer for their performance. Contemporaries could buy the scores of Haydn’s string quartets, for example, in every major European city. Musical education did provide a generally acceptable level of performative understanding of this and other genres, probably a more intimate understanding than some modern performers and audiences will have of a newly-composed work without direct guidance from the composer. Otherwise, Haydn’s music would not have been sold in so many locations. Goehr was referring mostly to large-scale vocal and symphonic works, but these genres, too, were regularly transported to distant countries. Haydn composed concertos on commission for Naples and his orchestral *Seven Last Words* for Cadíz, for example. In opera and oratorio, the practice of changing a work when reviving it away from its place of origin, was definitely not caused by the absence of the composer: composers often involved themselves in such revisions.

⁸ Lydia GOEHR, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works. An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, pp. 176–204.

Goehr was interested in a connection between the musical work-concept and music's transferability, neither of which, according to her, was much developed in the eighteenth century. She believed that music is the less suitable for transfer the less fixed its stylistic and technical features are; thus in music history only the advent of a fixed and inviolate written form allowed for the transfer of music without qualitative loss. But the idea of an inviolate musical work, written and fixed, was already fully present in Renaissance humanism, at the same time that performative differences between distant localities were flourishing.⁹ We should see the work-like unity and the diasporic diversity of the musical artefact as parts of the same picture. For those musical genres of European music that conform to the principle of authorship (not all of them do), there has always been a give-and-take between the acknowledgement of an author's intentions and the toleration of performative variants; the latter were admitted a little more freely when a geographic transfer of the work was involved. Authorship and work-concept even seem to have encouraged musical transfers, for example when eighteenth-century audiences in Northern Europe learned to admire the 'great masters' of the Neapolitan school.

THE MIGRATION OF THE OLTREMONTANI

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed one of the biggest cultural transfer processes of our history: the Renaissance. It was called a 'rebirth' by its own promoters, but it was much more like a transfer or download from a foreign store.¹⁰ It was also of course an outreach in time rather than place. Leading institutions and learned men asserted their secular authority

⁹ Reinhard STROHM, '„Opus“: an aspect of the early history of the musical work-concept', in: *Complexus effectuum musicologiae. Studia Miroslavo Perz septuagenario dedicata*, ed. Tomasz Jeż, Kraków: Rabid, 2003, pp. 309–319; Reinhard KAPP, 'Werk und Geschichte (als eine Art Einleitung)', in: *Werk und Geschichte: musikalische Analyse und historischer Entwurf – Rudolph Stephan zum 75. Geburtstag*, Mainz: Schott, 2005, pp. 7–48.

¹⁰ Reinhard STROHM, "'Medieval Music" or "Early European Music"?", in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016 [in press].

by taking out a massive loan from the deposits of ancient culture: copying its books, carrying away its sculptures, learning its languages, digging up its architectures, rethinking its thoughts. They tried, but did not succeed in, re-performing its music. Of the many arts and sciences that medieval Europe had developed before it turned its main attention to the classics, music was perhaps the most universally appreciated and interactive practice; its great migrations happened before the advent of the Italian Renaissance. The first and largest of these migrations had been the early medieval dissemination of Gregorian chant, as just mentioned; the second was the migration of the so-called ‘Netherlanders’ or *Oltremontani*, which started at the end of the fourteenth century. It is appropriate to draw a parallel between this pre-Renaissance migration of educated clerics from the northern shores, and the Renaissance importation of cultural goods from antiquity: the single goal of both migrations was the Mediterranean region with its courtly, churchly and civic communities. But the similarity almost ends there.

The reason for the migration of the musical Netherlanders has been identified by the musicologist Andrew Tomasello in the politics of the competing Papacies during the Great Schism (1367–1415):¹¹ musicians flocked to Avignon and Rome, respectively, from those Northern dioceses, especially in the Low Countries, where the competing Popes had assembled most of their rights over the ecclesiastical appointments, in order to boost their contested authorities. The holders of these appointments were automatically able to serve the papal *curia* for free, as they lived on the benefices coming to them from home. Many of these trained clerics were musical, many of them also had secular interests and civic skills. But neither any particular ‘inborn’ musicality, nor lack of funding at home, nor any excessive need for musicians in the South can have sent these musicians on their way. Above all, the supposition that the Low Countries were then more musical than other European regions can easily be refuted. The famous musicians of the French and English courts did not significantly interact with Italian establishments, mainly because the Popes did not own many appointment rights there. None, in fact, in France between the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII in

¹¹ Andrew TOMASELLO, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309–1403*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983; cf. STROHM, *The Rise*, pp. 20–22.

1438 and its partial suspension under Louis XI in 1464. That Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan in the 1470s failed to attract Jean Ockeghem while recruiting Gaspar van Weerbeke, Johannes Martini, Alexander Agricola and others, was because Ockeghem served the king of France and would have lost his opulent benefice at St Martin of Tours, requiring new outright funding in Milan. In fact, the secular courts of the Sforza, Este, Medici, Gonzaga or Habsburg dynasties also often financed their Franco-Flemish musicians through papal benefices and dispensations, which were devolved down on them.¹² Northern musicians also arrived in Italian cities independently of the ecclesiastical network, for example those Flemish and German instrumentalists who organised themselves at Florence as the fraternity of St Barbara, also called 'dei Fiamminghi',¹³ or those German, Czech and Polish musicians who went to Italy to attend the universities (probably including Nikolaus of Radom)¹⁴, or famous instrumentalists including Conrad Paumann from Bavaria who went to Mantua by princely invitation. The last important musical Netherlanders – Willaert from Bruges, Vaet from Kortrijk, de Rore from Ronse, Lassus from Mons, de Wert presumably from Antwerp – moved within a Habsburg-Este-Venetian network that enabled them and their music to circulate around Europe.

THE ITALIAN MUSICAL DIASPORA

The migration of the musical Netherlanders in the Renaissance period and the diaspora of Italian music and musicians in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries might well be compared with each other. The two processes do *not* relate like action and reaction: whereas the migration of the *oltremontani* was mainly heading for one region, the diaspora of the Italians involved virtually all European countries

¹² Examples in Pamela STARR, 'The "Ferrara connection": A case study of musical recruitment in the Renaissance', *Studi musicali* 18/1 (1989), pp. 3–17; Christopher REYNOLDS, 'Southern pull or northern push? Motives for migration in the Renaissance', in: *Transmission and reception of the forms of musical culture. Proceedings of the 14th congress of the International Musicological Society, Bologna 1987*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, vol. 3, Turin: EDT, 1990, pp. 355–361.

¹³ STROHM, *The Rise*, pp. 567.

¹⁴ Mirosław PERZ, 'Il carattere internazionale delle opere di Mikołaj Radomski', *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), pp. 153–159.

including Russia and Sweden. Its culture was tied to the Italian language, whereas the *oltremontani* migration was indifferent to language. The Italian diaspora also triggered reverse migrations and cultural motions, for example in the musical ‘regards croisés’ between Italy and France that have recently been explored by the MUSICI project,¹⁵ or in the uninterrupted flow of Northern students and musicians to Italy for education and sightseeing – the ‘Grand tour’ of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Italian intellectuals of the Renaissance never went to the Low Countries to study music there. But the greatest difference between the two processes may also be the simplest: the Italian musical diaspora transported not just music but virtually all the arts, many sciences, literature, crafts, politics and of course religion. Thus Italy returned to the rest of Europe those arts and skills she had earlier borrowed from antiquity, plus music. An example of the comprehensive and reversible migration of culture in this era is Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689), who abdicated her rule, converted to Catholicism and migrated to Rome in 1654–1655. Her early interests in various cultural traditions, especially of France and Italy, and her growing attraction to Italian literature, music and church culture, justify the view that what was happening here was a second Renaissance: an outreach to a larger, wider, freer culture beyond the native patch.

Within the Italian diaspora I observe two major tensions or even contradictions. First, the personal transmitters of music became more important again. This reversed the trend of the disappearing distance, which had been achieved by musical writing, reading and printing. Italian music of the seventeenth century seems to have relied more on musicians who transported it. Previously, Italian-texted music, especially madrigals, had flooded the European market in printed form. Individual patrons like Georg Knoff of Gdańsk could assemble a huge library of such music without visiting Italy.¹⁶ Italian singers, however, were not being fetched to perform madrigals.

¹⁵ Gesa ZUR NIEDEN – Anne-Madeleine GOULET, *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel (1650–1750): Musik, nationale Identität und kultureller Austausch / Les musiciens européens à Venise, Rome et Naples (1650–1750) / Musicisti europei a Venezia, Roma e Napoli (1650–1750)*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015 (Analecta Musicologica 52).

¹⁶ Martin MORELL, ‘Georg Knoff: Bibliophile and devotee of Italian music in late sixteenth-century Danzig’, in: *Music in the German Renaissance: sources, styles and contexts*, ed. John Kmetz, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 103–126.

(This happened only exceptionally, for example in Elizabethan England.) By contrast, the European courts interested in opera or oratorio all wanted to import the musicians as well.¹⁷ This cannot have been only because of the genre and its special requirements: Northern-European princes also employed Italian poets to write birthdays odes for them. For opera they imported librettists, architects, scenographers, instrumentalists, composers and, above all, singers. There seems to have been a more thorough desire of assimilation, or absorption, – in German, ‘Anverwandlung’ – of the transalpine culture than in the earlier period: a desire comparable to the humanist infatuation with the ancient cultures. Dynastic pride and European courtly rivalry were also involved. With these imports, an essentialisation of ‘Italianità’ went on which supported the monopoly of Italian singers over Northern performances.¹⁸ This monopoly was achieved through the trade secrets of singing teachers, through nepotism and family Seilschaften, but there was something more irrational to it. Many gifted Northern singers learned to sing Italian opera perfectly well. But they did perhaps not pronounce like the real Italians, did not look like them, move like them, behave like them at the dinner table, have names like them. How much can you trust a singer of an Italian aria who is called ‘Döbricht’, or ‘Schwartzmann’, or ‘van Oploo’?¹⁹ The castrati were an additional monopoly; they were produced for export in the southern regions of the peninsula. Was ‘Italianità’ a social or an aesthetic concept? Were castrato arias popular in Central and Northern Europe because they were sung by castrati, or was it the other way round? The castrato obsession outlasted the end of the *ancien régime*; I am inclined to think that it was based not on social but aesthetic, musical preferences. Some composers, including Vivaldi and Handel, wrote typical castrato arias for women.²⁰

Second, there is a possible contradiction between the newly-strengthened personal element in the musical diaspora, and the modes in which

¹⁷ Generally on this process, see *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm, Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.

¹⁸ See *Italian Opera in Central Europe 1614–1780*, vol. 2: *Italianità: Image and Practice*, eds. Corinna Herr et al., Berlin: BWV, 2008.

¹⁹ As mentioned in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora*, p. 27.

²⁰ Vivaldi wrote them for Margherita Giacomazzi in his operas *Tamerlano* and *Adelaide* (both 1735): see Reinhard STROHM, *The Operas of Antonio Vivaldi*, 2 vols., Florence: Olschki, 2008, pp. 546–562.

music actually travelled. As the importance of notation and printing was nevertheless constantly rising, even travelling Italian musicians also had to provide their audiences in the North with written copies. And, as if to make themselves redundant and their monopoly meaningless, they taught the reading, singing and composing of Italian music to non-Italians. The travelling opera companies of Mingotti and Locatelli sold copies of their arias to the audience;²¹ London printers published virtually every new aria sung at the Opera house. Breitkopf at Leipzig developed not just opera printing, it focused on the market of the *Klavierauszug* or piano score, first often sold in manuscript. This commodity became quite independent of the travelling musicians and was a diaspora of Italianate music in itself, aimed at the non-courtly society in the smaller towns of Central Europe.²²

Real and virtual families of Italian musicians settled in those towns and countries: the real ones included the Dall'Oglio, Danzi-LeBrun, Toeschi, Grua, whose second and third immigrant generations were no longer recognised as Italians at all; the virtual ones were those Northern schools of Italianate composing and performing which in Vienna, London, Mannheim or Munich made further immigration fairly superfluous.²³ The most general characterisation of these cultural processes is probably not actually migration but Europeanisation, an early form of globalisation. But the contradiction is the following. People as carriers of cultural knowledge and goods were more actively involved than ever before; travelling composers like Porpora, Bononcini or Sarti covered thousands of miles; the opera companies carried enormous loads of staging equipment, performers' families, household goods, music scores with them. The diasporic motion is thickened, so to speak, in the activity of these travelling companies, the famous *operisti* from Peruzzi and Denzio via the two Mingottis to Locatelli, Nicolini and Bambini. They did carry written opera scores with them and sometimes had their own music

²¹ Cf. Erich H. MUELLER, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Oper im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Dresden: Bertling, 1917, pp. VI–VII (of operas in Hamburg 1744).

²² On opera at Leipzig and the German dissemination of opera in general, see Estelle JOUBERT, 'Songs to Shape a German Nation: Hiller's Comic Operas and the Public Sphere', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 3/2 (2006), pp. 213–230.

²³ Norbert DUBOWY, 'Italienische Instrumentalisten in deutschen Hofkapellen', in: *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora*, pp. 61–120.

librarian, but the product changed at their hands and under their wheels. On the other hand, precisely those operisti who conducted exhausting diasporic migrations, such as Antonio Denzio who shuttled between Venice and Prague, might occasionally replace their entire travel with a forwarding of the performance material by post. Their essential activity was not the wandering but the commercial music management.

The empowerment of the localities as a result of the diaspora is of course best known in the history of opera composing. The Italian creators of opera, when migrating across the Alps, were presented with various options, which paradoxically suggest that migration was not the most indispensable part of their business.²⁴

Firstly, they could take a completed score with them and perform it abroad, then return home, just as they would do within Italy. Galuppi's presence in Vienna in 1749 belongs to this type: was it a migration or just a *visit*? Second, many others would gain employment abroad, perhaps initiated by a successful work brought initially with them, but then they would compose many others in the new location under its different working conditions. This variety was almost the norm throughout our period; it raises the question of what an opera such as Agostino Steffani's *Enrico Leone*, Hannover 1689, actually had to do with migration or diaspora. Few of Steffani's or Antonio Caldara's operas written abroad were based on a model previously performed south of the Alps; none were ever repeated in Italy.

A third variety concerns composers who shuttled between native and remote employments, sometimes taking their operas forth and back with them, as did Hasse, Galuppi, Jommelli, Sarti and many others. Here we find significant cases of music wandering from place to place. But almost the opposite phenomenon, fourthly, are composers like Handel, Gluck and Mozart, who did not really participate in any diaspora: they spent formative years in Italy but then developed their Italianate music entirely within Northern climates. And of course there were significant Italian composers who never went on the road, such as Alessandro Scarlatti, Leonardo Vinci,

²⁴ See Reinhard STROHM, 'Europäische Pendleroper: Alternativen zu Hoftheater und Wanderbühne', in: *Gluck und Prag. Symposiumsbericht Gluck und Prag, Nürnberg, 20.-22. Juli 2012*, eds. Thomas Betzwieser, Daniel Brandenbur Kassel – Basel – London – New York – Praha: Bärenreiter, 2016 (Gluck-Studien 7), pp. 11–28.

Giuseppe Orlandini, who nevertheless had a great following in Northern centres. The effect of these processes was an obliteration of distance, as described, but with a quasi-optional involvement of migration.

RECEPTIONS AND TRADITIONS

When a work was performed in many places, it was often not much more than the name that migrated. Robert Freeman's pioneering essay *The travels of Partenope* (1968) can be used to challenge the identity of the musical artefact: was it really the same *Partenope* that was seen and heard on the stages of Naples, Venice, Florence etc. and then more than a dozen others in the rest of Europe? And if it was understood to be the 'same', with the help of some allegorical thinking, was it not nevertheless a new performance and product in each place?²⁵ Migration is possible to the extent that we bracket the local or chronological diversity and speak of 'the same' item.

The alternative is to see each manifestation of some music in various times and places as a single new entity. The latter view has more legitimacy than the concepts of migration and reception accord to it: not because we must privilege local independence, but because music, before the recording industry, is something that has to be freshly created each time. It is created by people: what 'travels' (only metaphorically) are ideas, what appears singly in a physical space is a performance. The obliteration of distance through internet and recording brings out the abstract, non-physical nature of music.

Recordings also diminish or annihilate the transfer that is usually called 'reception'. Reception is the passive component of migration, so to speak: the term suggests that music, when it goes from one place or point in time to another, is the passive object of human agency. On the other hand, the term almost excludes the possible component of travelling people and thus detracts interest from the anthropomorphic notion of musical 'wandering'. Reception may rather be likened to a ball thrown over a fence, which is

²⁵ Robert E. FREEMAN, 'The travels of Partenope', in: *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harry S. Powers, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968, pp. 356–385. A one-day conference on *Partenope*-operas, convened by Michele Calella, was held at the Theater an der Wien, Vienna, on 23–24 February 2009.

picked up by somebody previously not playing it. But what if it is picked up by someone who actually took part in the game anyway? The frequent use of the term 'reception' in recent literature seems to have the effect of obliterating intervening human activities such as migration (in terms of space), elaboration and tradition (in terms of time).

A musical 'tradition' is a migration of music in time that enables new uses and elaborations while not diminishing the continuous effort of intervening human agents. It should be easy to agree that J. S. Bach's compositional uses of Lutheran church hymns are not examples of 'reception': the composer knew the hymns through local and cultural tradition, before elaborating them in new musical forms. They were already part of his consciousness; the audience knew them as well. More complex cases are Mendelssohn's revival of Bach's *St Matthew Passion*, or the revivals of Handel's oratorios and operas in the nineteenth century, where the continuity of any intervening tradition may be in question. Nevertheless, we should avoid talking about 'reception' too easily, when 'tradition' is a possible alternative and it is only insufficient research that makes it appear as if a radical transfer had occurred.

In some contexts, the notions of reception and migration may lack the necessary respect towards the cultural agents themselves. People who have made a certain cultural practice their own do not deserve to be reminded all the time that they have originally 'received' it, or that it has 'migrated' to them. There are such things as the Russian tango, the European lute or the African Bach. Regarding the last-named case, it has been demonstrated that some Bachian music has been at home in Ghana for 200 years and has had its own performance history, separately from the European development.²⁶

All musical learning and tradition-building involves communication, often in both directions; the transfer of musical skills, tastes or in fact pieces from teachers to pupils should not need to be upgraded to the status of a 'migration'. What we need to conceptualise better, is the relationship between human agency and musical artefact or practice in the context of migrations: we want to be clear what or who migrates, what is displaced and

²⁶ Tobias Robert KLEIN, 'Bach in Afrika. Eine Rezeptionsskizze', in: *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Gegenwart. Beiträge zur Bach-Rezeption 1945–2005*, eds. Michael Heinemann, Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, Köln: Dohr, 2007, pp. 19–34.

what is simply communicated, when people living in different spaces or at different times have music in common. The practices of tradition-building, communicating, learning and transmitting music are in themselves cultural productions. Many people, including audiences, usually contribute to them.

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*Eighteenth-Century Warsaw: Periphery, Keystone,
(and) Centre of European Musical Culture*

The eighteenth century was a period of fundamental changes both within music itself and in the ways it functioned: the time of stylistic breakthrough from baroque to classicism, the democratisation of high culture, the alternating influences of pan-European centres (Paris, Venice, Naples, Vienna), and the emergence of national aspirations in new centres (Saint Petersburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Warsaw). All these tendencies and phenomena were reflected in the musical life of Warsaw, the informal capital of Poland, which evolved following changes on the royal throne. The latter was occupied in succession by two monarchs from the Saxon House of Wettin who were simultaneously electors of Saxony, Augustus II (1697–1704, 1709–33) and his son Augustus III (1734–63). They were succeeded by a Polish king, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (1764–95).¹ Each ruled for around thirty years; the Saxon kings had to divide their time and sponsorship between Dresden and Warsaw, although they definitely preferred their home city. For Stanislaus Augustus, Warsaw was his permanent residence and a major focus of his sponsorship.

In the eighteenth century, Warsaw itself experienced unprecedented growth. During the reign of the Saxon kings, the city was inhabited by between 20,000 (after the Great Northern War, that number fell much under 10,000) and 30,000 people, while in 1795, the year of Stanislaus Augustus's abdication, residency had grown to over 120,000, putting Warsaw among Europe's twenty most populous cities.²

¹ The short, tempestuous reign of King Stanisław Leszczyński (1704–9) had no effect whatsoever on Warsaw's musical life.

² See entry 'Ludność' [Population], in: *Encyklopedia Warszawy* [Encyclopedia of Warsaw], ed. Barbara Petrozolin-Skowrońska, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1994, p. 442.

Following Carl Dahlhaus's observation that in the eighteenth century, each musical city had its own character, its own 'stars' and dynamic of growth, thereby creating a specific centre of varying influence,³ I shall trace – in simplified summary – the situation of Warsaw, focusing on the theatrical repertoire as best documented in the sources. I shall indicate the directions of European stylistic influences but also the original values produced in and exported from Warsaw throughout Europe (the 'Polish style') and within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Polish opera); I shall define to what extent Warsaw constituted a musical periphery versus a musical centre, sometimes becoming an intermediary in the transfer of music between Europe's West and East. I shall also trace the role of the *grand tour* in shaping the musical taste of ruling monarchs.

My conclusions are based on my original research either published or presented during our 'Music Migration in the Early Modern Age' conferences in Mainz and Zagreb.⁴

AUGUSTUS II 'THE STRONG'

As son of the Saxon elector John George III, Augustus II undertook his bachelor *grand tour* in the years 1687–89, travelling notably through Paris, Versailles, Madrid, Lisbon, Turin, Venice, Florence, and Vienna.⁵

³ Carl DAHLHAUS, 'Einleitung', in: *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (*Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft* 5), Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1985, pp. 1–8.

⁴ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Foreign Musicians at the Polish Court in the Eighteenth Century. The case of Pietro Mira', in: *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe. Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, eds. Gesa zur Nieden, Berthold Over, Bielefeld: transcript, 2016, pp. 151–170; EAD, 'Eighteenth-Century Warsaw as a Musical Centre Between Western and Eastern Europe: 1731–1794', in: *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles*, ed. Vjera Katalinić, Zagreb: Hrvatsko Muzikološko Društvo, 2016, pp. 177–190.

⁵ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Kawalerska tura Augusta II w świetle doświadczeń muzyczno-teatralnych, 1687–1689' [The musical and theatrical experience of King Augustus II during his Grand Tour in 1687–89], in: *Arx Felicitatis. Księga ku czci profesora Andrzeja Rottermunda w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* [Arx Felicitatis. Book in honour of Professor Andrzej Rottermund on his 60th anniversary], ed. Maria Dłutek, Warszawa: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami, 2001, pp. 625–635.

He was naturally struck by the court of Louis XIV in Versailles, then at the height of its splendour, but was also impressed by Venice. He had the opportunity of extending those experiences during his war missions (where he even found time to visit theatres) in 1692 and 1708 in Holland and Flanders, dominated by French culture. He also did not remain indifferent to the Italophile preferences of his son Frederick Augustus and his wife, the archduchess Maria Josepha, whom he married in 1719. Augustus II thus aimed at uniting French and Italian influences at his courts in Dresden and Warsaw while also supporting the ambitions of German composers and the so-called Polish style; in doing so, he undoubtedly contributed to the emergence of the *vermischter Geschmack*. Scholars of the music and theatre at the court of Augustus II emphasise that he clearly preferred French art, but they underestimate his inclinations toward the other above-listed genres.

French influences, occasionally with Italian overtones, are evident both in the organisation and composition of the *Königlich Pohlnische Capelle* (1697–1707), in which the instrumental group was based on the French model, even though the chapel also included Italian singers and artists, notably during the first theatre season in Warsaw. Imported from the Brunswick – Lüneburg court of Duke George William in Celle and operating from February through May 1699, the Italian *commedia dell'arte* ensemble of Gennaro Sacco apparently performed bilingual Italian-French comedies, following the example of the Comédie Italienne in Paris. In any case for his Warsaw debut (13 February 1699), Sacco chose a ‘comedy half-Italian, half-French’.⁶ From May to August 1699, the French ensemble of Denis Nanteuil, an actor and singer with stage experience in France, the Netherlands, and Germany was active in Warsaw. In May 1700, it was followed by the French ensemble of Jean de Fonpré (assembled in The Hague and including its own ballet master and eight musicians), and in June 1700 by Angelo Costantini, renowned *commedia dell'arte* actor, active notably in Paris and Celle (with Gennaro Sacco), who brought a 50-strong ensemble of French opera modelled on

⁶ Pl-WRzno, manuscript II 2023, quoted after: Jerzy JACKI, ‘Z badań nad teatrem czasów saskich’ [Studies on the theatre in Saxon times], *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 33 (1960), p. 96.

Paris's Académie Royale de Musique. The latter was directed by Louis Deseschaliers and included 33 singers (including a choir), 16 dancers led by ballet master Louis de Poitiers, and technical personnel. Deseschaliers brought to Warsaw theatre machinery, costumes and musical scores, which might have included Jean-Baptiste Lully's *tragédies en musique* *Armide* and *Thésée* (Augustus II enjoyed these works in Paris as well), as well as the then-fashionable *opéra-ballets* such as *Les saisons* with music by Pascal Collasse (1695), *L'Europe galante* (1697), and *Le Carnaval de Venise* (1699), both with music by André Campra. Yet in Warsaw, that ensemble also performed works by its own members, including the *Divertissement pour le Retour du Roi à Varsovie* presented in 1700, with a libretto by Marc-Antoine Legrand, music by (Jean-Baptiste?) Renaud, and choreography by Louis de Poitiers.⁷ The presence at the Polish court of a very expensive French opera ensemble is particularly noteworthy since artists of that type did not usually operate in Central Europe.

After a period of political perturbation (the Great Northern War, Augustus II's abdication and return to the Polish throne), a royal ensemble *La Comédie et la Danse* was inaugurated in Dresden in 1709, whose members also performed in Warsaw between 1715 and 1724, notably presenting French comedies (including by Molière), *comédies-ballets*, *comédies lyriques*, *comédies avec divertissements/pièces d'agrément*, *fragments spectacles coupés*, all interspersed with intermezzi. Often, those works were written by Jean-Claude Gillier, head composer of Paris's Comédie Française. But the ensemble's repertoire also included *divertissements* to music by Augustus's own musicians: the chapel master Johann Christoph Schmidt, the concertmaster Jean-Baptiste Volumier [Woulmyer], and the composer Louis André (formerly linked with Brussels). In 1724, Louis Dupré, one of the leading dancers of his time, travelled to Warsaw directly from Paris to present ballets he had performed at the Académie Royale de Musique; upon his return to Paris (1731), he might have encouraged the appearance of Polish characters in the *opéra-ballets* staged there from 1735 onwards:

⁷ The music and libretto – published in Warsaw in 1700 – are lost. The printed libretto is listed in: Karol ESTREICHER, *Bibliografia polska* [Polish bibliography], Part 3, vol. 10, Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1906, p. 148.

the rerun of *Les fêtes de Thalie* with music by Jean-Joseph Mouret,⁸ and *Les Indes galantes* with music by Jean-Philippe Rameau (including an ‘Air grave pour les Polonais’ in the prologue).

The Warsaw repertoire is also noteworthy for including the first autonomous ballets: *Le ballet d’après Horace*, libretto by Antoine de La Motte-Houdar, music by Mouret (composed in 1714, staged in Warsaw in 1724), and the *fantaisiesymphonie de danse, Les caractères de la danse*, with music by Jean-Ferry Rebel (composed in 1715), performed in Paris by the most illustrious ballerinas of the time – Françoise Prévost, Marie Sallé, and Marie-Anne Camargo – and presented in Warsaw during the 1725/26 season by Louise de Vaurinville, formerly active in London and The Hague.

Nonetheless, Italian theatre also did well at the court of Augustus II. ‘Operas,’ or rather comedies with music, were already introduced by Gennaro Sacco, whose vocal powers were likely supported by Italian singers from the royal chapel. That ensemble performed the *divertimento teatrale Latona in Delo*, composed in Warsaw by Johann Christoph Schmidt to a libretto by royal poet Pietro Francesco Da Silva but close in style to Venetian opera.⁹

After Sacco’s departure, Italian theatre returned to Warsaw only seventeen years later, with the arrival during Carnival 1716 of an ensemble of *comici italiani* from Venice led by Tommaso Ristori, an actor formerly active at the Dresden court of Elector John George III. One of the ensemble’s members was Giovanni Alberto Ristori, son of the *principale* and a composer already well-established in Venice. The role of music in the Warsaw performances of that ensemble must have been considerable: the documentation includes numerous references to ‘pièces d’opéra en musique,’ ‘Operetten und Intermedes,’ ‘Pastorellen,’ and works of famous masters whose scores Tommaso Ristori had brought from Venice. *Intermezzi* were also composed in Warsaw by his son Giovanni Alberto.¹⁰

⁸ See Claude PARFAICT, François PARFAICT, *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris, contenant toutes les pièces qui ont été représentées jusqu’ à présent sur les différents théâtres françois*, vol. 5, Paris: Lambert 1756, pp. 397– 399.

⁹ A copy of the libretto, published in Warsaw, is held at Pl-Wn, while the score is held at D-B, Mus. ms. 19922.

¹⁰ In D-Dl, four other *intermezzi* attributed to Ristori have survived: *Delbo e Dorina, Despina, Simone e Trespolo, Lisetta e Castagnazzo*, and *Serpilla e Serpello*.

In the years 1725–26, Warsaw performances of the *comici italiani* embellished French ballets staged by royal dancers, accompanied by the concertmaster and composer of ballet music Jean-Baptiste Volumier. Two opposing musical styles of the time, Italian and French, were therefore juxtaposed during the same evening.

The lease to tsarina Anna Ivanovna for the year 1731 of Tommaso Ristori's ensemble led to what was likely to have been the first cultural encounter between Russia and Italy, as well as one of the first manifestations of the role of Warsaw as a keystone between Europe's West and East.¹¹

One original achievement of the Polish court was the activity of a 24-strong janissary orchestra, composed likely of Poles but modelled strictly on Turkish ensembles in its instrumental composition and the character of the music it performed. That orchestra might have contributed to some extent to the European fashion for 'Turkish' music (it appeared in Dresden in 1719 during the wedding ceremonies of the prince royal¹² and in Radewitz in 1730 during Saxon army drills, organised for the Prussian king Frederick William I and his son, the future Frederick II).

A much more significant contribution of Augustus II's Polish court to European music was the propagation of Polish dances: the polonaise and the mazur. Echoes of the latter may be found in Antonio Vivaldi's oratorio *Juditha triumphans* of 1716 (Part II, no. 38), a fact likely influenced by the musicians of Augustus II, including violinist Johann Georg Pisendel, who accompanied the prince royal Frederick Augustus to Venice. Mazur motifs are also present in George Frideric Handel's *dramma per musica Ottone, re di Germania* (London, 1722), the libretto of which was based on the *dramma per musica Teofane* (Dresden, 1719). In 1719, Handel stayed for a few months in Dresden and had the opportunity to hear Polish music played by the Polish chapel of Augustus II. The King also opened the great ball of 4 September 1719 – for the wedding celebrations of prince royal Frederick Augustus II

¹¹ ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Eighteenth-Century Warsaw', see note 4 above.

¹² Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Weselne festyny w ogrodach Drezna – wrzesień 1719' [The marriage ceremonies in the gardens of Dresden, September 1719], in: *Muzyka w ogrodzie – ogród w muzyce* [Music in gardens, garden in music], ed. Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek, Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria, 2010, pp. 318–320.

and Archduchess Maria Josepha – with a polonaise.¹³ The Polish style, based on polonaise and mazur rhythms, was also well known and exploited by Johann Sebastian Bach.¹⁴

Numerous elements, therefore, allow us to place eighteenth-century Warsaw – a provincial city by European standards – amongst the most dynamic musical centres of Central and Eastern Europe. It attracted artists and repertoires from two major directions: French (not only from Paris but also Brussels and The Hague) and Italian (mostly from Venice). Occasionally, Warsaw explored a pioneering path similar to that of Dresden, for example when it imported *intermezzi* directly from Venice or *ballets d'action* directly from Paris; sometimes, it embraced a genre altogether unknown in Saxony, such as the *tragédie en musique*. Works were also composed at the Polish court of Augustus II by French, Italian, and German artists: indeed, the so-called Polish chapel included musicians such as Johann Joachim Quantz, František (Franz) Benda and Jiří Cart, authors of numerous instrumental works, while sacred music was likely composed also by Polish authors, including chapel master Jacek Różycki.

Undoubtedly, the royal court of Augustus II had a major influence on Polish and Lithuanian magnates, setting an example to follow. In the 1720s and 1730s we observe an unprecedented growth of magnates' chapels: they were notably owned by Primate Teodor Potocki, Great Chancellor of the Crown Jan Szembek, royal chef Aleksander Jakub Lubomirski, Castellan of Cracow Stanisław Poniatowski, princes August and Michał Fryderyk Czartoryski, Janusz and Michał Wiśniowiecki, Jan Fryderyk and Kazimierz Leon Sapieha, and Paweł Sanguszko. Italian opera was sponsored for several years by Great Hetman of the Crown Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski and Spisz starosta Teodor Lubomirski.

Even though Warsaw in the times of Augustus II did not supply Europe with a significant professional creation and from that point of view, remained undoubtedly a provincial city, as a satellite of Dresden it did shine reflected light, as well as propagating an original Polish style.

¹³ Alina ŻÓRAWKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Über die polnischen Elemente im drama per musica *Ottone, re di Germania* (London 1722/23) von Georg Friedrich Händel', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 57 (2011), pp. 49–76.

¹⁴ Szymon PACZKOWSKI, *Styl polski w muzyce Johanna Sebastiana Bacha* [The Polish style in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach], Lublin: Wydawnictwo Polihymnia, 2011.

AUGUSTUS III

Augustus III was a declared fan of Italian opera. His *grand tour* (1711–19) coincided with the twilight of Louis XIV's reign; consequently, Paris and Versailles (where he stayed in 1714–15) did not enthral the young prince. On the other hand, his experiences in Italy (1712–13, 1716–17), and especially in Venice, made him a lifetime partisan of Italian opera.¹⁵ Later as king and elector, however, he did not lose sight of the achievements of French ballet, while also supporting the growing ambitions of Italian and German dancers. He supported Saxon musicians and increased the participation of professional Polish musicians in the activities of the Warsaw court; like his father, he also enjoyed the charms of the Polish style. He introduced a permanent tradition of opening court balls with a polonaise, one that survived in Saxony until 1918.

During the Seven Years' War (1756–63), which Augustus III was forced to spend in Poland, Warsaw became for him a substitute of his native court, which spectacularly impacted the cultural development of the city. Yet even before, even the briefest stay of Augustus made Warsaw the artistic capital of Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, the king was accompanied from Dresden by theatre artists and technicians.¹⁶ In autumn 1754, those were more than 150 people, including *directeur des plaisirs* baron Carl Heinrich von Dieskau; five singers (Teresa Albuzzi-Todeschini, castrati Pasquale Bruscolini, Bartolomeo Putini and Giuseppe Belli, tenor Ludwig Cornelius), 14 *comici italiani*,

¹⁵ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Muzyczna podróż Fryderyka Augusta: Niemcy – Francja – Włochy – Austria (1711–1719)' [The musical journey of Frederick Augustus: Germany, France, Italy, Austria (1711–19)], and EAD., 'Fryderyk August i zespół opery włoskiej Antonia Lottiego (1717–1720)' [Frederick Augustus and the Italian opera ensemble of Antonio Lotti (1717–20)], in: EAD, *Muzyczne podróże królewiczów polskich* [The musical journeys of Polish crown princes], Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1992. See also: EAD, 'Esperienze musicali del principe polacco Federico Augusto in viaggio attraverso l'Europa (1711–1719)', *Studi Musicali* 1 (1991), pp. 155–173, and 'Das Ensemble der italienischen Oper von Antonio Lotti am Hof des Königs von Polen und Kurfürsten von Sachsen August II. des Starken (1717–1720)', in: *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis. Acta musicologica*, vol. 9/1 ed. Eleonora Harendarska, Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska, 1991, pp. 477–504.

¹⁶ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Between Dresden and Warsaw. The Travels of the Court of August III of Poland (Friedrich August II of Saxony)', *Musicology Today 6: Polish Studies on Baroque Music*, 2009, pp. 7–25.

28 dancers, over 40 instrumentalists (including *Hoftrumpeter und Pauker* and *Bockpfeifer*), score copists, theatre painters, wigmakers, tailors, firefighters, coachmen, and so forth.¹⁷

In Warsaw, Augustus III had at his disposal a Polish chapel which had gradually expanded to thirty people, while also supporting himself with the musicians of local church chapels, those of Polish and Lithuanian magnates, and especially the excellent orchestra of Heinrich von Brühl, continuously available for the king, which notably included chapel master Gottlob Harrer, who succeeded Johann Sebastian Bach at the Leipzig church of St Thomas; harpsichordist Johann Gottlieb Goldberg, the first performer of Bach's famous *Goldberg Variations*; oboist Johann Friedrich Fischer, subsequently star of concerts in London; and so forth.¹⁸

Yet the pivotal moment in Warsaw's cultural life was the opening, on 3 August 1748, of a royal theatre adapted to stagings of *opera seria* (*Opernhaus*, Polish name: *Operalnia*). Built for a public of around 560, the theatre could even accommodate a crowd of 1,500. On the occasion of the king's anniversary (7 October) and his name day, combined with the Polish holiday of the Order of the White Eagle (3 August), as well as during autumnal sessions of the Sejm (parliament), Warsaw was visited by magnates and aristocracy from throughout the Commonwealth. The social structure of the Operalnia audience, initially restricted to the highest social rank, was gradually democratised and eventually even included servants.

In mid-eighteenth-century Europe, the opera theatre constituted the main cultural institution and united the continent in its passion for Italian *dramma per musica*, mastered by the *poeta cesareo* Pietro Metastasio and royal-electoral chapel master Johann Adolf Hasse. Their works made up nearly the entire repertoire of the Operalnia; only one out of eleven *drammi per musica* performed there, *L'Arminio*, was composed to a libretto by Giovanni Claudio Pasquini, the court poet of Augustus III.

Even though Warsaw became acquainted with *opera seria* relatively late, only in 1754 (*L'eroe cinese*, Metastasio – Hasse), between 1759 and 1763

¹⁷ *IBID.*, p. 20.

¹⁸ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland', in: *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760. Changing Artistic Priorities*, eds. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, Janice B. Stockigt, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011, pp. 51–77.

it became one of the leading Central European centres for this by then somewhat anachronistic genre. Indeed, *opera buffa* was quickly becoming the new fashion. Hasse likely visited Warsaw on five occasions (1754, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762–63) for the local first performances of his *drammi per musica*, previously premiered in Dresden, Venice, Naples, or Vienna and which now required an adaptation to the local conditions or the taste of the local patron.¹⁹ Hasse also came to Warsaw for world premieres of his works: *La Zenobia* in 1761 and the new version of *Il Siroe*, scheduled for Carnival 1763²⁰ but eventually staged only eight months later in Dresden (3 August 1763). The composer's interventions in the original work sometimes went very far. For example, in the Warsaw version of *La Nitteti* (premiered on 3 August 1759), an opera composed a year prior for Venice, Hasse replaced no fewer than fourteen out of nineteenth original arias,²¹ while in the Warsaw version of *Il trionfo di Clelia* (staged on 3 August 1762), premiered only three months prior in Vienna, he replaced one third of the original arias and also removed some innovative solutions preannouncing the classical style, returning instead to the galant style apparently favoured by Augustus III.²² In any case almost all of Hasse's Warsaw operatic scores are variations of sorts, subjected by the composer to more or less intense revisions in Venice, Naples, Vienna, or Warsaw.

¹⁹ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'I drammi per musica di Johann Adolf Hasse rappresentati a Varsavia negli anni 1754–1763', in: *Johann Adolf Hasse und Polen*, eds. Irena Poniatowska, Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, Warszawa: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1995, pp. 123–148; EAD., 'Johann Adolf Hasse und die Musik am polnischen Hof Augusts III. (1734–1763)', *Hasse-Studien* 7 (2012), pp. 54–69.

²⁰ This is substantiated by a letter from the King to his son Frederick Christian of 19 January 1763, D-Dla, Hausarchiv Friedrich Christian Nr 2 c; the title page of the manuscript score in I-Mc, Part. Tr. Ms 178; and a unique copy of the libretto printed in 1763 in Warsaw, now held at the National Library in Saint Petersburg.

²¹ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'La Nitteti von Pietro Metastasio und Johann Adolf Hasse: zwischen Wien (1754), Venedig (1758) und Warschau (1759)', in: *The Eighteenth-Century Italian Opera Seria. Metamorphoses of the Opera in the Imperial Age*, eds. Petr Macek, Jana Perutková, Praha: Koniasch Latin Press (Colloquia Musicologica Brunensia XLII, 2007), 2013, pp. 195–212.

²² Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Il Trionfo di Clelia di Johann Adolf Hasse: versione varsaviana', in: *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart. Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik*, eds. Szymon Paczkowski, Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, Warszawa: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002, pp. 83–98.

The Operalnia was also home to one of the best *comici italiani* ensembles in Europe. Directed by Antonio Bertoldi, it included actors formerly related to Venice, collaborators of Carlo Goldoni: Giovanna Casanova (mother of the famous adventurer Giacomo Casanova), Marta Focari, Francesco Golinetti, Giovanni Camillo Canzachi, as well as the talented playwright Cesare d'Arbes, reputed to be the best Pantalone of his time.

The Warsaw Operalnia, therefore, staged not only *commedia dell'arte* but also Italian literary comedies, including some of the first performances of the works of Carlo Goldoni north of the Alps; musical *intermezzi*, probably including *La serva padrona* with music by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi in 1740 as well as two parodies of *opera seria* (a genre rare outside of Venice): *Il Costantino*, with music by Giovanni Verocai who travelled through Warsaw in that time (on his way from Saint Petersburg to Brunswick), and *Le contese di Mestre e Malghera per il trono* with music by the Venetian violinist Salvatore Apollini, undoubtedly brought to Poland by the ensemble's primadonna Giovanna Casanova.²³

The last two years of Augustus III's reign also brought the beginning of commercial theatre in Warsaw. Through some high-profile lobbying, at the end of 1761 the Operalnia was opened to the French comedy ensemble directed by one J. F. (Jean François?, Giovanni Francesco?) Albani. Throughout the year 1762 and the first months of 1763, the royal stage thus saw an alternation of free Italian opera, financed by Augustus III, and paid French theatre played by artists independent from the court.

There can be no doubt that Augustus III's Operalnia was the most important cultural institution of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. It gathered a number of eminent artists on stage and the current and future political and cultural elite of the country in the audience. In the years 1748–49, 1754, 1759–63, tens of thousands of spectators watched well over 200 performances, including at least 60 presented by the Italian comedy ensemble, 124 stagings of eleven *opera seria* works and a number of French works that is hard to estimate (in 1762, the Albani ensemble appeared on stage twice

²³ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Parodies of *Dramma per Musica* at the Warsaw Theatre of August III', in: *Italian Opera in Central Europe 1614–1780*, vol. 3: *Opera Subjects and European Relationships*, eds. Norbert Dubowy, Corinna Herr, Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, Dorothea Schröder, Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007, pp. 125–145.

a week). All this given that on any theatrical evening, often two different works were performed, adorned by three ballets that changed every day.

Amongst Augustus III's singers, we should single out Domenico Annibali, who in the 1736/37 season, that is, after a lengthy stay in Warsaw, was given leave by Augustus III and joined the operatic ensemble of George Frideric Handel in London, competing with the operatic ensemble of Nicola Porpora, which included the famous Farinelli. During that period, Handel composed two title roles for Annibali in his operas *Arminio* and *Giustino* as well as the main male role in the opera *Berenice* (all works premiered in 1737). In London, Annibali also presented works from the repertoire of the Polish–Saxon court, including compositions by Giovanni Alberto Ristori, whom Handel had met in Dresden in 1719. Upon his return from England to the court of Augustus III, Annibali sang those works that brought him success in London, likely including arias of Handel. Annibali thus enabled a bidirectional flow of repertoire between Dresden, Warsaw, and London.²⁴

Italian singers – the court of Augustus III saw around twenty, including at least fifteen castrati – became a model for their German and Polish colleagues. They also mediated between the court and the leading European artists of theatre and music: George Frideric Handel, Giuseppe Tartini, Pietro Metastasio, Giacomo Durazzo, Giovanni Battista Martini, Christoph Willibald Gluck, and Farinelli, to cite but the leading names.

Amongst Augustus III's dancers, special credit goes to Antoine Pitrot, soloist of the Paris Opera in 1744, employed at the Polish-Saxon court from 1746 as *maître des ballets et maître de l'Académie de la Danse*. During the Seven Years' War, he was active notably in Italy, Paris, Saint Petersburg, and Vienna. It was in Vienna that he had the opportunity to work with the leading reformers of ballet: Franz Hilverding (1756–57) and Gasparo Angiolini (1760–61), as well as staging his own ballets. He thus returned to Warsaw with first-hand knowledge of the avant-garde trends in European ballet and the reputation of an eminent choreographer. On 3 August 1761, the Warsaw premiere of *L'Arminio* (Hasse – Stefano Benedetto Pallavicini) was accompanied by two *ballets d'action* by Pitrot: the heroic–pastoral ballet

²⁴ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Die Karriere von Domenico Annibali und seine Händelschen Opernrollen', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 58 (2012), pp. 57–71.

Czarnoksiężnik przez Miłość skazany (The Sorcerer sentenced by Love; only the Polish title is known) and the *ballet sérieux-comi-pantomime Les Engagemens rompus, ou Les esclaves heureux*.²⁵ The music's author is unknown, but the famous ballet *Don Juan, ou Le festin de Pierre* (choreography by Angiolini, music by Gluck) was premiered in Vienna merely two months later, on 17 October 1761.

Polish dances held or even increased their rank during the reign of Augustus III, reaching a wider European audience. It was probably on the initiative of the prince royal Frederick Christian, who spent the years 1738–40 in Italy in the company of musicians from his father's chapel and that of Minister Heinrich von Brühl, that the ball at the court of King Charles III and his newlywed wife Maria Amalia (Frederick Christian's sister), celebrated on 5 July 1738 in Naples, ended with a mazur, and in May 1739 in Frascati, Roman ladies learned to dance the polonaise.²⁶ Polonaises and mazurs continued to be used by composers of the Polish–Saxon court: Johann Sebastian Bach, Giovanni Alberto Ristori, Johann Michael Breunich, and German theorists identified a new style in European music: 'die polnische Art des Choräischen Styls'.²⁷ Under Augustus III's patronage, we also observe a gradually increasing commitment to the artistic endeavours of the Polish court and cooperation with the local music community. The number of local musicians in the Polish chapel also increased: new engagements included singers such as the castrato Stefan Jaroszewicz, Józef Sękowski, and Jan Stefanowski; organists Piotr Kosmowski and Józef Czanczik; violinists Antoni Kosołowski vel Kozłowski and J. Oszewski; oboist Dominik Jaziomski; some of these were also composers. The Polish chapel also invited musicians from magnates' courts such as the Great Hetman of the Crown Jan Klemens Branicki, Field Hetman of the Crown Wacław Rzewuski, Kiev Voivod Franciszek Salezy Potocki, Great Quartermaster of the Crown Michał Wielhorski, princes Hieronim

²⁵ Zbigniew JEDRYCHOWSKI, 'Imieniny króla. Libretta baletowe z 1761 roku' [The King's name day. Ballet librettos of 1761], *Notatnik Teatralny* 8 (1994), pp. 142–148.

²⁶ Alina ŻÓRAWKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Federico Cristiano in Italia. Esperienze musicali di un principe reale polacco', *Musica e Storia* 4 (1996), pp. 277–323.

²⁷ E.g. Johann MATTHESON, *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft*, Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1737, reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1990.

Florian Radziwiłł and Michał Fryderyk Czartoryski. In turn, magnates's courts used repertoire performed in Warsaw and Dresden, and purchased instruments from Saxony. For example, in 1749 Johann Sebastian Bach offered to sell Jan Klemens Branicki a pianoforte manufactured by Gottfried Silbermann,²⁸ and Wacław Rzewuski held flutes by Pierre Gabriel Buffardin in his collections.²⁹

The Warsaw of Augustus III was undoubtedly a musical centre of Central European importance.

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS PONIATOWSKI (1764–95)

Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski gathered his theatrical and musical experiences in many places: in Warsaw as a student of the Theatine College, on the stage of which he appeared in the work of Metastasio (1746–47), as a spectator at the Operalia (1748–63), as well as during his stays in Brussels (1748), Berlin (1750), Dresden (1751, 1753), Paris (1753), London (1754), and Saint Petersburg (1755–58). He also maintained close links with Vienna through his brother Andrzej Poniatowski, Austrian army general, and after the latter's death in 1773, through his widow Maria Teresa née Kinsky von Wicznitz und Tettau.

As king, Stanislaus Augustus implemented far-sighted policies. He introduced state patronage in the service of the entire society, assigning a special role to the Warsaw theatre – which by then had become a public institution – making it the main medium of royal propaganda, with the aim of closing the mental and cultural gap between the xenophobic mass of 'Sarmatian' aristocracy and Western Europe. It was a multilingual and multinational theatre, on which stage Italian, French, German, and Polish ensembles coexisted. In the years 1765–67 and 1774–94, over 250 operas and 200 ballets were staged, performed by around 90 Italian, 40 French, 30 German, and 60 Polish singers as well as 140 dancers from France, Italy,

²⁸ Teresa ZIELIŃSKA, 'Nieznany autograf Jana Sebastiana Bacha' [An unknown autograph by Johann Sebastian Bach], *Muzyka* 12/4 (1967), pp. 67–70.

²⁹ Benjamin VOGEL, 'Do dziejów tradycji muzycznych zamku w Podhorcach' [The musical traditions of the Podhorce castle], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 13 (2015), pp. 99–124.

Vienna, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; over 150 musicians contributed at various times to its orchestra.³⁰

Over a period of twelve years, the various ensembles of Italian opera, whose members often had stage experience from Venice, performed at least 100 works, the vast majority being *opera buffa* (86%), composed by the leading authors of the day: Giovanni Paisiello, Domenico Cimarosa, Pasquale Anfossi, Niccolò Piccinni, Antonio Salieri, and Baldassare Galuppi. The Warsaw repertoire was primarily influenced by Venice and Vienna, whence came most singers and opera producers, although many of those works simply belonged to a pan-European canon and were not only known throughout Italy but also London and Saint Petersburg. One particularly noteworthy performance happened on 14 October 1789, when just two years after its world premiere in Prague, Lorenzo Da Ponte's and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Il dissoluto punito, ossia Il Don Giovanni* was staged in Warsaw by the opera company of Domenico Guardasoni, which had moved from Prague to Warsaw where it operated between 1789 and 1791. Half of that company's cast consisted of the singers for whom Mozart had composed his immortal music: Luigi Bassi (Prague's Don Giovanni), Antonio Baglioni (Prague's Don Ottavio), Felice Ponziani (Prague's Leporello), Giuseppe Lolli (Prague's Commendatore and Masetto), and Caterina Micelli (Prague's Donna Elvira). While the Warsaw performance of *Don Giovanni* was subjected by Guardasoni to numerous modifications 'to make the opera more pleasurable,' the reception apparently remained rather cool. Guardasoni had brought the opera's score and costumes to Warsaw, which he then sold to the king for 1,500 ducats. Another Mozart / Da Ponte opera introduced by Guardasoni to Warsaw was *Le nozze di Figaro*, which also failed to enthuse the local public. On the other hand, great success was met in 1789–90 by the *dramma tragicomico Axur, re d'Ormus* (libretto by Da Ponte, music by Salieri, premiered in Vienna 1788). The success encouraged Wojciech Bogusławski, a Polish actor, singer, entrepreneur and playwright, honoured by historians with the title of 'father of Polish theatre,' to stage a Polish adaptation of *Axur* in 1793, which with its diligence and

³⁰ Notably in: Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'La Varsavia dei tempi di Stanislao Augusto (1764–1795) – uno dei centri europei della vita operistica', in: *Evropski glasbeni klasicizem in njegov odmev na slovenskem / Der Europäische Musikklassizismus und sein Wiederhall in Slowenien*, eds. Dragotin Cvetko, Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1988, pp. 149–159.

grandeur ('expensive costumes, plenty of seraglio, proper Asian splendour') reputedly outperformed the Italian show.³¹

Twenty five other Italian operas that enjoyed success in Warsaw were translated into Polish and included, with spoken recitatives, in the repertoire of the National Theatre.

Over a period of six years, three Comédie Française ensembles performed at least 40 operatic premieres. They were predominantly *opéra-comiques* with music by leading authors such as Egidio Romualdo Duni, André Ernest Modeste Grétry, François-André Danican Philidor, and Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny. Some of those works were staged in Warsaw in translations by Polish or German ensembles. One of the most interesting French singers was Antoinette Saint-Huberty, who appeared in Warsaw in 1776 and later became a star of the Paris Opera and the first performer of the role of Mélisse in Gluck's *Armide* (Paris, 1777).

German ensembles also performed in Warsaw for around six years, staging around 40 operas, half of which were German translations of Italian and French works. The presence of two Mozart singspiels is noteworthy: *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, premiered in Warsaw on 8 May 1783, i.e. ten months after its Viennese world premiere, and additionally performed in autumn 1783 in a Polish adaptation with 'many variations'; and *Die Zauberflöte*, premiered in Warsaw on 27 July 1793, on which occasion the public could purchase a 'booklet with songs in the German and Polish language.'³² Again, these Mozart masterpieces failed to significantly engage the Warsaw public.

³¹ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Domenico Guardasoni a Varsavia: due episodi polacchi dalla sua carriera operistica (1774–1776, 1789–1791)', in: *Böhmische Aspekte des Lebens und des Werkes von W. A. Mozart*, eds. Milada Jonášová, Tomislav Volek, Praha: Institut für Ethnologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik, 2011, pp. 213–238; EAD., 'Wokół polskiej prapremiery *Il Dissoluto punito, o sia il Don Giovanni* W. A. Mozarta (Warszawa, 14 października 1789)' [The first Polish performance of Mozart's *Il Dissoluto punito, o sia il Don Giovanni*. (Warsaw, 14th October 1789)], in: *Karol Szymanowski w perspektywie kultury muzycznej przeszłości i współczesności* [Karol Szymanowski: the perspective of musical culture of the past and present], ed. Zbigniew Skowron, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2007, pp. 475–492.

³² Ludwik BERNACKI, *Teatr, dramat i muzyka za Stanisława Augusta* [Theatre, drama and music during Stanislaus Augustus's reign], vol. 1, Lwów: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1925, pp. 266, 378.

A new characteristic of musical and theatrical life in Stanislaus Augustus's Warsaw was a particularly vivid connection with Vienna, testifying to the king's good grasp of the latest tendencies.³³ Artists employed at the Warsaw theatre as early as 1765–67 often had had previous experiences in Vienna: the French ensemble of Josse Rousselois had just been released from imperial service due to mourning after the death of Francis I; the leading singers of the imperial opera buffa ensemble, Caterina Ristorini, her brother Giambattista Ristorini and future husband Michele Del Zanca; a large group of dancers, including stars such as Charles Picque and Gaetano Apollino Baldassare Vestris, who had performed the tragic ballet *Médée et Jason* (choreography by Jean-Georges Noverre, music by Jean-Joseph Rudolph) in Warsaw; and finally Maciej Kamiński, then a humble musician but soon to become the composer of the first Polish opera ever staged (1778).

In spring 1774, the post of the Warsaw theatre's entrepreneur was given to a leading actor of the imperial Kärntnertheater, Johann Joseph Felix von Kurz, also known as Bernardone. It was likely through his Viennese connections that the Warsaw theatre attracted a large number of artists formerly working at imperial theatres, including singer Domenico Guardasoni (who took part in the world premiere of Antonio Salieri's opera *La locandiera* in 1773), chapel master Giuseppe Pasqua, and numerous dancers including Francesco Caselli, Antonio Sacco, and Daniel Curz, who worked in Poland primarily as choreographers (Curz staged at least 80 ballets). The presence of exponents of Noverre's style allowed for the performance in 1777 of another work of the master, the five-act tragic-pantomimic ballet *Adèle de Ponthieu* (with music by Joseph Starzer, premiered in Vienna in 1773). Also members of the French Hamon ensemble had experiences in Vienna before operating in Warsaw from September 1776 to mid-1778. Moreover, in early 1779 Stanislaus Augustus hired a chapel of nine musicians, described in documents as the 'chapel from Vienna' or 'Viennese chapel.' Although it was composed

³³ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Mozart a "sprawa polska" czyli o muzycznych koneksjach Warszawy i Wiednia w drugiej połowie XVIII Wieku' [Mozart and Poland: on the musical links between Warsaw and Vienna in the second half of the 18th century], in: *Mozart i współcześni: muzyka w Europie środkowej w XVIII wieku* [Mozart and his contemporaries: Music in the Central Europe in the 18th century], eds. Ryszard Daniel Golianek, Beata Stróżyńska, Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna w Łodzi, 2007, pp. 139–154.

of Bohemian musicians from Prague, they were hired in Vienna, where their ‘kapelmagister,’ the violinist Johann Steffan, later known in Poland as Jan Stefani, played first in the military band of Count Kinsky and then in one of the imperial chapels. The instrumental character of that ensemble suggests it performed *Harmoniemusik*, a genre then much fashionable in Vienna.

Viennese connections are also evident in the German ensemble that operated in Warsaw between 1781 and 1783. It included three renowned singers formerly active in the imperial capital: Joseph Fuchs (who participated in the world premiere of *Die Bergknappen*, Vienna, 1778), Ferdinand Philipp Arnold, and Franz Reiner. These musicians likely brought Mozart’s singspiel *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* to Warsaw and performed it, probably under the musical direction of local chapel master Karl Hanke, reputedly a former student of Gluck in Vienna. Another noteworthy presence in the German ensemble was Franz Heinrich Bulla, who in the summer of 1793 directed the Warsaw premiere of Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte*. Before coming to Warsaw, Bulla worked in Pest and Lvov, two cities within the sphere of influence of Viennese culture.

The Warsaw of Stanislaus Augustus also abounded with public concerts, the repertoire of which is scarcely known but also indicates a Viennese influence, at least through genres such as symphonies and concertos: works by Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Christoph Willibald Gluck, Antonio Salieri, Johann Baptist Vanhal [Jan Křtitel Vaňhal], Josef Fiala, Joseph Wölfl, Adalbert Gyrowetz [Vojtěch Jírovec], Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Franz Anton Hoffmeister, and Anton Stadler were played.

Meanwhile, Polish artists started appearing on the Viennese market, including singer Antonina Miklaszewicz-Campi (Servilla in the world premiere of Mozart’s *La clemenza di Tito* and later primadonna at the imperial court), dancer Maciej Prenczyński, violinists Feliks Janiewicz (for whom in 1785 Mozart presumably composed the *Andante* KV 470 as a new movement of the Violin Concerto in D major KV 218) and Jan Baptysta Kleczyński (linked to Austrian aristocratic courts from around 1786).

A fact of primary importance for Polish culture was the establishment in 1765 by Stanislaus Augustus of the first national theatre and the eventual public staging of a Polish opera. Performed on 11 July 1778, the *Nędza uszczęśliwiona* (Misery Made Happy, libretto by Franciszek Bohomolec and

Wojciech Bogusławski, music by Maciej Kamiński) initiated a period of growth for national opera. Coincidentally, in 1778 the first Austrian singspiel, *Die Bergknappen*, was performed in Vienna (libretto by Paul Weidmann, music by Ignaz Umlauf) and Elector of Bavaria Charles Theodore established the National Theatre in Mannheim.

During the reign of Stanislaus Augustus, seventeen original Polish operas were staged at the Warsaw theatre and over 40 were played in translations or, more strictly, adaptations from Italian, French, and German. Music for original Polish operas was composed exclusively by foreigners: the Slovak Maciej Kamiński, the Czech Jan Stefani, the Germans Gaitano (Cajetanus Meier), Antoni Weinert, Eritni vel Erting, and Johann David Holland, and the Italians Alessandro Danesi and Gioacchino Albertini. Yet some of these authors, such as Kamiński, Stefani, Holland, and Weinert, were eventually polonised and linked for life to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In their scores, they used popular motifs to match the music with the character of the libretti, which were often written in dialect and set in a realistically depicted rural environment, sometimes expressing a radical political and social agenda (against the oppression of peasant classes). The most obvious manifestation of national topos in music was the dance: polonaises, mazurkas, krakowiaks, kozaks, and mountaineers' dances. A particularly successful example of their use is the opera *Cud mniemany, czyli Krakowiacy i Górale* (The Presumed Miracle, or the Cracovians and the Highlanders, premiered on 1 March 1794, libretto by Bogusławski, music by Stefani), a complex and ambiguous work that played a major role in politics, inciting the Poles to rise against Russia.³⁴

The Warsaw of Stanislaus Augustus's time was also an active keystone, mediating musical and theatrical experiences between Western and Eastern Europe, a topic I addressed elsewhere.³⁵ Artists travelling to and from Saint

³⁴ Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Nation and Fatherland in Three Polish Operas: *Cud mniemany, czyli Krakowiacy i Górale* (1794), *Jadwiga królowa polska* (1814), *Król Łokietek, albo Wiśliczanki* (1818)', in: *Nation and/or Homeland. Identity in 19th-Century Music and Literature between Central and Mediterranean Europe*, ed. Ivano Cavallini, Milano – Udine: Mimesis, 2012, pp. 41–58; EAD., 'Popolo, nazione e patria nelle prime opera polacche (1778–1794)', *De musica disserenda* 12/1 (2016), pp. 31–43.

³⁵ ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Eighteenth-Century Warsaw'.

Petersburg often took part in that process: composers Giovanni Paisiello, Domenico Cimarosa, Vicente Martín y Soler, and Joseph Georg Vogler; singers Caterina Bonafini, Giuseppe Compagnucci, Anna Davia de Bernucci, and Matteo Babbini; violinists Antonio Lolli, Gaetano Pugnani, Giovanni Battista Viotti, and Ivan Jarnović; clarinetists Jan Josif Beer and Anton Stadler; bassists Joseph Kämpfer.

There can be no doubt that Stanislaus Augustus's Warsaw became more than ever before the cultural – hence also the musical and theatrical – centre of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Magnates that tried briefly to compete with Warsaw included the Great Hetman of the Crown Jan Klemens Branicki in Białystok, Vice-Treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Antoni Tyzenhauz in Grodno, Prince Karol Radziwiłł in Nieśwież, Prince Michał Kazimierz Ogiński in Słonim, and the princes Izabela and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski in Puławy. The example of Warsaw was followed in the 1780s by the establishment of public theatres in cities such as Lvov, Cracow, Lublin, Poznań, Vilnius, Nieśwież, and Dubno. Yet none of those centres rivalled Warsaw for the length of its activity, the variety of its repertoire, and its artistic level. Moreover, the scale of Italian, French, and German repertoire, completed by national works, sets Warsaw amongst the most interesting musical centres of eighteenth-century Europe.

In summary, throughout the eighteenth century Warsaw constituted the musical centre of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, always up-to-date with the latest European achievements and even aspiring, during the reign of Stanislaus Augustus, to join the most ambitious operatic cities of Europe. The main channels linking Warsaw to Paris, Brussels, Venice, Naples, and Vienna were obviously the artists themselves, who by travelling across Europe, transmitted and propagated the musical repertoire. Yet the role of rulers should not be overlooked, those whose experiences of youth, personal taste, financial means, and cultural policies always conditioned the artists themselves.

Transl. Wojciech Bońkowski

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*'Attending His Majesty's State in Ireland': English,
German and Italian Musicians in Dublin, 1700–1762*

In a letter to his son written in 1793, the Irish statesman, orator, philosopher and parliamentarian Edmund Burke roundly condemned the political status quo of governance in Ireland throughout the eighteenth century. 'This Protestant ascendancy...', Burke wrote, 'is neither more nor less than the resolution of one set of people in Ireland to consider themselves as the sole citizens in the commonwealth; and to keep a dominion over the rest by reducing them to absolute slavery under a military power; and thus fortified in their power, to divide the publick estate solely amongst themselves' – sentiments echoed as late as 1868 by Gladstone, when he described the Ascendancy as 'that tall tree of noxious growth, lifting its head to heaven and poisoning the atmosphere of the land so far as its shadow can extend'.¹ Sixteen years after Burke, and in the aftermath of a failed rebellion against British rule in Ireland, Thomas Moore echoed Burke's indictment in his annotations to the poems 'Corruption' and 'Intolerance', published (anonymously) in 1808:

An unvarying trait of the policy of Great Britain towards Ireland has been her selection of such men to govern us as were least likely to deviate into justice and liberality, and the alarm which has [been] taken when any conscientious Viceroy has shewn symptoms of departure from the old code of prejudice and oppression. Our most favourite

¹ See Edmund BURKE, 'Letter to Richard Burke, Esq.', in: *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, vol. 1, ed. Seamus Deane, Derry: Field Day Publications, 1991, p. 846. Gladstone's remarks came at the end of a speech delivered at Wigan and published in *The Times of London* in October, 1868. See William EWART GLADSTONE, *Speeches of the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone*, Liverpool: E. Smith & co, 1868, vol. 4, p. 74.

Governors have accordingly been our shortest visitors, and the first moments of their popularity have in general been the last of their government. Thus, Sir Anthony Bellingham, after the death of Henry the Eighth, was recalled 'for not sufficiently consulting the English interests', or, in other words, for not shooting the requisite quantity of wild Irish.²

These bleak assessments of the Protestant Interest in Ireland have endured to the present day: a record of atrocious self-interest, religious intolerance and repressive government in Ireland before the French Revolution was scarcely palliated by the absentee landlordism, political corruption and genocidal catastrophe of the Great Famine which afflicted Ireland under British rule for much of the nineteenth century, even if the case for cultural and subsequently political self-regulation originated within the folds of Ascendancy culture itself. More recently still, the indictments of postcolonial theory (to which I turn very briefly at the close of this paper) have done little to ameliorate the significance of this culture, at least not insofar as its repressive reputation is concerned. The great myths of the Irish literary revival animated by W. B. Yeats, especially when Yeats ascribed dignity and coherence to eighteenth-century Ireland through the agency of Swift, Burke, Berkeley and Sheridan, have not survived the colder dawn of contemporary critical discourse.³ In this discourse, the *j'accuse* directed by Burke himself against the Ascendancy – the social polity to which he belonged, seems to take precedence. Roy Foster's remark that 'the Ascendancy built not only to convince themselves that they had arrived, but that they would remain: Insecurity and the England complex would stay with them to the end' gives due notice of this precedence and its abiding presence in recent Irish historiography.⁴ To suggest that the Anglo-Irish

² See Thomas MOORE, *Corruption and Intolerance. Two Poems. With Notes. Addressed to an Englishman by an Irishman*, London: J. Carpenter, 1808, pp. 59–64. Moore's comments occur in the footnotes to 'Corruption', in the course of which he first cites Burke's indictment of the Protestant Ascendancy in the 'Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe' (1796).

³ See Seamus DEANE, 'The Literary Myths of the Revival', in: Seamus DEANE, *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Irish Literature, 1880-1980*, London: Faber and Faber, 1985, pp. 28–37.

⁴ Robert Fitzroy FOSTER, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*, London: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 1988, p. 194.

developed a ‘ruthless but ironic pursuit of style’ expresses the self-regard which they celebrated (and which Foster compares to colonial Virginia and British rule in Kenya), as well as the indifference which this entailed.⁵

Against the grain of this despondent reading, the regeneration of urban culture – indeed of urban society – in Ireland during the eighteenth century enters an opposing claim. The comparative political stability which ensued there after the turbulence and violent upheaval of the Cromwellian invasions and massacres of the seventeenth century, and later still the fateful defeat of James II by William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 – an event which decisively banished the Catholic claim in Ireland (even if the fear of its return haunted Irish and British politics for decades afterwards) – cannot be doubted. One by-product of this stability was the steady stream of musicians who came from Europe to Dublin, especially in the period 1700–1760, to seek employment in a growing capital which soon would come to regard itself as the second city of the empire.⁶ It was during the same period that the great public buildings of Dublin’s new-found prosperity and commercial growth (the parliament in College Green, the squares and neo-classical temples of Trinity College, the newly fortified and enlarged amenities of Dublin Castle, and so on) affirmed an architectural splendour and prestige that could scarcely have been envisaged during the Williamite wars. Dublin, for all its political unease and religious intolerance, became a luminous satellite of metropolitan engagement. By 1741, when Handel accepted an invitation from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to visit the city and give performances there,⁷ the degree of cultural intercourse between Dublin and London was of such frequency and intimacy that the theatrical and musical enterprises of London (with one important exception)⁸ were faithfully (if sometimes faintly) mirrored in the

⁵ See FOSTER, *Modern Ireland*, pp.169–170.

⁶ See Barra BOYDELL – Adrian SCAHILL, ‘Dublin’, in: *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* [hereafter, *EMIR*], eds. Harry White, Barra Boydell, vol. 1, Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013, pp. 317–322; Brian BOYDELL, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700–1760*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988.

⁷ But see David HUNTER, ‘Inviting Handel to Ireland: Laurence Whyte and the Challenge of Poetic Evidence’, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 20 (2005), pp.156–168, which queries the circumstances in which Handel’s visit originated.

⁸ This was the cultivation of Italian opera, which hardly registered in Dublin, despite its prominence in London.

Irish capital. By mid-century, the pattern by which English, German and Italian musicians in particular migrated to Dublin and settled there seemed set fair to continue indefinitely. In this paper, I should like to examine the nature of this migratory pattern, and to suggest reasons why it gradually faded away. The high noon of Handel's visit (and in particular the first performance of *Messiah* in Mr Neal's New Music Hall in Fishamble Street, Dublin, on 13 April 1742) was the apotheosis of this Irish musical immigration (so to speak), but it later became an occasion of nostalgic regret.⁹ By 1786, when Joseph Cooper Walker published his *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, much of the promise represented by these musical migrations had vanished. 'Music', Walker dolefully remarked, 'is sometimes the subject of conversation amongst us, and is still cultivated by a few; but it is no longer a favourite topic, nor a favourite study'.¹⁰

The Dublin sojourn of three musicians in particular, Jean Sigismond Cousser [Johann Sigismund Kusser] (1660–1727), Matthew Dubourg (1703–1767) and Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), suggests by contrast that in the first half of the century a unitary understanding of European musical culture (which by no means remained aloof from political dissent) flourished expressly because this culture was enlisted in support of British governance. Of these three musicians, Cousser is exemplary in this regard.¹¹ Even posterity seems to have conspired in accentuating his indomitable loyalty to (and reliance upon) the payroll of Dublin Castle at the expense of his earlier works, almost all of which are lost: he served there as 'Master of the Music, attending His [sic] Majesty's State in Ireland' (officially from 1716 until his death in 1727), but he was in the employ of the castle authorities soon after his arrival in Dublin on 4 July 1707, having been in London for the previous three years.¹² Cousser's European career (which began in earnest after three years of study with Lully in the late 1670s)

⁹ See BOYDELL, 'Handel, George Frideric', in: *EMIR*, vol. 2, p. 459; Lisa PARKER, 'Messiah', in: *IBID.*, vol. 2, p. 665.

¹⁰ Joseph Cooper WALKER, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, Dublin: 1786, facsimile reprint, New York: Garland, 1971, p.161.

¹¹ See David J. RHODES, 'Cousser [Kusser], John Sigismond [Johann Sigismund]', in: *EMIR*, vol. 1, pp. 258–260.

¹² See David J. RHODES, 'Master of the State Musick', in: *EMIR*, vol. 2, pp. 635–636.

was that of a budding composer of operas. Indeed, as recent research by Samantha Owens suggests, his pioneering role in introducing the art of Italian singing and French orchestral idiom to the Gänsemarkt in Hamburg between 1694 and 1696 makes one wonder what might have happened had he not been so obstreperous in his dealings with other composers, librettists and managers at the outset of his career in Germany.¹³ His career thereafter was a series of short-lived appointments until he arrived in Dublin. There he found gainful employment in every department of musical life except the one for which he was already renowned, namely opera. His birthday odes [serenatas or serenades] for the reigning monarch (Queen Anne and afterwards George I) comprise the greater part of his musical estate. Most of these were given in Dublin Castle at noon on the day in question (6 February for Queen Anne and 28 May for George I). Only two of these odes survive, alongside a serenata in memory of William III which probably dates from before 1710.¹⁴ But it is of acute interest that Cousser should have written at least twenty such serenatas (beginning in 1707 and continuing until his death) and for two reasons: one is that the Birthday Ode was such a fixture in his annual roster of duties (which otherwise involved ‘arranging’ music for performance at the cathedrals and the castle itself for various political commemorations), and the other is that Cousser (along with his predecessor, William Viner) effectively imported into Dublin musical culture the serenata itself (which in its sequence of recitatives linked to arias promoted the extremely close affinities between this genre and Italian opera). Before Cousser, the Irish Birthday Ode was an Anthem (in which choral music obviously prevailed), a British prototype which was only rarely (if ever) recovered in Dublin after Cousser’s death.

¹³ See Samantha OWENS, “‘The Incomparable Director’: J.S. Cousser at Hamburg’s Gänsemarkt Theatre, 1694–96”, in: *16th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music*, Salzburg, July, 2014 (published abstract); EAD., ‘Johann Sigismund Cousser (Kusser): A “European” in early Eighteenth-Century England and Ireland’, *Händel-Jahrbuch* 56 (2010), pp. 445–467.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the provenance, likely date of performance and style of the ‘William III Serenata’ see Samantha OWENS, ‘Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin’, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 6/1 (2009), pp. 7–39.

To judge by the William III Serenata, the stylistic modernism of Cousser's technique is offset by the political indenture of the texts he set.¹⁵ Consider the following excerpt, with its admixture of crude anti-Catholic sentiment and exalted rhetoric:

*Albania*¹⁶

Recitative:

Unluckily deluded, I let Rome's locusts
Settle again within my borders.
The spreading Pest almost my Lands devoured.
What could I do?
The Plague had ne'er been driven away,
Had Nassau not been sent by heaven.

Aria:

He the paths of Glory treading
Drove the Romish Fry away.
Who our Church is overspreading
Faith implicit always pleading
Teaching blindly to obey.

The music which sets these lines is gifted, agile and compelling, but it serves a divisive (and ultimately futile) end: to promote and celebrate a sectarian governance which was quite simply intolerable and ultimately untenable in Ireland.

Matthew Dubourg succeeded Cousser as Chief Composer and Master of the Music attending his Majesty's State in Ireland in 1728, his erstwhile

¹⁵ This work has been recorded by the ensemble Aura Musicale under the title 'Serenata a 4' (For a memorial celebration of King William III), in: *J.S. Kusser: Two Serenatas for the Dublin Court* (Hungaroton Classic HCD 32633, 2010). In the excerpt cited from the libretto below, I have used the text printed for this recording.

¹⁶ For *Albania* we may safely read *Hibernia*, given that the text explicitly celebrates the victory of William III ('Nassau') over James II, whose armies were defeated by William in Ireland.

teacher Geminiani having declined the post, presumably on the grounds of his Roman Catholicism.¹⁷ *EMIR* records that Dubourg moved to Dublin in 1721 and became a member of the Irish State Music in 1723.¹⁸ He returned to London in 1727. After his appointment in 1728 he remained in Dublin – notwithstanding several visits to London – until 1752. Dubourg was expected to contribute an annual birthday ode not only for the reigning monarch but also for the queen and on occasion their sons. 31 odes (according to *EMIR*) are chronicled between 1730 and 1767, of which the music of approximately half survives in whole or in part. As with Cousser, this comparatively poor record of preservation seems to me significant of a more general indifference and cultural recession. For a composer and active musician to have written odes for the Dublin court over such an extended period (almost forty years) and yet to have produced or preserved so little else is a state of affairs difficult to envisage beyond the British isles.¹⁹

We possess a more detailed sense of Dubourg's contribution to musical life in Dublin beyond the Castle and its environs: he led the orchestra for events such as the first benefit concert for Mercer's Hospital in 1736 and the first Irish performance of Arne's *Comus* (1741). Dubourg famously led the orchestra during Handel's 1741–1742 visit (which included the first ever performances of *Messiah*) and organized subsequent performances of Handel including *Samson* (4 February 1748) and *Judas Maccabaeus* (11 Feb 1748).²⁰ After his departure from Dublin and return to London (where he became

¹⁷ The enactment of penal laws against Catholics (and dissenters) in Ireland during the late seventeenth century excluded them from holding public office (among many other and harsher restrictions).

¹⁸ See David J. RHODES, 'Dubourg, Matthew', in: *EMIR*, vol. 1, pp. 332–334.

¹⁹ The early to middle decades of the eighteenth century were incessantly prolific (in terms of music) across the continent of Europe, notwithstanding war, disease, religious dispute and colonisation, as they were never to be in Ireland. But we can distinguish between the small purchase of freshly-composed music and some evidence (at least) of public musical culture in Dublin, as well as an abiding resistance to this, voiced by Jonathan Swift (among others) as an openly hostile resentment of Italian music in particular as a harbinger of Roman Catholicism. See Frank Llewelyn HARRISON, 'Music, Poetry and Polity in the Age of Swift', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 1/1 (1987), pp. 37–63.

²⁰ For a record of Dubourg's musical career in Dublin see BOYDELL, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*.

Master of Her Majesty's Band of Music) he continued to visit the city for performances of his royal birthday odes and other works. David Rhodes, in his account of Dubourg in *EMIR*, calls him 'primarily a violinist rather than a composer', but acknowledges the esteem in which Burney held his Dublin odes and other of his works. Burney also credited him with 'innumerable solos and concertos which he composed for his own public performance'.²¹ In 1746 Dubourg published the earliest extant variations on *Eilin a Roon* [*Eibhlín a Rúin*], an Irish traditional melody which became immensely popular at eighteenth-century concerts. But the extant record of Dubourg's twenty years in Dublin is otherwise not much more than a litany of ritual obedience, at least to judge by the titles of the odes themselves which apostrophise the colonial dependencies and inventions of Ascendancy Politics: 'Hibernia's Sons, Your Voices Raise', 'Sons of Freedom! Sons of Joy!', 'To George and Liberty now Strike the Lyre', 'Where e'er Hibernia's Tuneful Lyre is Strung', and so on. Foster's comment that the Ascendancy built in order to convince themselves that they had arrived comes compellingly to mind. Many of the buildings *did* survive, but hardly a trace of originary musical culture remains, not least because this was so deeply indebted to a political falsehood doomed to eclipse.

Our third and final exemplar, Geminiani, fortifies this argument. By virtue of his religion, Geminiani was even more likely to appear as a *persona non grata* in Dublin than in London (where the hegemony of Italian opera softened the complexion of Anti-Jacobin sentiment, at least to the extent that Italian Catholics lived freely and frequently there as agents of operatic culture, even if some of them longed for more congenial circumstances

²¹ See RHODES, 'Dubourg', pp. 332–333. Although Rhodes observes that 'Rather than following Cousser's innovations, Dubourg's odes reverted to the older English choral style of composition', more recent research by Estelle Murphy on the manuscripts of these works preserved in the library of the Royal College of Music, London, suggests otherwise. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Murphy, with whom I discussed this matter following the presentation of her paper entitled "In the VICEROY bless the King!": Re-use and Revision in Matthew Dubourg's Dublin Odes', delivered at the annual plenary conference of the Society for Musicology in Ireland, St Patrick's College, Dublin City University, on 10th June 2016. In subsequent correspondence, Dr Murphy remarks on the prominence of *Da capo* indications in both the extant music and printed libretti of Dubourg's odes. The Dubourg worklist in *EMIR* may require revision in the light of Dr Murphy's research.

elsewhere [Giovanni Bononcini's yearning for Vienna is a case in point].²² Although Geminiani spent the last three years of his life in Dublin (where he died in a house owned by his old friend, Dubourg), his most extended period of residence in Ireland was between 1733 and 1740, during which time he opened a concert room in Dublin and established himself as a performer of his own (by then immensely famous) violin sonatas, trio sonatas and concerti grossi. As a Roman Catholic, he could not have accepted an official post in Dublin (at least not without abandoning his religion), and he appears to have remained aloof from the Anglican exchange of musicians which featured so prominently in Dublin's musical life (as between the Castle, the chapel of Trinity College and the two city cathedrals) – an exchange which remains work for another day. But we can at least note in passing that his fame as a virtuoso and as a composer of instrumental music was only sporadically recognized in Dublin (at least to judge by the existing record of performances of his music there) and that he correspondingly did not contribute to the city's theatrical life which was otherwise the mainstay of so many English musicians in particular.²³ The contrast between this reduced presence and the afterlife of Handel's visit is instructive, not least because the popularity of Handel's Protestant oratorios (along with *Acis and Galatea*) after his departure from Dublin (in July, 1742) answered whatever remained of Ascendancy virtue and self-belief in the second half of the century.²⁴

Geminiani's prowess as a violinist did, however, entail a significant Irish afterlife of its own as the eighteenth century drew to its end. By 1786, when Walker published 'The Life of Carolan' as an appendix to his *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, several earlier writers on music in Ireland had attested a meeting between Geminiani and the Irish musician and composer

²² See Lowell LINDGREN, 'Vienna, the "Natural Centro" for Giovanni Bononcini', in: *Il teatro musicale italiano nel Sacro Romano Impero nei secoli XVII e XVIII*, eds. Alberto Colzani, Norbert Dubowy, Andrea Luppi, Maurizio Padoan, Como: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1999, pp. 365–420.

²³ Geminiani's obscurity (not to say outright neglect) in the annals of Irish cultural history seems all the more significant (especially in the light of his abiding fame as a composer elsewhere) given that he died in Dublin, having lived in Ireland for so many years previously.

²⁴ See the records of Handel performances in Dublin after the composer's departure for England in BOYDELL, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*.

Turlough Carolan (1670–1738), during which each was supposed to have tested the musical proficiency of the other.²⁵ Carolan, whose livelihood as a blind harper depended on what remained of the Catholic gentry, died in 1738, so it is at least conceivable that such an encounter took place. But of greater account is the implicit valuation which Walker himself ascribed to Carolan's bardic repertory (however unmistakably inflected this was by early eighteenth century Italian practice) by contrast with the urban flair and modernity of art music. 'Most of the modern Italian compositions only trifle with the ear', Walker wrote, 'whereas the Irish music is, in some degree, distinguished from the music of every other nation by an insinuating sweetness. It is the voice of nature and will be heard'.²⁶ A year later, when Burney came to review Walker's *Historical Memoirs*, the dismissal of such claims was inevitable: the Irish musician, Burney surmised, was 'little better than piper to the *Whiteboys* and other savage and lawless ruffians'.²⁷ Other than as a mild and exotic indulgence, the Crown could only regard Irish music as a subversive contradiction of good government and the civilized affairs of serious men.

But as matters transpired, it was indeed the 'voice of nature' which sounded loudest as the nineteenth century got underway. The old decencies of Ascendancy Dublin, and most especially the migration of musicians of such stellar promise and achievement as Cousser and Geminiani, faded into the sovereign remembrance of 'what might have been'. Handel's musical patrimony – with the exception of *Messiah* – more or less went the same way. With the passing of the Act of Union (1801) which dissolved the Irish Parliament and hastened the departure of so many Protestant families to London, 'what might have been' became 'what

²⁵ See Sandra JOYCE, 'Carolan, Turlough', in: *EMIR*, vol. 1, pp. 162–164. For an assessment of Carolan's reception history throughout the eighteenth century see Harry WHITE, 'Carolan and the Dislocation of Music in Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 4 (1989), pp. 55–64.

²⁶ WALKER, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 66.

²⁷ This review appeared anonymously in *The Monthly Review* (December, 1787), pp. 425–439, here at p. 433. The Whiteboys were a secret society dedicated to agrarian disruption (and destruction) in Ireland as a means of protesting the severity of land laws and other punitive hindrances to farming. They were active between c. 1760 and 1786.

never could be', as Irish music (or its remnants) became sharply polarised in opposition to all things (Italian or otherwise) mediated through the harsh agency of colonial rule. In this circumstance, the generic integrity of European music could not survive, except as the unwarranted signature of Anglo-Irish privilege.

This is an integrity which postcolonial theory also calls into dispute. Or rather it would, if art music in Ireland came under the purview of cultural theorists as gifted as David Lloyd, Declan Kiberd and Terry Eagleton. Lloyd's work in particular is underwritten by the concept of 'adulteration' in Irish culture, and takes its cue from a strain of postcolonial discourse impatient of all signs of 'mimicry' and 'appropriation' on the part of the colonised nation state.²⁸ In his recent book, *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity 1800–2000* (Cambridge, 2011), Lloyd expressly seeks to dismantle Ireland's literary inheritances because they so violently displace the fundamental orality of Gaelic culture (recovered, in Lloyd's view, against the tide of imperial – and often enough, 'elitist' – constructs of art through the agency of political balladry of a much more recent vintage). An indictment of Ascendancy musical culture (originating in the disdain for Italian music expressed by Walker) would presumably condemn it on account of its vulnerability to the same radicalised aesthetic. But there might be another way of engaging the concept of cultural adulteration as a means of researching the distorted musical relations between continental Europe and Ireland during the eighteenth century, as recent and forthcoming work by scholars such as David Hunter, Samantha Owens and Estelle Murphy already indicates.²⁹ Such work restores to the history of ascendancy music an empirical record and critical

²⁸ In this regard, Seamus Deane's adaptation of the concept of 'distressed genres' (from the work of Susan Stewart) to his reading of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* in his monograph *Strange Country. Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing since 1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) adumbrates the postcolonial discourse enlisted by Lloyd.

²⁹ See David HUNTER, 'The Irish State Music from 1716 to 1742 and Handel's Band in Ireland', *Göttingen-Händel-Beiträge* 19 (2006), pp. 171–198. An article by Estelle Murphy on Richard Leveridge and the earliest surviving Dublin Birthday Ode is forthcoming in *Music & Letters*. See Estelle MURPHY, "'Inspire Us Genius of the Day" Rewriting the Regent in the Birthday Ode for Queen Anne, 1703', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 13/1 (2016), pp. 51–72.

recension of which it has been long deprived.³⁰ It also significantly increases the possibility of understanding the unusually tense (and sometimes intimate) adjacencies of oral and written musical culture in eighteenth-century Ireland. It finally promises a much clearer apprehension of the distinction between a 'borrowed' musical culture and the recovery of indigenous models of musical thought, especially in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. In all three respects, the migration of composers to Dublin is of particularly meaningful account.

³⁰ This observation is not meant to impugn the value of other research (notably in relation to Handel and Geminiani), but rather to indicate how comparatively restricted the role of music has been to date in the postcolonial critique of Ascendancy culture. Beyond such considerations, our visual and aural access to the materials of music in eighteenth-century Ireland (as in scores and recordings) is exceptionally limited.

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Musicians' Migrations in the Wittelsbach Dynasty

One of the scopes of my MusMig sub-project is to see if dynastical ties facilitated a broader exchange of musicians. I applied this question to the Wittelsbach dynasty, the powerful family that dominated several territories in the Holy Roman Empire. Since the thirteenth century the Wittelsbach were divided into two branches: the Wittelsbach of Bavaria and the Wittelsbach of the Palatine, the latter having, as *Kurfürsten*, the right to elect the emperor, a right that the Bavarian branch obtained only in 1623. More branches were established over time: the Pfalz-Zweibrücken branch existed since the fifteenth century, the Pfalz-Neuburg since the sixteenth, and the Pfalz-Sulzbach since the seventeenth. During the eighteenth century the branches merged into one: in 1742 the territory of Pfalz-Neuburg was taken over by Pfalz-Sulzbach; in 1778 the latter succeeded to the throne of Bavaria, in 1799 Pfalz-Zweibrücken inherited both the Palatinate and Bavaria. It was Max Joseph of Pfalz-Zweibrücken who in 1806 became the first king of Bavaria.

The eighteenth century marked a closer collaboration of these different branches. The so-called 'Wittelsbachische Hausunion', the union of the house of Wittelsbach of 1724, prepared since the seventeenth century, ensured a common line of action on political and military terrains. This union was renewed several times taking into consideration the different dynastical constellations that reflected the different statuses of the succession. This was often enough an open question which had to be arranged because of the lack of a male heir to Karl Philipp of the

Palatinate in the 1720s as well as the childlessness of Karl Theodor of the Palatinate and Max III Joseph of Bavaria in the 1760s.¹

In my article I will adopt a collective-biographical approach in a micro-historical perspective which considers different groups of musicians defined by their employment in one of the four branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty.²

¹ A brief survey on the unions can be found in Gerhard IMMLER, 'Zweibrückens Weg nach Bayern', in: *Die Wiege der Könige. 600 Jahre Herzogtum Pfalz-Zweibrücken*, ed. Charlotte Glück-Christmann, Zweibrücken: Stadt Zweibrücken, 2010, pp. 197–199; also Hans RALL, 'Die Hausverträge der Wittelsbacher. Grundlagen der Erbfälle von 1777 und 1799', in: *Wittelsbach und Bayern*, vol. 3/1: *Krone und Verfassung. König Max I. Joseph und der neue Staat. Beiträge zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kunst 1799–1825*, München – Zürich: Hirmer, 1980, pp. 13–48; ID., *Kurfürst Karl Theodor. Regierender Herr in sieben Ländern*, Mannheim et al.: BI-Wissenschaftsverlag, 1993 (Forschungen zur Geschichte Mannheims und der Pfalz. Neue Folge 8), *passim*; Karl Theodor HEIGEL, 'Das Project einer Wittelsbachischen Hausunion unter schwedischem Protectorat. 1667–1697', in: Karl Theodor HEIGEL, *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur neueren Geschichte Bayerns*, 2 vols., München 1884–1890, vol. 1, pp. 1–50. I would like to thank Gesa zur Nieden for her kind suggestions on this article.

² On the socio-historical method of collective biography see the brief surveys Levke HARDERS – Hannes SCHWEIGER, 'Kollektivbiographische Ansätze', *Handbuch Biographie. Methoden, Traditionen, Theorien*, Stuttgart/Weimar: Metzler, 2009, pp. 194–198; Levke HARDERS – Veronika LIPPARDT, 'Kollektivbiographie in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte als qualitative und problemorientierte Methode', *Traverse: Zeitschrift für Geschichte/Revue d'histoire* 13 (2006), pp. 81–90; Wilhelm Heinz SCHRÖDER, 'Kollektive Biographien in der historischen Sozialforschung: Eine Einführung', in: *Lebenslauf und Gesellschaft. Zum Einsatz von kollektiven Biographien in der historischen Sozialforschung*, ed. Wilhelm Heinz Schröder, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985, pp. 7–17. More detailed is the study by Wilhelm Heinz SCHRÖDER, *Kollektivbiographie als interdisziplinäre Methode in der Historischen Sozialforschung. Eine persönliche Retrospektive*, Köln: Center for Historical Social Research/Zentrum für Historische Sozialforschung, 2011 (Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung. Supplement 23). The following studies apply the concept of collective biography to musicians: Britta KÄGLER, 'Von "Geschücklichkeiten", Pfauenfedern und einem "Phonascus". Kollektivbiographische Studien zu deutschsprachigen Musikern in den italienischen Musikzentren Venedig und Rom (1650–1750)', in: *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel (1650–1750) / Les musiciens européens à Venise, Rome et Naples (1650–1750) / Musicisti europei a Venezia, Roma e Napoli (1650–1750)*, eds. Anne-Madeleine Goulet, Gesa zur Nieden, Kassel et al.: Bärenreiter, 2015 (Analecta musicologica 52), pp. 236–268; Juliane RIEPE, 'Rom als Station deutscher Musiker des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts auf Italienreise. Aspekte eines biographischen Modells im Wandel', in: *IBID.*, pp. 211–235. See also my own 'Employee Turnover in Hofkapellen of the Wittelsbach Dynasty. Types and Reasons of (Impeded) Migration (1715–1725)', in: *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles*, ed. Vjera Katalinić, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2016, pp. 143–163.

My question is whether the close collaboration of the different branches enabled a broader exchange of musicians or not. A word must be said on the term 'exchange' (of musicians) since it is by no way clearly defined. Is it possible to classify a monodirectional transfer as an 'exchange'? Or is 'exchange' characterised by a kind of reciprocity (including giving *and* receiving)?³ Is the employment of a musician with different family members of a single dynastical branch an 'exchange'? Or does this term imply the crossing of (dynastical) borders? Can we call it an 'exchange' when a musician wishes for a better position to make a career, when he is forced to look for a new job because he was dismissed or when he is relinquished to another prince? In my article I will understand 'exchange' as the reciprocal employment of musicians whereas a monodirectional movement is understood as 'transfer'.⁴

If we consider the situation in *Hofkapellen*, changing a job due to the possibility of a better career was only undertaken in rare cases. As I demonstrated elsewhere, the Munich *Hofkapelle*, for example, was a rather static musical establishment with an employee turnover due mostly to death, old age or the like.⁵ Moreover, the need to look for another job is often motivated by fatal events rather than prudent personal decisions: dismissal caused by financial problems of the court, death of the patron, unacceptable behaviour or flight of the musician.⁶ But a dismissal did not automatically mean that a musician looked for another job. In Munich, during the re-

³ The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the following definition: 'An act of giving one thing and receiving another (especially of the same kind) in return: [...].' <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/exchange> (access: 21 June 2016).

⁴ The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the following definition of transfer: 'An act of moving something or someone to another place, organization, team, etc.' <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/transfer> (access: 21 June 2016).

⁵ OVER, 'Employee Turnover', pp. 143–147.

⁶ Regarding the latter two reasons see for example the cases of the trumpeter Simon (1678) and the singers Custos (1688) and Giovanni Battista Moratelli (1691) described by Alfred EINSTEIN in his 'Italienische Musiker am Hofe der Neuburger Wittelsbacher. 1614–1716. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik am Neuburg-Düsseldorfer Hof im 17. Jahrhundert', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (1907–1908), pp. 336–424: 375–377, 396, 399–400; the musicians are not listed in Alfred STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems 1679–1716. Eine historisch-genealogische Betrachtung mit Herkunftsf- und Nachfahrentafeln*, Düsseldorf: Düsseldorferverein für Familienkunde, 1988; see also the case of Valeriano Pellegrini below.

organisation of the *Hofkapelle* in 1715, after the War of the Spanish Succession when the *Hofkapelle* had been dissolved in 1706, seventy percent of the pre-war musical staff could be re-employed.⁷ The only more volatile group of musicians was the specialists, like the Italian singers. They were not only more flexible in obtaining positions at different courts, but were also ‘lent’ to opera houses or to different princes for events requiring special or additional forces.⁸ Their flexibility was the reason for the constant recruiting efforts of the different courts and may have been caused by temporary contracts⁹ although these are not documented for the courts considered here.¹⁰

⁷ OVER, ‘Employee Turnover’, p. 150.

⁸ See for example the cases in EINSTEIN, ‘Italienische Musiker’; on Munich court musicians requested by Venetian theatres cf. Berthold OVER, “...sotto l’Ombra della Regina di Pennati”. Antonio Vivaldi, Kurfürstin Therese Kunigunde von Bayern und andere Wittelsbacher’, in: *Italian Opera in Central Europe 1614–1780*, vol. 3: *Opera Subjects and European Relationships*, eds. Norbert Dubowy, Corinna Herr, Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, Dorothea Schröder, Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007 (Musical Life in Europe 1600–1900. Circulation, Institutions, Representation), pp. 251–297: 294–295.

⁹ Norbert DUBOWY, ‘Italienische Instrumentalisten in deutschen Hofkapellen’, in: *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm, Turnhout: Brepols, 2001 (Speculum musicae 8), pp. 61–120: 77.

¹⁰ Only later in the century were temporary contracts common in Munich for opera singers. See Karl BÖHMER, *W. A. Mozarts Idomeneo und die Tradition der Karnevalsoper in München*, Tutzing: Schneider, 1999 (Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 39), pp. 41–54. These contracts were not only concluded with ‘star’ singers as the cases of the soprano castrato ‘Barbarini, aus Welschland’ and the bass singer ‘Gabriel Messierij’ in 1782 and 1783 show. D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 2187 (doc. no. 2347, 2348, 2378) and 2199 (doc. no. 2463). As a formally employed ‘Hof Bassist’, although with a two-year temporary contract, Messieri is mentioned in the court calendars of 1784 and 1785 (representing the status quo of 1783 and 1784). Barbarini was employed without a specific status only for short terms, i.e. from July to October 1782 and from June 1783 to May 1784, ‘on behalf of the big court theatre’ (‘zum behuf dero grossen Hof Theaters’) and, therefore is not listed in the court calendars. *Seiner Kurfürstlichen Durchleucht zu Pfalz u. u. Hof= und Staats=Kalender für das Jahr 1783*, Munich [1782], and subsequent editions. On Messieri, who was mainly active in Dresden and Stuttgart before coming to Munich, see Karl Josef KUTSCH – Leo RIEMENS, *Großes Sänglerlexikon*, 4th ed., vol. 4, Munich: Saur, 2003, p. 3093 (not mentioning his engagement in Munich); *Bayerisches Musiker Lexikon Online* (BMLO), <http://www.bmlo.lmu.de/m0623> (access: 25 June 2016; not mentioning his career before his engagement in Munich).

Let us now have a closer look at the different branches of Bavaria, Pfalz-Neuburg, Pfalz-Sulzbach and Pfalz-Zweibrücken and the musicians who can be found in the conglomerate of the Wittelsbach dynasty. Here we have evidence of the phenomena mentioned above, i.e.:

- the more volatile specialist, pursuing his career,
- the musician looking for a job because of his dismissal,
- the musician passing to different employers.

Musicians entering a new environment due to successions, like Johann Hugo von Wilderer who was Vice *Kapellmeister* in Düsseldorf under Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz and went to Mannheim with his successor, his brother Karl Philipp, are excluded in my survey since successions guarantee a kind of continuity.¹¹ Moreover I exclude the positioning of every kind of relatives sons or relatives with members of the Wittelsbach family. And I will not investigate systematically the provenance of the musicians as well as their employment outside the dynasty.

THE BAVARIAN WITTELSBACH

Examples of Italian singers who made a career are Valeriano Pellegrini and Filippo Balatri. Pellegrini was a castrato in the Cappella Sistina in Rome and stood under the protection of cardinal Alderano Cybo. After a couple of

¹¹ To Würtz's inventory of the Mannheim musicians Bartholomäus Ansalone, Peter Franciscus Bompianini and Johann Caspar Robles must be added who are not found amongst the court musicians, but amongst the 'Cammer Dienerer' in the list of the electoral household of 1723. They came from the Düsseldorf court. Three other musicians are listed under this heading too, as well as under the 'Hof-Music' heading (and so are found in Würtz): Ignaz Grüber, Johann Kaspar Meyer, Friedrich Muffat, the latter from Düsseldorf as well. See D-Mbs, Cgm 1665: Titul und Nahmen Buch von Ihrer Churfürstlichen Durchleucht zu Pfaltz Gesammten Hofstatt [...] ANNO 1723, pp. 26–27, 48–49; STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, pp. 17–19, 59–60, 122 (Robles, without forenames), 70–71; Roland WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie der kurpfälzischen Hofmusiker zu Mannheim nebst darstellendem Theaterpersonal 1723–1803*, Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1975 (Quellenkataloge zur Musikgeschichte 8), pp. 43, 47, 48.

scandalous events – in 1692 he quarrelled with another castrato ('Giovannino', singer of the duke of Savoy) about the right to sing a motet, fought against him with a sword upon meeting him on the street, and refused to repeat an aria in the Tordinona opera house in January 1693 so that the recital had to be broken off and the noble audience was offended – his stipends and rights at the Cappella Sistina were reduced. He quit service completely in April 1693 and went to Naples.¹² In 1695, he worked in Hanover,¹³ and sang in Vienna (1699), Mantua (1700), Genoa and Piacenza (1701). He was engaged by Max Emanuel in 1702 and accompanied the elector during his exile in the Spanish Netherlands and in France when he fled Bavaria during the War of the Spanish Succession in 1704. He remained in the elector's service until 1708 when he is found in the Düsseldorf *Hofkapelle*. After Johann Wilhelm's death and Karl Philipp's succession he moved to Mannheim. Apparently, he later returned to Rome. When engaged at the princely courts he made several appearances in Italy and London where he sang among others in Handel's operas.¹⁴

¹² Luca DELLA LIBERA – José María DOMÍNGUEZ, 'Nuove fonti per la vita musicale romana di fine Seicento: il Giornale e il Diario di Roma del Fondo Bolognetti all'Archivio Segreto Vaticano', in: *La musique à Rome au XVIIe siècle. Études et perspectives de recherche*, eds. Caroline Giron-Panel, Anne-Madeleine Goulet, Rome: École Française de Rome, 2012 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 466), pp. 121–185: 140, 142, 144–146. On the musical activities of cardinal Alderano Cybo see Patrizia RADICCHI, 'Alderano Cybo (1613–1700) e la musica: notizie da fonti documentarie', in: *Florilegium musicae. Studi in onore di Carolyn Gianturco*, eds. Patrizia Radicchi, Michael Burden, 2 vols., Pisa: ETS, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 837–864.

¹³ Colin TIMMS, *Polymath of the Baroque. Agostino Steffani and His Music*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 65. In the document cited, a 'Valeriani' is mentioned, certainly identical with Valeriano Pellegrini.

¹⁴ Berthold OVER, 'From Munich to "Foreign" Lands and Back Again. Relocation of the Munich Court and Migration of Musicians (c. 1690–1715)', in: *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe. Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, eds. Gesa zur Nieden, Berthold Over, Bielefeld: transcript, 2016 (Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften 33), pp. 91–133: 100; BERTHOLD OVER – Torsten ROEDER, 'MUSICI and MusMig. Continuities and Discontinuities', in: *IBID.*, pp. 185–204: 195; Hans Joachim MARX, *Händel und seine Zeitgenossen. Eine biographische Enzyklopädie*, 2 vols., Laaber: Laaber, 2008 (Das Händel-Handbuch 1), vol. 2, pp. 762–764; STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, p. 59. On his operatic career see the entries in Claudio SARTORI, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 7 vols., Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–1994.

The well-known castrato Filippo Balatri (1682–1756) was in Florence (until 1698), Russia (1698–1701), Vienna (1701–1703), again Florence (1703–1713), London (1713–1715) and Düsseldorf (1715) before he came to Munich in the same year.¹⁵ There, he ‘settled down’ and worked first in Max Emanuel’s *Hofkapelle*, and then, at an advanced age, at the court of the Elector’s son Johann Theodor of Bavaria, prince bishop of Freising since 1727. In the literature the beginning of his service is dated 1727, 1730 or 1736,¹⁶ but maybe it began earlier since the Munich salary ledgers document his presence at the Bavarian court only until 1725.¹⁷

Another lesser-known, but not less mobile singer was Giovanni Francesco (Johann Francisco, Johann Franciscus) Benedetti, a bass who was in Düsseldorf from at least 1707 until at least 1713,¹⁸ and in Munich from October 1716 until 1717.¹⁹ There is no documentary evidence, but it is probable that he

¹⁵ Daniela SADGORSKI, ‘*Eccomi dunque intutto fortunato*. Filippo Balatri als Sänger am Hofe Max Emanuels’, in: *Das Musikleben am Hof von Kurfürst Max Emanuel. Bericht über das internationale musikwissenschaftliche Symposium, veranstaltet von der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte und dem Forschungsinstitut für Musiktheater der Universität Bayreuth*, eds. Stephan Hörner, Sebastian Werr, Tutzing: Schneider, 2012 (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte), pp. 291–308; Irene BRANDENBURG, ‘Balatri, Filippo’, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil, vol. 2, Bärenreiter: Kassel et al. – Metzler: Stuttgart et al., 1999, cols. 82–83; Filippo BALATRI, *Frutti del mondo. Esperimentati da F.B. nativo dell’Alfea in Toscana*, 2 vols., ms. in: D-Mbs, Cod.ital. 39.

¹⁶ SADGORSKI, ‘*Eccomi dunque intutto fortunato*’, p. 300; Manfred WEITLAUFF, *Kardinal Johann Theodor von Bayern (1703–1763). Fürstbischof von Regensburg, Freising und Lüttich. Ein Bischofsleben im Schatten der kurbayerischen Reichskirchenpolitik*, Regensburg: Verlag des Vereins für Regensburger Bistumsgeschichte, 1970 (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg 4), p. 278; Karl Gustav FELLERER, *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Freising*, Freising: Verlag des Freisinger Tagblattes, 1926, p. 122.

¹⁷ D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 755–765 (Besoldungsbücher 1715–1725); see also OVER, ‘From Munich to “Foreign” Lands’, pp. 109–111; SADGORSKI, ‘*Eccomi dunque intutto fortunato*’, p. 303, mentions an employer’s reference by Elector Karl Albrecht from August 1726 which may have been related to his leave.

¹⁸ In the former year, Benedetti received a gift from Electress Anna Maria Luisa for the baptism of his first child, in the latter Benedetti’s second child was baptised. STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, p. 56. On Benedetti see also my article ‘Employee Turnover’, p. 145.

¹⁹ D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 756–757 (Besoldungsbücher 1716–1717), fols. 92r, 90v resp. He is also mentioned in the salary ledgers in 1718 and 1719, but received no payments.

came to the Munich court due to the death of Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz in June 1716 and the subsequent dissolution of the Düsseldorf *Hofkapelle*. In the time before his activity in Düsseldorf he was as mobile as singers like Pellegrini, sang in Macerata (1695, 1702), and was employed in Dresden (since 1697) and Loreto (1702-03).²⁰ After his employment in Munich he was in Mantua in November 1718 where he sang under the *impresa* of Antonio Vivaldi in the latter's *Tito Manlio*, premiered in the carnival season 1719.²¹ In the same year he was engaged at the Bologna opera house and seems to have been attached to the court of the Mantuan governor Philipp von Hessen-Darmstadt until 1720.²² In 1721 he is found in Würzburg at the court of Bishop Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn.²³ According to *Großes Sängerlexikon* he was *Kapellmeister* in Mantua since 1740 and died in 1760.²⁴

A similar case is the theorbist Giuseppe (or Gioseffo or Josef) Trevisani. Trevisani had been in Munich since 1687, went with his employer Max Emanuel to Brussels in 1695, returned to Munich in 1699 and accompanied the elector during his exile. He is documented in the exile court from 1704 until 1708.²⁵ Like Pellegrini, he then was employed at the court of Elector

²⁰ KUTSCH-RIEMENS, *Großes Sängerlexikon*, vol. 1, p. 342. He may have been identical to the bass singer Giovanni Battista Benedetti who appears in 1699 in the 'Königlich-Pohlnische Capelle' in Warsaw. Cfr. Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland', in: *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760. Changing Artistic Priorities*, eds. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, Janice B. Stockigt, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011, pp. 51–77: 53.

²¹ Paola CIRANI, 'Vivaldi e la musica a Mantova. Documenti inediti e nuovi spunti di riflessione', in: *Antonio Vivaldi. Passato e futuro*, Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 2009 (Atti Online 1), http://old.cini.it/uploads/assets/ATTI_VIVALDI_marzo_2010/03-Cirani.pdf (access: 2 June 2016), pp. 31–57: 41, 56.

²² KUTSCH-RIEMENS, *Großes Sängerlexikon*, vol. 1, p. 342.

²³ Dieter KIRSCH, 'The Court of Würzburg', in: *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760*, pp. 305–330: 309; ID., *Lexikon Würzburger Hofmusiker vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg: Echter, 2002 (Quellen und Studien zur Musikgeschichte Würzburgs und Mainfrankens 1), pp. 57–58.

²⁴ KUTSCH – RIEMENS, *Großes Sängerlexikon*, vol. 1, p. 342.

²⁵ OVER, 'From Munich to "Foreign" Lands', pp. 95–96, 99–100, 115–116; Max BRAUBACH, 'Die Mitglieder der Hofmusik unter den vier letzten Kurfürsten von Köln', in: *Colloquium amicorum. Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Siegfried Kross, Hans Schmidt, Bonn: Beethovenhaus, 1967, pp. 26–63: 55.

Palatine Johann Wilhelm where he served until the *Hofkapelle* was dismissed after the elector's death in 1716. After this last year his traces are unknown. However, Alfred Strahl reports a payment in Munich in 1717 (without a source).²⁶ Trevisani is found again in Münster where in 1721 he became *Kapellmeister* of the cathedral.²⁷ The bishop of Münster at this time was – Joseph Clemens of Bavaria, at the same time Elector of Cologne. Trevisani returned to the Bavarian dynasty, but seemingly not without any reservation because he apparently had to wait several years. When, after Joseph Clemens' death, his nephew Clemens August became elector and took his residence in Bonn in 1724 he engaged Trevisani as his *Kapellmeister* at court.²⁸ Trevisani died in Bonn in 1732, but formally remained *Kapellmeister* in Münster until his death and probably was paid from the Münster budget as was the case for other musicians active in Bonn. The two singers Giovanna della Stella and Rosa Costa, for example, received their enormous salary of 1,200 fl. in the years 1744–1746 from the Münster *Hofkammer*,²⁹ thus avoiding considerable expenses for the Bonn court.

The most famous case of a musician working in the Wittelsbach dynasty is Agostino Steffani. But his changes are only partly motivated by his musical skills, and result mostly from his non-musical talents as a diplomat. Steffani came to the Munich court in 1667, was trained in Rome from 1672 until 1674 and remained in Munich until 1688. During his time at the Bavarian court he fulfilled his first diplomatic missions in the early 1680s. His most important mission constituted the negotiations concerning the marriage of Elector Max Emanuel after Sophie Charlotte of Hanover was taken into consideration as a bride in 1682. In the end, she married Friedrich, electoral

²⁶ STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, p. 76.

²⁷ Gerd BEUSKER, *Die Münsterische Dom-, Hof- und Musikkapelle 1650–1802. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Münster*, Kassel et al.: Bärenreiter, 1978, pp. 23–25, 174.

²⁸ BRAUBACH, 'Die Mitglieder der Hofmusik', p. 55.

²⁹ BEUSKER, *Die Münsterische Dom-, Hof- und Musikkapelle*, pp. 28–30, 136, 173; similar financial arrangements seem to have been established for the organist Georg Graskampff/Graßkampff. It is not clear if the Münster bass singer 'Bernardi', might be identical to the Bonn singer and chaplain 'Joseph Bernard', possibly constituting another case. On Graskampff and Bernard/Bernardi see BRAUBACH, 'Die Mitglieder der Hofmusik', pp. 32, 39; BEUSKER, *Die Münsterische Dom-, Hof- und Musikkapelle*, pp. 132, 141.

prince of Brandenburg in 1684, whereas Max Emanuel married Maria Antonia of Austria in 1685. The resulting connections to Hanover were one of the reasons that Steffani was engaged at the Hanover court in 1688. After having been appointed *envoyé extraordinaire* in 1693 his musical activities ceased little by little. He left Hanover in 1703 and went to Düsseldorf to the court of Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz. There he mainly worked as a diplomat and occasionally wrote and revised music, but since around 1707 under the pseudonym of his copyist Gregorio Piva. The assumption of a pseudonym is certainly a result of his appointment as Bishop of Spiga by Pope Clement XI on 13 November 1706 that implied an elevation in rank not compatible with the condition of a musician. In this function he died in 1728.³⁰ Steffani crossed the borders of the Wittelsbach branches of Bavaria and the Palatinate, but only after having served the Hanover court and only partly due to his musical skills.

The already mentioned Gregorio Piva is another case of a musician who passed to another branch of the Wittelsbach. After having been at the Dresden court as singer and copyist from 1691 to 1694, he certainly was in Düsseldorf as an instrumentalist in 1703. He remained there until Elector Johann Wilhelm's death when he entered the Bonn court of Elector Joseph Clemens of Bavaria in December 1717. He died there in 1740.³¹ His motivations behind this change can be easily identified: the dissolution of the Düsseldorf *Hofkapelle* in 1716 made it necessary for Piva to look for another job.³²

³⁰ See the basic study on Steffani's life by TIMMS, *Polymath of the Baroque*.

³¹ TIMMS, *Polymath of the Baroque*, pp. 95–96; ID., 'Gregorio Piva and Steffani's Principal Copyist', in: *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent, London: Stainer & Bell, 1981, pp. 169–190; BRAUBACH, 'Die Mitglieder der Hofmusik', p. 48.

³² STRAHL (*Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, p. 120) claims that another musician, the chamber musician Johann Philipp Moratelli was employed by the Bavarian court from 1683 until 1693 and then moved to Düsseldorf. This seems not to be the case since the Bavarian Moratelli ('Moradelli') was named Johann Baptist and worked as a singer since 1683. In 1690 he received an advance payment and was dismissed in March 1691. Since 1693 he is found in various non-musical positions in Düsseldorf. See the salary ledgers in D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 728–730 (Besoldungsbücher 1690–1692), fols. 65r, 66r, 63r resp.; EINSTEIN, 'Italienische Musiker', pp. 399–400.

The only musician whose job change from Düsseldorf to Munich was not motivated by the death of Johann Wilhelm may have been the trumpeter Johann Pocorni. Pocorni was in Munich in 1702, died there already in 1703³³ and is probably identical with Johann Friedrich 'Boccorne' ('Pokozny', certainly to be read as Pokorny) mentioned by Strahl. Johann Friedrich was in Düsseldorf from at least 1697 until at least 1700 when his children were baptised and seems to have been a trumpeter as well.³⁴

Musicians who more or less remained in the Bavarian branch are Johann Alexius Haveck and Johann Christoph Pez. Haveck, a Bohemian, who worked prior to his employment in Regensburg at the court of Joseph Clemens (who was bishop there since 1685) in 1702 at the 'school' in Munich, probably at the Jesuit school. He returned to Munich in 1715 when Joseph Clemens had to abandon his bishopric due to ecclesiastical-legal reasons and was employed at the Munich court of Joseph Clemens' brother Max Emanuel. Haveck remained in this position until 1717 when he went to Bonn where Joseph Clemens resided as Elector of Cologne. He died there in 1723. Thus, during most of his life he worked with two Wittelsbach brothers and seems to have been 'parked' for two years in Munich before re-joining his former employer³⁵ – a situation similar to that of Johann Christoph Pez.

Pez entered the Munich court in 1688, was in Rome for training purposes from 1689 to 1692 and went to Max Emanuel's brother Joseph Clemens in Bonn in 1695. During the War of the Spanish Succession he returned to Munich in 1702 where he received a waiting pay until an adequate position could be found for him, but such a position did not arise. He remained in Munich after the *Hofkapelle* had been dismissed by the Austrian occupants of Bavaria in 1705 and instructed the Bavarian princes left in Munich by their exiled parents. In 1706, when the princes were taken in exile to Klagenfurt and Graz by the Austrians, Pez entered the service of the Württemberg court

³³ D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 741–742 (Besoldungsbücher 1702–1703), fols. 127v, 130v resp.

³⁴ STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, p. 109.

³⁵ OVER, 'From Munich to "Foreign" Lands', p. 107; ID, 'Employee Turnover', p. 144.

of Stuttgart where he died in 1716.³⁶ He left the dynasty of the Wittelsbach – without any doubt due to his collaboration with the Austrians.³⁷

Some other musicians were exchanged between the courts of Munich and Bonn too: Vinzenz Lambert (Munich, 1686–1706; Bonn, 1711 to at least 1735), Dominique Joseph Cornillot (Bonn, 1716 or 1717–1724; Munich, 1724–1726) and Giuseppe Zudoli (Munich 1723–1727; Bonn, 1727–1760).³⁸

If we have a look at patterns we can observe that skilled musicians with a rather ‘trans-regional’ status tend to be more open for varied career steps, whereas less accomplished ones remain largely in the same family. More important family members like the electors Joseph Clemens or Clemens August have a bigger share from the pool of musicians than less important ones as Johann Theodor who was ‘only’ a bishop, became a cardinal in as late as 1743 and had Ballatri in his service when the singer’s heyday was already gone. Musicians like Haveck or Pez seem to have been ‘parked’ in the Munich *Hofkapelle* until a position was free in the *Hofkapellen* of their former employers. Not only a transfer, but an exchange of musicians between family members took place as the case of Munich and Bonn shows.

PFALZ-NEUBURG

The branch of Pfalz-Neuburg is particularly interesting as it had established close ties with the imperial court in Vienna since the 1670s. The reason is the marriage of Eleonore Magdalena of Pfalz-Neuburg to Emperor Leopold I in 1676. After this marriage the Pfalz-Neuburg received positions which ensured the influence of the family in different parts of the Holy Roman Empire and beyond: these were – besides the hereditary Electorate Palatinate

³⁶ OVER, ‘From Munich to “Foreign” Lands’, pp. 97–98; ID., ‘Employee Turnover’, pp. 145–146; same OVER – ROEDER, ‘MUSICI and MusMig’, pp. 194–195.

³⁷ Pez also left his religious environment: the Wittelsbach were Catholics whereas the Württembergs were Protestants. The presence of the Catholic Pez at the Protestant court caused numerous problems. Cf. OWENS, ‘The Court of Württemberg-Stuttgart’, in: *Music at German Courts, 1715-1760*, pp. 165–195: 167–172.

³⁸ OVER, ‘Employee Turnover’, p. 153.

(Philipp Wilhelm, 1615–1690, Johann Wilhelm, 1658–1716 who married Leopold's half-sister Maria Anna of Austria in 1678, Karl Philipp, 1661–1742) – the Tyrolian governorship in Innsbruck (Karl Philipp, governor since 1705), the bishopric of Augsburg (Alexander Sigismund, 1663–1737, bishop since 1690) and the bishopric of Wrocław (Breslau), as well as, most importantly, the electorates of Trier and Mainz (Franz Ludwig, 1664–1732, bishop of Wrocław since 1683, elector of Trier since 1716, elector of Mainz since 1729). Their sisters Maria Sophia (1666–1699) and Maria Anna (1667–1740) became queen of Portugal (1687) and queen of Spain (1689, the last of the Austro-Hispanic dynasty) respectively.³⁹ The ties with the imperial court resulted in a lively cultural exchange with Vienna.⁴⁰

The mobility of musicians in the Pfalz-Neuburg branch was motivated in most cases by a crucial event: the dismissal of musicians due to the death of Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz in 1716 and the succession of his brother Karl Philipp. Karl Philipp, prior Governor of Tirol in Innsbruck, had his own *Kapelle* and merged it with the Düsseldorf *Kapelle*.⁴¹ Superfluous musicians had to leave. These musicians were taken over by other family members, especially Franz Ludwig who employed several in his Trier and then in his Mainz *Hofkapelle*. Others were taken over from Karl Philipp's Mannheim *Kapelle*. This broader transfer of musicians to other family members is corroborated by the fact that the presence of only one musician of Johann Wilhelm's *Kapelle* – Gregorio Piva, whose case is mentioned above – is recorded in another court.

The Older and the Younger Pancratius Reber, one a horn player, the other a

³⁹ On these family members see the entries in *Deutsche Biographie*, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de> (access: 16 May 2016).

⁴⁰ Herbert SEIFERT, 'Die Beziehungen zwischen den Häusern Pfalz-Neuburg und Habsburg auf dem Gebiet des Musikdramas vor und um 1700', in: *Mannheim und Italien. Zur Vorgeschichte der Mannheimer. Bericht über das Mannheimer Kolloquium im März 1982*, ed. Roland Würtz, Mainz: Schott Musik International, 1984 (Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 25), pp. 12–31.

⁴¹ Walter SENN, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck. Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748*, Innsbruck: Österreichische Verlags-Anstalt, 1954, pp. 312–324. Earlier, musicians were forced into conditions of mobility when Johann Wilhelm took his residence in Düsseldorf in 1679 and the Neuburg *Hofkapelle* was divided. Another event causing mobility was the dissolution of the Neuburg *Hofkapelle* in 1691 after the death of Johann Wilhelm's father Philipp Wilhelm in 1690. See EINSTEIN, 'Italienische Musiker', pp. 382, 406.

skilled violinist and both violin makers, who were in Düsseldorf since 1705 are found in the Trier *Hofkapelle* of Franz Ludwig, the elector there since 1716. The musicians are documented at the Trier court in 1718–1728 and 1721–1724 respectively. They later were members of the Mainz *Hofkapelle* where Franz Ludwig had been elector since 1729.⁴² Similar musicians were the horn player Joachim Hoffmann (1711–1717 Düsseldorf, 1721–1724 Trier, died in Mainz in 1730 as a chamber musician)⁴³ and the trumpeter Krieger, maybe Nikolaus Krieger or one of his sons (1722–1729 Trier).⁴⁴ Mention must also be made of the chaplain and music director of the cabinet Josef Paris Feckler who may have entered the Düsseldorf court in 1703 and remained there until the death of Johann Wilhelm, following which he was dismissed. He is subsequently found in Franz Ludwig's Trier *Hofkapelle* (1720–1729), and then went to Mainz with the elector. There, he took over the position as *Hofkapellmeister*, but resigned in 1731 to become a canon. He died in 1735.⁴⁵

Another case is Nikolaus Stulick, trumpeter and violinist, who was first in the Düsseldorf *Hofkapelle* from 1706 and then entered the Mannheim *Hofkapelle* in 1717 following Johann Wilhelm's succession by Karl Philipp. Thereafter he is found in the *Kapelle* of Karl Philipp's brother Franz Ludwig, where he is recorded in Mainz documents in 1731 and in 1732, his year of death. But he probably entered the service of Franz Ludwig earlier. He definitely accompanied the elector and bishop at least twice to Wrocław.⁴⁶

⁴² STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, pp. 71, 78–79; Gustav BERETHS, *Die Musikpflege am kurtrierischen Hofe zu Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein*, Mainz: Schott, 1964 (Beiträge zur mittelhheinischen Musikgeschichte 5), pp. 36–37, 39–40; Karl SCHWEICKERT, *Die Musikpflege am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Mainz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz: Wilckens, 1937 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Mainz 11), p. 26.

⁴³ STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, p. 78; BERETHS, *Die Musikpflege*, p. 37

⁴⁴ STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, pp. 33–34; BERETHS, *Die Musikpflege*, p. 37. However, Nikolaus ('Niclas') Franz Krieger, a viola player, is found in the Mannheim Hofkapelle in 1723. WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 46 (based on D-Mbs, Cgm 1665: Titul und Nahmen Buch von Ihrer Churfürstlichen Durchleucht zu Pfaltz Gesammten Hofstatt [...] ANNO 1723, p. 49).

⁴⁵ STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, pp. 99–100; BERETHS, *Die Musikpflege*, pp. 37–38; Adam GOTTRON, *Mainzer Musikgeschichte von 1500 bis 1800*, Mainz: Stadtbibliothek, 1959 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Mainz 18), pp. 91–92 (first contacts with Feckler have been made already by Lothar Franz von Schönborn, elector of Mainz, in the early 18th century).

⁴⁶ STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, pp. 98–99 ('Stulitz'); WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und*

An interesting case is the Weiss family of famous lute players. When Karl Philipp resided in Brzeg (Brieg) castle and Wrocław,⁴⁷ before becoming Governor of Tirol in 1705 and moving to Innsbruck in 1707,⁴⁸ he certainly had Sylvius Leopold Weiss in his service.⁴⁹ It is not known if the other family members, Johann Jakob and Johann Sigismund Weiss had been in Karl Philipp's service too, but certainly he protected them and assured them a position in the Düsseldorf *Hofkapelle* where their presence is recorded since 1708. After Johann Wilhelm's death they were kept by Karl Philipp and went to Mannheim.⁵⁰

As we can see, the mobility of musicians in the Pfalz-Neuburg branch can be classified as a transfer rather than an exchange. But Alexander Sigismund, bishop of Augsburg, seems to be out of the game. Like Johann Theodor of Bavaria he had the less important position in comparison to his brother Franz

Ikonographie, p. 54 (records the trumpeter Matthias and the violinist Matthias Niklas Stulick, based on D-Mbs, Cgm 1665: Titul und Nahmen Buch, pp. 36, 48); GOTTRON, *Mainzer Musikgeschichte*, p. 95; SCHWEICKERT, *Die Musikpflege*, pp. 24–25.

⁴⁷ Hans SCHMIDT, *Kurfürst Karl Philipp von der Pfalz als Reichsfürst*, Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1963 (Forschungen zur Geschichte Mannheims und der Pfalz. Neue Folge 2), pp. 14–65.

⁴⁸ He was appointed governor on 15 April 1705 and moved to Innsbruck in August or September 1707. SCHMIDT, *Kurfürst Karl Philipp*, pp. 48–51.

⁴⁹ He permitted Weiss to undertake concert tours which took him to Düsseldorf at his brother's court in 1706. See Frank LEGL, 'Zwischen Grottkau und Neuburg. Neues zur Biographie von Sylvius Leopold Weiss', *Die Laute: Jahrbuch der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft* 4 (2000), pp. 1–40: 8.

⁵⁰ STRAHL, *Die Hofmusik Jan Wellems*, pp. 73–74; WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 56. That the musician Johann Melchior Caesar, since 1677 in Wrocław, was passed on to Franz Ludwig's brother Alexander Sigismund, *Koadjutor* in Augsburg, shortly after the former's election in 1683, as quoted by Schmid, is not true. See Josef Johannes SCHMID, *Alexander Sigismund von Pfalz-Neuburg Fürstbischof von Augsburg 1690–1737. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Schwabens im Hochbarock*, Weißenhorn: Konrad, 1999, pp. 343–344; Adolf LAYER – Hermann ULLRICH, 'Caesar, Johann Melchior', in: *Grove Music Online* (access: 31 May 2016); Peter TENHAEF, 'Caesar, Johann Melchior', in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil, vol. 3, Bärenreiter: Kassel et al./Metzler: Stuttgart et al., 2000, cols. 1546–1549. On Caesar and music in Augsburg cf. Adolf LAYER, 'Musikpflege am Hofe der Fürstbischöfe von Augsburg in der Barockzeit', *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte* 11 (1977), pp. 123–147; Hans SCHMID – Hanna SCHMID-AUERBACH, 'Musik', in: *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte*, ed. Andreas Kraus, vol. 3/2: *Geschichte Schwabens bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 3rd ed., München: Beck, 2001, pp. 805–816.

Ludwig, elector first of Trier and then of Mainz. But one musician from his *Hofkapelle* left the realm of the Pfalz-Neuburg and went to Munich where he entered the court as a violinist in 1735. Thomas Krenner or Kröner is recorded at the Bavarian court from that point on, and succeeded in positioning his sons in the *Kapelle* where they were active as chamber musicians and later received a title of nobility.⁵¹

PFALZ-ZWEIBRÜCKEN AND PFALZ-SULZBACH

Another case is the court of Zweibrücken under the dukes Christian IV (1722–1775) and his nephew Karl II August (1746–1795). At this court, an intense exchange with the Mannheim court of the Pfalz-Sulzbach branch, which succeeded the Pfalz-Neuburg branch in 1742, took place. These exchanges are the result of dismissals that were necessary due to financial difficulties in Zweibrücken in 1755 and 1787, but also due to what seems to be real exchanges including a ‘giving’ and ‘receiving’.

In 1751/52 the former Zweibrücken musician Johann Baptist Wendling went to the Mannheim court, perhaps due to his marriage to Dorothea Spurni, a Mannheim singer. There, he remained until 1778 when Elector Palatine Karl Theodor succeeded Elector Max III Joseph of Bavaria. Wendling relocated with the court to Munich, the residence city, where he died in 1797.⁵² The oboist and violinist Johann Georg Danner was in Zweibrücken from 1753 until his dismissal in 1755. The year after he is found in Mannheim and obviously left the city following Karl Theodor’s accession. He received an allowance for his removal, is recorded in the Munich court calendars from 1780–1802⁵³ and died in Karlsruhe in 1803.⁵⁴

⁵¹ LAYER, *Musikpflege am Hofe*, pp. 138–139; Britta KÄGLER, ‘Competition at the Catholic Court of Munich. Italian Musicians and Family Networks’, in: *Musicians’ Mobilites and Music Migrations*, pp. 73–90: 85.

⁵² WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 56.

⁵³ D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 192 (Jahresrechnung 1780), fol. 169r-v; 2153 (receipts), no. 1310; *Seiner Kurfürstlichen Durchleucht zu Pfalz u. u. Hof= und Staats=Kalender für das Schalt=Jahr 1780*, Munich: Franz, 1779, p. 37, and subsequent editions.

⁵⁴ WÜRTZ (*Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 38) states that Danner remained in Mannheim until his death in 1802 which cannot be the case. On Danner and his son Christian Franz see Wilfried GRUHN, ‘Konzertmeister der Zweibrücker

His son Christian Franz Danner was 'Akzessist', that is, a musician who performed service without payment and who hoped to obtain a permanent position in the *Hofkapelle* through this unpaid work. After his time as 'Akzessist' in Mannheim in 1770–1772 he was employed officially from 1773–1778 as a violinist.⁵⁵ In 1778, after Elector Karl Theodor's succession to the electorate of Bavaria, he accompanied the Elector to Munich where he is mentioned in the court calendars 1780–1786 (representing the status quo 1779–1785).⁵⁶ In 1785 he is employed in Zweibrücken as concertmaster.⁵⁷ His father obviously accompanied him and received a reimbursement of his travel costs⁵⁸ before returning to Munich. But in 1787 Christian Franz was, like many other court musicians, dismissed.⁵⁹ He then became a concertmaster in Karlsruhe in 1788 and died in Rastatt in 1813.⁶⁰

Hofmusik I, *Zweibrücker Monatshefte* 17/6 (1970), pp. 21–24; on Danner's death p. 23. On Christian Franz see also Wilfried GRUHN, 'Zweibrücken und die badischen Höfe', *Zweibrücker Monatshefte* 17,9 (1970), p. 36.

⁵⁵ WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 38.

⁵⁶ On his function see *Seiner Kurfürstlichen Durchleucht zu Pfalz*, p. 38, and subsequent editions.

⁵⁷ Landesarchiv Speyer, B3: Zweibrücken, Kammerrechnungen, 84 (1786–1788), pp. 522, 524; 91 (1786–1788, Urkunden), no. 2173–2199; 2192: 'Mr Counsellor La Motte in Mannheim is asked to kindly pay the sum of / 275 fl. / to Mr Concertmaster Danner who shall put his receipt here below and to bring it to account to the ducal *Landrentei*. Zweibrücken 21 June 1787. / L. Dippel. / I testify to having received the sum of 275 from Mr titular Counsellor de La Motte and acknowledge Mannheim, 24 June 1787. / Christian Friedrich Danner' ('Herr Rath La Motte zu Mannheim sind ersucht, an H. Concertmeister Danner gegen dessen hierunter zu sezzende quittung, die Summe von / Zweyhundert Siebzig Fünf Gulden / gefällig zu bezahlen, und herzog. Land Rentey aufzurechnen. Zweibr. den 21. Junius 1787. / L. Dippel / Hiermit bescheine den ertrag Von 275 so habe Von tit Herrn Rath de la Motté empfangen quitire Mannheim den 24ten junii 1787 / CF Danner'). GRUHN, 'Konzertmeister', p. 23; WÜRTZ's (*Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 38) statement of an employment since 1783 cannot be verified in the documents.

⁵⁸ Landesarchiv Speyer, B3: Zweibrücken, Kammerrechnungen, 84 (1786–1788), p. 797: 'To the court musician Johann Danner / On supreme order from 8 January 1786 because of defrayal of his travel costs, according to receipt . . . 34 fl.' ('An den Hof Musicum J[ohann] Danner / Auf Höchste Anweisung vom 8.t Januarius 1786. wegen bestreitung seiner Reise kosten, laut quittung . . . 34.-.-').

⁵⁹ Landesarchiv Speyer, B2: Zweibrücken, Akten, 4080.

⁶⁰ WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 38.

The two Heroux undertook relatively frequent changes between Zweibrücken and Mannheim. Nikolaus Heroux originated from Zweibrücken and apparently was already in the *Hofkapelle* in 1748.⁶¹ He was evidently dismissed in 1755 for he is found in the Mannheim *Hofkapelle* from 1756–1769. In 1771 he was back in Zweibrücken, returned to Mannheim in 1772 before being in Zweibrücken again from 1773 on.⁶² He was not dismissed in 1787 and was still a court musician in 1792;⁶³ in 1795–96 he is mentioned as receiving a pension.⁶⁴ Franz Heroux or Heroux the Younger was apparently Nikolaus' brother.⁶⁵ From 1775–1776 he was an 'Akzessist' in Mannheim.⁶⁶ From the account books of the Zweibrücken court, however, it is known that Heroux took lessons from Johann Baptist

⁶¹ Landesarchiv Speyer, B3: Zweibrücken, Kammerrechnungen, 20 (1748), p. 109: 'rent paid to the clerk Dippel because of the musician Heroux according to document no. 315 . . . 41 fl.' ('dem Scribent Dippel den Hauszins wegen dem Musicanten Heroux lt: Urkunde sub N:° 315 zahlt mit . . . 41.-.').

⁶² WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 44; Landesarchiv Speyer, B3: Zweibrücken, Kammerrechnungen, 33 (1771), 36–84 (1773–1788). Johann Christian Mannlich, later court painter in Zweibrücken, took music lessons with Heroux since 1759/60 during his training in Mannheim financed by Christian IV. See Johann Christian MANNLICH, *Histoire de ma vie. Mémoires de Johann Christian von Mannlich (1741–1822)*, eds. Karl-Heinz Bender, Hermann Kleber, 2 vols., Trier: Spee-Verlag, 1989–1993, vol. 1, p. 34 and *passim*.

⁶³ Landesarchiv Speyer, B2: Zweibrücken, Akten, 4108, 4109.

⁶⁴ Landesarchiv Speyer, B2: Zweibrücken, Akten, 4104.

⁶⁵ Landesarchiv Speyer, B3: Zweibrücken, Kammerrechnungen, 59 (1779, Urkunden): 'According to the following supreme decision I want to inform the ducal *Rentkammer* to provisionally procure the court musician Heroux the Elder an addition to his salary of 150 fl. since the date when his free board and lodging at court were cancelled, but his brother, the court musician Heroux the Younger an annual salary of 300 fl. since the date he began his service. And advance payments which already took place should be discounted / Zweibrücken, 24 February 1780. / Ludwig von Esebeck.' ('Herzogliche Rent Ca[m]mer habe zur einstweiligen Besorgung hierdurch benachrichtigen wollen, daß nach der nachfolgenden höchsten Entschließung der Hof Musicus Heroux der ältere seit Entziehung des freyen logis, Kost bey Hof, eine addition von Einhundert und fünfzig Gulden, deßen bruder der Hof Musicus Heroux der jüngere aber seit seinem Dienst Eintritt eine jährliche besoldung von dreyhundert Gulden haben, und die hierauf beschehenen avances abgezogen werden sollen. / Zweibrücken, den 24.n febr: 1780. / L.V. Esebeck.')

⁶⁶ WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 44.

Wendling at this time. For his tuition and compositions Wendling received 440 fl. from the Zweibrücken budget in 1775.⁶⁷ Heroux was employed at the Zweibrücken court in 1778 and remained there until his dismissal in the crucial year of 1787.⁶⁸

Toussaint Legrand's path took the other way round. From 1762–1764 he was in the Mannheim *Hofkapelle* before coming to Zweibrücken in 1765. There, he asked to be dismissed in 1775, was re-employed in 1777 and remained until 1782.⁶⁹

As we can see, there was a coming and going between these two courts of different branches, which points more in the direction of exchange than was the case with the more common transfer of musicians within a single branch or family.

This is underlined by other activities that point to a close cultural collaboration of the two courts. They show a real engagement of the Zweibrücken court in the representational artistic aims of the Mannheim court by means of financial efforts. Duke Christian IV of Zweibrücken undertook a trip to Paris almost every year where he stayed for a couple of months. Besides his own musicians he took with him those from Mannheim, ensured their success at the Concert Spirituel, financed their living in the French capital (they lived in his Hôtel des Deuxponts), their music publications and their training. Among these are such important figures like Christian Cannabich, Carl Joseph Toeschi, Wilhelm Cramer, Ignaz Fränzl

⁶⁷ Landesarchiv Speyer, B3: Zweibrücken, Kammerrechnungen, 39 (1775), p. 125: 'Firstly, according to rescript no. 481 and receipt no. 482 the court flautist Wendling in Mannheim has received for tuition of Heroux the Younger and imparted music . . . 400 fl.' ('Erstlichen weißt rescripti sub N.o 481. und quittung sub N.o 482. hat der Hof Flaut Traversist Wendling in Mannheim vor die dem Jungen Heroux gegebene Instruction und mitgetheilte Musicalien empfangen . . . 440,,-,,-'); 41 (1775/1776/1777), p. 125 (1775): '30 December, the musician Wendling sen. in Mannheim received for tuition of the musician Heroux and for music . . . 400 fl.' ('Xbre. 30. Empfang der Musicus Wendling sen. zu Mannheim vor dem Musico Heroux gegebene Instruction und Musicalien . . . 440,,-,,-').

⁶⁸ Landesarchiv Speyer, B3: Zweibrücken, Kammerrechnungen 53–84 (1778–1788); B2: Zweibrücken, Akten, 4080: dismissal decree, 1st August 1787.

⁶⁹ WÜRTZ, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie*, p. 46; Landesarchiv Speyer, B3: Zweibrücken, Kammerrechnungen, 26–68 (1765–1782).

and August Ludwig Lebrun.⁷⁰ Christian obviously took a vivid interest in the musical establishment and reputation of the prince he might have succeeded since Karl Theodor was childless. And by enabling Paris trips to Mannheim musicians, ensuring their public success at the Concert Spirituel and financing their publications he contributed considerably to the image of the Mannheim orchestra as being a group of virtuoso soloists and composers. An image so ingenuously described (and nowadays cited all too frequently) by Charles Burney in the travelogue of his journey to Germany and Mannheim in 1772: ‘[...]; indeed there are more solo players, and good composers in this [the Mannheim orchestra], than perhaps in any other orchestra in Europe; it is an army of generals, equally fit to plan a battle, as to fight it.’⁷¹

At this point we need to ask for the reasons behind these activities. This is a question not easily answered, but some speculations may be allowed:

- Christian IV had a real cultural interest, an interest that can also be perceived in his musical activities in Paris. There, he not only enjoyed the musical culture of the city or imitated French nobles in their musical activities through private performances. He actively took part in aesthetic and musical intellectual circles and was a partisan of the renewal of French opera as advocated by the philosophers and encyclopaedists. As a friend of Diderot and other philosophers, Christian supported the former’s textual and dramaturgical aims and musical dreams by practical actions: he took the musician François-André Danican Philidor as a protégé, gave him a pension and provided him with musical scores from Mannheim so that he could alter his French musical style. The result of Christian’s efforts were Philidor’s milestone operas *Tom Jones* (1765, rev. 1766) and *Ernelinde* (1767, rev. 1769) dedicated to the duke and to hismorganatic wife, Countess of Forbach (the former dancer Marianne Camasse).⁷²

⁷⁰ Berthold OVER, ‘“Voyage de Paris”. Christian IV. von Zweibrücken zwischen Akkulturation und Kulturtransfer’, in: the proceedings of the conference *Musical Migrations: Crossroads of European Musical Diversity*, ed. Jernej Weiss, Ljubljana [to be published 2017].

⁷¹ Charles BURNEY, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces. Or, The Journal of a Tour Through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for A General History of Music*, 2 vols., London: Becket/Robson/Robinson, 1773, vol. 1, p. 93.

⁷² OVER, ‘“Voyage de Paris”’.

- Family relations as well as the predestined succession may have been decisive in the cultural proximity of the two courts. Christian's brother Friedrich Michael (1724–1767) had married Maria Franziska Dorothea (1724–1794), a sister of Elector Palatine Karl Theodor in 1746;⁷³ and beside the Elector of Bavaria Max III Joseph, Christian was one of the possible successors of Karl Theodor. The courts established closer ties since the 1760s when Christian and his brother Friedrich Michael had permanent apartments in the Mannheim castle at their disposal.⁷⁴ And since 1777 Karl Theodor was obliged to involve Duke Karl II August, Christian's nephew and successor, in political decisions (together with the elector of Bavaria).⁷⁵

- The distance between Zweibrücken and Mannheim is not very great (about 120 km). It took about one and a half to two days to get from Zweibrücken to the electoral court. But this proximity does not explain the substantial financial engagement Christian undertook in financing the Paris trips of Mannheim musicians and their publications.

CONCLUSION

First of all, only a very limited exchange of musicians existed in the Wittelsbach dynasty on the whole. It must however be stated that musicians were transferred within single branches or within a single family. This points to the fact that musicians and employers seem to have followed the principles of clientelism.⁷⁶ The family network of the ruling family guaranteed a pool of positions that could be given to loyal servants. More important family members had a bigger share in this circulation, which points to a constitutive phenomenon for the Early Modern period, the complete stratification of the social and political order. The higher a court is placed in the political hierarchy, the more renowned are the musicians employed. To put it simply: the 'big

⁷³ *Deutsche Biographie*, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de> (access: 16 May 2016).

⁷⁴ RALL, *Kurfürst Karl Theodor*, p. 118. Johann Christian Mannlich reports for the years around 1760 that Christian IV travelled to Mannheim three to four times a year. MANNLICH, *Histoire de ma vie*, vol. 1, p. 28.

⁷⁵ RALL, *Kurfürst Karl Theodor*, p. 139.

⁷⁶ OVER, 'Employee Turnover'.

players' in politics held the best musicians. However, this phenomenon in the end reflects the different financial powers of the courts.

Secondly, a 'real' exchange only took place in the second half of the eighteenth century between the branches of Pfalz-Sulzbach and Pfalz-Zweibrücken. This may be due to the fact that since the 1760s it was clear that there would be no heir to the throne of Mannheim – the Electress was in her 40s by then – and the succession might go to Zweibrücken. Moreover, there were family bonds with the Pfalz-Sulzbach. The duke of Zweibrücken also seems to have had real cultural interests.

Thirdly, a possible succession did not intensify the exchange of musicians in every case. In the 1760s it was also clear that there would be no heir to the throne of Munich. But no Mannheim or Zweibrücken musician was employed in the Munich *Hofkapelle* and *vice versa* at this time.

However, to recognise such patterns, a more complete view of German *Hofkapellen* would be necessary, but currently the musical staff of only a few *Hofkapellen* have been entered into the MusMig database. Although complete coverage would be a utopian dream, a more exhaustive exploration would promise a considerable gain of knowledge.

*Music and the Establishment of French Huguenots
in Northern Germany during the Eighteenth Century*

The migration of French Huguenots was one of the main movements in Europe during the early modern age. After the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, between 150,000 and 200,000 Huguenots migrated to the Swiss lands, the Netherlands, England, Denmark and the German lands.¹ Due to the scale and the geographic diversity of the Huguenots' migration, it has been researched from many points of view. In the past, the economic, political and administrative conditions of the settlement of French Huguenots have been central issues.² Over the past decade, scholars have concentrated more on the integration and acculturation of French migrants, examining their schooling, language knowledge, and mixed marriages.³ Accordingly, the current approaches of historical research may be summed up under three concepts which have also begun to affect musicological studies:

¹ Ute LOTZ-HEUMANN, 'Reformierte Konfessionsmigration: Die Hugenotten', in: *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, ed. Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2012, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/lotzheumannu-2012-de> (access: 16 June 2016); Michael LAUSBERG, *Hugenotten in Deutschland. Die Einwanderung von französischen Glaubensflüchtlingen*, Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2007, pp. 59–62.

² See e.g. *Der Exodus der Hugenotten*, ed. Heinz Durchhardt, Köln – Wien: Böhlau, 1985 (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 24).

³ See e.g. Manuela BÖHM, *Sprachenwechsel. Akkulturation und Mehrsprachigkeit der Brandenburger Hugenotten vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010 (Studia Linguistica Germanica 101); Manuela BÖHM, 'Sprachwechsel in der Stadt und auf dem Land – Struktur und Dynamik des Sprachkontakts bei Brandenburger Hugenotten vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert', in: *Sprachvariation und Sprachwandel in der Stadt der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Stephan Elspaß, Michaela Negele, Heidelberg: Winter, 2011; *Hugenotten zwischen Migration und Integration. Neue Forschungen zum Refuge in Berlin und Brandenburg*, eds. Manuela Böhm, Jens Häsel, Robert Violet, Berlin: Metropol, 2005.

- Since the Huguenots were allowed to establish entire colonies in the protestant principalities, they were often described as ‘nations’ due to the fact that they appointed their own local judges, pastors and school instructors. As Susanne Lachenicht has pointed out, colonies often developed a ‘nation apart’, that is as a community independent of the other local subjects and citizens.⁴ As for music, a traditional paradigm is that the Genevan Psalter with its texts on persecution, war and salvation is seen as one of the main elements of a collective Huguenot identity since the sixteenth century.⁵

- Paralleling the creation of a Huguenot identity, transregional networks are at the core of research in studies on French Huguenots since their migration was a widespread European phenomenon. The Huguenot networks had centripetal as well as centrifugal functions: On the one hand, there was a lively communication between intellectual Huguenots from Geneva, Zurich, Berlin and Frankfurt to Amsterdam, in order to promote the translation and selling of books (including, for example, the Genevan Psalter).⁶ On

⁴ Susanne LACHENICHT, ‘Étude comparée de la création et de la survie d’une identité huguenote en Angleterre et dans le Brandebourg au XVIII^e siècle’, in: *L’identité Huguenote: faire mémoire et écrire l’histoire (XVI^e-XXI^e siècle)*, eds. Philip Benedict, Hugues Daussy, Pierre-Olivier Lécho, Geneva: Droz, 2014 (Publications de l’Association Suisse pour l’Histoire du Refuge Huguenot 9), pp. 279–294; Susanne LACHENICHT, ‘Cultural Clash and Hubris. The History and Historiography of the Huguenots in Germany and the Atlantic World’, in: *The Fuzzy Logic of Encounter. New Perspectives on Cultural Contact*, eds. Sünne Juterczenka, Gesa Mackenthun, Münster: Waxmann, 2009 (Cultural Encounters and the Discourses of Scholarship 1), pp. 75–96. For an approach that partly seems to operate within a modern understanding of the term ‘nation’ see Bertrand VAN RUYMBEKE, ‘From France to *le Refuge*: The Huguenots’ Multiple Identities’, in: *Diaspora Identities. Exile, Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Past and Present*, eds. Susanne Lachenicht, Kirsten Heinsohn, Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009, pp. 52–67.

⁵ Beat FÖLLMI, ‘Der Genfer Psalter als Medium. Die Rolle von Straßburg und Genf bei der Ausbildung eines musikalischen Repertoires als Ausdruck reformierter Identität’, in: *Musik in neuzeitlichen Konfessionskulturen (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert). Räume – Medien – Funktionen*, eds. Michael Fischer, Norbert Haag, Gabriele Haug-Moritz, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2014, pp. 53–58; Henning P. JÜRGENS, ‘Der Genfer Psalter – europaweiter Kulturtransfer, konfessionelle Kultur und europäische Literaturen’, in: *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, ed. Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2010, p. 15, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/juergensh-2010-de> (access: 3 May 2016).

⁶ Christiane BERKVEN-STEVELINCK, ‘De La Haye à Berlin en passant par Londres’, in: *La vie intellectuelle aux refuges protestants. Actes de la Table ronde de Münster du 25 juillet 1995*, eds. Jens Häsel, Antony McKenna, Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999, pp. 85–98. For the correspondance between Diderot and Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach, see Jens HÄSELER, ‘Intégration ou conquête? Le public francophone en Prusse: Les lecteurs de la Gazette littéraire de Berlin’, in: *La vie intellectuelle*, p. 132.

the other hand, Huguenot communities corresponded one with another to financially support the construction of churches by transregional collections. Moreover, transregional networks are also perceivable in the references that the Huguenot migrants made to the privileges of other principalities to foster good conditions for the establishment of new colonies elsewhere.⁷

- Last but not least, cultural transfer has been a central concept in the study of Huguenot migration and mobility. Here, the constant demarcation but also the mutual influence between Lutheran and Reformist Protestantism is a main motor for hybrid cultural publications and practices.⁸ First of all, these can be documented by the fact that many Huguenot psalms of Geneva were integrated into the Lutheran canon of spiritual song.⁹

As an overall methodological tendency, current research on French Huguenots in the German lands is often based on comparisons between

⁷ Susanne LACHENICHT, 'Die Freiheitskonzession des Landgrafen von Hessen-Kassel, das Edikt von Potsdam und die Ansiedlung von Hugenotten in Brandenburg-Preussen und Hessen-Kassel', in: *Hugenotten und deutsche Territorialstaaten. Immigrationspolitik und Integrationsprozesse. Les États allemands et les huguenots. Politique d'immigration et processus d'intégration*, eds. Guido Braun, Susanne Lachenicht, München: Oldenbourg, 2007 (Pariser Historische Studien 82), pp. 71–84; EAD., *Hugenotten in Europa und Nordamerika. Migration und Integration in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2010, pp. 175–179; Thomas KLINGEBIEL, 'Hugenotten in der frühmodernen Migrationsgeschichte', in: *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland. Die Hugenotten*, eds. Sabine Beneke, Hans Ottomeyer, Berlin: Edition Minerva, 2005, pp. 14–16. See also the chapter 'Frankfurt' in this article.

⁸ For the dissemination of the Huguenot Psalter see also Jean-Daniel CANDAU, 'Der Psalter der reformierten Kirchen: Problemlage und Forschungsstand', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 34 (1992/93), pp. 87–94.

⁹ Judith I. HAUG, *Der Genfer Psalter in den Niederlanden, Deutschland, England und dem Osmanischen Reich (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*, Tutzing: Schneider, 2010 (Tübinger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 30), pp. 245–265. Even if Haug stresses the practical and compositional aspects of the reception of Huguenot chants by German Protestants and Catholics, she does not exclude a confessional reflection, e.g. by Johann Crüger (p. 264). For composers of French Huguenot Psalms in the German lands see Édith WEBER, *La musique protestante de langue française*, Paris: Honoré Champion, 1979, pp. 114–116. For the acceptance of German protestant chants by French Huguenots see Klaus HORTSCHANSKY, *Die Hugenotten in der Musikkultur Deutschlands. Eine Ausstellung aus Anlaß der Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung in Erlangen 1992*, s. l., 1992, p. 11. As to transfers of music aesthetics see Laurenz LÜTTEKEN, 'Musikästhetische Reflexion im hugenottischen Berlin um 1760. Yves Marie André, Jean Henri Samuel Formey und Ernst Gottlieb Baron', *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 9 (2000), pp. 49–65.

urban and rural settings as well as between different territorial entities like Brandenburg-Prussia or Hesse-Kassel. As can be seen in the literature cited above, by their comparative studies (cultural) historians pursue a general objective of highlighting the similarities and differences of the Huguenots' migration to other migration flows during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the following, I will investigate these three main research perspectives by considering the nexus of music and mobility within three Huguenot Colonies in the German lands. Using a comparative approach, I will examine the already known colonies with those that have not yet been at the centre of research in this field. All three colonies have different dimensions, different governmental structures and also different relations one with another:¹⁰ I will first examine French Huguenots in Frankfurt am Main, that is, in a city which has been described as a main transfer site between the Swiss and the German lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹¹ Second I will look at Bützow in the duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, where a second French Colony was established around 1700, for two reasons: On the one hand, the Mecklenburg court was not far away from the Brandenburg principality where most of the Huguenots had settled and on the other hand, it had already had a strong French tradition due to the Francophile duke Christian Louis who had reigned from 1658 up to 1692.¹² Third I will investigate Glückstadt, a

¹⁰ The contrast of urban and rural settlements as well as a comparative perspective on settlements under different reigns corresponds to the research desiderata named by Thomas KLINGEBIEL, 'Hugenotten in der frühmodernen Migrationsgeschichte', in: *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland*, pp. 11–16.

¹¹ Michelle MAGDELEINE, 'Frankfurt am Main: Drehscheibe des Refuge', in: *Die Hugenotten 1685-1985*, eds. Rudolf von Thadden, Michelle Magdelaine, München: Beck, 1985, pp. 11–25. Cf. also EAD., 'Francfort-sur-le-Main et les réfugiés Huguenots', in: *Hugenotten und deutsche Territorialstaaten. Immigrationspolitik und Integrationsprozesse. Les États allemands et les huguenots. Politique d'immigration et processus d'intégration*, eds. Guido Braun, Susanne Lachenicht, München: Oldenbourg, 2007 (Pariser Historische Studien 82), pp. 35–49.

¹² Andreas WACZKAT, 'Welschlands edler Geist und Frankreichs fertge Faust' Johann Fischer und die Schweriner Hofmusik im frühen 18. Jahrhundert', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 50 (2004), p. 161; ID., 'Les Violons du Duc'. Französische Musiker an mecklenburgischen Höfen in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', in: *Jahrbuch 2002 der Ständigen Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik*, ed. Peter Wollny, Eisenach – Schneverdingen: Karl Dieter Wagner, 2004, pp. 252–263.

so-called 'city of exiles' next to Altona and Hamburg, where a former Danish Consul of Bordeaux tried to establish a colony during the 1760s by attracting many French Huguenots from Brandenburg and Mecklenburg.¹³

I will center my investigation on the mobility of the Huguenot musicians, mostly the cantors who instructed the Huguenot children in the psalter and who organized the chant during the services.¹⁴ Beyond their 'real' or physical movements, I will also try to describe their idealistic geographical horizons within the community and the changes that these movements and horizons underwent during the eighteenth century.¹⁵ Finally, I will draw a brief comparison between the musical life of the French Huguenots and that of the local communities in which they lived in order to understand the exclusiveness or the pragmatism of the Huguenots' mobility through the example of their musicians.

FRANKFURT

The Huguenot colony in Frankfurt is a very old one and was founded at the end of the sixteenth century after the first Huguenot migration following the Massacre of St Bartholomew of the year 1572. During the seventeenth

¹³ For the history of Glückstadt, founded in 1617, see the three volumes *Glückstadt im Wandel der Zeiten*, Glückstadt 1963–1968, as well my articles Gesa ZUR NIEDEN, 'Mobile Musicians: Paths of Migration in Early Modern Europe', *European History Yearbook* 16 (2015), pp. 111–129; EAD., 'Routes which are commonly wonderful for the musicians'. Early modern times musicians' mobility and migration', in: *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe. Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, eds. Gesa zur Nieden, Berthold Over, Bielefeld: transcript, 2016 (Historische Kulturwissenschaft 33), vol. 33, pp. 11–31.

¹⁴ For the role of cantors see e.g. Franziska ROOSEN, 'Erziehung und Bildung von Hugenotten in Berlin', in: *Hugenotten und deutsche Territorialstaaten. Immigrationspolitik und Integrationsprozesse. Les États allemands et les huguenots. Politique d'immigration et processus d'intégration*, eds. Guido Braun, Susanne Lachenicht, München: Oldenbourg, 2007 (Pariser Historische Studien 82), pp. 193–208; Franziska HEUSCH, 'Das elementare Schulwesen der Berliner Hugenotten im 18. Jahrhundert unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Akkulturation', in: *Hugenotten zwischen Migration*, pp. 115–134, especially p. 125 and p. 130.

¹⁵ Cf. Stephen GREENBLATT, 'A mobility studies manifesto', in: ID., *Cultural Mobility. A manifesto*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 250–253.

century, due to tensions with the Lutherans, the Frankfurt colony established a broad network with other colonies of the Huguenot nation in regions such as Frankenthal, Offenbach, Isenburg, Berlin and other European cities like Geneva, Copenhagen, London, and Amsterdam.¹⁶

The services had to be organized outside the city walls in Bockenheim. Above all, the Frankfurt community is known for its registers where the assistance for Huguenots travelling through was recorded. Musically, the community seemed to orient itself around the strict rules of Calvinism which prohibited the insertion of instrumental music into the services and which limited the music to the singing of psalms. From the beginning, the community employed a cantor who also served as a teacher for the French children. This is the case with Laurentz Alleintz, probably a German protestant who worked for the French reformed community for 25 years until 1621 when the community employed a French teacher.¹⁷ Even if there had been some applications from other communities such as, for example, that from the Netherlands in 1660,¹⁸ or the application by Laurent Lavalue from the Cévennes in 1703 who was employed for some month as an interim cantor,¹⁹

¹⁶ MAGDELEINE, 'Francfort-sur-le-Main et les réfugiés Huguenots', pp. 37–38. See also the travels of the Huguenot pastors and ministers from Frankfurt in: Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-reformierte Gemeinde, 39: Registre du Protocole du Consistoire Commençant avec l'Année 1701, p. 53 and p. 55.

¹⁷ Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, Ratssupplikationen 1.621, vol. 1, pp. 245–246.

¹⁸ Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 52: Kontobuch des Ministeriums der Gemeinde: Beigelegter 'Catalogue de ceux qui a la leue de Novembre 1659 ont été reçus sans temoignage a condition d'en faire venir devant les leues prochaines febvrier [...] Du Vendredi 27 Juillet 1660/ Fabius L'Eveillé ayant présenté son tesmoignage d'Amsterdam au Consistoire, et offert son service pour estre Lecteur et chantre de nostre Eglise, La Compaignie ayant déclaré qu'elle desiroit penser quelques iours, et qu'on en pourroit deliberer vendredi prochain, il a redemandé avec assez de précipitation son temoignage, qui luy a esté rendu.'

¹⁹ Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 39: Registre du Protocole du Consistoire Commençant avec l'Année 1701. '[Deliberations et Resolutions diverses]/ 1702 Janvier 27 a esté resolu que durant la Communion l'on chanteroit et lisoit alternativement comme cy devant [...] / 1703 Octobre 5 Philipent Guillaume le Chantre et Lecteur a obtenu le Congé qu'il demandoit. Laurent Lavalue des Cevennes a esté accepté en sa place provisionellement, pour 3 mois. qui ont en suite esté prolongé encor p. 4 mois [...] / 1705 Janvier 16 Laurent Lavalue, Chantre et Lecteur Provisionel ayant quitté le Service, le S.r Thomas Lantelme a esté élu en Sa place, come

in 1713, the post of the cantor seemed to be still taken by local Huguenots of the second or third generation, as can be seen from the example of the Frankfurt and Neu-Isenburg candidates who applied for the job after the dismissal of Thomas Lantelme.²⁰ The new cantor, Charles Violet, had to fulfill the following obligations which remained unchanged throughout the eighteenth century:

Le 2.me Juin le S.r Thomas Lantelme quintant la charge de lecteur et chantré de nôtre Eglise, et le S.r Charles Violet ayant été choisy par la pluralité des suffrages du Consistoire pour luy succéder la compagnie luy a presenté sa vocation, apres avoir vue les bons temoignages de sa conduite et mœurs, laquelle il a accepté a ces conditions.

1 qu'il saquittera de sa charge avec toute lassiduité et lex actitude necessaire, moyenant la some de quatre vingt florins par An, monoye dicy

2 de se rendre de bonne heure a l'Eglise affin d'y faire sa fonction et marque par advance le pseume qu'on doit chanter.

3 d'aller chez le Ministre qui doit precher la veille de l'exercice pour savoir de luy quel est ce pseume.

4 qu'il est obligé quand il fait mauvais temps, de ce trouver le matin quand on sonne la premiere fois, a l'Eglise Cathedrale dans le logis d'un de Mess. les Anciens qui a la Comission pour savoir si le preche ne sera inderdit affin de le faire savoir a Mess. les Ministres

5 qu'en cas qu'il voulut se retirer dicy, il sera obligé d'en advertir la compagnie six mois par advance, avec obligation reciproque de la Compagnie toutes lesquelles conditions il a accepté avec remerciement sa fonction doit commencer le 17 Juin 1713 : sa vocation ayant été precedée d'une epreuve faite en Consistoire.²¹

se voit au Protocol' (p. 33).

²⁰ '24 [mars 1713] Vendredi le S.r Violet demarant au Isembourg c'est presenté en Consistoire pour etre agrée en la quallité de Lecteur et de chantré de notre Eglise la Compagnie la entendu lire et chanter plui a fait dire par Mr Dautun pasteur que lon etoit bien aise de lavoit entendu et que dans loccasion lon se souviendroit de luy [...] avril [1713] Vendredi le Sieur Boissier demeur a francfort c'est presante en consistoire pour etre agrée en qualite de Lecteur et de chantré de notre Eglise la Compagnie la Entandu lire et chanter pour y faire reflexion En temps et lieu.' Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, 27: Pro-Memoria-Aufzeichnungen des Presbyteriums über seine Handlungen, p. 14, p. 16.

²¹ Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 27: Pro-Memoria-Aufzeichnungen des Presbyteriums über seine Handlungen, pp. 16–17.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, due to negative experiences with former personnel, the consistory opted to seek out recommended cantors who had already served in other communities. This was the case with Jacques Colomb, a cantor of Mannheim but born in Offenbach, who was initially called to substitute the ill cantor Devin in 1752.²² In 1763, Colomb, who had been given a permanent position, fell ill himself and went to the spa longer than the time for which he had been given permission by the consistory.²³ Finally, in 1772, the consistory decided to call a Lausanne cantor to assure a regular service, probably because they were looking for a cantor with French as a mother tongue.²⁴

²² '[Deliberations et Resolutions diverses] 1752 Juillet 28 La Compagnie ayant reflechie qu'en cas de maladie du S.r Devin, notre Lecteur et Chantre, on a trouvé a propos de luy donner un substitut, pour une partie de ses fonctions et meme toutes, en cas de Maladie du S.r Desvins, consequemment on a jetté les yeux sur le S.r Jacques Collomb, Chantre et Lecteur dans L'Eglise Wallonne de Manheim, auquel on a écrit, suivant la Copie de la Lettre au Livre des Copies.' Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 39: Registre du Protocole du Consistoire Commencant avec l'Année 1701, p. 83.

²³ 'Du Vendredy le 8. Juillet 1763. Le Sieur Jaques Colomb nôtre chantre sétant absenté pour aller aux bains et s'arrétant plus longtems qu'il n'avoit promis de le faire, et que d'ailleurs il etoit parvenu à la connoissance de la compagnie, qu'il disoit en plusieurs endroits qu'il lui demanderoit son congé à cause du mauvais état de sa santé qui ne lui permettoit pas de continuer son service la compagnie ne voulant pas être prévenué par lui, resolut de lui donner son congé, ce qu'elle executa et lui fit signifier par violet nôtre marquiller.' Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 33: Protokolle der französisch-reformierten Gemeinde ab 1759, p. 29. See also 'Affaire du Sieur J. Colomb finalement terminée' (1772), *IBID.*, fol. 101r. When he was released, Colomb asked for 'une attestation de mœurs, et de capacité, au cas qu'il trouve une occasion pour faire valoir ses Talens ailleurs.'

²⁴ 'Décés du Sieur Rangeard notre Chantre. Le Sieur Rangeard, Lecteur, 6 Chantre de notre Eglise étant décédé, la compagnie, dans le dessein de lui donner un successeur qi joigne aux bonnes mœurs, les Talens requis pour remplir avec honneur les Fonctions attachées à ce Poste, a chargé monsieur le Pasteur Chandon d'écrire à Monsieur le Doien Polier de Bottems à Lausane, pour le prier de vouloir s'informer s'il se trouvoit dans la suisse Francoise un sujet de mérite qu'il crût nous convenir. Monsieur Polier nous en a indiqué un auquel il rend à tous égards les Témoignages les plus avantageux. La Compagnie déférant à cette respectable recommandation a déclaré par la réponse de son Pasteur, qu'Elle étoit resoluë d'appeler le sieur Dalmaras (qui est le sujet recommandé) s'il vouloit accepter la vocation aux conditions stipulées', Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 33: Protokolle der französisch-reformierten Gemeinde ab 1759, fol. 100v (1772).

Such developments, which resulted from the misfortune or failure of some of the cantors in their behavior (the consistory expected 'qu'il s'engageroit de se conduire d'une manière sage et edifiante, qu'avant qu'il seroit reçu il se presenteroit au consistoire avec des bons temoignages de son Eglise qu'il quitte')²⁵, points towards the need for a French identity that seemed to be increasingly guaranteed by a reliance on personnel of Swiss origin, as the Swiss lands were one of the main centers of the reformed protestant religion. At the same time, the community tried to fulfill the norms of Frankfurt city life: In 1752, Colomb from Mannheim seems to have been pushed by the consistory to become a citizen of Frankfurt, a procedure for which he had to answer a whole questionnaire covering issues of his origin, birth, confession, marriage, and means.

[...] Jacob Colom denominierter Vorsinger atjunctur bey der reformieten französischen Gemeinde P. Concl: Sen: vom 6.ten huiq wegen der angestellten [...] Schutzes hirhero erwiesen worden, und ihr beyde H.r Vorsteher H. Jacob Dufay und H. Joh. Thomas v Stockum in seinem Nahmen erschienen, wurden dieselben befragt, ob ihr Colomb frei sey?

Nein, er stünde noch würklich zu Manheim in Diensten, und brauche seiner hiherokunfft nur auf das [...] Decret daß er ihn Schutz erhalten habe.

Wo er her seye?

Laut producirtemn Extrais Taufregister von H. Pfarrer Jordan zu Offenbach, seye er daselbst den 15t Febr. 1723 gebohren.

Was für Religion?

Erkenntlich reformirt

Ob er [...] sey und Kinder habe?

Ja er habe sich laut producirten Copulations [...] den 12.t Jan. 1751 mit Madeleine Ozias von Dürmenz copulirn lassen, habe ein Kind.

Was seine Ehefrau über Religion sage?

Vernünftlich auch reformirt.

Was er im Vermögen habe?

An Capitalien nichts, an Mobilien mögte er [...] seines Standes gemäß eingenirt seyn, haften dahero gehorsamst ihn in dabey [...] 6 pro anno zu inscribiren, welcher [...] er jederzeit ordentlich abführen würde.²⁶

²⁵ Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 157: Livre des Copiez Lettres començant le 11 a Jüllet l'an a nostre salut 1640, fol. 72r.

²⁶ Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, Ratssupplikationen 1.752, vol. 3, pp. 134–135.

The fulfillment of the city norms can be also seen in the fact that the community adhered to the local laws and prohibitions, as in the case of the prohibition to attend masked balls in 1747.²⁷

Even if the announcement of the prohibition to attend masked balls was made during a service, such strictness with laws and norms concerned the outer appearance of the community and were not necessarily employed for its inner purposes. As can be shown with the example of the employment of new psalters in 1714 and 1731, the introduction of new versions was not supposed to have resulted in any controversies that could damage the reputation of the community.²⁸ Instead, every member was allowed to use the texts and tunes which he preferred,²⁹ even if the consistory desired uniformity:

1731 Octobre 9.e La Compagnie ayant pris en deliberation la resolution qui avoit été prise le 14 may 1728 : de se servir des Liturgies qui ont été en dernier Lieu revue et corrigée a Geneve ce qi na pas encore été

²⁷ 'Du vendredi le 3 Fevrier 1747 [...] / Exhortation touchant les bals Masquez. Comme il nous étoit revenu que le V. Magistrat de cette ville avoit fait publier en Chaire un décret portant déffense à tous Bourgeois ou habitants sous La protection, de s'abstenir de fréquenter les bals Masquez : La Compagnie, quoiqu'on ne lui ait pas signifié ce décret, a trouvé cependant à propos de faire adresser, Dimanche dernier, par un des pasteurs de cette Eglise, une exhortation sur ce sujet aux Membres de cette Eglise assemblez à Bockenheim'. Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 32: Protokolle der französisch-reformierten Gemeinde, ab 1710, fol. 185v.

²⁸ 'A 1714 fevrier 16 le grand Consistoire s'assembla auoiurdhuy & resulut unanimement le changement des Psaumes pour la nouvelle Version en donnant la Commission à 5 deputés pour Examiner celle qui sont Retouché à Geneve & en Hollande, pour choisir les meilleures comme cella se peut voir emplement dans le Protocol ordinaire [...] 7bre... 7e... [1714] Vedredi il a esté Rezollu Davertir dimanche prochain qu'on Commencera a Chanter Les Nouveaux pseaumes de geneve le premier Jour de lan 1715 afin que chacun aye le temps de se pouvoir.' Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 27: Pro-Memoria-Aufzeichnungen des Presbyteriums über seine Handlungen, pp. 19–20.

²⁹ 'Nous esperons de la benediction du seigneur que ce changement qui n'a été entrepris que pour la plus grande edification de ce troupeau, produira un bon effet, et quil contribuera efficacement a nourrir la pieté de ceux qui le composents a l'exemple de beaucoup d'autres eglises qui l'en sont toutafait bien trouvées que s'il y a quelques particuliers aqui ce changement fasse de la peine, il leur sera libre de se servir des pseaumes de la vielle version jusqu'à ce qu'ils iegent apropos de prendre ceux de la nouvelle.' Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 32: Protokolle der französisch-reformierten Gemeinde, ab 1710, 'Resolution touchant le changement de pseaumes' (5 october 1714), pp. 39–40.

executé par raport a La Liturgie de la S.te Cene parce qu'on na pas trouvé d'occasion a Lafaire imprimer a La suite de quelques Pseaumes, il a été resolu qu'on pourroit faire imprimer a part La ditte Liturgie avec lesautre priere Ecclesiastique et des cantiques pour de jours de solennité, mais qu'il estoit a propos de consulter auparavant le principaux chefs de famille de nôtre Eglise pour avoir leur sentimens ce que les S.r Matthieu et Eynard Pasteurs se sont chargé de faire de La part de la Compagn. N'ayant pas été trouvé a propos d'assembler le grand Consistoire afin d'éviter L'eclat dans les circonstances ou L'on se trouve.³⁰

The new version, probably *Les Psaumes de David, mis en Vers François, Revus & approuvez par le Synode Walon des Provinces-Unies. Nouvelle Edition. A Amsterdam, chez Zacharie Chatelain, Pierre Mortier. A la Haye, chez P. Gosse et J. Neaulme. M.DCC.XXX*, of which a copy remains in the archives of the Frankfurt community, shows David with his harp, sword and helm. The latter two have been placed on the ground while David is playing his harp.³¹ Against this symbol of a common Huguenot identity shaped by faith in god against the many religious wars and *refuges* that the ancestors had faced, the administrative treatment of the psalter in Frankfurt shows a relative pragmatism. The colony oriented their liturgies on Geneva, one of the Huguenots' centers, but at the same time modifications and the adaptation of religious practices to new contexts and times were allowed. While the function of the cantor was taken by persons of the Frankfurt region, knowledge of the French language was increasingly put forward in order to maintain the status of Huguenot refugees.

BÜTZOW

The case of Bützow shows the inverse process: not that of an already established structure which received Huguenot migrants, but the attraction of French Huguenots to the duchy of Mecklenburg in view of economic prosperity. When

³⁰ Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 39: Registre du Protocole du Consistoire Commençant avec l'Année 1701, fol. 54v.

³¹ Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde, 144: Psalter, Gebetsformeln und Liturgie der Französisch-Reformierten Kirche.

the duke published new privileges for the settlement of a second Huguenot colony in 1703, he allocated a room in the castle of Bützow to the community for their protestant services.³² The French had to share this room with the first Huguenot community, with which they went on a journey to collect money for a new church in 1749 and 1761–1763.³³ The privileges were advantageous in many ways and the colony constantly tended to enlarge them: Since during the first years the French profited from the already employed cantor of the first French colony,³⁴ they participated in the demands for a stable income and free housing which were issued in 1735.³⁵ In a letter dated 9 January 1737, the pastor Jean de Convenent evoked the privileges of Brandenburg and Prussia as a model for the Mecklenburg government.³⁶

The fact that since the beginning of the eighteenth century colonies of French Huguenots became more and more acculturated to the German reformed

³² 'Wie dann so lange die Colonie nicht in dem Stande, daß sie eine Kirche bauen könne/ der grosse Saal auff dem Schloß zu Bützau verwilliget werden soll/ in welchen die andere Franzosen so jetzo in Bützau sind ihren Gottesdienst halten/ wann aber die Colonie dergestalt mit der Zeit zunimmt und in den Stand kompt/ daß eine Kirche von Ihr erbauet werden könne/ So gestatten Wir darzu von nun an die Freyheit/ und wollen einen Platz darzu anweisen lassen', *Declaration de son Altesse serenissime, le Duc Regnant de Mecquelbourg, contenant les conditions favorables, ques a dite altesse accorde à la seconde colonie, des françois refugiés protestans, que s'établiront à Buzau. Beschreibung der favorablen Conditionen, des zu Mecklenburg/Schwerin und Güstrow regierenden Herren Herzogs/ Hoch-Fürstl. Durchl. denen zu einer zweyten Colonie in Bützau sich angehenden Französischen Reformirten Flüchtlingen gnädigst accordiret/* Anno 1703, d. 24. Septembris, Rostock/ Druckts Jo. Weppling/ Hochst. und der Acad. Typ, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.12-3/4-1: Kirchen und Schulen – Generalia, 1761.

³³ Letter by Jean de Convenent, 24 January 1774, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.22-10/3: Domanialamt Bützow-Rühn.

³⁴ 'Was den Cantor anlanget/ so ist albereit einer in Bützau/ welcher den Dienst zugleich bey der neuen Colonie zu verwalten hat.' *Declaration de son Altesse serenissime, le Duc Regnant de Mecquelbourg, contenant les conditions favorables, ques a dite altesse accorde à la seconde colonie, des françois refugiés protestans, que s'établiront à Buzau. Beschreibung der favorablen Conditionen, des zu Mecklenburg/Schwerin und Güstrow regierenden Herren Herzogs/ Hoch-Fürstl. Durchl. denen zu einer zweyten Colonie in Bützau sich angehenden Französischen Reformirten Flüchtlingen gnädigst accordiret/* Anno 1703, d. 24. Septembris, Rostock/ Druckts Jo. Weppling/ Hochst. und der Acad. Typ, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.12-3/4-1: Kirchen und Schulen – Generalia, 1761.

³⁵ Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.12-3/4-1 Kirchen und Schulen – Generalia. A first attempt to secure a regular salary for the cantor had been undertaken in 1708, before the settlement of the second French colony.

³⁶ Letter by Jean de Convenent, dated 9 January 1737, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.12-3/4-1 Kirchen und Schulen, Generalia 1767.

religion, schooling and administration seemingly facilitated a mobility primarily oriented towards financial advantages. Just one year after a first raise in his salary, the cantor Anthoine Causse, who had arrived from Berlin, attempted to secure another increase by claiming that he had received a good job offer from Szczecin. With this, he hoped to be retained in Mecklenburg on a bigger salary. In addition to the job offer, the pastor de Covenant highlighted Causse's German language skills which he considered useful for 'la Nation Allemande'.³⁷ After many letters of solicitation, Causse obtained a salary increase, but it seems that he did not subsequently discharge his services properly. In 1739/1740 the community complained that the cantor was not carrying out all his duties, such as, for example, contacting the pastor to find out which psalm would be used in the next service. This is why the community dismissed Causse and employed Jordan, the son of the founder of the second French Colony in Bützow, declaring that they had told Causse to instead accept the job offer from Szczecin.³⁸

During the affair, the consistory produced a document summarizing the duties of the French cantor which covered his roles as assistant during the services, as *concierge* and as schoolmaster. Regarding music, this document reveals the rituality of the musical parts which are less appreciated for their variation or religious content than for their duration or time span.³⁹ For

³⁷ 'Le très humble suppliant Jean de Covenant Pasteur de l'Eglise françoise de Butzaw, represente avec un très profond Respect à Vòtre Altesse Serenissime, que le Sieur Causse nôtre Chantre lui ayant été offert une vocation très avantageuse à Stettin, et ne voulant pas l'accepter si la ditte Colonie peut lui augmenter ses gages, qui ne sont pas suffisant pour son entretien, et celui de sa famille.' Letter by Jean de Covenant (second colony), dated October 1737, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.12-3/4-1 Kirchen und Schulen – Generalia, 1762.

³⁸ Letters by Jean de Covenant, dated 13 December 1739, 22 February 1740 and 31 March 1740; Note, dated 18 March 1740, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.12-3/4-1 Kirchen und Schulen – Generalia, 1762.

³⁹ 'Premièrement, à légard de la Charge de chantre apres avoir invoqué le secour de Dieu, il lira un Chapitre entier ou deux, s'il est Necessaire, et fera en suite Chanter un psaume en tier, qui naura point de pause, et ou il ni aura pas au de la de quatre versets. Ou une partie d'un psaume qui a des pauses. Sy le psaume, ou la partie en tière d'un psaume, se trouve avoir, plus de quatre versets, il pourra omettre les versets suivans: L'arivée du pasteur a l'Eglise ne derogera point a parachevement du Chapitre ou du psaume, qu'il aura commancé avant le dit pasteur arivat dans l'Eglize ; de sorte, qu'il finira, ce quil aura acommancé a set égard.' *Extrait vidimé du Reglement touchant les fonctions du Chantre de la Colonie françoise de Butzau Et de ses autres Charges, dressé par la vif du Consistoire de l'Eglise du dit Lieu*, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.12-3/4-1 Kirchen und Schulen – Generalia, 1768.

example, the cantor had to fill in the time until the pastor arrived at service by a lecture and by singing up to four verses of a chant. As for the teaching activities, the musical aspect seemed to be restricted to the initiation of the French pupils to the psalter: '[...] il leur fera aussj apprendre le petit Catéchime; Et aura soin que les grand aprenent celui du Pasteur et avant de les Congedier il leur fera Chanter e matin et le soir autan de versets dun psaume quil luj plaira.'⁴⁰

In summary, the cantors of Bützow seemed to aim at first for a stable income which would foster a stable settlement. Musical duties were fulfilled corresponding to overall regulations and general rituals. Since in the rural context of Bützow the transregional networks were often mobilized to strengthen one's own position, the common Huguenot identity served as a pragmatic point of reference and also assisted in the competition with German-Reformed communities for the assignment of financial support for the stability of the incomes of the pastor and cantor. In this rural environment where French colonies were at least partly supported by the local court, music played a minor role for example in comparison with the cantors' language skills which, since the second half of the eighteenth century, had to cover both French and German.

GLÜCKSTADT

The city of Glückstadt is maybe the most succinct example of the tensions and also of the varied geographic horizons that characterized the Huguenot nation and its mobility during the eighteenth century. Glückstadt was founded in 1617 by the Danish King Christian IV to outmatch Hamburg. To foster settlement in the new town, the Danish Crown guaranteed religious freedom and tax relief. In 1718, Frederic IV published new privileges which accentuated the cultural dimension of the city with an initial decorated with a tree and

⁴⁰ *Extrait vidimé du Reglement touchant les fonctions du Chantre de la Colonie françoise de Butzau Et de ses autres Charges, dressé par la vif du Consistoire de l'Eglise du dit Lieu*, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.12-3/4-1 Kirchen und Schulen – Generalia, 1768.

a lute.⁴¹ The very need of the not very prosperous city for new inhabitants pushed a former Danish consul of Bordeaux, Consul Leers, to found a French colony in Glückstadt at the beginning of the 1760s.⁴² Since November 1761, the chancellor of Holstein, Friedrich von Eyben, had begun to ask the king for new privileges, including a stable salary for the cantor Gardiol, who had arrived with other families from Bützow in January 1762.⁴³ According to von Eyben, Gardiol had left Bützow due to the fact that the duke had intended that the castle which was used as a church room by the French colony would become the seat of the new founded university.⁴⁴ For the new Glückstadt colony, Friedrich von Eyben continued to request the establishment of the same privileges that the incoming French families had enjoyed in Bützow.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Königliches allergnädigstes Privilegium für die/der Reformirten Religion zu=gethane/ so wol Deutsch= und Französischer/ als auch Engell= und Holländischer Nationen, welche sich etwa alhie in Glückstadt zu setzen und häufiglich nieder zulassen resolviren möchten. Wie dann auch Allergnädigste Confirmation und Prolongation derer bereits vorhin ertheilten Privilegien annoch auff 20 Jahre. Glückstadt/ gedruckt in der Königl. privileg. Buchdruckerei, 1718, in: State Archives Schleswig, Abt. 65.2 Nr. 3390 Hugenotten.

⁴² Extrait d'une lettre de Mr Leers Ancien Consul du Roi de Dannemarc à Bordeaux, écrite de Glückstadt le 15er Mai 1761, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten. Leers points to the privileges of Berlin as a model for establishing a native French speaking cantor. At the same time, an exchange of letters started between Leers and Gardiol.

⁴³ 'Dahingegen ist der Cantor Gardiol von Bützow zu Glückstadt angekommen, und hat schon einige mahle in Gegenwart der daselbst sich sammelnden annoch kleinen Gemeine in dem Hause des Consul Leers den Gottes=dienst besorget.' Letter by the chancellor Friedrich von Eyben, 5 March 1762, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten. 'J'arrivois ici le 20 Janvier de l'année courante'. Letter by Gardiol, dated 3 December 1762, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁴⁴ 'Sie haben sich bishero zu Bützow aufgehalten, sind auch noch daselbst, wollen aber, weil des Herrn Hertzogs zu Mecklenburg-Schwerin Durchl. ihnen den auf dem Schloß daselbst zu ihrem Gottesdienst destiniert gewesenen Ort nicht weiter lassen wollen, sondern solchen zu der nun angelegten Universität gezogen haben sich von dannen weg und in ein anderes Land begeben.' Letter by Friedrich von Eyben, dated 17 November 1761, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁴⁵ Letter by Friedrich von Eyben, dated 24 November 1761, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten. In summer 1761, von Eyben attached copies of the Glückstadt privileges of 1718 and of the Mecklenburg privileges, issued by Friedrich Wilhelm in August 1689. While the Danish King tried to attract Reformed Christians of various 'nations' ('que tous ceux de la Religion Reformée, de quelle Nation qu'ils puissent être, Allemands, Anglois, François & des Pays-Bas'), the duke of Mecklenburg stressed the good geographical position of Bützow: 'Butzow, qui est une ville située au milieu du País voisine de Lubeck, Hambourg, Rostock et Wismar, et de la mer baltique d'où l'on peut facilement négocier en DAnnemarc et en Suède, comme aussi en Prusse, Livonie, Curlande & & ...'.

In the meantime, Consul Leers tried to arrange the details for the successful establishment of the colony. He was in permanent contact with the chancellor von Eyben and wrote paradigmatic dialogues like the one entitled ‘Entretien, entre un ancien Zélé et bon Patriote Dannois avec un Bourgeois habitant de la ville de Glückstadt à Glückstadt’ to the German chancellor of Copenhagen, Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernstorff. In these dialogues Leers stressed the transregional importance of the Huguenot migration, his European contacts, the economic prosperity which a French colony would bring to Glückstadt and above all his religious zeal.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it seems as if neither Leers nor the first appointed pastor La Vigne enjoyed a perfect reputation in Copenhagen or Berlin where Jean Henri Samuel Formey doubted La Vigne’s competence as a religious person.⁴⁷ This is probably why, since December 1762, Gardiol took on the task of attracting more families from Bützow in order to enlarge the new Glückstadt colony, even if at that time the new privileges and thus the salary for the cantor as well had not yet been assigned by the Danish King.⁴⁸ All in all, Gardiol seemed to have opted for the same pragmatism which the families he was bringing with him from Bützow displayed: Many of them reached Hamburg, but having been informed about the lack of privileges, they went elsewhere or returned to Bützow.⁴⁹

The French services were due to be organized in the church of the German-Reformed community where the French also seem to have asked for access to the organ. This is documented in a letter by Consul Leers to the chancellor von Bernstorff in Copenhagen in which he reported the conditions for the establishment of new privileges:

⁴⁶ Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten. The letters are written around May and June 1761.

⁴⁷ Letters by Consul Leers, dated 1 January 1762 and 30 November 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten. Jens Häselser lists some letters by La Vigne, Mrs von Eyben, von Bernstorff, Gardiol and Leers who are kept within the Fonds Formey at the State Library Berlin, cf. Jens Häselser (ed.), *La Correspondance de Jean Henri Samuel Formey (1711-1797): inventaire alphabétique*, Paris: Champion, 2003, pp. 82, 162, 183, 255 and 260.

⁴⁸ Letter by Gardiol, dated 3 December 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten. In this letter from Glückstadt Gardiol asked for the reimbursement of travel expenses for the Bützow families who were willing to settle in Glückstadt.

⁴⁹ Letter by Friedrich von Eyben, dated 29 December 1761, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

Que l'Église allemande Réformé laissera paisiblement jouir les François de s'assembler, quand bon Leur semblera, pour y faire Leur exercice Divin, on Leur donnera une Clef de l'Eglise, et ils auront La disposition des Orgues, et afin de prevenir tout debat on faire visiter Les orgues, par un ou deux Expert, affin que lon puisse juger dans quel état Elles sont, quand les française auront eû La Liberter de s'en servir, et les auront remises, Pour que entout cas, cy Les français vissent à battre une Eglise poureux.⁵⁰

Just a few days before, on 11 August 1762, von Eyben had reported to the Danish court that the French Pastor La Vigne had already given his first service with a *Te Deum Laudamus*, accompanied by trumpets and timpani.

[...] und nur noch anfügen, wie jetzt genannter Consul nach seiner filfertigkeit, den 1sten dieses Monaths durch den Geistlichen La vigne in der reformirten Kirche zu Glückstadt gleichsam eine Antritts-Predigt, mit welcher man überhaupt sehr vergnügt gewesen, halten, und das Te Deum Laudamus unter Trompeten und Paucken-Schall singen lassen.⁵¹

Along with other religious and literary means, the Danish Consul seems to have used an opulent music to foster the establishment of the French colony. This was probably why the cantor Gardiol decided to return to Glückstadt a second time. In September 1762, when the establishment of the colony stagnated and La Vigne had already left Glückstadt for Hamburg, Gardiol was passing through Hamburg on his way back to the new colony.⁵² His frequent comings and goings between Bützow, Glückstadt, and Plön (where he appeared in person before von Bernstorff to advocate in favor of the new

⁵⁰ Letter by Consul Leers, dated 29 October 1762; 'Articles du Sieur Leers', 24 August 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁵¹ Letter by Friedrich von Eyben, dated 11 August 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁵² 'Inzwischen habe ich daraus erfahren, wie der vor die [...] Colonie bestimmte französische Geistliche, La vigne, sich von Glückstadt weg und nach Hamburg begeben habe; indem er aus Mangel einer höchst-benöthigten Unterstützung daselbst nicht länger subsistiren, da Hr. Consul Leers ihn auch mit den seinigen nicht weiter unter die Arme greiffen können; dagegen der Cantor und Schulmeister Gardiol sich wiederum dortenhin begeben will, und schon zu Hamburg angelangt ist.' Letter by Friedrich von Eyben, dated 17 September 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

French colony in Glückstadt)⁵³ seem to have been motivated by his aim to attract more French settlers and also to secure more regional contacts: As for the duties of a schoolmaster Gardiol, had seen the much bigger opportunities offered in Hamburg right from the start:

Ce qui me surprend beaucoup c'est que vôtre Chantre, ne veut pas tenir école, c'est pourtant une chose fort necessaire, et dont le chantre, est obligé car sans quoi les enfans des Reformés, seroient obligés d'aller aux Ecoles Lutherinennes ce qui feroit beaucoup de tort à cette Colonie qui ne fait que de commance à s'établir, et je trouve que Monsieur le Pasteur Bride, fait fort bien, de le forcer à tenir l'Ecole comme cela se pratique dans tous le Brandebourg, aussi bien qu'ici, le matin depuis 8 heures jusqu'à onze, et l'après-midi depuis une heure, jusqu'à quatre, excepté le mercredi et le samedi après midi, que le Chantre a pour lui, après l'Ecole fini le Chantre peut donner des leçons, mais il ne faut pas que l'Ecole soit négligée, je veut bien croire que vôtre Chantre ne voudra pas se soumettre à l'Ecole, sur tout s'il est assuré qu'il puisse gagner à Hambourg sa vie aussi largement qu'à Glückstadt.⁵⁴

Indeed, since Gardiol was not constantly present in Glückstadt, some members of the French colony turned to the teacher of the German-Reformed community, Mr Hupais who apparently was a native French speaker.⁵⁵ Later on, Leers named Hupais as one of the persons who had impeded the French to settle in Glückstadt.⁵⁶

⁵³ Letter by Gardiol, dated 3 December 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁵⁴ Letter by Gardiol, dated 22 April 1761, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁵⁵ '4) Qu'il nous soit permis d'envoyer nos Enfans à l'Ecole chez Monsieur Hupais. Chantre de l'Eglise reformée allemande, qui entend les deux langues, pour y être instruits dans le Christianisme, dans la lecture et l'écriture des deux langues, à quoi le dit Chantre Se pretera volontiers, moiennant une recompense annuelle. On pourroit employer, Si Sa Majesté le trouve à propos les 100 ecus destinés au Chantre françois pour recompenser les peines de Mr. Le Pasteur Merle et de Mons. Hupais.' Letter by some members of the Glückstadt French colony, dated 15 March 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁵⁶ 'Et comme je nai pas encore receû le reglement, quil faut et que aussi M.r le Pasteur allemand Mr. Bride avec son chantre qui est françai le nommé hûpaj, font tout ce quils peuvent pour empecher létablissement de la Colonne française [...]'. Letter by Consul Leers, dated 22 June 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten. On 5 March 1762, the German-Reformed pastor Bride had expressed his

As we have already seen in Frankfurt, the musical activities of French Huguenots during the eighteenth century were closely connected to both the administrative and confessional justifications within the process of integration into the new local urban and regional life. Since Frederic IV did not renew the old privileges for a long time, Leers pointed to the European range of the French Huguenots' migration. Moreover, he claimed that 'je prend tout Glückstadt pour témoin', for his good intentions⁵⁷ were audible in the sumptuous services he organized. In the end, the members of the French colony abandoned Glückstadt, trying to settle in nearby Altona or returning to Bützow in Mecklenburg. Half a year before the dissolution of the colony in March 1763,⁵⁸ Leers and La Vigne had planned a collection for the construction of a French-Reformed church in Glückstadt.⁵⁹ All in all, the idea of Glückstadt as a 'town of exiles' and as fertile ground for a settlement of French Huguenots existed alongside the fact of different kinds of mobility and itinerary which were only loosely tied to a collective Huguenot identity shaped by the use of the French language and the religious zeal within a reformed Protestantism. In parallel, such an identity seems to have been employed only at a very official level when corresponding with the governmental powers in Copenhagen. At a lower level, the cantors took the same opportunities for obtaining financial prosperity like the pastors or other members of the colony.

The relatively hybrid relations between Huguenots, German-Reformed Christians and the local as well as the transregional authorities can be further shown through the example of the planned organization of a *Te Deum Laudamus* with drums and trumpets by Consul Leers in Glückstadt. Since the foundation of the city, musical life had been characterized on the one hand by local town

will to take over the services for the French-Reformed community, by assuring additional help from the Reformed community of Altona as well. Letter by Bride, dated 5 March 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁵⁷ Letter by Consul Leers, dated 1 January 1672, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁵⁸ This is when Leers announced his intention to sell his house in the local press. Glückstädtische Fortuna, Mittwoch, den 30ten März 1763, in: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

⁵⁹ Letter by Consul Leers, dated 24 July 1762, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, 3390 Hugenotten.

musicians and on the other hand by the stationed military musicians who frequently changed. These presences intermingled so that the organizational and musical harmonization of music making turned out to be a central issue within the musical life of the town. Already in 1642, the royal printer Koch published a *Harmonia Psalmorum Davidicorum* [...] *Das ist: Geistliche Ubereinstimmung/ der Davids Psalmen und etzlicher herrlicher Sprüchel/ mit den gewöhnlichen Sontags Episteln und Evangelien/ auff die gemeine Lutherische Melodeyen/ in höchster Trübsal und Exilio von Johanne Balkenio gestellet* in Glückstadt. Balkenius probably lived in Cranenburg, a little settlement on the other side of the river Elbe where he was known to be a refugee. In the foreword, he underlined the fate of persecution and constant mobility as the background as well of the future users of his publication.⁶⁰

The aspiration for the harmonious appearance of new formed communities within a still developing urban life was crucial as well for the musical life of the eighteenth century. During the whole eighteenth century, the Glückstadt town musicians complained about the military oboists who performed at many weddings and other festive gatherings, transgressing the town musicians' privileges.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the military musicians were frequently employed in larger ensembles like in a Christmas cantata by Georg Baltzer Bertram of 1712.⁶² In 1736, the pastor Johann Andreas Böckelmann asked for an organist to be able to assure the harmonious singing of chants during the services. He complained that the soldiers coming from 'different nations' were not able to sing the same melody, a problem that could not be easily solved by the cantor and his pupils.⁶³ Subsequently, the organist of the

⁶⁰ 'Und du werthe Christenheit/ die du leydest groß Hertzelenndt/ und mit Thränen seest/ sonderlich ihr lang Gefängene/ lang Krancke/ lang Schifffarende/ auch die ihr Lust habt/ in Frewd und Trübsal die heiligen Tage/ nach verlesung der Postillen/ feyerlich zuverbringen/ Euch sol diß Werck auch Christlich demütig und einfältig/ beneben meinem Herzlichen Gebete verehret seyn. Gegeben zu Cranenburg am Tage Johannis Baptistae Anno 1642', p. VIII, in: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, M: Lo 234.

⁶¹ For a general overview on the relations between town musicians and military musicians see Mirko SOLL, *Verrechtlichte Musik: Die Stadtmusikanten der Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein. Eine Untersuchung aufgrund archivalischer Quellen*, Münster, 2006, (Kieler Studien zur Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte 5), pp. 343–373.

⁶² *Weynachts-Freude, in der Stadt und Schloß-Gemeine zu Glückstadt Vormittags Musicalisch vorgestellt durch Georg Baltzer Bertram. Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1712.*

⁶³ Letter by the pastor Johann Andreas Böckelmann, 27 July 1736, in: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 65.2, Nr. 3389¹.

Glückstadt town church was ordered to assure the accompaniment of the services in the German-Reformed church, too.⁶⁴ Consequently, the musical life of Glückstadt was deeply characterized by the mobility and migrations of musicians which fostered not only negative but also positive developments for the local musicians regarding financial income and artistic performances. In this context, it was probably very common that a *Te Deum Laudamus* was accompanied by military musicians stationed in Glückstadt and that it was accepted as a suitable arrangement for a reformed protestant service.

CONCLUSIONS

So what about the Huguenot nation, their networks and their cultural transfer? As an answer, three points may be stressed on the basis of the comparative study of French cantors in the three cities of Frankfurt, Bützow and Glückstadt.

~ The scenarios of the establishment of French Huguenots in a certain place could vary importantly according to the administrative structures and economic aims of the locality. In any case, the adaptation to local conditions and the use of local musical personnel seems to have been a central practice. Very frequently, due to governmental regulations, the Huguenots shared a cantor with the local German-Reformed communities.

~ At the same time, the Huguenots mobilized transregional networks and horizons during their local integration. These networks were important for the collection of money for a new church, for the securing of the best living conditions and privileges, and for the gain of local trust. When the mobilization of transregional contacts failed, music comes to the fore as a means of demonstrating religious zeal.

~ In a similar way, music seems to have played a very pragmatic role, be it as a profession of the cantors who tried to profit from new privileges, or as

⁶⁴ Arnfried EDLER, *Der nordelbische Organist. Studien zu Sozialstatus, Funktion und kompositorischer Produktion eines Musikerberufes von der Reformation bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982, (Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 23), p. 110. Edler describes the need for harmonious singing as the reason for the simplification of organ playing during protestant services (p. 192).

a ritual for the community and its harmonious image within a city. In this regard, for French Huguenots during the eighteenth century, music was more a means of the process of broader cultural adaptation encompassing religion, language and administrative structure, than an object of transfer itself.

Against the background of these three points, we obviously get a more precise idea of the term 'nation', which was not yet a coherent term in the historical Huguenot context, but which might serve as a very fluent description of different cultural and social situations. Even if in this study we do not have a concrete knowledge of the music itself, it can be stated that it had a very pragmatic function in relation to its immediate contexts, and that music was not always aligned with ideal notions of a closed community, even in the case of the French Huguenots. The comparison of the musical practices of French Huguenots and local town musicians in Glückstadt has shown that the encounters between the two groups were frequent and aligned to the general conditions and contexts of the city. In this regard, music fostered encounters which were fruitful for the process of the negotiation of cultural and social status and thus also for mobility and settlement.

In the end, a historical process can also be recognized in my study: The fact that music gained an increasing relevance in the processes of integration in the eighteenth century (from spiritual song to a whole *Te Deum Laudamus*, from a cantor with pupils to an organist) might point at a stronger desire for aesthetic or cultural expression alongside the Pan-European network and expanded horizon, even in little towns like Glückstadt. This development might be related to the different forms of cultural or confessional justification which was frequently demanded from the Huguenots during their migrations, leading to a more and more acculturated and thus maybe even more and more dissolved community. While the French language served as a distinguishing mark of identity for the community, music – be it in the form of an accompaniment by the local trumpeters and drummers, or via the interdiction to attend masked balls – was used to demonstrate one's attachment to and role in the new city.

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*Christoph August von Wackerbarth (1662–1734)
and His ‘Cammer-Musique’**

Today, Count Christoph August von Wackerbarth (1662–1734) appears to be a person almost completely forgotten by historians and musicologists. In the first three decades of the eighteenth century, however, he was one of the most influential figures in Saxon and Polish politics. He was regarded as a talented general and a capable diplomat. He served as governor of Dresden with success, and he was one of the leading cabinet ministers in the Saxon Privy Council during the reign of Elector Frederick Augustus I (King Augustus II of Poland). From 1730 onwards he commanded the Saxon army as a field marshal. The high point of military glory in his career came in 1715, when he led a combined Saxon-Polish-Prussian-Hanoverian force to capture Stralsund after defeating Swedish troops under the command of Charles XII.¹

Wackerbarth was part of a small group of men whose opinions Augustus II held in the highest regard. The king’s confidence in Wackerbarth was not limited to military and diplomatic matters. He was also a trusted adviser on artistic matters. Among other things, Wackerbarth was at one point in charge of making key decisions on art purchases for the royal painting collection, and he supervised many major architectural projects on behalf of the Saxon court. Finally, he coordinated one of the most significant musical projects in Dresden’s history: the production of Antonio Lotti’s opera *Teofane* (with a libretto by Stefano Benedetto Pallavicino), which premiered

* For advice and friendly discussion of some of the sources referred to in this article I am grateful to Jóhannes Ágústsson in Reykjavik (Iceland), Ortrun Landmann and Gerhard Poppe in Dresden (Germany).

¹ Michael HARTWIG, ‘General Graf v. Wackerbarth und die Belagerung Stralsunds im Jahre 1715’, *Großenheiner Stadt- und Landkalender. Heimatkalender für die Großenhainer Pflege* 16 (2012), pp. 47–51.

on 13 September 1719 to form an artistic centrepiece in the month-long celebrations and festivities that accompanied the wedding of Crown Prince Frederick Augustus (the future Augustus III) and Archduchess Maria Josepha (daughter of Emperor Joseph I).² A high-ranking court official, Wackerbarth was accordingly a wealthy man. He owned several beautiful palaces in Dresden itself as well as several large residences at Großsedlitz, Radebeul and Zabeltitz near the city.

Most of what is known today about Wackerbarth's life and activities comes from a book written by one Frigander, published in 1738 (*Leben und Thaten des Welt-berühmten Königl. Pohln. und Chur-Fürstl. Sächsischen General-Feld-Marschalls, Geheimbden Cabinets- und Staats-Ministri [...] August Christophs des Heil. Röm. Reichs Grafens von Wackerbarth*), and from the long encyclopaedia entry for *Wackerbarth, August Christoph* in the famous *Universal-Lexicon* by Johann Heinrich Zedler. No other significant large-scale studies on Wackerbarth have appeared since.³

Augustus II regarded Wackerbarth as one of the most gifted diplomats in his entourage, and it was to Wackerbarth and to another reliable minister,

² For more information on the subject see Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Fryderyk August i zespół opery włoskiej Antonia Lottiego (1717-1720)' [Frederick Augustus and the Italian opera ensemble of Antonio Lotti (1717-1720)], in: EAD, *Muzyczne podróże królewiczów polskich* [The musical journeys of Polish crown princes], Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1992, pp. 37–39. At the time of going to press the author of this article is working on another article that explores Wackerbarth's role in that project in detail.

³ FRIGANDER, *Leben und Thaten des Welt-berühmten Königl. Pohln. und Chur-Fürstl. Sächsischen General-Feld-Marschalls, Geheimbden Cabinets- und Staats-Ministri, würcklichen geheimbden Raths, Gouverneurs der Resindenz Dresden und Neustadt, Ober-Commendantens derer Vestungen, Königstein, Sonnenstein und Stolpen, auch Ritters des Pohlnischen weissen Adler-Ordens, ec. August Christophs des Heil. Röm. Reichs Grafens von Wackerbarth*, Dresden: Michael Gottl. Gießbach 1738. Frigander is probably a *nom de plume*, but the identity of the author remains unknown. Cf. also: 'Wackerbarth, August Christoph, des H. R. Reichs Graf von', in: *Zedlers großes vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 52, Leipzig-Halle: Verlegt Johann Heinrich Zedler 1747, cols. 371-382; 'Wackerbarth, August Christoph Graf v. W.', in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie*, ed. Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron, vol. 40, Leipzig: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1896, pp. 449–451; Carl NIEDNER, 'Der sächsische Kabinettsminister Graf August Christoph von Wackerbarth (†1734) und die Königliche Gemäldegalerie in Dresden', *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 31 (1910), pp. 86–99.

Marshal Jacob Heinrich von Flemming, that the king entrusted the most complex diplomatic missions at the Prussian court in Berlin and at the imperial court in Vienna. On many occasions Wackerbarth spent long periods of time in Vienna serving as the ambassador of Saxony and Poland to the imperial court. In 1717–18, he was in charge of negotiating a political settlement designed to safeguard Augustus II's rule in Saxony and Poland, and to avert the threat of territorial ambitions in Poland on the part of Russia and Prussia. As a surety for that agreement with Emperor Charles VI, Augustus II agreed to marry his son, Crown Prince Frederick Augustus, to one of the Emperor's nieces, Maria Josepha, daughter of Emperor Joseph I, who had died in 1711. On that occasion, Dresden also trusted Wackerbarth with the task of negotiating the terms and conditions of the nuptial agreement. He was aided in that role by other Saxon diplomats including his stepson, Count Joseph Anton Gabaleon Wackerbarth-Salmour, as well as the cabinet minister Count Pietro Taparelli Lagnasco (an Italian in the Saxon diplomatic service), and Marshal von Flemming, who replaced Wackerbarth in the closing stages of the negotiations.⁴ On his diplomatic mission to Vienna in 1717–1718, Wackerbarth's entourage also included members of his private music ensemble. In fact, the earliest archival references to Wackerbarth's ensemble known to musicologists date back to his stay in Vienna, a subject which will be explored in more detail in this study.⁵

Crown Prince Frederick Augustus was in Vienna at the same time for the final stage of his long and dramatic European grand tour. He spent 17 months in the city (from 7 October 1717 to 4 March 1719).⁶ Probably the most notable event in the prince's life in that period was the public announcement of his conversion from Lutheranism to Catholicism (11 October 1717), a fact

⁴ Jacek STASZEWSKI, *August III Sas* [Augustus III], Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1989, pp. 84–85.

⁵ The earliest reference to Wackerbarth's musical ensemble in musicological literature appears to have been a general reference made by Herbert SEIFERT in his article 'Zelenka in Wien', in: *Zelenka Studien II. Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (Dresden und Prag 1995)*, ed. Wolfgang Reich, Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1997, p. 185. Seifert's mention of Wackerbarth's ensemble was cited by Janice B. STOCKIGT in her *Jan Dismas Zelenka. A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 50.

⁶ ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, *Muzyczne podróże*, p. 27.



Figure 1. Martin Bernigeroth, *Portrait of Christoph August Graf von Wackerbarth*, Copperplate engraving, Deutsche Fotothek (Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden).

which earlier had been kept in strict secrecy.⁷ Other than that, however, the prince's life in Vienna mostly revolved around the marriage negotiations, and it may have seemed rather monotonous, if not downright boring, compared to the excitements of France and Italy. His attractions in that period included opera performances, occasional visits to the imperial court, and hunting. An incomplete record of the prince's sojourn in Vienna entitled *Journal du séjour (à l'incognito) du Prince Royal Frederic de Saxe a Vienne*, made in an unknown copyist's hand and currently held by the Saxon State Archive in Dresden, makes it possible to reconstruct a reasonably detailed calendar of music events, opera performances and concerts which the heir apparent to the thrones of Poland and Saxony attended in Vienna.⁸ Among other things, the document mentions occasional visits Prince Frederick Augustus paid to Wackerbarth in his quarters in Vienna to play cards and enjoy music performances by the Count's ensemble, as noted in the following entries:

Le 13.^{me} [Novembre 1717]

S.A.R. ne voulut recevoir aucune visite Le matin puisque l'etoit jour de Poste. Le Soir elle fit l'honneur à S.E.M. Le Co: de Wackerbarth d'aller paper la soireé chez lui où il y avoit de La Musique. Le P^{ce} Roysl. fit en suite une partie de Baoziga avec M.^e La Princesse Jaxes Mad.^e La Co:^{se} de Stoatman, Me La Com:^{se} de Hoyos et M^e Le Co: d'Oropesa.⁹

Le 21. [Novembre 1717]

S.A.R. fit l'honneur de passer la soireé chez Mons. Le Comte de Wackerbarth où il fit une partie de Baoziga et il y ent de la Musique.¹⁰

When needed, Wackerbarth would 'loan' his musicians to the Crown Prince, a practice that must have brought certain economies to the count. The Dresden

⁷ Frederick Augustus embraced the Catholic faith in Bologna on 27 November 1712, in the chapel of the papal legate, Cardinal Cassano. See STASZEWSKI, *August III Sas*, pp. 56, 82.

⁸ The Saxon State Archive in Dresden (further as D-Dla), Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 3288/9 *Journal du séjour (à l'incognito) du Prince Royal Frederic de Saxe a Vienne 1717 et 1718*.

⁹ *IBID.*, fol. 7r. All of the sources are transcribed verbatim and preserve the original spelling and punctuation.

¹⁰ *IBID.*, fol. 9r.

court records note a sizeable disbursement of 200 thalers made from the royal coffers (accounts of the crown prince), categorized as expenditure incurred in Vienna to pay Count Wackerbarth's musicians for services rendered in that city.¹¹

It is not yet possible to identify by name any of the musicians who were part of Wackerbarth's ensemble in 1717 and accompanied him to Vienna. Similarly, nothing is known about the repertoire they played during the evening entertainments held for the Crown Prince, and it remains open to conjecture. In any case, given that Frederick Augustus had his own *Cammer-Musique* (as it is called in the archive documents) on hand during the Venetian stage of his grand tour – an ensemble staffed by members of the Dresden *Hof-Kapelle* including Johann Georg Pisendel, Jan Dismas Zelenka, Johann Christian Richter and Christian Pezold and others, who were later joined in Vienna by eleven other musicians sent in from Dresden (including Jean-Baptiste Volumier, Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin, Sylvius Leopold Weiss and others)¹² – the prince's musicians, especially when augmented by members

¹¹ D-Dla, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 763/8 *Des Königlichen Prinzen Herrn Friedrich August, Hoheit, Hoffkassenrechnungen 1719, 1722, 1725, 1734*, fol. 47r: 'Grafen von Wackerbarts, Musicanten so öffters Music gemacht' [Wackerbarth's musicians, who so often played music]; cf. also: SEIFERT, *Zelenka in Wien*, p. 184. Seifert serves erroneous signature of the document as Loc. 763/9.

¹² See MORITZ FÜRSTENAU, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theater sam Hofe zu Dresden*, vol. 2: *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theater am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen. Friedrich August I. (August II.) und Friedrich August II. (August III.)*, Dresden: Verlagsbuchhandlung von Rudolf Kunze 1862 [reprint Hildesheim – New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971], p. 73; cited in: ŻÓRAWKA-WITKOWSKA, *Muzyczne podróże*, p. 27. For the entire list of musicians who were sent to Vienna see: D-Dla, Finanzarchiv 10036, Loc. 39800, Rep. 15, Gen. Nr. 16, *Pässe 1715 – 1719*, the document 'Pass vor Hoff-Musicanten nach Wien' from 23. August 1718 (no page given).

Janice Stockigt and Jóhannes Ágústsson question the possibility that Zelenka and Pezold were in Venice at that time. See Janice B. STOCKIGT and Jóhannes ÁGÚSSON, 'Reflections and recent findings on the life and music of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745)', *Clavibus unitis* 4 (2015), pp. 7–48 (especially p. 12). They base on the following publications by Diana BLICHMANN, *Der Venedig-Aufenthalt Pisendels (1716-1717): Erlebnisse im Gefolge des sächsischen Kurprinzen Friedrich August als Auslöser eines Kulturtransfers von Venedig nach Dresden*, in: *Johann Georg Pisendel — Studien zu Leben und Werk*, eds. Ortrun Landmann, Hans-Günter Ottenberg, Hildesheim: Olms 2010, pp. 1-56; and Paolo RIGOLI: *Il virtuoso in gabbia: Musicisti in quarantena al lazzeretto di Verona (1655-1740)*, in: *Musica, scienza e idee nella Serenissima durante il Seicento*, eds. Francesco Passadore, Francesco Rossi, Venezia: Edizione Fondazione Levi, 1996, p. 146.

of Wackerbarth's ensemble, must have represented a truly considerable performing force. That impressive entourage of genuinely excellent musicians who accompanied the heir to the Polish and Saxon throne (and a potential future Emperor) would have boosted his standing considerably. In this context it is doubly regrettable that so far very little is known about the repertoire of those ensembles, whether they acted in isolation or as a combined force.¹³

A set of letters to Count Lagnasco held by the Saxon State Archive in Dresden, written in somewhat idiosyncratic French by one Pierre Bernard, an Obristlieutenant and quartermaster of the force led by Wackerbarth, suggest that the count's musicians returned to Dresden from Vienna on the morning of 9 December 1718 after more than a year spent abroad:

9 X^{bre}

notre orquest[r]e, ou du moins les mess:rs qui le compose sont arrivé ce matin, jay veu passer trois caleches dessous mes fenestre.¹⁴

Wackerbarth had returned to Dresden earlier, in the autumn of 1718 to assume duties as the city's governor. Frederick Augustus and members of his own *Cammer-Musique* stayed on in Vienna until the spring of 1719.¹⁵

The fact that the Crown Prince himself was willing to rely on the services of Wackerbarth's music ensemble in Vienna seems to imply a solid professional reputation on its part. It is therefore unsurprising that the ensemble also accompanied Christiane Eberhardine, Electress of Saxony and wife of Augustus II, on various occasions in Dresden and on her travels. At least as much can be deduced from Wackerbarth's letter to Count Johann Ehrenreich

¹³ The possible repertoire of the *Cammer-Musique* of the Crown Prince Frederick Augustus during his stay in Vienna in 1717-1719 is discussed by STOCKIGT and ÁGÚSTSSON in 'Reflections and recent findings', especially pp. 14-15. The consensus amongst musicologists in the literature is that Zelenka wrote at least his *Capriccios* for the Frederick Augustus' *Cammer Musique*.

¹⁴ 'Our orchestra or at least the gentlemen who form it, arrived this morning'; D-Dla, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 3584/10 *Letters du Sr. Bernard au C^e de Lagnasco touchant les affaires des Chevaliers Garder et les affaires Domestiques du Comte. Vol. IV. 1717-1720*, fol. 261r.

¹⁵ SEIFERT, *Zelenka in Wien*, p. 183.

Geiersberg (1672–1741), the queen's chamberlain and Oberhofmeister, dated 12 May 1719:

An H. Graffen von Geyersberg.

Dreßden am 12. Mai 1719

Dero geehrtestes vom 11. dieses habe zu recht erhalten und daraus mit mehrern ersehen daß Ihr Mayt. unser Allergnädigste Königin 2. biß 3. von meinen eigenen Musicis ins Carlsbad zu senden allergnädigst vor mir verlangen. Wie mir nun nichts angenehmers sey kan als Ihr Königl. May. meine submisseste Schuldigkeit in allen von meiner Willkühr dependirenden Begebenheiten an den Tag zu legen, so werde, ohngeachtet daß meine Musici zu den zukünfftigen festitæten sich exerciren müssen, nicht alleine 2. biß 3. sondern fünff zu Ihr Königl. May. Diensten ins Carlsbad zu schicken keinen Anstand nehmen.¹⁶

The letter contains Wackerbarth's reply to a request made by Christiane Eberhardine that the count should send her two or three of his musicians to accompany her on a trip to Carlsbad.¹⁷ It is intriguing that the electress, who seems to have retained a music ensemble of her own, should have been asking the count for the favour, though it must be noted that all the currently available sources relating to Christiane Eberhardine's music ensemble, to Concertmaster Georg Heinrich Bümler (who arrived from Bayreuth) and to other members of that ensemble refer to a later period in the 1720s.¹⁸ However, it is not impossible that on some of the more important occasions the electress would have needed an ensemble larger than the one she was able to afford on a regular basis.

¹⁶ D-Dla Loc.722/1 *Briefe von Grafen Geyersberg an den Grafen v. Wackerbarth 1719-1727*, fol. 3r.

¹⁷ *IBID.*, fols. 4r-6v.

¹⁸ Other musicians working for Christiane Eberhardine included, among others, Anthon Balthasar König, Caspar Ernst Quatz, Georg Christian Moriz, and Johann Friedrich Gumpel. I owe this detailed information about Christiane Eberhardine's ensemble to Ms Silke Herz, who has currently finished her work on a dissertation entitled *Der Raum der Königin. Kunst und Kunsthandwerk im Kontext fürstlicher Standesrepräsentation am Hof der sächsischen Kurfürstin und polnischen Königin Christiane Eberhardine (1671-1727): Raumdisposition – Interieur – Garten* on the electress' artistic patronage, (Dresden: Technische Universität 2016, pp. 98-101; manuscript, publication pending).

In the event, Wackerbarth chose to send five of his musicians to Carlsbad with the electress since – as he made it clear in a letter to Geiersberg – he was hoping that the five of them would be able better to prepare for a performance in connection with the wedding of Frederick Augustus and Maria Josepha in September 1719. It is not clear which particular part of the upcoming festivities they would have been involved in. Perhaps this is a reference to an event held on August 1719, duly noted in the rolls of the Dresden Oberhofmarschallamt for that month, which involved six royal musicians and five members of Wackerbarth's private ensemble, who welcomed Archduchess Maria Josepha in late August in Pirna as she arrived in Saxony for her wedding celebrations, and performed for her a *Tafelmusik* at a banquet held on 27 August:

Von der Capelle

6. Persohnen, von der Königl. Capelle, und 5. Persohnen von des Herrn Geheimen Cabinets, Ministers Graf Wackerbarths Musique Tafeln und Tische so in Pirna sollen gespeiset warden ingleichen die Musici so mit nacher Pirna zugeben beordert worden betr.

[...]

Musici so nacher Pirna zu gehen beordert worden.

1. der Musicus Pantalon mit seinem Instrumenten,
2. der Lautenisten Weise, mit seinen Instrumenten,
3. der Musicus Buffardin mit der Flöthe travers, oder was er spielet,
4. 6. Hautboisten, und 2. Waldhornisten,

Hierzu werden 2. Wagen von S^r: Hochgräffl. Excellenz dem Herrn General und Gouverneur von Wackerbarth hergegeben, zu denen übrigen aber Vorspannung.¹⁹

As mentioned above, Wackerbarth became Governor of Dresden immediately upon his return from Vienna in the autumn of 1718, and he took command of the garrison stationed in the capital city of Saxony. Given the upcoming wedding of Frederick Augustus and Maria Josepha, it would have been part of Wackerbarth's responsibilities for security to keep the guests

¹⁹ D-Dla, Oberhoffmarschallamt 10006, B Nr. 20 A *Heimführung des Chur-Prinzens zu Sachsen Herrn Friedrich Augusts Sr. Gemahlin Frauen Marien Josepha in Dresden 1719 nebst deren dabey gehaltenen Festivitäten*, fols. 95r-96r and 98r.

safe during the court celebrations, and to maintain order in the city. By a lucky chance, the records related to the law and order measures introduced in Dresden for the duration of the celebrations contain a document that identifies by name at least some of the members of Wackerbarth's musical ensemble. The document is a list comprising some of the officials, lower-ranking officers and even servants retained by the count who were permitted to watch one of the wedding performances of Lotti's opera *Teofane*. It also includes the names of four of Wackerbarth's musicians: Reinhard, Linke, Hucho and Califano.²⁰

There is no doubt that the musicians appearing in that list are the same ones who were later hired by the Dresden *Hof-Kapelle* in late 1731, with their employment taking effect on February 1, 1732, and identified as members of that excellent ensemble in 1733–1757 by the *Hof-und Staats-Calendar* printed for the Polish-Saxon court. Those included the cellist Arcangelo Califano (?–1756), the bassoonist Johann B. Casimirus Lincke, the oboist Johann Wilhelm Hucho [Hugo] (?–1773)²¹ and the oboist Johann Christoph Reinhard [Reinhardt] (1691–?).²² Wackerbarth probably disbanded his *Cammer-Musique* by the end of 1731.

The list above is quite certainly incomplete as a roster of Wackerbarth's ensemble, even in that single autumn of 1719. One thing is certain: at least three of the musicians listed in the document (Hucho, Califano and Lincke) remained long after in the count's service. Their names appear in the accounting records of the Dresden court from 28 of November 1731 in connection with the instructions for new payments for 11 musicians of the Hofkapelle, additions for Quantz and Zelenka, and new employments for the

²⁰ D-Dla, Gouvernement Dresden 11254, Loc. 14502/10 *Acta die Einordnung und Einzüge Ihro Königl. Hoheit der Princessin sambt denen war derer dabey vergangenen Solennitäten und Festivitäten wegen von Gouvernement angeordnet worden*, fol. 185v.

²¹ *Königlich-Pohlnischer und Churfürstlich-Sächsischer Hoff- und Staats Kalender auf das Jahr 1733*, Leipzig: Weidmannische Buchhandlung 1735 (unpaginated).

²² Johann Gottfried Walther states in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* that Johann Christian Reinhardt spent 17 years in Wackerbarth's service, 10 years as a page, and 7 years as an oboist in his musical ensemble. In 1724 he left Wackerbarth ensemble for the Kapelle of Prince Lubomirski ('Spiski') and in 1725 he became a musician of a prince Radziwiłł. See Johann Gottfried WALTHER, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec*, Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732; reprint Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967, p. 518. I am grateful to Jóhannes Ágústsson for providing me with this information at a late stage in the preparation of this article.

<p>Vacones la lafrance 300. # la Derval 500. --- Dupré 1200. --- Saint Denis 600. --- <u>2500. #</u></p>		<p>274 214. 224</p>
<p>autres personnes en provision, qu'on le choisit d'ordinaire qui s'ont ce qui font liste 3000. #</p>	<p>Les 26000# pour les dix employés autres l'orgue en état présent à grand besoin la plupart d'eux invalide</p>	
	<p>Violon - Löffel --- 450. # Wick --- 200. Titore --- 200. Diets --- 200. Tachenberger 200. Fickler --- 200. violon - Kruger --- 200. Contrabasso Kaiser --- 200. violoncelle d'orangelo --- 350. Hautbois - Wilhelm --- 300. Jagots - Lincke --- 300. Zelenka --- 150. <u>3000. #</u></p>	
	<p>Quantz --- 200. # 300. #</p>	

Figure 3. Names of Wackerbarth's musicians appearing on a suggested payroll written in the hand of the Crown Prince Frederick Augustus himself in connection with the new employments for the court orchestra, including the curly brace marked 'du C. W.'. D-Dla, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 383/5 Französische Comoedianten und Orchestra betr. 1721-1733, fol. 225r.

court orchestra after four French dancers and the singer Andrea Ruota were dismissed and the sum of 3000 thalers was to put to good use from the 1st of February 1732. The relevant suggested payroll written in the hand of the Crown Prince Frederick Augustus himself listing all the musicians contains a curly brace that connects the names of those three instrumentalists, who are jointly annotated, ‘*du C. W.*’ Given that the name of Lincke had already appeared in the list of 1719, and that ‘Arcangelo’ and ‘Wilhelm’ were the respective given names of Califano (the cellist) and Hucho (the bassoonist), there can be no doubt that the abbreviation *C. W.* stands simply for ‘[the men of] Christoph von Wackerbarth’.²³

The documents discussed above attest to the fact that Wackerbarth took his musicians on his travels between Dresden and Vienna, where they accompanied him on his diplomatic missions. The documents also show that, where needed, the musicians travelled within Saxony and abroad providing services to the individual members of the royal family, such as the Crown Prince Frederick Augustus to Vienna or the Electress Christiane Eberhardine’s trips to Carlsbad. It is therefore not implausible to speculate that the musicians may also have travelled to Poland, either with their patron or with a member of the royal family. So far it has not been possible to identify any documents offering evidence of such trips. However, Wackerbarth himself did visit Poland on several occasions, mostly as a member of diplomatic missions or in the company of the king.

The account books of the Dresden court listing the expenses owed to the so-called Polish Ensemble in the first decade of the eighteenth century contain some intriguing records added after 1710 which appear to indicate that Wackerbarth, acting on behalf of the royal court, was in charge of handling payments for the *Polnische-Kapelle* in the early 1710s.²⁴ Notes found in those records, made in the hand of an unknown scribe, suggest that Wackerbarth

²³ D-Dla, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 383/5 *Französische Comoedianten und Orchestra betr. 1721-1733*, fols. 223r–224r (an instruction ‘An das Gen: Accis-Collegium’ payments of new salaries for 11 musicians and an addition [increase] for Quantz and Zelenka from February 1732). See also: Jóhannes ÁGÚSTSSON, ‘The secular vocal collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka’, *Studi vivaldiani* 13 (2013), pp. 22–23.

²⁴ D-Dla, Finanzarchiv 10036, Loc. 32623, Rep. LII Gen Nr. 221, *Der Königl. Pohlnisch: Capelle von Musicis Besoldung Rückstände betr.*

made a payment out of his own pocket to pay the overdue wages of François de Tilly, formerly an organist at the court King Jan III Sobieski, who also spent his time working for the royal ensemble of Augustus II in Warsaw until 1705.²⁵ Could that imply that Wackerbarth also hired de Tilly for his own ensemble? If so, he would have done so after 1710, the year de Tilly left his position with Prince Aleksander Sobieski (the younger son of the King Jan III) in Warsaw,²⁶ and Wackerbarth was present just at that time in the capital city of Poland with a diplomatic mission connected with the return of Augustus II to the Polish throne.

The same set of accounting documentation relating to the *Polnische Kapelle* also contains the information that Wackerbarth hired four hautboists (brothers Christian, Ferdinand, Johann Wolfgang and Tobias Gräsel) for the ensemble in Vienna in 1697 and paid their travel expenses for their journey from Vienna (or Dresden) to Warsaw. It might also be a reference to the three oboe players mentioned by Moritz Fürstenau as new recruits for the Polish-Royal and Electoral-Saxon Capelle made in Vienna as early as 1697 (since he knew nothing about the existence of the *Polnische Kapelle*).²⁷

As noted above, from 1719 onwards Wackerbarth fulfilled the function of Governor of Dresden. It was part of his responsibility to supervise music-related activities at the city garrison church. Among the different documents of the garrison church's concerning the position of organist there (called *Organistenstelle ad der Dresdner Garnisonkirche*) there can be found a petition filed by the church's organist, Johann Gottfried Stübner [Stiebner], dated Augustus 1720, asking Wackerbarth to release him of his duties at the church, and to *re-hire* him for his private music ensemble:

Hochgebohrner Reichs Graf, Höchst gebiethender Herr General,
Gnädigster Herr [Wackerbarth],
Daß Ew. Hochgrff. Excellz: vor einiger Zeit mir zu dem Organist Dienst in

²⁵ *IBID.*, fol. 41r. and fol. 52r. Cf. also: Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie* [Music at the court of Augustus II. in Warsaw], Warszawa: Arx Regia – Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1997, p. 487.

²⁶ *IBID.*

²⁷ D-Dla, Finanzarchiv 10036, Loc. 32623, Rep. LII Gen Nr. 221, *Der Königl. Poblisch: Capelle von Musicis Besoldung Rückstände betr.*, fol. 89r; ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II*, pp. 74–81, 445–446; FÜRSTENAU, *Zur Geschichte*, vol. 2, p. 12.

der Garnison Kirche zu verhelffen gnädigst geruhet, erkenne ich nochmals mit unterthänig gehorsamsten Danck. Wann aber, gnädigster Graf und Herr, das von nur erwehnten Dienste mir gnädigst verordnete Salarium so wohl, als auch das jenige, was ich mir durch informiren mit schwerer Mühe etwan acquirire, bey jeziger theuren Zeit zu einem hinlänglichen auskommen nicht Suffisant sey will: Alß ergeth an Ew. Hochgrfl. Excellz: mein unterthänig gehorsamstes Suchen, Sie geruhen mir die hohe Gnade zuerweisen, und mich in die bey dero Cammer Musique mir ehemals gnädigst concedirte stelle wiederum zu installiren, denn dadurch kan ich mir ein großes Soulagement meines bißherig miserablen Zustandes versprochen. So thaue gnädigste deferirung meinere demüthigst abgelaßenen Bitte werde ich mit unterthänigst treuegehorsamsten Dienst bezeugungen zuerwiedern euffersten Vermögens befließen seyn, als der ich verharre

Ew: Hochgrfl. Excellz:
Meines gnädigsten Herrn
Dreßden den 11. Julÿ 1720
unterthänigst gehorsamster Knecht
Johann Gottfried Stiebner²⁸

An unknown scribe summarised the petition as follows:

Vortrag
Mem: d.d. 11. July 1720
Johann Gottfried Stiebner erkennt mit gehorsamsten Danck, daß E.E. ihme zu den Organisten Dienst, bey allhiesiger Guarnison Kirche verhelffen wollen, weil aber das daher zu erlagende auskomme vor[h] nicht hinlangt sey wolle,
So attest er E.E. ihm die Gnade zu thun und ihme wieder in die vormahlig Stelle bey der Cammer Musique anzunehmen.²⁹

So far it is not known how long Stiebner had worked in Wackerbarth's ensemble before accepting the post of organist at the garrison church in

²⁸ D-Dla, Gouvernement Dresden 11254, Loc. 14500/04 *Organistenstelle ad der Dresdner Garnisonkirche 1720, 1728, 1734, 1746-1776, 1795, 1803-1807*, fols. 2r-2v.

²⁹ *IBID.*, fol. 1r.

Dresden, but it is clear that his name should be added to the list of musicians previously retained by the count.

One of the best-known musicians working for Wackerbarth was undoubtedly Carl Heinrich Graun (1704–1759), the younger of the famous Graun brothers, who would go on to become the Kapellmeister at the court of Frederick II in Potsdam. Graun did not work long for Wackerbarth, presumably from the moment he graduated from the Dresden Kreuzschule in 1718 until 1724, when he was hired as a tenor singer at the Brunswick court (a role he also played in Wackerbarth's ensemble). We know about the Dresden episode in Graun's career from the Dresden court poet Johann Ulrich König, who appears to have been personally involved in the hiring decision, when he writes: 'denn ich habe denselben [C.H. Graun], als er noch Kreuz-Schüler in Dresden war, zu dem Herrn Feldmarschall Grafen von Wackerbarth in Dienst als Sänger gebracht'.³⁰

CONCLUSIONS

This seemingly scant evidence gleaned from a variety of scattered and outwardly unpromising sources gives some idea of another quite significant music ensemble active in Dresden in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Based on known facts, this ensemble was not a fixed group that could be described as an orchestra, so the loose term *Cammer-Musique* found in some of the sources appears to be the most fitting appellation. We will be able to pass a more considered opinion about the group's artistic standards or the skills of its members if we can reconstruct at least some of its repertoire. But the fact that some of Wackerbarth's musicians were later hired by the *Hof-Kapelle* is an endorsement of the count's ensemble, and of his personal tastes and judgements in music. In any case, the ensemble's association with Graun undoubtedly adds a certain lustre to the outfit as viewed from a modern perspective.

³⁰ Johann Ulrich KÖNIG, *Relation, wie der Königl. Preussische Hof und bes. der Gemütscharakter des itzt regierenden Königs Friedrichs II. beschaffen ist* [1740], quoted in: Gustav Berthold VOLZ, *Friedrich der Große im Spiegel seiner Zeit: Jugend und Schlesische Kriege bis 1756*, Berlin – Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1926, p. 107. See also: Christoph HENZEL, *Berliner Klassik. Studien zur Graunüberlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*, Beeskow: Ortus Verlag, 2009, p. 10.

The careers of the musicians connected with Wackerbarth exemplify the patterns of mobility that characterized artists working in the first half of the eighteenth century as they travelled in search of regular employment and better living conditions. Their life stories also prove another important thing: Wackerbarth's private ensemble could serve as a springboard for further advancement, such as regular employment in the Dresden *Hof-Kapelle* or in other European court ensembles. Similar career patterns are discernible in the lives of other musicians employed by major figures such as Jacob Henrich von Flemming³¹, count Aleksander Sułkowski³² or Chancellor Heinrich von Brühl.³³

However, we should view the significance of those ensembles in a broader context. The ensembles offered better career prospects and employment opportunities to musicians, which made them more mobile as they looked for better positions. Working for a private ensemble of aristocrats also offered a glimpse into the lives of the great and the good, opening up avenues for participation in the life at court, or even in high-level politics. The existence of such ensembles was mostly a function of the patron's interests, means and ambitions. Orchestras were in many cases status symbols, used to boost aristocratic prestige by conferring upon their benefactors the highly desirable reputation of artistic patrons.

One thing seems particularly important in this context: music history will make better sense when examined not just from the perspective of composers,

³¹ See Szymon PACZKOWSKI, 'Muzyka na dworze marszałka Jakuba Henryka Flemminga (1667–1728)' [Music at the Court of Marshal Jacob Heinrich Flemming], in: *Środowiska kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku* [The Circles of Cultural Creativity in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Sixteenth until the Nineteenth Century], ed. Urszula Augustyniak, Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, Instytut Historyczny UW, Instytut Historii Prawa UW, Neriton, 2009, pp. 67–82.

³² I am currently working on a project to establish the identity of the members of the music ensemble maintained by Count Aleksander Sułkowski in the period of his activity at the court in Dresden (before 1738), and after he left Saxony for Poland, where he settled in his estate at Rydzyna (Germ. Reisen) after 1738.

³³ See Ulrike KOLMAR, *Gottlob Harrer (1703-1755), Kapellmeister des Grafen Heinrich von Brühl am sächsisch-polnischen Hof und Thomaskantor in Leipzig. Mit einem Werkverzeichnis und einem Katalog der Notenbibliothek Harrers*, Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2006; Alina ŻÓRAWKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Kapela Heinricha von Brühla' [The Chapelle of Heinrich von Brühl], in: EAD, *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III. Część I* [Music at the Polish court of Augustus III, Part 1], Lublin: Wydawnictwo Muzyczne POLIHYMNIA, 2012, pp. 231–243.

performers or audiences, but also from the viewpoint of musical patrons. Wackerbarth's patronage appears to be an excellent illustration of that fact.

LIST OF WACKERBARTH'S MUSICIANS BELONGING TO HIS
CAMMER-MUSIQUE OVER THE YEARS 1710–1733:

Arcangelo Califano, Carl Heinrich Graun, Johann Wilhelm Hucho (Hugo), Johann Peter Casimir Lincke, Johann Christoph Reinhard, Johann Gottfried Stiebner, François de Tilly (?)

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*Giovanni Giornovich / Ivan Jarnović in Stockholm:
A Centre or a Periphery?*

According to the quite busy itinerary of the travelling violin virtuoso Giovanni Giornovich (or, in the possible Croaticised version of his name, Ivan Jarnović; baptized in Palermo in 1747, died in St Petersburg in 1804) his sojourn, or, better to say, his stop in Stockholm could have occurred on one of his journeys from Berlin to St Petersburg – either between late 1782 and April 1783, or between late 1802 and April 1803. Robert-Aloys Mooser wrote that he had to leave Berlin in 1782 because of his quarrels and fights with the French violoncello player Jean Pierre Duport (1741–1818), also active at the court orchestra of the Frederick Wilhelm II (who in 1786 became the King of Prussia). Therefore, he had to continue with his itinerant career, ‘visiting Vienna, Stockholm and Warsaw, meeting in all these places the success that justified the judgement about his qualities.’¹ However an investigation of the virtuoso’s journeys has proved that his Viennese sojourn could only have occurred in the spring of 1786, on his return trip from St Petersburg (via Warsaw) to Paris. Mooser also wrote that after his most successful performances in Warsaw, Giornovich, ‘following his itinerary, passed through Riga, where he won laurels again and afterwards proceeded to St Petersburg.’² Yet Mooser did not quote any direct references in order to prove Giornovich’s stay in these towns. He was not aware that after his visit

¹ ‘Reprenant alors son existence itinérante, il [Jarnowick, op. V.K.] visita successivement Vienne, Stockholm et Varsovie, connaissant dans toutes ces villes un succès qui justifiait pleinement le jugement porté sur lui...’ Robert-Aloys MOOSER, ‘Violinistes–compositeurs italiens en Russie au XVIIIe siècle, VIII: Giovanni–Mane Giornovicchi, dit Jarnowick–’, *Rivista musicale italiana* 52/1 (1950), pp. 64–70.

² ‘Puis, poursuivant sa route en passant par Riga où il cueillit de nouveaux lauriers, Jarnowick se dirigea sur Saint-Petersbourg...’, *IBID.*

to Warsaw, where he enjoyed the hospitality of the king Stanisław August Poniatowski and the count Michał Jerzy Mniszech until December 1782,³ he might have returned to Berlin only for a very short time (if he did at all): already in April 1783, he gave a concert in St Petersburg.⁴

On the other hand, it was previously known that his compositions were preserved in Swedish archives and libraries as manuscripts and prints,⁵ but it was not known how these materials were acquired. However, recent research in Stockholm⁶ resulted in some new insights into the virtuoso's dynamic life and the musical context of that city.

According to some references in books and eighteenth-century newspapers, his name had appeared in concert repertoire since 1786, i.e. even before he left revolutionary France for good, but later than 1782–83, when – according to Mooser – he was supposed to have visited the Swedish capital. At that time, various local and international violinists performed his concerti,⁷ above all during the 1790s. For example, *Stockholms Posten* announced on 23 February 1793, that the next day (Sunday) a concert of vocal and instrumental music had been organised in the Great Knighthouse hall as a benefit for Johan David Zander (c1753–1796), the concertmaster of the Royal orchestra. Among pieces by Haydn, Kozeluch, Pleyel and Kraus,

³ On Giornovich's sojourn in Poland see: Alina ŽÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 'Ivan Mane Jarnović alla luce delle fonti polacche', in: *Zagreb i hrvatske zemlje kao most između srednjoeuropskih i mediteranskih glazbenih kultura*, ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 1998, pp. 243–251.

⁴ On 17 April 1783 in *St. Petersburgische Zeitung* it was announced that 'the violinist Grenowich will perform between two acts of an Italian opera' (cf. Artur SCHNEIDER, 'Ivan Mane Jarnović – A Croatian Violin Virtuoso and Composer of the 18th Century', in: *Ivan Mane Jarnović, a Croatian Composer* (I.), ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb: Music Information Centre, 1978, p. 164).

⁵ Stanislav TUKSAR, 'Djela hrvatskih skladatelja 18. stoljeća u Kraljevini Švedskoj' [Works by Croatian 18th-century composers in Swedish music collections], *Arti musices* 25/1–2 (1994), pp. 231–236.

⁶ Research was undertaken in various libraries and collections in Stockholm and Uppsala in June 2015 in the context of the EU project 'Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: The Meeting of the European East, West and South'. I feel obliged to express my thanks to my Swedish colleagues Owe Ander, Lars Berglund and Bertil van Boer for their assistance with this research.

⁷ Patrik VRETBLAD, *Konsertlivet i Stockholm under 1700-talet*, Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1918.

Mr. Zander himself performed a ‘violin concerto by Czernowichi.’⁸ Zander had already played one of Giornovichi’s concerti⁹ on 18 December 1789 in the Swedish Comic Theatre.¹⁰ Besides Zander, some other local violinists performed concerti by ‘Jarnovich’, ‘Giarnovichi’, or, ‘Giornovichi’, these being the various ways his name was written in the announcements. Johan Abraham Fischer (1744–1806) performed on 21 May 1786,¹¹ Ferdinand Gramm (?–1801) on 5 January 1794,¹² Johan Gottfrid Zaar (1754–1818) on 15 January 1797,¹³ Carl Adam Norman (1773–1812) on 5 February 1797,¹⁴ and Paul Erasmus Chiewitz (?–1815) on 4 March 1797.¹⁵ The best-known Swedish violinist who performed Giornovichi’s works was Johan Fredrik Berwald (1787–1861),¹⁶ a child prodigy, who was only 10 years old when he played a Giornovichi concerto on 14 October 1797. Already at the age of eight, he started touring with his father, following him to St Petersburg (1803–1812) and, upon his return to Stockholm, became a violinist in the Royal court orchestra. Later, he made a significant career as composer and conductor, thus influencing the musical life in Stockholm.

Similar notifications of performances of Giornovichi’s works originate from Uppsala sources. For example, in an instrumental concert on 7 February 1798, duets by Pleyel and a violin concerto by ‘Jarnoviki’ were announced, to be performed by violinists Westerdahl and Chiewitz.¹⁷ The second largest city in Sweden at that time was Åbo, ‘a small town not much fortified but

⁸ *Stockholms Posten*, 26/46 (1793), 23 February, p. 4.

⁹ Unfortunately, more precise information on the piece itself was not given in these announcements, which was common for that time.

¹⁰ VRETBLAD, *Konsertlivet i Stockholm*, p. 237, Concerto No. 626.

¹¹ *IBID.*, p. 229, nr. 587.

¹² *IBID.*, p. 246, nr. 678.

¹³ *IBID.*, p. 261, nr. 744.

¹⁴ *IBID.*, p. 262, nr. 747.

¹⁵ *IBID.*, p. 263, nr. 749.

¹⁶ *IBID.*, pp. 266–267, nr. 765.

¹⁷ Leif JONSSON, *Offentlig musik i Uppsala 1747–1854*, Stockholm: Statens musikbibliotek, 1998, p. 109. It was probably Carl Johan Westerdahl, violinist, 1796–1820 of the Royal chapel (concertmaster 1801–1820) with Paul Chiewitz Sr. (violinist, 1782–1803), who probably performed the same concerto in the previous year in Stockholm as well (see footnote 15). Jonsson also mentions the participation of the pianist Zetterberg.



Figure 1. Ivan Jarnović / Giovanni Giornovichi, *Violin concerto No. 9*, dedicated to the Count Otto Magnus von Stackelberg.

it is the capital of the province of Finland...'.¹⁸ The newspapers announced an instrumental concert on 4 March 1794, when the Royal concertmaster Ferling had to perform a concerto by Giornovichi and a Rondo by Lolli.¹⁹

¹⁸ As described in 1782 in the *Diary* of 15-year-old John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), later President of the United States, <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=%20Author%3A%22Adams%2C%20John%20Quincy%22%201782&cs=1111311111&r=55> (access: 10 June 2016).

¹⁹ *Åbo Tidningar*, 4/9 (1794), 3 March, p. 3. Eric Ferling was a violinist in the orchestra in the 1761–1790 period, and a concertmaster from 1773.

Further, a large number of Giornovichi's compositions preserved in Sweden were acquired from Hummel's offices in Amsterdam and Berlin, from Günther & Böhme's in Hamburg, from Jean André's in Offenbach s/M and an entire concerto series was acquired directly from Paris (mostly Sieber's editions of his concerti).

Still, no traces of the virtuoso's sojourn have been found in the Swedish capital at the end of the eighteenth century. However, during his stay in Warsaw in the autumn of 1782, he made the acquaintance of the Russian envoy, count Otto Magnus von Stackelberg (1756–1800). Of Westphalian origin, von Stackelberg was one of the most outstanding Russian diplomats of the time, the *éminence gris* of the Polish Kingdom²⁰ prior to his reassignment to Stockholm in 1791. Giornovichi undoubtedly recognised the importance of this influential figure and dedicated his Concerto No. 9 to him. Von Stackelberg was probably the person who opened the virtuoso's path to St Petersburg. In any case, it is not known which route Giornovichi took on his first visit to St Petersburg in early 1783; possibly, it was even a continental tour with a stop in Minsk or Vilnius.

On the other hand, his second trip to Russia leads across the sea: after two very successful performances in the Berlin opera in March 1802, with the royal family in the audience,²¹ there are newspaper announcements of his sojourn in Copenhagen in October of the same year.²² Besides mentioning some gossip about the virtuoso, his performances both in the royal theatre and at the court of Duke Wilhelm Friedrich Philipp von Württemberg, the governor of Copenhagen, were announced. A week later Giornovichi performed for the royal family and their esteemed guests in the Frederiksberg Castle and finally at the Royal music academy. Even after his departure (on

²⁰ Николай Михайлович, *Русские портреты XVIII и XIX столетий* (Russian portraits of 18th- and 19th-century), том IV, Санкт-Петербург: Экспедиция заготовления государственных бумаг, 1908, p. 142.

²¹ SCHNEIDER, 'Ivan Mane Jarnović – A Croatian Violin Virtuoso', p. 187.

²² Birthe TRÆRUP, 'Jarnović u Danskoj. Prva dokumentacija o koncertnim nastupima slavnog virtuozu Ivana Jarnovića u Danskoj 1802. godine' [Jarnović in Denmark. The first documentation of concert performances of famous virtuoso Ivan Jarnović in Denmark in 1802], *Arti musices* 29/1 (1998), pp. 13–26. However, according to the announcements on famous visitors to the town, there is a note testifying that he came from St Petersburg, which cannot be confirmed (p. 14).

18 December 1802),²³ every now and then local newspapers relayed some news about Giornovichi's life and his success in Russia. On this occasion, on his way to the North, he made a stop in Stockholm.

In one of the Stockholm newspapers, *Stockholms Posten*, which regularly published announcements of current spectacles, an announcement was made on 31 January and 3 February 1803 that:

Mr Giornovichi, who is already a third of a century recognised and admired in Europe as a virtuoso of the first rank, is now in Stockholm and will soon be heard. Local music lovers have asked Mr. Giornovichi to give a concert before his leaving. He agreed, only he wondered whether a sufficient number of listeners could be assured. Therefore, some subscription lists have been established, in the Society in Rosenbad, Sällskapet, op. V.K., in Kirsteinska huset/house, op. V.K. in Munkbron, in Herrar Utters & Comp. and Silverstolpe's bookshop.²⁴ As soon as the subscriptions will be full, the tickets will be distributed to the gentlemen subscribers at the same places, upon their payments of the R. portfolio. All information on the concerts will be given there too, as well as in the newspapers.

On the 12 February it is announced that the subscription list will be closed on 16 February, and on the 1 March, the same paper brought the list of Giornovichi's concert series:

With greatest pleasure the admirers of Mr Giornowichi announce his concert in the Great Knighthouse hall [Stora Riddarhussalen], tomorrow Wednesday, 2 March, under the Kapellmeister Haeffners guidance, where following pieces will be presented: First part; 1) Symphony by Haydn, 2) Aria by Mozart, sung by Mr. Cellin, 3) Concerto for Violin, by Giornovichi, played by himself. 4) Sonata for Harp by Plane, with the accompaniment of the Violin, played by

²³ TRÆRUP, 'Jarnović u Danskoj', p. 19.

²⁴ In these institutions concert tickets could be bought as well as, for example, subscriptions for journals like *Journal för Litteraturen och theatern* and some others.

Mamsell Sophie Karsten. 5) Aria by Reichard, sung by Mr. Karsten, the Court secretary. Second part: 6) Concerto for Clarinet by Lebrun, played by Mr. Crusell. 7) Duo by Zingarelli, sung by Mr. Karsten and Cellin. 8) Concerto for Violin by Giornovichi, played by himself. 9) Finale. The concert will start at 6 p.m.

(The announcement was repeated on the next day.) In all, three concerts with his appearance have been registered, on 2, 11 and 27 March with similar repertoire,²⁵ without any sign of more precise information on his concerti. The second concert on 11 March was announced as a benefit for Mr Crusell, the clarinetist from the first concert and the tickets were at the price of 32 crowns, which was usual for such performances. The Great Knighthouse hall was one of the usual places for secular concert performances. That palace, dating back to the seventeenth century, had a representative hall with coats of arms of the Swedish nobility.²⁶ Almost every Sunday there were performances, either as subscriptions or as benefits. Other places where concert performances were organised were either theatre buildings (the Royal one, the Comic Theatre), or – after the 1770s – the hall in the Stock exchange as well as some restaurants and public gardens.²⁷

Anyhow, those few newspaper announcements was all which was to be found in Stockholm newspapers on Giornovichi's sojourn in Sweden, which seems to be quite modest in comparison with his activities in some other European towns. It is true that Stockholm newspapers were not rich with reports on cultural events, and were more oriented towards information for the use of merchants and on legal questions. However, a letter exists which explains and enlightens that peculiar situation: a letter that Carl Gustaf

²⁵ Programme for the second concert on 11 March: *Symphonie Militaire* by Haydn, Mozart's aria (Hr. Collin), Concerto for clarinet by ... (Crusell, his own piece?), Paisiello's aria (Mamsell Viselius); *Violin Concerto* Giornovichi, Mozart's aria with clarinet obligato (Hofsekretär Karsten, accompanied by Crusell), *Concerto for flute* by Viotti (arr.) (Hr. Brendter/Brendler), Finale. Programme for the third concert on 27 March: *Symphony* (no name), Aria by Mejer (Mr Collin), *Violin Concerto* Giornovichi, Aria by Reichardt (Herr Hofsekretär Karsten), *Violin Concerto* Giornovichi, Finale.

²⁶ VRETBLAD, *Konsertlivet i Stockholm*, pp. 8–10.

²⁷ VRETBLAD, *Konsertlivet i Stockholm*, pp. 10ff.



Figure 2. Title page of the newspaper *Stockholms Posten* on 16 March 1803, when Giornovichi's second performance was announced for the second time (kept at the National Library of Sweden).

Nordforss directed to Freiherr Niclas Edelcrantz on 18 March 1803.²⁸ Nordforss (1763–1832) was a Swedish army officer, writer, theatre director and translator of opera libretti. In 1802, he became adjutant of the king Gustav IV Adolf, and later lieutenant colonel in the army. During the years 1790–1799 he was the second director of the Dramatic Theatre and between 1799 and 1818 he was engaged for the same service in the opera ('lyrical scene'). His task was to supervise the rehearsals, but he was also in a position to influence the repertoire. Nordforss also used to translate plays and wrote some of his own. The other person was Freiherr Niclas Edelcrantz (1754–1821, until 1789 his family name was Clewberg), a Finnish born Swedish poet and inventor. He was the librarian at The Royal Academy of Turku. In 1783, he moved to Stockholm to lead the Royal Theatre and later worked as

²⁸ Carl-Gabriel Stellan MÖRNER, 'Operkabler – anno 1803. Ett opublicerat brev från C. G. Nordforss till A. N. Edelcrantz', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* 54 (1972), pp. 95–102. I am grateful to Owe Ander who drew my attention to this text.

the private secretary of King Gustav III Adolf.²⁹ In 1804, he became the first director of the royal spectacle and the court orchestra and in 1805 curator of the royal museums, etc.³⁰

After the violent death of King Gustav III Adolf in the Stockholm opera in 1792, his son did not show much appreciation for the theatre; the opera was in decline, and the new king even wanted to close it down. On the other hand, he wanted to help French musicians – refugees who escaped from the Revolution, and employed them in the opera orchestra, thus sometimes neglecting local musicians who were often better trained. When Giornovichi came to Stockholm, the first director of the opera and theatre was Baron John Hugo Hamilton of Hageby (1752–1805). Nordforss describes the unhealthy situation among musicians in the opera and guest performances of foreigners additionally complicated turbulent local relations. Quarrels between local musicians were almost regular, such as between a famous singer Cadet (of whom Nordforss had quite a bad opinion and wrote some negative reviews, but who was compared by his admirers with the Italian castrato and composer Girolamo Crescentini), and the able Italian singer Garelli (sometimes named Carelli; at that time in a small theatre in the former Arsenal housed in the Royal Dramatic Theatre). Giornovichi arrived amidst this battle for the audiences and, to everybody's annoyance, played only his own compositions. The person who felt threatened by him was the concertmaster of the Opera Orchestra Christian Friedrich Müller³¹ as well as his protector Baron C. T. Schulzenheim. Nordforss also mentioned the flautist Johan Franz Brendler,

²⁹ He is well known for his experiment with the optical telegraph. He inaugurated his telegraph with a poem dedicated to the Swedish King on his birthday in 1794. The message went from the Palace in Stockholm to the King at Drottningholm.

³⁰ 'Abraham Niklas Edelcrantz (Clewberg)', in: Herman HOFBERG – Frithiof HEURLIN – Viktor MILLQVIST – Olof RUBENSON, *Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon*, vol. 1, 2nd ed., Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1906, pp. 264–265, <http://runeberg.org/sbh/a0264.html> (access: 10 June 2016).

³¹ Christian Friedrich Müller (Rheinsberg, Brandenburg, 1752 – Stockholm, 1827) was a German composer active in Sweden. A pupil of Johann Peter Salomon, he undertook a concert tour in 1780 as a violinist. In Copenhagen, he fell in love with the singer Carolina Walther (née Halle) and eloped with her to Stockholm, where he was engaged as assistant concertmaster in 1780 and as concertmaster in 1787. He retired in 1817. See *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=8595> (access: 10 June 2016).

a chapel master from 1802 to 1807 who, perhaps more interestingly, was the father of the composer Eduard Brendler. Nordforss writes that Stockholm at that time was a playground for artists and charlatans of any sort. Upon his arrival to Stockholm, Giornovich met with Baron Hamilton (it seems that they knew each other already from Paris), who was furious with the local situation and told to the virtuoso: ‘Go away, depart at once for Russia, Sweden is not for you. Why did you come without alerting me? Leave at once. A caravan is leaving tomorrow for Russia; I can connect you with some people to take you with them.’³² However, Giornovich refused this suggestion and tried to meet with Müller. Finally, they did not meet because of a misunderstanding; Müller felt insulted, did not want to hear about Giornovich and turned the whole ensemble against him. On the other hand, Giornovich was offended by the animosity of the musicians and at first did not want to play in public. In the meantime, the famous Swedish singer Christoffer Christian Karsten³³ took Giornovich under his protection and some wisely organised dinner invitations made the opera orchestra friendlier towards the virtuoso. Nordforss considered Giornovich to have great talent and an equally fine lifestyle (although he was also well known as a quick-tempered and sometimes even grumpy man). This time he was obviously charming enough to ‘conquer’ the musicians’ rebellion and it resulted in three concerts, duly announced in the press. The participants were his protector Karsten and his daughter Sophie,³⁴ a dancer, who also played the harp. The famous clarinet player Bernhard Henrik Crusell, an outstanding musician of Finnish origin, arrived in 1791 in Stockholm and in 1793 became principal clarinet at the royal court orchestra, at that time directed by Abbé Vogler, with whom he also studied music theory and composition.³⁵ Beside Nordforss, it is possible that Giornovich had already met some of these musicians (for example, Crusell) during his previous journeys. This

³² Translated from French, after MÖRNER: ‘Operkabler’, p. 100.

³³ Christoffer Christian Karsten (1756–1827) was a Swedish opera singer, sometimes called the greatest male opera singer in Swedish history. He was given the title royal secretary in 1791.

³⁴ Karsten’s daughter Sophie (with the Polish singer Sophie Stebnowska) became the premier dancer at the Opera in 1805–1806.

³⁵ He studied in Berlin and Paris as well and has been described as the best composer before Sibelius.

sojourn in Stockholm lasted for about 3 months because on 17 April 1803 the *St. Petersburgische Zeitung* published an announcement that between the 1st and the 2nd act of Paisiello's *La serva padrona* the famous violinist Mr. Giornovichi (Grenowich) will perform a violin concerto and at the end a solo. During his second and last sojourn in St Petersburg Giornovichi was praised by the critics who thought that he 'in no way lagged behind the Giornovichi of twenty years before,'³⁶ although a new generation of violinists, like Pierre Rode, were strongly competing with and, to some extent, were overshadowing Giornovichi's last days.

The situation in Stockholm described here not only fills one of the gaps which still exists in Giornovichi's timeline, but also shows the general atmosphere in a less fortunate period of the cultural life of the Swedish capital after the assassination of King Gustav III Adolf. During 1770s and 1780s, it was still an attractive centre for local musicians as well as for foreigners who enriched its musical life, although hardly comparable with its most brilliant period in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In comparison with Copenhagen – where Giornovichi also spent some three months, and was well received in public and court surroundings where he gave concerts in public and private occasions, and where he was received by the royal family (as it happened many times before in London, Berlin, Warsaw and some other places) – the situation in Stockholm as reflected in the newspapers and as described in the Nordforss letter seems to have been grey and uninteresting. The comparison with larger centres – Paris, London, even Hamburg and Berlin, which offered a spectrum of opportunities to the eminent travelling virtuoso, not only to perform within various series of concerts and find a rich supporter, but also to have his music published – makes that picture even more obscure.

King Gustav IV Adolph, having no particular cultural interests, especially not for theatre and opera, had other important problems on his mind, dealing more with big politics, with approaching conflicts with Russia (Sweden lost Finland in 1809) and the deposition of the King himself in 1809 in a coup d'état. At that point, Stockholm has obviously become the periphery of cultural activities and such was already felt in 1803. The image

³⁶ SCHNEIDER, 'Ivan Mane Jarnović – A Croatian Violin Virtuoso', p. 187.

of the virtuoso Giornovichi was kept fresh only in the minds of music lovers, through his music compositions, acquired mostly from Amsterdam or Berlin. Their number – a complete series of 16 concerti, as well as chamber music, preserved not only in Stockholm, but also in Lund, Skåra and Uppsala, confirms the existence of the supporters mentioned in the Nordfors letter. His music lived in concert performances before and after his Stockholm episode.

Finally, every now and then the audiences could have been reminded of his existence also by the music produced by the musical/flute clock (Flötenuhr), which played, besides pieces by Haydn, Mozart, Gluck, Pleyel and others, a Russian theme from Giornovichi's Violin concerto No. 14.³⁷ The musical clock was constructed by Pehr Strand (1756–1826), a wood carver, organ builder and maker of musical clocks. In 1791, he was granted a royal privilege for the manufacturing of musical clocks and organs. At that time, he had just arrived from St Petersburg, obviously aware of the popular pieces there and in Stockholm. It was Olof Åhlström who mostly published the repertoire played on his clocks in the periodical *Musikaliskt Tidsfördrif*. It was not composed expressively for the mechanical clock but adapted to fit the shorter length and limited compass of the instruments: D-g'. There appears to be some 50 Strand instruments, which means quite a large production.

Anyway, such a mechanical instrument was a typical *objet d'art* to be found in houses of the well-off local citizens. The cultural situation that developed at the very beginning of the nineteenth century matched the growth of the new society, oriented more towards the secular and bourgeois environment of the new era than the royal representation of the *ancien régime*. It seems that Giornovichi came to Stockholm at the very turning point of its culture. The once representative environment where Swedish and foreign musicians were stimulated to compose and perform in a similar way as in Europe's main centres was now definitely over, and some specific characteristics of the organisational types, performance practices and the repertoire of civil society came to the fore.

³⁷ Two such mechanical clocks are now kept at Nydahl Collection (Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande) in Stockholm. My gratitude goes to Göran Grahn for showing me the interesting sources and exhibits.

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*Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Migration Flows
in the Territory of Today's Slovenia*

Since the earliest times the Slovenian lands were being traversed by different travellers of different professions, knowledge and interests who undertook their journeys for diverse reasons. The main reason for their travels was their economic situation and they most often went abroad either because of work obligations or because of a desire to obtain a sufficient income for survival. A frequent reason for migrations was also the search for better education.

For a better overview of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music migrations in the territory of today's Slovenia, we are going to present a detailed overview of the musicians of that time together with the statistics on music migrations with the intention of re-establishing the musical connections within and between the Eastern, Western and Southern European territories.¹

In Slovenian music literature, data on music migrations is scarce. Some individual music migrations are mentioned only in few general reviews of music history. The researchers did not devote their studies to different aspects of music migrations and did not occupy themselves with the question of the importance of music migrations for the development of Slovenian musical life. That is why the music migrations on the territory of today's Slovenia were not placed into a wider European context of music migration flows.

The newly completed database which is a result of the three-year research of travelling musicians on the territory of today's Slovenia will stimulate the research of specific music migrations and will prove to be a very useful

¹ The results and statistics to be discussed here are the product of the three-year international project MusMig, which is being held under the patronage of the program HERA. Project MusMig deals with music migrations in the European East, West and South and is situated at the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU in Ljubljana.

tool for future researchers engaged with the different questions about music migration flows. This database will be presented in the form of statistics in the present article.

The database includes information on the different travelling musicians who were present on the territory of today's Slovenia. In the database, the concept of migration was loosely defined and was not dependent on the length of time during which musicians were absent from their homeland. The database includes all musicians, whether immigrants, emigrants or those who just crossed Slovenian territory and who were somehow connected with music. They are however divided into two groups: professionals and amateurs. The first group is represented by singers, instrumentalists, tradesmen or craftsmen and music scholars. The second group is represented by writers, amateur performers, promoters, patrons and those whose primary occupation or social status superseded their musical activity.

Migrations were also mapped chronologically and the timeline was precisely defined. It includes seventeenth- and the eighteenth-century migrations or more exactly all the musicians who were born after 1580 or who migrated after 1600, and all musicians who were born up until 1799 or who migrated before 1815.²

Taking into account the limitations described above, it was possible to include within the scope of the research a total number of 613 musicians who were present on the territory of today's Slovenia between the years 1600 and 1815.

Among those 613 musicians we can also find 40 musicians who were active in the cities which in the past belonged to the same political unit of Styria and Gorizia, but are today part of Slovenia's bordering countries Austria and Italy. They were active in the areas that were in the past strongly connected with the territory of today's Slovenia. Because they are important for many other research questions about Slovenian music life they were included in the database yet they will not be discussed in the present article and will have no influence on our statistics.

² The presented limitations were adopted in the year 2014, at the first meeting of HERA MusMig members in Mainz.

This article will focus exclusively on 573 of the travelling musicians recorded in the database.

Among them are immigrant and emigrant musicians and 151 mostly amateur musicians who could not be included in any of the listed groups, due to a lack of information or other technical and content barriers.

The biggest group among amateur musicians were the students of the Ferdinandeum in Graz, a Jesuit institution which provided free residence for all students in the city in exchange for their music activity as singers or instrumentalists.³ In the preserved manuscript registration book, where the names of the new members of the Ferdinandeum were recorded, we mostly find the year of their departure, the duration of their stay, and their music related occupation in Graz.⁴ Rarely does the historical record include information about their subsequent career and this lack of information prevents us from assigning them an accurate place among the various categories of travelling musicians. Because these students migrated only to the city of Graz, which in the past belonged to the same political unit as today's territory of Slovenia, it also appears that we have an issue about defining these movements as migrations, as viewed from this perspective, those travelling students could not be classified as migrants. We could properly include among migrant musicians only those who came to Styria or more precisely Graz, from neighbouring Carniola.

The migration issue also appears in relation to the Franciscan musicians belonging to the different monasteries within the Franciscan province of Holy Cross. This province included Franciscan monasteries in today's Slovenia and Croatia. The monasteries of this province interacted with each other and monks often travelled from one monastery to another. From this point of view the Franciscan province could be seen as an independent unit, and because of that the monks' travels could not be considered as

³ Primož KURET, 'Slovenski glasbeniki v graškem Ferdinandeumu' [Slovene musicians in Ferdinandeum in Graz], in: *Muzikološki zbornik*, ed. Dragotin Cvetko, Ljubljana: Oddelek za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete, 1965, pp. 21–37: 21.

⁴ Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Catalogus Alumnorum Ferdinandeae Graecensis ab anno 1558 usque ad a. 1684 susceptorum et dimissorum, Ms. 486, fol. 130. Hellmut FEDERHOFER, 'Zur Musikpflege der Jesuiten in Graz im 17. Jahrhundert', in: *Musik und Geschichte: Aufsätze aus nichtmusikalischen Zeitschriften*, ed. Hellmut Federhofer, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1996, pp. 90–99: 90, 91.

migrations. In the eighteenth century the province was divided into two separate parts, the Inner Austrian province of Holy Cross (the monasteries in the territory of today's Slovenia), with its main centre in Ljubljana and the Littoral province of Holy Cross, with its centre in Karlovac (the monasteries of today's Croatia).⁵ Therefore only Franciscan travels from the eighteenth century could be taken into account as migrations. In addition, problems also arose due to the frequent migrations and border crossings of the monks, and because of their short staying in monasteries.

However the Franciscans and the students of Ferdinandeum were included among the migrants, because this research takes into account the history as a whole of the territory of today's Slovenia. Regardless of what happened in the past and regardless of which geographical unit this territory belonged to, we have to consider it as a complete unit in itself. That is why all traversals of its current borders are marked as migrations.

If from the group of 573 musicians all undefined travellers are subtracted, there remain a total of 423 musicians whose origins are documented accurately enough to create a widely defined image of migrations in the territory of today's Slovenia.

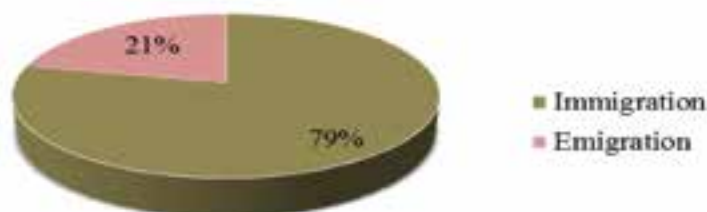


Chart 1. Migrations in the territory of today's Slovenia.

⁵ Jože ŠKOFLJANEC, 'Red manjših bratov (O.F.M.) in province sv. Križa' [The order of Friars Minor (O.F.M.) and the province of Holy Cross], in: *Frančiškani v Ljubljani: samostan, cerkev in župnija Marijinega oznanjenja* [Franciscans in Ljubljana: monastery, church and parish of the Annunciation], Ljubljana: Samostan in župnija Marijinega oznanjenja v Ljubljani, 2000, pp. 10–79, 46–49, 52, 56.

Chart 1 shows that the rate of immigration was much higher than that of emigration. Because of the widely defined concept of migration, this fact has to be precisely analysed, in order to answer the most important question about what kind of migrations were occurring in the territory of today's Slovenia, and who these migrant musicians were.

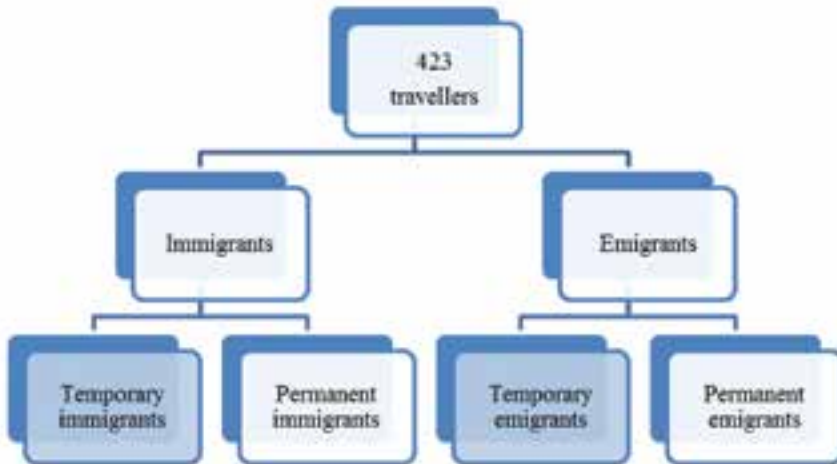


Chart 2. Groups of travelling musicians.

For purposes of classification, the travelling musicians, both immigrants and emigrants, were separated into four groups as shown in Chart 2. They are organised according to whether their immigration or emigration was either temporary or permanent. Each category will be treated below.

MUSICIANS WHOSE IMMIGRATION WAS TEMPORARY

The analysis of musicians included in the research shows that many of them were guest musicians, who remained for just a short period. These temporary immigrants were mostly professional musicians.

The most prominent professional musicians were members of the German and the Italian theatre groups which performed in Ljubljana in the

eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They consisted of impresarios, singers and dancers among whom were also groups of important impresarios, such as Mingotti, Schikaneder and Schantrock. These groups had been operating in Ljubljana only during the performing season and at its conclusion they left Ljubljana for other European cities. Because of their constant migrations the theatre groups should perhaps be more accurately described as travellers.

The amateur musicians consist mostly of church representatives: priests, who were mostly instrumentalists, teachers, composers, singers and choirmasters; and monks who were singers, composers, librettists and stage managers. The remaining group consists of publishers, printers and book traders.

MUSICIANS WHOSE EMIGRATION WAS TEMPORARY

A smaller group of musicians temporarily emigrated from the territory under consideration. The amateur musicians consisted mostly of students who were studying at the universities of important European centres of the time such as Vienna, Padua and Graz. There are also some students of the Ferdinandeum in Graz, of whom it is known that after completing their studies they returned to the territory of today's Slovenia.

The most common professional musicians among the temporary emigrants were instrument makers who were mostly organ builders. The nature of organ building demands temporary travels: before the contract was signed, the organ builder had to examine the room where the organ was supposed to be built, and because of financial limitations he often had to build the organ in the place for which it had been ordered.

Beside organ builders there were also some other music professions, such as those of instrumentalists and composers who studied in the Ferdinandeum in Graz or in other Austrian cities (Salzburg, Vienna) and who returned to present-day Slovenian territory after their studies. There were also some other professional instrumentalists who made guest appearances on festival occasions in other cities such as Graz, for example.

These immigrant and emigrant guest musicians did not have any significant or prominent influence on Slovenian music history; all the theatre groups in

Ljubljana just proved that, regarding music production, Ljubljana could compare to other European cities, while temporary emigrations resulted in the emigrating musicians being placed side by side with musicians from other European cities.

Those musicians whose immigration or emigration was permanent are of great importance for Slovenian music history. Their integration into the new environment and their contribution to the development of musical life increases the importance and recognition of the Slovenian musical environment in the history of European music.

MUSICIANS WHOSE EMIGRATION WAS PERMANENT

The musicians whose emigration was permanent and who integrated successfully into the musical life of the new environment were mostly professional musicians who were predominantly instrumentalists, singers and instrument makers. They mostly operated in Austrian cities such as Graz, Vienna, Klagenfurt, Innsbruck, Admont, Rottenmann and Vetrinj. They were employed as court or church musicians and some of them were also town musicians. They lived abroad from ten to fifty years, in some cases longer, and approximately half of them concluded their lives there. Among them were some important musicians. For example, Franciscus Xaverius Crisman built organs for many important churches in Austria (St Florian, Admont) and some of them remain preserved today; Joannes Baptista Dolar [Janez Krstnik Dolar], born in Kamnik, was employed in Vienna as a composer and a choirmaster; Daniel Lackner, born in Maribor, was a court musician and a composer in Loosdorf; Gabriel Plautzius [Plautz] was a composer and a court musician in Mainz, and the composers Francesco [Franc] Pollini and Giuseppe Tartini were successful musicians in the Italian cities.

Those examples show us that the musicians who emigrated and who managed to integrate into the new environment left there a significant impression and were on a par with other already established musicians in those new environments.

All the groups of migrant musicians presented so far show us that the migrations included in the database cannot be compared. The broadly defined concept of migration does not yet contribute to a complete picture

of music in Slovenia. The meaning of music migrations for Slovenian musical life is going to be clarified through the consideration of those musicians whose immigration was permanent and who have been a major influence on Slovenian music.

MUSICIANS WHOSE IMMIGRATION WAS PERMANENT

During the course of the research 75 musicians in total were found who had permanently immigrated to the territory of today's Slovenia. As can be seen from Chart 3, the number of professional and amateur musicians is almost the same.

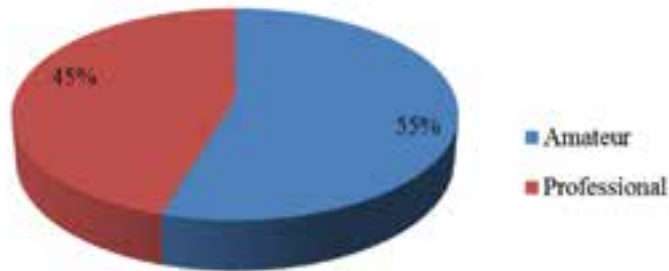


Chart 3. Musicians who immigrated permanently.

The monks were the biggest group of amateur musicians and were mostly active in the production of instrumental and vocal music. They were also active as music teachers, composers, copyists and choirmasters. The analyses show us that the biggest groups of musicians among the female orders were the Ursulines and Dominicans and among the male orders most musicians were found among the Franciscans⁶, Cistercians and Jesuits.

They all migrated to present-day Slovenia mostly from Austrian and Czech territories and rarely from Croatia, Germany and Italy. They were active exclusively in monasteries and therefore the music they produced was mostly meant for liturgical purposes.

⁶ Among the Franciscans mentioned here who immigrated permanently are only those who were active for an extended period in the territory of today's Slovenia. The issue of the Franciscan order is described on pp. 3–4 of this article.

There was less immigration of professional musicians and they consisted predominantly of instrument makers who founded their workshops mostly in Ljubljana. The majority of them were bell founders, and one well-known bell foundry was that of the Venetian family Samassa. Iosephus Samassa immigrated to Ljubljana in the first half of the eighteenth century on the initiative of his relative Casparus Franchi. Franchi was an already established bell founder in Ljubljana who wanted to pass on his property to younger family members.⁷

Some of them were also organ builders such as, for example, Joannes Franciscus Janecek who came to Celje from the Czech city Poděbrady and who created the most extensive body of work among all organ builders from the eighteenth century in the territory of today's Slovenia.⁸

Other immigrant musicians were mostly church musicians, and some town musicians. The most prominent of them were instrumentalists, and even more precisely the organists who played in some important churches such as the cathedral of Ljubljana, the parish church of Maribor and the cathedral of Gornji Grad. Alongside their performance duties at liturgical worship they also took care of the music education of younger generations. They sang, composed, led choirs and took care of the transcription of music material. Among them there were people whose work was an important contribution to Slovenian musical history.

Among these musicians were Jakob Franz Suppan, Benedictus Schluga, Jožef Anton Krejči [Kregczy, Kretschi], Jan Slavik and many others.

Jakob Frančišek Zupan came to Kamnik from today's Austria. He was a teacher, an organist, and a composer who wrote the first Slovenian opera *Belin*. He founded a private school and was active in the Accademische Confoederation Stae Caeciliae which was probably the first civic musical association in Slovenia.

Benedictus Schluga came to Celje from today's Italy, and left there many musical transcriptions which are today preserved in the archive of the cathedral of Celje.

⁷ Ljubomir Andrej LISAC, 'Franchi, Gašpar (okoli 1657–1733)', in: *Slovenska biografija*, Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013. <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi191389/> (access: 22 April 2016).

⁸ Edo ŠKULJ, *Baročne orglarske delavnice* [Baroque organ workshops], Škocjan pri Turjaku: Župnija, 2012, p. 97.

Jožef Anton Krejči came to Gornji Grad from Moravia (today's Czech Republic) and worked there as an organist and later also as a teacher in Novo Mesto. His musical transcriptions are preserved in the chapter archive in Novo Mesto.

Jan Slavik came from today's Czech Republic and was an organist in many Slovenian locations.

These immigrant musicians worked mostly in the cathedral of Ljubljana which was at that time the most important institution for the development of the church music in the territory of modern-day Slovenia. Its influence was not only visible in Carniola, but had an indirect influence on Styria as well due to its collaboration with the cathedral of Gornji Grad. The extent and the quality of the cathedral's music chapel remarkably increased at the beginning of the eighteenth century when the bishop and patron Sigismund Krištof Herberstein donated his entire personal fund before moving to Perugia.⁹

At that time the music chapel consisted of singers, organists, choirmasters and other instrumentalists who had emigrated mostly from Austria and from the today's Czech Republic as well as some musicians from the territory of today's Slovenia, who temporarily worked in other European cities such as Vienna or Graz.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the regens chori of the chapel was Valentin Pistorius who came to Ljubljana from Italy, and the organist was Janez Gašper Gošelj from Ljubljana, who studied in the Ferdinadeum in Graz. He was also a composer and the leader of the Philharmonische Gesellschaft. After his death Pavel Prandtsteyel, an organist from Bavaria, succeeded him. The teacher and choirmaster at that time was Vaclav Josef Götzl from today's Czech Republic.¹⁰

At the end of the eighteenth century the organist was František Josef Benedikt Dusík from today's Czech Republic who worked as a composer and

⁹ Janez HÖFLER, *Tokovi glasbene kulture na Slovenskem od začetkov do 19. stoletja* [Trends in the music culture of Slovenia from its beginnings to the 19th century], Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1970, p. 52; Dragotin CVETKO, *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem* [History of music on the Slovenian Territory], vol. 1, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1958, pp. 167–168.

¹⁰ HÖFLER, *Tokovi glasbene kulture na Slovenskem*, 1970, p. 50.

copyist. In his time the members of the music chapel included Josef Wagner, who also worked for the Philharmonische Gesellschaft, and Joseph Niklitz from the modern-day Czech Republic, both of whom were instrumentalists.¹¹

The successor of Dusík was Anton Höller, who came to Ljubljana from today's Austria. He was also a composer and a member of Philharmonische Gesellschaft. In his time the music chapel reached a high level of musical performance. The reason for that was the presence of top quality musicians, among them two singers from Austria. Mathäus Babnigg came from Vienna and was also active in the Philharmonische Gesellschaft and Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt who, besides being a singer, was a composer as well.¹²

A lot of cathedral musicians engaged in other activities alongside their work obligation. Many of them were members of the Academie Philharmonicorum, founded in 1701, and their concerts and performances were held for general public as well.¹³

Immigrant musicians were also active in the parish church of Maribor. At the visitation in Maribor in the 1741 was the organist Adam Kessler, who came from today's Czech Republic, as well musicians from Austria. These were the cantor Franc Winkler and his assistant Franz Niedermayer, the teacher and choirmaster Franz Ksaverij Grill and the instrumentalist Johann Mascon. They all came to Maribor from the region of Styria, but because at that time the city was part of this region they cannot be considered migrants.

Manuscripts from the end of the eighteenth century which were written by Anton Tremmel, who worked as a copyist and music teacher and who emigrated from today's Hungary, are preserved in the parish archive of Maribor. He later founded the first male singing association in Maribor and

¹¹ Matjaž BARBO, *František Josef Benedikt Dusík*, Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta Oddelek za muzikologijo, 2009, p. 27; Primož KURET, 'Vloga in pomen ljubljanske Filharmonične družbe v času njenega nastanka' [The role and meaning of Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Ljubljana at the time of its establishment], in: *Evropski glasbeni klasicizem in njegov odmev na Slovenskem* [European musical Classicism and its response in Slovenia], eds. Dragotin Cvetko, Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1988, pp. 45–52: 47.

¹² HÖFLER, *Tokovi glasbene kulture na Slovenskem* 1970, p. 123.

¹³ *IBID.*, pp. 53–54.

was responsible for the establishment of the musical association in Maribor.¹⁴ From the foregoing description of musical life in the cathedral of Ljubljana and the parish church in Maribor we can see that most of the immigrant musicians came from the regions of today's Austria and Czech Republic. From Chart 4 we can see that musicians from other territories were present in smaller numbers as well.

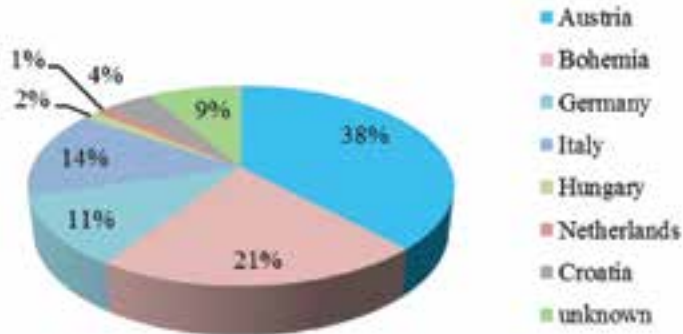


Chart 4. The regional origins of immigrating musicians.

All the results presented confirm the assumption that there were strong and numerous migration flows on the territory of today's Slovenia, and reveal the fact that the migrations were mostly short term in nature. Although permanent immigrant musicians represented less than a quarter of all migrations, their influence on the music life of today's Slovenia was very important. These musicians occupied the most crucial and significant positions in the musical life of that time and thereby strongly contributed to the rise of the quality of music reproduction. With many extra musical activities alongside their daily work obligations, such as for example, their collaboration in the Academia Philharmonicorum, they contributed also to the knowledge of secular music in Ljubljana. All the immigrant musicians successfully integrated into the musical life of the territory of today's Slovenia and they nurtured the development of its quality.

¹⁴ IBID., p. 49.

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*From the Periphery to the Centre and Back:
The Case of Giuseppe Raffaelli (1767–1843) from Hvar*

This article offers an overview of the life and musical activities of Giuseppe Raffaelli (1767–1843) from Hvar – the composer, organist, priest, and, at one point of his life, music migrant.¹

Considering the time and place of his residence and the phases of his musical progress, Raffaelli's life can be roughly divided into three periods, which will be discussed below:²

- early period (Hvar, 1767–1792): refers to his childhood and adolescence spent in his birth town, where he began his musical education;
- middle period (Italy, 1792–c.1800?): refers to his stay in Italy, where he continued his music studies and later obtained his first employment as a chapel master and organist in Este;

¹ The majority of Raffaelli's compositions are kept in the Archives of the Hvar Cathedral. However, Raffaelli's manuscripts are only one part of the rich musical legacy preserved on the island of Hvar, which I have been working on over the last three years in the archives of the towns of Hvar and Stari Grad (as a part of the project *MusMig* and for my doctoral thesis *Art music of the island of Hvar in the period from the 17th until the first decades of the 20th century: Archival music collections in Hvar and Stari Grad*, supervisor: Prof. Vjera Katalinić, in progress).

² There is a scarcity of archival documents bearing witness to Raffaelli's life. Therefore, the composer's obituary, written by Giovanni Machiedo, served as the main biographical reference in Janka Šanjek's article which is to date the most comprehensive study on Raffaelli's life and work. See Giovanni MACHIEDO, [Necrologia: Giuseppe Raffaelli], *Gazzetta di Zara* 9/28 (1843) 7 April, pp. 109–112 and Janka ŠANJEK, 'O životu i radu Josipa Raffaellija' [On the life and work of Giuseppe Raffaelli], in: *Prilozi povijesti muzike otoka Hvara* [Contributions to the music history of the Island of Hvar], ed. Niko Duboković Nadalini, Split: Historijski arhiv – Hvar, 1958, pp. 29–46. Later updates on Raffaelli's biography, based on sources from the Historical Archives of Zadar, can be found in: Ivan Bošković, 'Prinosi životopisu Josipa Raffaellija (1767–1843)' [A contribution to the biography of Josip Raffaelli (1767–1843)], *Arti musices* 13/1 (1982), pp. 17–31.

- late(r) period (Hvar, 1804–1843): refers to the time after his return to Hvar, where he was appointed a cathedral organist and *maestro di cappella* in 1804. Almost all his works were composed in the latter period and for the church service, in which he applied the musical knowledge he had acquired in Italy.

EARLY PERIOD (HVAR, 1767–1792)

Giuseppe Raffaelli was born in Hvar in 1767 into a wealthy patrician family, where he was introduced to music at young age by his father Marcantonio, who was an amateur musician and a solid violinist.³ He spent his childhood and early youth in his native town, once a prosperous humanistic centre, which was going through cultural and economic decay due to the decline of the Republic of Venice towards the end of the eighteenth century. However, the provincial town of Hvar was enlightened by the end of century by two famous intellectuals of the time: the bishop Giandomenico Stratico⁴ (1732–1799; 1784/5–1799 in Hvar) and Giulio Bajamonti⁵ (1744–1800; 1785–1790 in Hvar), the physician and musician, who both encouraged and improved educational and cultural activities in the environment where Raffaelli was growing up.⁶ Stratico, born in Zadar and of Greek origin, received his ecclesiastical education in Rome, before proceeding to professorships of

³ MACHIEDO, [Necrologia: Giuseppe Raffaelli], p. 109.

⁴ See the following monograph on bishop Stratico: Stjepan KRASIĆ, *Ivan Dominik Stratiko* [Giandomenico Stratico], Split: Književni krug, 1991.

⁵ A detailed review of Bajamonti's life and work is given in: Ivan MILČETIĆ, 'Dr. Julije Bajamonti i njegova djela' [Dr. Giulio Bajamonti and his works], *Rad JAZU* 192 (1912), pp. 97–250. See also the collection of articles on Bajamonti's biography and intellectual heritage: *Splitski polihistor Julije Bajamonti* [Polyhistor from Split: Giulio Bajamonti], ed. Ivo Frangeš, Split: Književni krug, 1996.

⁶ The enlightening efforts of Stratico and Bajamonti on the island of Hvar are presented and discussed in: Ana Perinić LEWIS – Pavao RUDAN, '*Spectemur agendo – prepoznaje nas se po našem djelovanju!* Prosvjetiteljski rad biskupa Ivana Dominika Stratika i liječnika Julija Bajamontija na otoku Hvaru' [*Spectemur agendo – Let us be Judged by our Acts!* Enlightenment's work of Bishop Ivan Dominik Stratiko and Doctor Julije Bajamonti on the Island of Hvar], *Rad HAZU – Razred za društvene znanosti* 49 (2012), pp. 57–118.

theology in Florence, Pisa and Siena. He was friends with Italian but also Dalmatian intellectuals of the Enlightenment, as well as with Bajamonti later in Hvar. The only schools then in town were a grammar school for rhetoric and poetry and a school in the Dominican Monastery.⁷ Therefore, Stratico founded a seminary at the Hvar Diocese, where he himself taught some of the subjects as well.⁸ Classes were attended by almost all clerics of the Diocese, including Raffaelli, who became a priest under Stratico's tutorship, after he had finished his studies in literature, philosophy and theology.⁹

Raffaelli obtained his elementary knowledge of music in the Cathedral of Hvar from Nikola Politeo, the organist, canon and doctor of law. However, Raffaelli continued his music lessons privately with Giulio Bajamonti from Split.¹⁰ Bajamonti, educated in Padua, was primarily a physician, but during his lifetime he was active as an organist and a composer of sacred and secular music written in European pre-classical and classical style. Apart from his work as a physician in Hvar, he was active in music making as well: he occasionally played the organ in the cathedral, worked on new compositions and taught the young Raffaelli.¹¹

Their successful musical collaboration was proved by the performance of Bajamonti's cantata *La Passione di Gesù Cristo*, written in 1788 on the text of Pietro Metastasio, where the main roles were sung by Bajamonti (as Magdalena) and Raffaelli (as Peter), a fact which suggests that their vocal skills were of a high level.¹² The piece was performed on Maundy Thursday (in 1788) in the Big Hall of Bishop's Palace, where Stratico used to organize religious and cultural events. Namely, one of the many forms of Stratico's enlightening efforts in

⁷ Cf. Grga NOVAK, *Prošlost Dalmacije II* [History of Dalmatia II], Zagreb: Izdanje hrvatskog izdavačkog bibliografskog zavoda, 1944, pp. 252–254.

⁸ Cf. KRASIĆ, *Ivan Dominik Stratiko*, pp. 270–278.

⁹ MACHIEDO, [Necrologia: Giuseppe Raffaelli], p. 109.

¹⁰ Cf. BOŠKOVIĆ, 'Prinosi životopisu Josipa Raffaellija (1767–1843)', pp. 22, 26.

¹¹ An overview of Bajamonti's various musical interests and activities can be found in: Miljenko GRGIĆ, 'Dr. Julije Bajamonti, glazbenik' [Dr Giulio Bajamonti, the musician], in: *Splitski polihistor Julije Bajamonti* [Polyhistor from Split: Giulio Bajamonti], ed. Ivo Frangeš, Split: Književni krug, 1999, 87–115. See also the general information on Bajamonti's stay in Hvar in: Nevenka BEZIĆ BOŽANIĆ, 'Julije Bajamonti u Hvaru' [Giulio Bajamonti in Hvar], in: *Splitski polihistor Julije Bajamonti* [Polyhistor from Split: Giulio Bajamonti], ed. Ivo Frangeš, Split: Književni krug, 1999, 138–143.

¹² Cf. GRGIĆ, 'Dr. Julije Bajamonti, glazbenik', pp. 97–99.

educating church and secular youth in Hvar was organizing literary evenings, concerts and theatrical plays for clerics and other citizens, held in the Big Hall of Bishop's Palace, especially during the period of carnival and Holy Week.¹³ As we have seen, Stratico's like-minded friend Bajamonti and their common pupil Giuseppe Raffaelli were involved in one such event, where they had main roles. No doubt that the two intellectuals significantly influenced Raffaelli's formation as a musician, priest and enlightenment personality in general, but also his decision to continue his music studies in Italy in 1792.

MIDDLE PERIOD (ITALY, 1797–C. 1800?)

The years Raffaelli spent in Italy remain obscure and can only be brought to light by researching the musical archives in the Italian towns where he stayed. Giovanni Machiedo, a jurist from Hvar and Raffaelli's friend, claimed in an obituary written on the occasion of the composer's death in 1843 that Raffaelli had spent nine years in Italy, staying first in Venice and Padua and later in 'other towns' whose names, unfortunately, he didn't mention.¹⁴ However, in 1982 Ivan Bošković published a letter to the Grand Council of Split, written by the count Dujam Grisogono on 6 April 1804, where he recommended Raffaelli for the post of *maestro di capella* in the Cathedral of Split.¹⁵ In it he praised Raffaelli's widely known musical skills, achieved by studying music in Padua for a few years and then working as a chapel master and organist in the small town of Este near Padua for eight years, but Grisogono did not mention Venice. Unfortunately, apart from Machiedo's statement no other document confirms Raffaelli's stay in Venice, so it is possible that he stayed there only for a short period. On the other hand, Machiedo surely knew that Raffaelli had stayed in Este, which is proved by an extant letter, sent to him

¹³ Cf. KRASIĆ, *Ivan Dominik Stratiko*, pp. 278–280.

¹⁴ MACHIEDO, [Necrologia: Giuseppe Raffaelli], p. 109.

¹⁵ The transcription of Grisogono's recommendation letter from 6 April 1804 (kept in the Historical Archives of Zadar, sign. IV/2, vol. 783, no. 23601), can be found in: BOŠKOVIĆ, 'Prinosi životopisu Josipa Raffaellija (1767–1843)', pp. 26–27 (Croatian translation: pp. 19–20).

by Raffaelli from Este on 15 September 1799.¹⁶ In that letter Raffaelli asked Machiedo to represent him in negotiations over property with his father, who hadn't sent him any money for five years. Raffaelli demanded that his father send him one hundred zucchini before February 1800 because he was in a hurry due to his move from Este. He claimed that he would return to Hvar immediately if his father agreed to forward the money, otherwise he would have to start legal proceedings with Machiedo as his lawyer.¹⁷ It is not clear if Marcantonio Raffaelli fulfilled his son's demands and if Giuseppe soon received the requested amount of money and returned to his hometown – unfortunately, sources on Raffaelli's life before 1804 are missing. However, it seems that he was already preparing to leave Este in 1799.

As we can see, Raffaelli's years in Italy remain rather obscure, and the scarcity of data does not help us to clarify the facts of his life there. Namely, as Ivan Bošković noticed, if Machiedo's statement that Raffaelli spent in Italy nine years is correct (1792–1801) and if, as Grisogono claimed, he lived and worked in Este for eight years, it turns out that he studied music in Padua only for a year (1792–3) and that he worked in Este from 1793 to 1801. This conclusion contradicts Grisogono's information about Raffaelli having spent 'a few years' in Padua.¹⁸ Although it cannot be confirmed how long Raffaelli remained in Padua, both Machiedo and Grisogono agreed that Padua was the town where he was educated by Ferdinando Turrini Bertoni (1745–1820), which Raffaelli himself confirmed to Bajamonti in a letter from Padua, written on 8 March 1792.¹⁹ Turrini was a Venetian pupil, educated by his uncle Ferdinando Bertoni (1725–1813), a famous and respected composer of operas and sacred music

¹⁶ Archives of the family Machiedo, sign. 6.17 (2 fol.).

¹⁷ '(...) Ecco l'affare: a mio Padre io propongo o di esborsare per me cecchini cento per una sol volta, ovvero concedermi la mia legitima, quando non fosse persuaso di farmi un'annuo assegnamento. Se Egli condiscende alla prima proposizione, l'affare è finito, ed io subito dopo la ricevuta da indicata somma ritorno a Lesina: se poi ciò non puo essere, mi conviene appigliarmi alla spiacevole determinazione della legittima, ed in tal caso ho lo bisogno di Lei assistenza facendo il mio Procuratore. Per il prossimo Febbraio 1800 [a ne] preme ultimata la cosa, e la ragione della mia premura sia una Cambiale che allora va a scadermi (...)' Archives of the family Machiedo, sign. 6.17, fol. 1r.

¹⁸ Bošković, 'Prinosi životopisu Josipa Raffaellija (1767–1843)', pp. 24–25.

¹⁹ See the transcription of Raffaelli's letter to Bajamonti, kept in the Archeological Museum in Split (sign. 49f1/3a), in: Bošković, 'Prinosi životopisu Josipa Raffaellija (1767–1843)', pp. 22–23 (footnote 17).

and long-time organist and chapel master in Saint Mark's Basilica in Venice.²⁰ As with the majority of his contemporaries, Turrini was also involved in opera production as a successful opera composer and harpsichord player in Venetian theatres. He moved to Padua in 1766 and worked there as an organist and music teacher in the Basilica of San Giustina, where Raffaelli, it seems, attended his classes. Apart from operas, Turrini also wrote cantatas, instrumental pieces for solo keyboard instruments and chamber ensembles, and also for other vocal and instrumental genres.²¹ Since he was a skilful harpsichord player and composer, it is no wonder that the only preserved instrumental piece of his pupil Raffaelli is the *Variations for harpsichord and pianoforte*, which may have been written during his residence in Padua.

As Grisogono mentioned in his recommendation from 1804, Raffaelli began a friendship in Padua with 'rinomato Maestro Rachivatti' (today unknown) and spent his time in Padua in company of other musicians, although their names remained secret.²² If we consider the musicians who, along with Turrini, were active in Padua at that time, it can be assumed that Raffaelli could have known, for example, Gaetano Valeri²³ (1760–1822), a skilful organist and composer, who spent nearly 35 years as a chapel master and organist in the Padua Cathedral. Like Raffaelli, he was also taught music by Turrini, and wrote mostly for male choirs, generally accompanied by smaller or bigger instrumental ensembles or by organs, intended for performances in the Cathedral. He wrote instrumental music as well, sonatas for solo keyboard instruments and *sinfonie* for orchestras and chamber ensembles. Raffaelli might have heard one of Valeri's few operatic works, *Il trionfo di Alessandro sopra se stesso*, shortly after his arrival in Padua, since it was performed for the first time on 18 May 1792 in the Teatro Nuovo.²⁴ During that time (c. 1790–c. 1796) the Teatro Nuovo was managed by the brothers Calegari, who Raffaelli might

²⁰ Cf. George TRUETT HOLLIS, 'Ferdinando Bertoni', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, London: Macmillan, 2001, pp. 469–471.

²¹ An overview of Turrini's life and work can be found in: Giusy DE BERARDINIS, 'Nuove acquisizioni sulla vita e sulle opere di Ferdinando Turrini' [New insights into the life and works of Ferdinando Turrini], *Studi Musicali* 2/1 (2011), pp. 67–114.

²² See in: BOŠKOVIĆ, 'Prinosi životopisu Josipa Raffaellija (1767–1843)', p. 26.

²³ Cf. Sven HANSELL – Luisella MOLINA, 'Gaetano Valeri', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 26, London: Macmillan, 2001, p. 216.

²⁴ *IBID.*

have known as well: Antonio²⁵ (1757–1828), a music director, and Giuseppe²⁶ (c. 1750–1812), an impresario, both highly respected composers of opera and sacred music in Padua. It is known that Antonio Calegari, just like Turrini, had been a pupil of Bertoni in Venice, who – after working in Theatre – went on working as an organist and chapel master in the Basilica di S. Antonio di Padua, for whose services he wrote a great number of sacred works.

Since Raffaelli later served as a chapel master and organist in Este,²⁷ he might have maintained a professional relationship with the musicians in the closest urban centre, Padua (and maybe Venice as well) and exchanged musical ideas and materials for the church services. Of course, it can be assumed that Raffaelli was active as a composer in Este, too, which can be resolved by examining the archives of this small town. The composers from Raffaelli's surroundings, who were almost all equally involved in writing both sacred and secular music, especially operas, influenced his musical aesthetics and style. They may too have been shaped by the rich theatrical and operatic production in Venice and Padua at that time, despite the advanced crisis which clearly pointed to the end of the Serenissima. Although Raffaelli, as it seems, didn't compose musical-theatrical pieces, his style was marked by the strong influence of eighteenth-century Italian opera, which he might have heard during his visits to Italian opera houses. Moreover, the fact that he became a member of *Società del Teatro* and the owner of a box in the Hvar Theatre after he had returned to his hometown confirms that he was a great theatre enthusiast.²⁸

There was a rich production of church music in Italy during the second half of the eighteenth century. However, it was losing much of its relevance to an audience which was turning its attention more and more towards court and theatrical events. Towards the late eighteenth century it was obvious that church music was heading into two directions. The first began to rely on the musical language of *opera seria*, which was being increasingly adopted in liturgical genres. On the other hand, some musicians maintained their relationship with

²⁵ Cf. Sven HANSELL, 'Antonio Calegari', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 4, London: Macmillan, 2001, pp. 829–830.

²⁶ Cf. Sven HANSELL, 'Giuseppe Calegari', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 4, London: Macmillan, 2001, pp. 828–829.

²⁷ It can be assumed that he was employed in the Cathedral of Este or in the Basilica of Santa Maria Delle Grazie. Cf. ŠANJEK, 'O životu i radu Josipa Raffaellija', pp. 33–34.

²⁸ Cf. Mirjana KOLUMBIĆ, *Hvar i njegovo kazalište 1612.-2012.* [Hvar and its theatre 1612–2012], Hvar: Grad Hvar – Muzej hvarske baštine, 2012, p. 75.

tradition, by remaining devoted to the principles of counterpoint and imitation in strict, Palestrinian manner.²⁹ Raffaelli's extant sacred works, mostly written in Hvar in the first half of the nineteenth century, rely almost entirely on the first idiom – on the style of Italian (late) eighteenth-century opera, although in few pieces he applied some polyphonic procedures.³⁰ Therefore, his opus may be perceived as a complete unit, based on similar stylistic features adopted while staying in Italy and later shaped in accordance with the performing level of his contemporary local musicians in Hvar.

LATE(R) PERIOD (HVAR, 1804–1843)

The first note on Raffaelli after his return home dates back to 1804, when the Grand Council elected him a chapel master of the Cathedral of Split on 9 April following Grisogono's recommendation.³¹ But it seems that he did not take up the position and instead he went to Hvar, where he was appointed canon, organist and chapel master in the cathedral in May 1804.³² There he conducted a choir, where not only clerics but also laymen, mostly wealthy citizens of Hvar, took part from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards.³³ His work proves that his cathedral choir was occasionally accompanied by smaller orchestras, assembled from amateurs who were mostly active in the Theatre of Hvar. During his second period in Hvar Raffaelli taught music in elementary school, and gradually advanced as a church official: in 1821 he was elected a general vicar during the episcopacy of Ivan Škakoc (Scacoz) (1752–1837; 1821–1837 in Hvar), while during the episcopacy of Filippo Domenico Bordini (1775–1865; 1838–1865 in Hvar) he became a *primicerious*.³⁴

²⁹ Giorgio PESTELLI, *Doba Mozarta i Beethovena* [The times of Mozart and Beethoven], Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2008, pp. 87–88.

³⁰ Cf. ŠANJEK, 'O životu i radu Josipa Raffaellija', p. 36.

³¹ Cf. BOŠKOVIĆ, 'Prinosi životopisu Josipa Raffaellija (1767–1843)', pp. 20–22, 26 (transcription of a source on Raffaelli's election by the Grand Council from 9 April 1804, Zadar Historical Archives, sign. IV/2, vol. 783, no. 23601).

³² *IBID.*, p. 24. See also: Juraj DULČIĆ, 'Još o glazbeniku Josipu Raffaelliju: Povodom 100-godišnjice njegove smrti' [More about the musician Giuseppe Raffaelli: In honor of the 100th anniversary of his death], *Sveta Cecilija* 37/1 (1943), p. 145.

³³ *IBID.* See also: ŠANJEK, 'O životu i radu Josipa Raffaellija', p. 31.

³⁴ *IBID.*

In the period after Raffaelli's return, Hvar and all of Dalmatia was going through a rather turbulent phase. After the Austrian (1797–1805) and then French (1805–1813) rule, the town was governed by Austria from 1813 to 1918, but was left to its own devices economically and culturally. However, the culture of Hvar remained vibrant through the founding of the *Società del Teatro* in 1803, whose role was to maintain the theatre building and the theatre programme.³⁵ Thanks to the Society, local and Italian musical and theatrical groups performed in the Theatre of Hvar: in the 1819/1820 season alone, more than 30 plays were performed.³⁶ According to Machiedo's obituary, Raffaelli's two cantatas were performed there as well by Hvar amateurs. The first one was performed on 12 February 1831 to celebrate the birthday of Francis I, and the other on 19 April 1836 on the occasion of the name-day of the king Ferdinand I.³⁷ Besides the instrumental variations for harpsichord probably dating from the earlier period, these two significant yet no longer extant cantatas would be the only contribution to Raffaelli's secular output. Therefore, Raffaelli's contribution is reflected primarily in the field of church music, where – according to a preliminary revised list of his works – he left at least 48 compositions: 6 masses, 13 hymns and 14 psalm settings, and 15 other sacred pieces (antiphons, responsories, motets, chants for the Lenten season),³⁸ mostly written for the services in the Cathedral of Hvar.³⁹

Analyzing several of Raffaelli compositions, Janka Šanjek defined some basic features of Raffaelli's opus, which could be summarized in following points:⁴⁰

~ In relation to the performing conditions of his environment, Raffaelli mostly composed small-scale church forms. However, he wrote several

³⁵ More information on the social and cultural activities of *Società del Teatro* can be found in: KOLUMBIĆ, *Hvar i njegovo kazalište 1612.-2012.*, pp. 73–93.

³⁶ *IBID.*, p. 80.

³⁷ MACHIEDO, [Necrologia: Giuseppe Raffaelli], p. 117. See also: DULČIĆ, 'Još o glazbeniku Josipu Raffaelliju', p. 146.

³⁸ The final version of the revised list of Raffaelli's works will be presented in the article now in progress, which is planned for publication in 2017, in honor of composer's 250th birth anniversary.

³⁹ Although most of Raffaelli's works are preserved in the Archives of Hvar Cathedral, a number of his pieces kept in the archives of the towns of Stari Grad, Dubrovnik and Split testify to Raffaelli's popularity outside Hvar in his time.

⁴⁰ Cf. ŠANJEK, 'O životu i radu Josipa Raffaellija', p. 35–43.

larger pieces, often consisting of several movements, each of them introducing new music material. That practice, of course, is reminiscent of independent musical numbers in the Italian opera at the end of eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

- Compositions were primarily written for male choirs *a capella* or with organ accompaniment or, rarely, with accompaniment of a smaller instrumental ensemble or orchestra, which Raffaelli occasionally had at his disposal. The most complete orchestral ensemble can be found in his newly discovered work *Kyrie, Gloria e Credo a due*⁴¹ for soloists, choir and an orchestra consisting of flutes, oboes, bassoons, trumpets, horns, strings and an organ.
- Raffaelli used simple harmonic patterns, based on progressions of tonic, subdominant and dominant chords and their inversions. It was a basic harmonic language, especially in terms of the church music of the time. Raffaelli used harmony primarily as a technical device, and not so much as an expression of the atmosphere or the meaning of the text.
- The most prominent feature of Raffaelli's style is melody, which is mostly treated in the manner of aria *arioso* or *recitative*, while coloratura arias are given only to the soloists (melody in the choir parts was rarely ornamented, of course).
- There are no folklore elements in Raffaelli's tunes.

However, several of his works can be said to have become a part of oral musical tradition of the town of Hvar, if we take into consideration that they have been performed by the folk singers of the Hvar Cathedral each year during the Lenten season.⁴² What's more, the greatest part of his opus, completely preserved in manuscript, was kept carelessly in the archives and forgotten just like its author for decades. I hope that the completion of the catalogue of Raffaelli's works will be at least a small step in renewing interest in Raffaelli and his opus, not only among researchers and performers, but also among the local community, which should recognize him as one of the most significant personalities of its musical and cultural history in general.

⁴¹ Archives of the Hvar Cathedral, sign. Xc.33.1.

⁴² Four compositions, to be precise: setting of the 6th penitential psalm *Domine ne in furore* and three chants (all sung in by heart in Croatian language translation) *Fratres: hoc enim sentite in vobis, Alla benedizione* and *Sepulto Domino*.

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*Music Repertory in the Seventeenth-Century Commonwealth
of Poland and Lithuania. Import, Production, Export*

Although the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania in the seventeenth century was situated at a considerable distance from the leading European centres of musical life, composers living and working at the court of the Polish monarchs, who ruled also as the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, as well as at the courts of some lay and ecclesiastical magnates and at the most affluent Catholic and Protestant churches were familiar with the most recent developments in music. They were also capable of writing compositions whose up-to-date style and sophisticated compositional techniques attracted attention abroad, especially in the neighbouring countries. Over the period of nearly two decades preceding the Swedish invasion of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania in 1655, the court of Polish kings was a regional centre of musical life radiating its influence into the adjacent German states and Scandinavia. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Polish royal court remained a model of reference for musicians from Greek Catholic and Orthodox centres not only in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also in some centres in the Muscovy state.

The artistic level of music performed at the Polish royal court and in some other above-mentioned centres, and its ability to keep abreast with contemporary trends was greatly influenced by the migrant musicians active at court. For the most part, they came from Italy. In the first part of the seventeenth century, Italians dominated the royal ensembles of Polish kings of the Vasa dynasty and travelled with them throughout the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania.¹ (The major royal residences at

¹ See Anna SZWEYKOWSKA, Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the royal chapel of the Polish Vasas], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997; Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów* [The musical courts of the Polish Vasas], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2007.

the time were Cracow, Warsaw, and Vilnius, but the court also paid visits to other urban centres located in the south-east of the country, such as Lviv, or in the north, such as Gdańsk). In addition, Italian musicians found employment at the Cracow cathedral and at the courts of the nobility. As regards major Protestant churches, particularly in Gdańsk, cantors, organists and chapel masters included immigrants from various German-speaking countries or local musicians educated abroad (in the Netherlands, the duchies of the Holy Roman Empire, and Italy).² Many of them had worked at some point in their career at the Polish royal court. The frequent fluctuations of membership prevented stagnation and the limiting of the repertoire to what the foreign musicians living in Poland had already known and performed for some time. It can be assumed with great probability that at least in the first part of the century the musicians who had just arrived from Italy, or travelled regularly between Cracow or Warsaw and their homeland, carried on the 'private import' into Poland of the most recently published music prints from Italy. Evidence for this conjecture is the fact that Italian publications from the 1620s constitute a disproportionately large part of the collection of music preserved at the Wawel Cathedral in Cracow (including both the surviving documents and those known only from extant inventories). It is speculated that the prints may have been brought from Italy by Annibale Orgas, the first chapel master of the vocal-instrumental ensemble at the cathedral established in 1619, who spent several months in his native country in 1628.³ Consequently, it is almost certain that the musicians moving to the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania who had previously had their compositions published brought

² Hermann RAUSCHNING, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig. Von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Kirchenkapellen*, Danzig: Kommissionsverlag der Danziger Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1931 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreußens 15); Danuta SZLAGOWSKA, *Repertuar muzyczny z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich* [Music repertoire from seventeenth-century Gdańsk manuscripts], Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej im. Stanisława Moniuszki w Gdańsku, 2005 (Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski 10).

³ Marta PIELECH, 'Do repertuaru kapel wawelskich. Starodruki muzyczne zachowane w archiwum Katedry Wawelskiej' [A contribution to research into the repertoire of music chapels on Wawel Hill in Cracow. Old music prints held in the archive of Wawel Cathedral], *Muzyka* 46/2 (2001), pp. 59–91.

copies with them to their new place of stay. Apart from Orgas, whose *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum* (Rome 1619) found its way to the Wawel collection, it is evident that among the composers who ‘imported’ their published works into Poland were Giulio Cesare Gabussi, Asprilio Pacelli, Tarquinio Merula, Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Vincenzo Scapitta, and probably others.

Moreover, the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania became the destination for printed editions (or occasionally manuscripts) of compositions by foreign composers dedicated to Polish kings or members of the royal families, as well as to Polish and Lithuanian magnates and members of the patriciate of Gdańsk. The printed copies with dedications were authored by migrant composers who had arrived in Poland, like Asprilio Pacelli, Tarquinio Merula or Philipp Friedrich Buchner, but also by some who had never visited the country, like Francesca Caccini, Leandro Gallerano, Annibale Gregori, Stefano Landi, Pietro Lappi, Giovanni Priuli, Francesco Rognoni Taeggio, Ferdinand de Lassus.⁴ Among the authors of compositions published in anthologies with dedications addressed to persons living in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania were, among others: Abundio Antonelli, Oratio Benevoli, Giacomo Carissimi, Andrea and Tullio Cima, Ignazio Donati, Stefano Fabri, Francesco Foggia, Filippo Lomazzo, Domenico Massenzio, Virgilio Mazzocchi, Bernardino Nanini, Ferdinand and Orlande de Lassus, Vincenzo Pellegrini, Lorenzo Ratti, Francesco and Giovanni Domenico Rognoni Taeggio, Paolo Tarditi, Filippo da Vavi.⁵

⁴ See Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music in Poland*, vol. 3: *The Baroque*, part 1: 1595–1696, trans. John Comber, Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 2002, pp. 199–201; EAD., *Marcin Mielczewski and Music under the Patronage of the Polish Vasas*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 2014 (Eastern European Studies in Musicology 3), pp. 250, 347–350; EAD., ‘*Cantiones sacrae* (RISM 1602¹) z dedykacją Ferdinanda di Lasso dla Zygmunta III Wazy. Prezent nie na czasie?’ [*Cantiones sacrae* (RISM 1602¹) with Ferdinand di Lasso’s dedication to Sigismund III Vasa. An untimely gift?], in: *Ars musica and its contexts in medieval and early modern culture*, Essays in honour of Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, ed. Paweł Gancarczyk, Warszawa: Liber Pro Arte, 2016, pp. 439–457.

⁵ The anthologies in question are: *Cantiones sacrae* prepared by Ferdinand de Lassus (Munich: Nicolaus Henricus, 1602; RISM B/I 1602¹); *Flores praestantissimorum virorum* prepared by Filippo Lomazzo (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1626; RISM B/I 1626⁵); *Sacrarium modulationum ex variis selectis auctoribus collectarum selectio* prepared by Domenico Bianchi (Rome: Ludovico Grignani, 1642; RISM B/I 1642¹).

Unfortunately, currently we do not know of a single surviving copy of a print handed to the subject of the dedication. In particular, the disappearance of all music-related prints once kept in the libraries of seventeenth-century Polish kings has been a tremendous loss. Neither have music sources (printed and handwritten) used by royal musicians survived. On the other hand, some compositions that were dedicated to the Gdańsk city council by musicians who were only loosely connected with that city, if at all, have survived in manuscript form. Examples include Bernardino Borlasca, known to have held the posts of deputy chapel master and chapel master at the duke's court in Munich,⁶ or Tobias von Düren, who lived and worked in Królewiec/Königsberg (now: Kaliningrad).⁷

As for the official import of music editions, they were ordered and brought into the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania by booksellers, including those supplying the royal collections. Unfortunately, the information available about specific prints which were accessible on the Polish market during the period discussed is limited to the first decades of the seventeenth century. It is sufficient to prove, however, that such booksellers as Zacheus Kesner and Jakob Mertzenich in Cracow and Lublin – and probably also Kaspar Förster Senior in Gdańsk – had the most recently printed music from Venice, Rome, Antwerp, as well as from Nuremberg and other important printing centres in Germany, on offer almost immediately after their publication.⁸ It is reasonable to speculate that the availability of new material continued at least until the middle of the century.

The reception of foreign music in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania is confirmed by manuscript copies made in its territories. The greatest number of extant sources was created in Royal Prussia, which despite being part of the Commonwealth (of the Polish Crown) had stronger links to German and Dutch language and culture, especially in the cities. The surviving

⁶ See Preface in: Bernardino BORLASCA, *Accentus Musicalis*, eds. Danuta Szlagowska, Danuta Popinigis, Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki w Gdańsku, 2016 (Thesaurus Musicae Gedanensis 1).

⁷ SZLAGOWSKA, *Repertuar muzyczny*, pp. 211–112.

⁸ Tomasz CZEPIEL, 'Zacheus Kesner and the Music Book Trade at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century: an Inventory of 1602', *Musica Iagellonica* 2 (1997), pp. 23–69; RAUSCHNING, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 151–152.

collections of manuscripts from Lutheran churches in Gdańsk, the lute tablature created in Gdańsk most probably around 1630 (known as Ms Danzig 4022⁹), and keyboard tablatures written around 1620–30 in Catholic circles linked to Cistercian monasteries and a Jesuit college – the Pelplin Tablature¹⁰ and the so-called Oliwa Tablature (also known as the Braniewo/Braunsberg Tablature)¹¹ – provide evidence for the availability in these territories of the most current music from various regions of Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, France, and to a lesser extent England, especially in the first decades of the seventeenth century.

In the currently available collections of manuscripts from Gdańsk, the works of about 180 identified composers from the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries are preserved.¹² In addition to composers working in Royal Prussia or

⁹ Now held in Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin. See Magdalena TOMSIŃSKA, ‘Gdańska tabulatura lutniowa D-B Danzig 4022’ [Gdańsk lute tablature D-B Danzig 4022], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 10 (2012), pp. 45–101.

¹⁰ In possession of the Archiwum i Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego in Pelplin, MSS 304, 305, 306, 306a, 307, 308, 308a. See *The Pelplin Tablature*, vols. 1–10, eds. Adam Sutkowski, Alina Osostowicz-Sutkowska (vols. 1–7), Hieronim Feicht, Adam Sutkowski (vol. 8), Jan Węcowski (vol. 9), Jerzy Głos, Tadeusz Maciejewski (vol. 10), Graz – Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt – PWN – Polish Scientific Publishers 1963–1970 (*Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia* 1–10). See also Mirosław PERZ, ‘La musica sacra lombarda al “mare protestantarum” (1600 ca.). Osservazioni sul repertorio dell’intavolatura di Pelplin’, in: *La musica sacra in Lombardia nella prima metà del Seicento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Como, 31 maggio – 2 giugno 1985*, eds. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi and Maurizio Padoan, Como: A.M.I.S. (*Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi*), 1988 (*Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche dell’A.M.I.S., Como* 4), pp. 357–365.

¹¹ In the possession of the Mosklų Akademijos Biblioteka in Vilnius, MSS F 15–284, F 15–286. See for example Jan JANCA, ‘Oliwskie tabulatury organowe (ok. 1619 r.). Nowe źródła do historii muzyki w Gdańsku i na Warmii’ [The Oliwa Organ Tablatures (c. 1619). New sources for the history of music in Gdańsk and Warmia], in: *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś* [Music in Gdańsk past and present], vol. 2, Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 1992 (*Kultura muzyczna północnych ziem Polski* 6), pp. 63–92; Jūrātė TRILUPAITIENĖ, ‘Liber Tabulatura (XVII a. vargonų tabulatūra)’, *Menotyra* 1995, no. 1, pp. 4–10.

¹² See Jolanta WOŹNIAK, Barbara DŁUGOŃSKA, Danuta POPINIGIS, Danuta SZLAGOWSKA, *Thematic Catalogue of Music in Manuscript in the State Archive in Gdańsk*, Kraków – Gdańsk: Musica Iagellonica – Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki w Gdańsku, 2008 (*Music Collections from Gdańsk* 3); Danuta POPINIGIS – Barbara DŁUGOŃSKA – Danuta SZLAGOWSKA – Jolanta WOŹNIAK, *Thematic Catalogue of Music in Manuscript at the Polish Academy of Sciences Gdańsk Library*, Kraków – Gdańsk: Musica Iagellonica – Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki w Gdańsku, 2011 (*Music Collections from Gdańsk* 1).

under the patronage of Polish kings and magnates, the authors include about 10 Frenchmen, 40 Italians and a relatively greater number of composers from German countries and from the Netherlands. In the Oliwa Tablature, dated 1619, the greater part of the repertoire goes back to the sixteenth century and is of Dutch and Italian origin. By contrast, the Pelplin Tablature, written over a period of about 10 years (until about 1630; with additions from the 1660s.¹³) and containing music by more than a hundred composers, is to a much greater degree dominated by works from the seventeenth century. In both cases, a large part of the repertoire was copied into the tablature from printed editions, some of which are preserved in Gdańsk today. Although nowadays it is difficult to ascertain whether and to what extent the compositions known in Royal Prussia reached other regions of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, it is probable that at least local artists in large Prussian cities were influenced by them.

Regrettably, only a vestigial amount has been preserved of copies of foreign music from the seventeenth century from other parts of the Polish-Lithuanian State. Most of the extant material is of ecclesiastical and monastic origin and comes from Cracow and its vicinity, Sandomierz and Łowicz. On the other hand, several inventories of music materials (mostly manuscript copies) from the 1660s and next decades of the seventeenth century have survived, primarily in Catholic monasteries. They used to belong to ensembles from the Lesser Poland (Małopolska) region of Polish Crown.¹⁴

¹³ See Pieter DIRKSEN, *Heinrich Scheidemann's Keyboard Music. Transmission, Style and Chronology*, Aldershot: Ashcroft, 2007, pp. 56–58.

¹⁴ See Mirosław PERZ, 'Inwentarz przemyski (1677)' [An inventory from Przemyśl (1677)], *Muzyka* 19/4 (1974), pp. 44–69; ID., 'Na marginesie polskich inwentarzy muzycznych II poł. XVII wieku oraz traktatu M.H. Schachta *Musicus Danicus*' [On the margins of Polish music inventories from the second half of the seventeenth century and M.H. Schacht's treatise *Musicus Danicus*], *Muzyka* 22/3 (1977), pp. 75–81; Tadeusz MACIEJEWSKI, 'Inwentarz muzykaliów kapeli karmelickiej w Krakowie na Piasku z lat 1665–1684' [A music inventory of the Carmelite chapel on the Sands in Cracow 1665–1684], *Muzyka* 21/2 (1976), pp. 77–99; Jana KALINAYOVÁ, et al., *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Bratislava: Slovenské Národné múzeum. Musikmuseum, 1995; Aleksandra PATALAS, 'Polonica w inwentarzach słowackich z lat 1581–1718' [Polonica in Slovakian inventories from the years 1581–1718], *Muzyka* 47/2 (2002), pp. 97–107; Alicja DACEWICZ, 'Franciszkańskie inwentarze muzyczne z II połowy XVII wieku' [Franciscan music inventories from the second half of the seventeenth century], *W nurcie franciszkańskim* 19 (2012), pp. 139–170.

Although the music sources themselves have since been lost, we know from the inventories that apart from works of local composers and foreigners (Italians and Germans) working under Polish patronage the ensembles had at their disposal numerous compositions from various places in Italy who had no direct ties to the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. In the second half of the seventeenth century, these collections also contained copied compositions of Czech and Silesian composers. As for the authorship of the compositions listed in the surviving inventories, among the musicians we find a relatively large number of Franciscans and Piarists, and a smaller but considerable number of Carmelites. These are obvious consequences of the fact that most inventories known to us were found in Franciscan and Piarist monasteries, whereas one was preserved in a Carmelite monastery. The inventories from the Piarist monastery in Podolínec (now in Slovakia) and from the Carmelite monastery in Cracow mention also works of composers from Bohemia and Silesia, and a comparatively large batch of compositions of Italian composers working under the emperor's patronage. Evidence for the reception of their music in Cracow is found in the preserved manuscript sources produced in the city or its vicinity.¹⁵

The 'production' of music in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania in the period discussed was pursued in diverse ethnic and religious milieus, and its functions and level also varied. As for the repertoire that enjoyed popularity abroad, the current state of preservation of the sources allows for the conclusion that it was produced by five major circles: the Roman Catholic royal court, the Roman Catholic Wawel cathedral, the Roman Catholic monasteries, the Lutheran churches of Gdańsk, and the Jesuit Academy and Greek Catholic monasteries in Vilnius.

The music transmitted across Polish borders to find reception abroad included incidental music, such as sacred songs (often contrafacta), and the so-called 'Polish dances', listed in foreign sources under a variety of names in foreign languages (such as 'chorea polonica', 'polnischer Tanz', 'ballo polacco', 'saltus polonicus', 'polonoise', 'lengjel tanz', and others).¹⁶

¹⁵ See for example the manuscript collection in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow, shelf no. 5272.

¹⁶ Among others: Tobias NORLIND, 'Zur Geschichte der polnischen Tänze', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 12/4 (1911), pp. 501–525; Karol HŁAWICZKA,

As regards large-scale vocal-instrumental sacred compositions, potential ‘importers’ were attracted by their Italian style. Of equal importance was whether the composer had gained some acclaim in the region, as having connections with any of the best ensembles in Poland, particularly the royal ensemble at court, the ensemble at the Wawel Cathedral or at St Mary’s Church in Gdańsk, was deemed to guarantee a superior artistic level.

Owing to the fact that in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania there was no possibility of printing vocal-instrumental works, only a small part of music written in this country was circulated in printed form. The few publications that won broader recognition in Europe in the seventeenth century included *Sacrae cantiones* by Asprilio Pacelli and above all *Cribrum musicum* by Marco Scacchi (both were published in Venice, in 1608 and in 1643 respectively). The success of *Cribrum*, a polemical writing containing numerous compositions by Scacchi, was partly due to an intensive publicity and distribution campaign organized by the Gdańsk chapel master and bookseller Kaspar Förster Senior.

Currently known sources confirming the reception abroad of music written in Poland are mainly manuscript copies written in the seventeenth century in Silesia, Spiš and Moravia (in these regions, the copied compositions were mostly those written by the musicians active at the royal court and the Wawel Cathedral), in the German states situated to the west and north-west of the present-day Polish border, and in Sweden (where apart from the compositions from the repertoire of the royal chapels we also find sources containing music composed in Gdańsk). Except for sources preserved in Moravia, the known copies are of Lutheran origin. In some cases, the Catholic repertoire of the

‘Polska proportio’ [The Polish *Proporz*], *Muzyka* 8/1–2 (1963), pp. 39–59; Id., ‘Grundriss einer Geschichte der Polonaise’, *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning* 50 (1968), pp. 51–124; most recently, among others, Ewa DAHLIG-TUREK, „Rytmy polskie” w muzyce XVI–XIX wieku. *Studium morfologiczne* [‘Polish rhythms’ in 16th–19th century music. A morphological study], Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2006; Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, ‘Taniec polski w siedemnastowiecznych przekazach literackich’ [‘Polish dance’ in the seventeenth-century literary sources], in: *Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Piotrowi Poźniakowi w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, eds. Zofia Fabiańska, Jakub Kubieniec, Andrzej Sitarz, Piotr Wilk, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2009, pp. 227–239.

Polish royal court or the Wawel Cathedral was modified in accordance with the requirements of Protestant doctrine.¹⁷

The comparatively large amount of evidence confirming the reception of the repertoire of the royal ensembles of the Polish kings from the Vasa dynasty in Silesia can be attributed to the fact that in the years 1625–55 the Wrocław bishopric was in the hands of Prince Charles Ferdinand Vasa, who would visit Silesia accompanied by his ensemble whose leadership remained in touch with the royal court residing in Warsaw or in other places. Part of the repertoire known in Silesia was then transmitted abroad to Moravia in the south and to Saxony and Thuringia in the west. These two German states were also sympathetic to music written by composers who lived and worked in Gdańsk but who were somehow related to Saxony and Thuringia through family ties or other connections. The links between musicians from Gdańsk and the royal courts of Denmark and Sweden facilitated the transmission of not only their output, but also the repertoire of the royal ensembles of the Polish kings from the Vasa dynasty to the German states in the north, Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, and Sweden.

Music written by composers employed at the courts of the Polish kings and Grand Dukes of Lithuania was known and performed in Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and performances took place not only during the frequent and often extended visits of the court with its royal ensemble to the city. Evidence of reception exists in the form of scarcely preserved manuscript copies or sources confirming that such copies used to exist. More importantly, Vilnius became the ground where the Italian music style, characteristic of sacred music written with the practices of the Roman Catholic Church in mind, was adapted to suit the needs of the Greek Catholic Church. The essential factors that made this process possible were familiarity with the repertoire performed at the Polish royal court and the activities of

¹⁷ For more on this subject see Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, 'From the Lutheran Selection: The Surviving Repertory of Vocal-Instrumental Religious Music of the Composers of the Polish Vasas', *Musicology Today* 2 (2005), pp. 59–71; EAD., 'Odpisy oraz opracowania kompozycji Marcina Mielczewskiego i innych muzyków polskich Wazów w siedemnastowiecznej kolekcji muzykaliów kościoła św. Marii Magdaleny we Wrocławiu' [Copies and arrangements of compositions by Marcin Mielczewski and other musicians to the Polish Vasas in the seventeenth-century music collections of the Church of St Mary Magdalene in Wrocław], *Muzyka* 51/1–2 (2006), pp. 117–146.

the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius, whose associates included Nicolay Diletsky and Tomasz Szewerowski (in *Grammatika musikijaska* [A musical grammar], written in its first version in Vilnius ca 1675, Diletsky used as example passages from the works of Polish composers, Marcin Mielczewski and Jacek Różycki, written in *seconda pratica* in Italian style¹⁸). Also, an important contribution was made by the Metropolitans of Kiev residing in Vilnius: Gabriel Kolenda (d. 1674) and Cyprian Żochowski (d. 1693), pro-western patrons of Diletsky and Szewerowski¹⁹ and other authors of music for Greek Catholic circles, including the *partesny* (part-singing) concertos. We know of sources confirming that in the circle of Metropolitan Żochowski music for the Greek Catholic liturgy was performed by singers and on instruments (forbidden by the Uniate and Orthodox Churches). These accounts prove that the Greek Catholic circles in Vilnius and in the entire Grand Duchy of Lithuania adopted not only Western compositional techniques, but also performance practices. It appears, however that such practices were isolated cases rather than the norm. Following Diletsky's move to the east (to Smolensk and Moscow) and the dissemination of his treatise *A Musical Grammar*, elements of the Italian style and passages from compositions from the repertoire of the royal ensembles of Polish kings penetrated the territories of the Muscovy state and Ukraine, leaving their mark on the polyphonic sacred music created in both Greek Catholic and Orthodox circles.

Transl. Paweł Gruchała

¹⁸ Vladimir ПРОТООПОВ, 'Nikolaj Dileckij i Marcin Mielczewskij' [Nicolay Diletsky and Marcin Mielczewski], in: *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis. Acta Scientifica*, vol. 5, ed. Anna Czekanowska, Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska im. J. Paderewskiego w Bydgoszczy, 1978, pp. 573–586; Jan КАЗЕМ-БЕК, 'Marcin Mielczewski w *Grammatyce muzycznej* Mikołaja Dyleckiego' [Marcin Mielczewski in Nikolay Diletsky's *Musical Grammar*], in: *Marcin Mielczewski. Studia* [Marcin Mielczewski. Studies], ed. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999 (Acta Musicologica Universitatis Cracoviensis 7), pp. 177–186.

¹⁹ Ирина В. ГЕРАСИМОВА, 'Жизнь и творчество белорусского композитора Фомы Шеверовского' [Life and work of Belarussian composer Toma Sheverovsky], *Калoфoнiя*5 (2010), pp. 56–66.

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The Italian Music Collection of Daniel Sartorius from Breslau

The idea of ‘migration’, originally referring to populations moving to other places of settlement, has already for some time been applied to music.¹ Musicologists justify the use of this sociological concept by reference to the social origins and functions of the art of sound, which accompanies people in their lives and migrates with human populations. More and more frequently scholars study repertoires that have been transplanted to a new place: their sources, style, performance practice, choice of instruments and institutional models. Nevertheless, if ‘music migration research’ is not to remain little more than a handy anthropomorphic metaphor, it should always be conducted within its proper social context which not only explains, but also determines its directions.

Migration is associated with movement. Still, sooner or later such movement usually comes to an end and the migrants find a new home. For the migrating music repertoire, the ‘new home’ is a library. It is most likely no accident that in the Chinese language a library (*tú shū guǎn*) is represented by three ideograms: a map (圖: *tú*), a book (書: *shū*) and a house (館: *guǎn*). Considered from this perspective, a library is not only a place to store books (in our case – music books), but also a repository of maps on which the places of their origin are marked – or even the routes that the books have taken, travelling with their owners and donors.

If this is true, then the library can be conceived as a result of the music

¹ *Migration und Identität. Wanderbewegungen und Kulturkontakte in der Musikgeschichte*, eds. Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, Silke Leopold, Kassel – Basel – London – New York – Praha: Bärenreiter, 2012 (Analecta Musicologica. Veröffentlichungen der Musikgeschichtlichen Abteilung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 49).

migration (sometimes also its point of destination) which has formed its contents over many years. We refer to those contents as the heritage – that is, a selection of values preserved by a given society. The library is therefore a witness to our past, a passive repository of heritage, preserving images of the past like frames from a film chronicle. But the library can also be viewed as a subject that actively moulds culture. This is especially true about collections created with this kind of impact in mind, and oriented toward the humanist ideal of *eruditio*.

One eminent example of such a library is the collection assembled by Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661), organist at Breslau's *Elisabethkirche* and Daniel Sartorius (1612–1671), teacher at *Gymnasium Elisabetanum* in the same city. The collection, comprising c. 400 volumes, was incorporated in 1671 into Breslau City Library, called after the name of its founder, Silesian polymath Thomas Rehdiger (1540–1576). The Profe-Sartorius collection has a distinct repertoire profile: it consists almost exclusively of Italian music in the *seconda pratica* style, very modern and up-to-date in that period.

One could examine the Profe-Sartorius library as a pre(-)text of culture, that is, a message conveyed by its collectors, who expressed their personal (humanist, erudite, didactic, snobbish, and so on) intentions by selecting a specific type of repertoire. The collection may also be interpreted as a practical pretext for the modification of local performance practice. The collected repertoire provided a new potentiality for music reception, to be imitated, emulated, transformed and adapted with regard to stylistic preferences. We should therefore first consider the people who compiled this collection, and the environment they had in mind.

It was the social context that impacted the specific profile of the collection under study. Its collectors were associated with St Elisabeth Church and St Elisabeth College in Breslau. Both these places were central to the cultural life of the city, institutionally correlated and linked with each other. The *Elisabethkirche*, the largest church in Silesia, reflected the cultural and intellectual aspirations of the city's patriciate.² From 1525, this church was also one of the main centres of Reformation,³ which spread quickly in the

² Johann Carl Herrmann SCHMEIDLER, *Die evangelische Haupt- und Pfarr-Kirche zu St. Elisabeth. Denkschrift zur Feier ihres 600jährigen Bestehens im Auftrage des Magistrats zu Breslau aus den Quellen bearbeitet*, Breslau: Verlag Josef Mar und Komp., 1857.

³ Gabriela WAŚ, 'Dzieje Śląska od 1526 do 1806 roku' [History of Silesia 1526–1806], in: Marek

city owing to the humanist traditions cultivated in the adjacent *gymnasium*.⁴ The latter, founded in 1293, had already in the second half of the fifteenth century become a key centre of German humanist thought,⁵ propagated by, among others, Laurentius Corvinus (1470–1527), a pupil of the famous Conrad Celtis. In the sixteenth century the rectors of the Elisabeth college were theology graduates from Wittenberg, pupils of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchton, such as, for example, Andreas Winkler (1498–1575). During the latter's term of office, one of the students in the *Elisabetanum* was the Breslau patrician Thomas Rehdiger (Rhediger), sent in 1558 to Wittenberg and entrusted to the academic care and hospitality of Melanchton himself. After his studies, Rehdiger embarked on his European *Wanderjahre*, during which he visited Paris, Orléans, Antwerp, Leuven, Bourges, Valence, Padua, Venice, Bologna, Rome, Naples, Speyer and Cologne. He met eminent scholars, was in legal practice, collected books, manuscripts, coins, craft and paintings. Towards the end of his life he owned an impressive collection.⁶ In his last will he bequeathed it to his home city of Breslau, thus initiating the city's first public library. In 1589 his collection was deposited in the *Auditorium Theologicum*, located above one of the sacristies of the *Elisabethkirche*. In accordance with the founder's last will, the library was to bear the name of *Bibliotheca Rehdigeriana* and remain undivided, regardless of any future bequests. This also concerned the music sources incorporated into the *Rehdigeriana* on the strength of Daniel Sartorius' last will of 1671.⁷

The music collection was most likely initiated by Sartorius' elder colleague

CZAPLIŃSKI – Elżbieta KASZUBA – Gabriela WAŚ – Rościsław ŻERELIK, *Historia Śląska* [History of Silesia], Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002, pp. 145–147.

⁴ Gustav BAUCH, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1911 (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae 26), p. 162.

⁵ Gustav BAUCH, 'Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des schlesischen Humanismus', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altherthum Schlesiens* 30 (1896), pp. 127–164.

⁶ Albrecht Wilhelm Jakob WACHLER, *Thomas Rehdiger und seine Büchersammlung in Breslau: Ein biographisch-literarischer Versuch*, Breslau: Gräson, 1828.

⁷ The *Catalogus Rerum Musicalium a Domino Sartorio in Bibliothecam legatarum* (supposedly once in existence) was mentioned by Hans-Adolf SANDER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des lutherischen Gottesdienstes und der Kirchenmusik in Breslau. Die lateinischen Haupt- und Nebengottesdienste im. 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Breslau: Priebratsch 1937 (Breslauer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 1), p. 90. However, the shelf mark he provides ('Stadtbibliothek Hs. R 50') was most likely misquoted and the manuscript has not been located to date.

Ambrosius Profe (Profius). Having graduated from the *Elisabetanum*, Profe was a choralist at the *Elisabethkirche*.⁸ In 1612–1615 he studied theology in Wittenberg.⁹ Following his return to Silesia, he worked for more than a dozen years as cantor and organist in his native Jauer, but after the re-Catholicisation of this town he had to emigrate to Breslau, where he ran his own trading company. In 1633 he was appointed organist of Breslau's *Elisabethkirche*, a post he held for the next 16 years.¹⁰

Simultaneously Profe engaged in publishing work.¹¹ From 1627 he edited and published a number of anthologies.¹² In 1641–1646 he published his own series in four volumes entitled *Geistlichen Concerten*.¹³ He also published

⁸ *Choralistae Elisabethani*. Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archive in Wrocław] 28: P 5, fol. 449r.

⁹ According to the *Stipendiaten-Rechnungsbuch* (Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archive in Wrocław] 28: P 31, fols. 131v–132r), he received 44 florins and 17 Groschen.

¹⁰ Rudolf STARKE, 'Ambrosius Profe', *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 34/11 (1902), pp. 189–196; 34/12 (1902), pp. 199–215.

¹¹ Adam ADRIO, 'Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) als Herausgeber italienischer Musik seiner Zeit', in: *Festschrift Gustav Fellerer zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1962*, ed. Heinrich Hüsch, Regensburg: Bosse 1962, pp. 20–27; Wolfram STEUDE, 'Wrocławski organista Ambrosius Profius (1589–1661) jako edytor i wydawca muzyki wokalne XVII w.' [Ambrosius Profius (1589–1661), Organist from Breslau, as editor and publisher of 17th c. Vocal Music], in: 'Tradycje Śląskiej Kultury Muzycznej' [Traditions of Silesian Music Culture], vol. 6. *Księga konferencji* [Conference Proceedings] 5–7 IV 1990, Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna we Wrocławiu 1992, pp. 51–60 (Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Muzycznej we Wrocławiu 59); Kristin Marie SPONHEIM, *The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) and the Transmission of the Italian Music in Germany*, doctoral dissertation, Yale University 1995; Tomasz JEŻ, 'Kontrafakturen madrygalów w antologiach Ambrożego Profiusa' [Madrigal contrafacta in Ambrosius Profius' anthologies], *Muzyka* 47/3 (2002), pp. 5–38.

¹² RISM B/I: 1627⁸ – *Extract oder Erster Theil aus dem Musicalischen Interim Ambrosii Profii, darinnen etlicher vornehmer und berühmter Autorum Madrigalien und anmutige Cantiones mit Deutschen Geistlichen und Politischen Texten (an statt der Italienischen) unterleget mit 3. 4. 5. 6. und 7. Stimmen, Allen Liebhabern der Edlen Musica, inn- und ausser der Kirchen jederzeit zu gebrauchen, zu gefallen publiciret*, Wittenberg, J. Gorman 1627.

¹³ RISM B/I: 1641² – *Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien à 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. &c Vocibus... aus den berühmtesten Italianischen und andern Autoribus, so theils neben ihren eigenen mit noch mehren, theils auch mit andern Texten beleget, und zu Lobe Gottes und Fortpflanzung der edlen Music, auff vieler Begehren und Gefallen, colligiret und zum öffentlichen Druck befördert durch Ambrosium Profium, Organisten zu St. Elisabeth in Bresslaw*, Leipzig, H. Köler 1641; RISM B/I: 1641³ – *Ander Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien, à 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. Voc. cum & sine Violinis, & Basso ad Organa: Aus den berühmtesten Italiänischen und andern Authoribus, so theils neben ihren eigenen mit*

three other anthologies, two of which have survived to our times.¹⁴ The anthologies comprise almost exclusively modern music repertoire by Italian composers in the style of the early Baroque *seconda pratica*. They contain both sacred *concerti* and madrigals in the form of German-language contrafacta.

Profe evidently wished to promote and popularise this type of music, for which there was rather no demand at Protestant churches in that period. While distancing himself from his native liturgical-musical traditions, the organist from Breslau demonstrated an interest in the most recent liturgical music of his religious adversaries. However, his interest lay not only in the music itself. These compositions also attracted his attention because of the rhetorical presentation of textual content, which was attractive to the humanistically-minded graduate of the *Gymnasium Elisabetanum*, actively participating in the music life of his parish.

Many of the works found in Profe's anthologies come from prints contained in Daniel Sartorius' collection, which after the latter's death became part of

noch mehren, theils auch mit andern Texten, doch ohne der Authoren Abbruch, oder an der Composition Veränderung beleget und zum Lobe Gottes und Fortpflanzung der edlen Music, auff vieler Begehr und Gefallen colligiret, und zum öffentlichen Druck befördert durch Ambrosium Profium, Organisten zu St. Elisabeth in Bresslaw, Leipzig, H. Köler 1641; RISM B/I: 1642⁴ – Dritter Theil Geistlichen Concerten und Harmonien, A 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. etc. Voc. cum & sine Violinis, & Basso ad Organa: Aus den berühmtesten Italiänischen und andern Authoribus, so theils neben ihren eigenen mit noch mehren, theils auch mit andern Texten, doch ohne der Composition einzigen Abbruch beleget und zum Lobe Gottes und Fortpflanzung der edlen Music, auff vieler Begehr und Gefallen colligiret, und zum öffentlichen Druck befördert durch Ambrosium Profium, Organisten zu St. Elisabeth in Bresslaw, Leipzig, H. Köler 1642; RISM B/I: 1646⁴ – Vierdter und letzter Theil Geistlicher Concerten Aus den berühmtesten Italiänischen und andern Authoribus, so theils mit andern oder auch noch mehren Texten beleget, und zum Lobe Gottes in öffentlichen Kirchen-Versammlungen zu gebrauchen auch zu Gefallen allen Music-Liebhabern colligiret und publiciret von Ambrosio Profio Organ. zu S. Elisabeth in Bresslaw, Leipzig, T. Ritsch 1646.

¹⁴ RISM B/I: 1646³ – *Cunis Solennib. Jesuli Recens-Nati Sacra Genethliaca. Id est, Psalmodiae Epaeneticae. Edit Studio et Sumptib. Ambrosii Profii Elisabetani Vratisl. Organoedi*, s. l., L. Sartori 1649; RISM B/I: 1649⁶ – *Corollarium geistlicher collectaneorum, berühmter authorum, so zu denen bisshero unterschiedenen publicirten vier Theilen gehörig und versprochen; Nunmehr sampt beygefügtten Erraten dieselben zu rectificieren, gewähret von Ambrosio Profio Organ. bey der Kirchen zu S. Elisabeth in Bresslaw...*, Leipzig, T. Ritsch 1649. Profius' third printed anthology, *Musicalische Moralien*, has been lost and is only known from historical sources.

the *Bibliotheca Rehdigeriana*.¹⁵ Today we cannot establish the circumstances under which Profe's collection passed into the hands of his younger colleague from the *Elisabetanum*. The two enthusiasts of Italian music collaborated with each other, which is confirmed by the manuscript Bohn 197, written in Daniel Sartorius' hand and containing fifteen contrafacta of madrigals by Marco Scacchi (from print S 1131) prepared by Ambrosius Profe.¹⁶

In his well-known letter to Marco Scacchi of 4 January 1649, the organist of *Elisabethkirche* informs the Warsaw court Kapellmeister that he performed his five-part madrigals and asks Scacchi to send him more of his works, which he was unable to procure from Venice.¹⁷ Scacchi's madrigals were most likely

¹⁵ For instance, the Latin sacred concerti by such composers as Giovanni Battista Alovise (RISM A/I: A 876), Giacomo Arrigoni (RISM A/I: A 2490), Gasparo Casati (RISM A/I: C 1405), Maurizio Cazzati (RISM A/I: C 1577), Paolo Cornetti (RISM A/I: C 3948), Ignazio Donati (RISM A/I: D 3398), Alessandro Grandi (RISM A/I: G 3446), Francesco Maria Marini (RISM A/I: M 672), Tarquinio Merula (RISM A/I: M 2341), Claudio Monteverdi (RISM A/I: M 3446), Giovanni Andrea Rigatti (RISM A/I: R 1413), Giovanni Rovetta (RISM A/I: R 2971) or Giovanni Felice Sances (RISM A/I: S 770).

¹⁶ RISM A/I: S 1131 – Marco Scacchi, *Madrigali a cinque, concertati da cantarsi sugli stromenti...*, Venezia, Bartolomeo Magni 1634. Cf. *Marco Scacchi: madrygaly na zespót wokalny i basso continuo* [Marco Scacchi: Madrigals for Vocal Ensemble and b.c.], ed. Zygmunt Marian Szwejkowski, *Źródła do Historii Muzyki Polskiej* [Sources of Polish Music History], vol. 26, Kraków: PWM, 1979; Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, 'Ocalale źródła do historii muzyki Polskiej w połowie XVII stulecia ze zbiorów Stadtbibliothek w Wrocławiu' [Sources for the study of Polish music history in the mid-17th century from the collection of Breslau City Library], *Muzyka* 39/2 (1994), p. 4.

¹⁷ '...Postquam enim elapso aliquot annorum spatio Madrigalia quinque Vocum Dominationis tuę ad manus mihi peruenerunt et ego Cantu Musico ea cum alijs expreßi, e uestigio Venetias scripsi et mihi Compositiones ac alia ejusmodi Concerta Dominationis tuę acquirere et transmittenda curare constitui, sed nihil tamen consecutus sum. Quoniam vero a Monacho quodam relatum mihi fuit Dominationem Tuam complures Compositiones edidisse ac inter alia Missas quasdam 4. vocum Typis mandaße, maxime, optarem habere præ cęteris compositiones Dominationis tuę. Siquidem dicitur duo cum faciunt idem, non est idem. Et quamvis Germanici Authores conentur imitari Italos, difsimillima tamen hac in parte est oratio. Rogo igitur amice Dominationem tuam, ut si aliquid compositionis a sola, duabus, tribus, 4, 5, 6 vocibus superfluum habuerit, mihi communicare ac per bonum istum amicum, qui semper Warsauię moratur, transmittere velit, qui certe equo bonoque animo pretium pro eis exponent.' Marco Scacchi, *Iudicium Cribri musici*, lettera XVI. Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, 'The Role of Heinrich Schütz and Silesian Musicians in the Dissemination of the Repertoire of the Polish Royal Chapel led by Marco Scacchi in Silesia, Saxony and Thuringia', *Schütz Jahrbuch* 32 (2010), pp. 17–28, at pp. 26–27; Aleksandra PATALAS, *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze. Marco Scacchi. Życie, muzyka, teoria*

sung in Breslau as German contrafacta. This is also suggested by a sentence in the same letter, in which Profe admits the difficulty of adapting Italian music to the quite different prosody of the German language.

Who was Daniel Sartorius, the continuator of Profe's collection of contemporary Italian music prints? Like Profe, he studied at the *Gymnasium Elisabetanum*, which is confirmed by a copy of Jacob Pontanus' treatise on theatrical stage practice, handwritten by Sartorius in 1626–1628.¹⁸ In 1631–1636 he studied theology at Leipzig University, where a number of his elogia and epithalamia were published.¹⁹ Not later than 1644 he took up a teaching post at Breslau's *Elisabetanum*: first teaching in year five,²⁰ then from 1647 in the 4th and 3rd years. After obtaining his official qualification as teacher in 1651²¹ he conducted classes for year two, and in 1661–1670 – for year one.²²

Sartorius died in the following year. A book of commemorative verse was dedicated to his memory.²³ Johannes Gebhard, one of the contributors to this volume, praised the philological and humanist knowledge of his colleague

[In the church, the court and the theatre. The life, music and theoretical works of Marco Scacchi], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2010, pp. 389–390.

¹⁸ *Progymnasmatum latininitatis, sive dialogorum libri quatuor*. Of the two volumes of this manuscript only the second remains. It is dated to 1629 / 1630 and referred to on the binding as *Jacobus Pontanus Dialogorum Libri. A Dan. Sartorio Descripti vol. 2*. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu [Wrocław University Library], R 467.

¹⁹ He signed an elogium to Godfried Raspius as SS. *Theol. Stud.* The text was printed in *Chriſtliche Leichpredigt | Vber das Troſtſpruechlein des 42. Pfalms [...] Leipzig, Gregor Ritzſch. 1632*. Another proof of his stay in Leipzig is the *ODE GERMANICA | Auff | Hochzeitliche Ehren-Frewde | Des [...] | Herrn | George Heintzen, | Vornehmen Handelsman | in Hamburg, / etc. | Breutigams | Und | Der [...] | Jungfrauen | Mariae Elisabethae | Des [...] Herrn Edward Beckers | [...] Tochter, etc. | Braut ..., Leipzig, Gregor Ritzſch. 1634*.

²⁰ Elias Maior, *Schreibkalender auffſ Jahr 1644*. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Manuscript Section [hereafter referred to as: PL-WRu OR], R 2343, fol. 33r.

²¹ This event is recorded in the occasional print *Præsidaes scholarum vratislaviensium*, Breslau: Baumann, 1651. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Yu 770.

²² Martin HANCKE, *Vratislaviensis Eruditiones Propagatores: Id est, Vratislaviensium Scholarum Presides, Inspectores, Rectores, Professores, Praeceptores Tabulis Chronologicis comprehensi*, Leipzig: Bauch, 1701, pp. 33, 35.

²³ *CL. VIRI, | DANIELIS SARTORII, | Philologi acutissimi, | De Juventute in Gymnasio | Vratislaviensium Elifabetano | bene meriti, | MEMORIÆ | sacra | EPICEDIA || Vratislavia, | In Hæredum BAUMANNIANORUM Typographiâ | exprimebat JOH. CHRISTOPH JACOBI, Façtor. | MDCLXXI. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, 549007*.

from *Elisabetanum*, saying that he was attracted to the liberal arts. Sartorius' interest in the *artes liberales* was also mentioned by Martin Hancke, would-be rector of the *Elisabetanum* and a famous historian from Breslau. In another epicedium, Melchior Weisse wrote: *Ingenium cujus Musica turba colit*. Yet another homage to the deceased teacher, signed by Johannes Balthasar Karg, cantor of the Elisabeth college, makes ample use of musical metaphors.

These poetic tributes do not provide direct evidence of Daniel Sartorius' education as a musician, nor are we aware of any strictly musical functions held by this figure (apart from his teaching post at the *Elisabetanum*, which may have involved teaching music). The hypothesis that he may have been musically educated is made probable by his surviving collection of music, consisting of 398 Italian music prints and 5 music manuscripts, containing some individual pieces in Sartorius' own hand (Bohn 113 and 114), as well as his quite numerous handwritten corrections of musical text (Bohn 111)²⁴, which also appear abundantly in most of the prints from this collection.

Evidence of Sartorius' active involvement in music practice is also provided by several dozen manuscripts that he compiled in his own hand, monogrammed *D.S.*, which for some reasons did not become part of his bequest to the *Rehdigeriana*.²⁵ The same monogram is also used for works of hitherto unidentified authorship, which might corroborate Bohn's hypothesis that some of them may even have been composed by Sartorius himself.²⁶ Verification of this thesis, however, would require a comprehensive study of the entire repertoire.²⁷

²⁴ Marcin SZELEST, 'Concerten Adami Jarzebsky geschrieben. Problematyka przekazu zbioru Canzoni e concerti Adama Jarzębskiego' [Adam Jarzębski's collection *Canzoni e concerti*: problems of transmission], *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska* 13/2 (2015), pp. 9–36

²⁵ Manuscripts bearing the following shelf marks: D-Bds Slg Bohn 49, 60, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 112, 115, 129d, 129f, 145, 146, 176, 178, 181, 193a, 193d, 197, 201d-f, 215, 219, 234, 240, 241, 281, 283, 290, 310, 315, 326, 327, 332, 340 and 343. Emil BOHN, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau: Commissions-Verlag von Julius Hanauer, 1890; Barbara WIERMANN, 'Die Musikaliensammlungen und Musikpflege im Umkreis der St. Elisabethkirche Breslau. Kirchliches und bürgerliches Musikleben im Kontrast', *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 30 (2008), pp. 93–109: p. 101.

²⁶ BOHN, *Die musikalischen Handschriften*, p. VII.

²⁷ Such an attribution of authorship is quite probable in the case of contrafacta of madrigals by Grandi, Rovetta and Monteverdi from the manuscript Bohn 176 (based on the same

Daniel Sartorius maintained direct contacts with composers and musicians of his time. This is true, for instance, of Andreas Hammerschmidt, who wrote an occasional piece for Sartorius' wedding.²⁸ The teacher from the *Elisabetanum* was also associated with Mattheus Apelles von Löwenstern – composer and songwriter, Kapellmeister to Heinrich Wenzel, Duke of Oels-Bernstadt in Bernstadt an der Weide; after the latter's death, Sartorius dedicated to him a panegyric published in a collection of epicedia.²⁹ Naturally, Sartorius maintained close contact with musicians from Breslau's *Elisabethkirche* – apart from Profe, also with the cantor Johann Balthasar Karg (Cargius), for whose wedding he wrote a *carmen gratulatorium*.³⁰

Sartorius' name appears in the calendar-diaries of Elias Major (1587–1669), rector of the *Elisabetanum*, which offers a unique insight into the everyday life of Breslau's seventeenth-century elites.³¹ Together with other teachers from the Elisabeth College, Sartorius accompanied Major to liturgical services involving *musicam harmonicam*³² at Breslau's church, listened to Holy

compositions that were also adapted by Ambrosius Profe), as well as works such as *Confitebor tibi Domine* (Bohn 315) and *Missus est angelus Gabriel* (Bohn 340). Fritz FELDMANN, *Die schlesische Kirchenmusik im Wandel der Zeiten*, Lübeck: Unser Weg, 1975, p. 75.

²⁸ *Hochzeitsgesang für Daniel Sartorius: Es ist nicht gut, dass der Mensch allein sei*, kept at the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (D-Bds), Slg. Winterfeld 53.

²⁹ MATTHÆI | merito famam servabit | APELLIS | Dignum laude Virum | Mufa vetans morier. || *Super Pientissimo pariter & beatissimo Excesfu* | Nobilissimi, Magnifici, Strenui, | Amplisimiq[ue]] Dn. MATTHÆI APELLIS de Löwen=|stern in Langenhoff/ | CÆSAREI, & MONSTERBERGA- OLSNENSIS | Confilarii Splendisimi... | Vratislaviæ | anno Chrifitiano OIC IO XCLVIII. | *ad 3. Idus Apileis* [...] EPICEDIA CARMINA ||, Vratislaviæ, Typis Baumannianis [1648].

³⁰ Honeftisfimis Sponfis, | *ERUDITISSIMO VIRO*, | M. JOHANNI BALTHASARI | CARGIO, | In Elifabethano & Barbarino Templo apud Vratisla-|vienfes chori Mufici Præfêcto, & in Gymnaſio, quod | illi vicinum est Ædi, Collegæ bene merenti, | atque | *PUDICISSIMÆ VIRGINI*, | ELISABETÆ, | *SPECTATISSIMI VIRI* | GEORGII WEIRAUCHII | In Libero Baronatu Civitateq[ue] Milicenſi | Notarii, & in hac Senatorisquog; | prudentisfimi | *Filiæ Unicæ*, | *MATRIMONIUM* | MDCLXVI. XII. Oôctobris, | ſolemniter ineuntibus, | *Auſpicatum & proſperum* | optantium | *Fautorum, Amicorumq[ue]* | CARMINA. || *VRATISLAVIÆ*, In Hæredum Baumanniorum Typographiâ | *EXPRIMEBAT* Joh. Chriſtoph. Jacobi [1666].

³¹ PL-WRu OR R 2339 – R 2368: *Schreibkalender auffß Jahr nach Christi Geburt 1640* [–1669]. Cfr. WIERMANN, 'Die Musikaliensammlungen', p. 109.

³² PL-WRu OR R 2358, fol. 138r [3 October 1659]; R 2544, fol. 42r [25 March 1655].

Week sermons delivered in that church³³ and in the filial *Barbarakirche*,³⁴ and attended theatrical spectacles at the neighbouring St Mary Magdalen College.³⁵ Sartorius himself staged dramatic spectacles (based on plays by Terence, Virgil and Erasmus) with his pupils during the annual exams taken by his class.³⁶

Sartorius also attended private receptions held by Major on the occasion of name days, birthdays, *convivia*,³⁷ *recreationes in tabula oblonga*,³⁸ celebrated *cum vino et carminibus*.³⁹ Frequent guests of Major's included Ambrosius Profe (who was the brother of Major's wife Maria)⁴⁰ and his *collegae* from the *Elisabetanum*: the cantor Johann Balthasar Karg,⁴¹ the organist Bernard Beyer, the songwriter Johannes Acoluthus,⁴² the already mentioned Mattheus Apelles,⁴³ as well Sartorius himself.⁴⁴ Apart from Profe, other organists who visited Major included Siegmund Franck of Neumarkt,⁴⁵ Andreas Rauch of Liegnitz,⁴⁶ Johann Kessel of Oels,⁴⁷ and Tobias Zeutschner of the *Bernhardinkirche* in Breslau.⁴⁸ These events were celebrated with *musica vocalis & instrumentalis*⁴⁹ performed by pupils from the *Elisabetanum*.⁵⁰ The pupils were most likely invited to participate by their teachers, notably by Daniel Sartorius, owner of the extensive music collection, which abounded in instrumental pieces suitable for such occasions.

Sartorius' musical preoccupations (and possible musical practice) are

³³ PL-WRu OR R 2357, fol. 56r [28 April 1658]; R 2363, fol. 52r [10 April 1664].

³⁴ PL-WRu OR R 2354, fol. 26r [29 September 1655].

³⁵ PL-WRu OR R 2354, fol. 154r [4 November 1655].

³⁶ PL-WRu OR R 2354, fol. 51v [13 April 1655]; R 2363, fol. 61v [29 April 1664].

³⁷ PL-WRu OR R 2348, fol. 7r [10 January 1649].

³⁸ PL-WRu OR R 2339, fol. 126v [6 September 1640].

³⁹ PL-WRu OR R 2339, fol. 103r [20 July 1640].

⁴⁰ Klaus GARBNER, *Das alte Breslau: Kulturgeschichte einer geistigen Metropole*, Köln – Weimar – Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014, p. 150.

⁴¹ PL-WRu OR R 2348, fol. 101r [22 July 1649].

⁴² PL-WRu OR R 2363, fol. 56r [18 April 1664].

⁴³ PL-WRu OR R 2432, fol. 107r [4 August 1643].

⁴⁴ PL-WRu OR R 2344, fol. 138r [1 October 1645].

⁴⁵ PL-WRu OR R 2340, fol. 80v [6 June 1641].

⁴⁶ PL-WRu OR R 2344, fol. 153v [1 November 1645].

⁴⁷ PL-WRu OR R 2354, fol. 101r [21 July 1655].

⁴⁸ PL-WRu OR R 2348, fol. 61v [3 May 1649].

⁴⁹ PL-WRu OR R 2340, fol. 103v [22 July 1641]; R 2342, fol. 100v [20 July 1643].

⁵⁰ PL-WRu OR R 2358, fol. 100v [20 July 1645].

also evident in the numerous handwritten notes that can be found in his collection of prints. A large proportion of the music prints contain marginal comments which suggest that the copies were used for actual performance. These include many added accidentals, calculations of rest length, corrections of misprints in the musical and verbal material, various performance notes, dynamics and tempo indications, or even texts of *contrafacta* inserted on separate sheets. Presumably Sartorius's dedication to copying and editing his collection of Italian music would have had some kind of impact on the music life of his milieu, most likely – on the repertoire performed privately in the environment of Breslau's elites, and on the music studied and performed at the *Elisabetanum*. The existence of the collection also influenced to some extent the later diversification of music practice at Breslau's ecclesiastical institutions, which is evident in music sources deriving from those institutions.

We do not know how and to what extent music from Daniel Sartorius' collection was used in practice after its incorporation into the *Bibliotheca Rehdigeriana*. Judging by the radically different profile of the music repertoire of *Elisabethkirche* as documented in the existing sources,⁵¹ the use of Sartorius' collection in that church is quite unlikely. This conclusion is also corroborated by the fact that the *Sartoriana* were never included in the body of music books used by the music ensemble in the *Elisabethkirche*. All the same, it seems that the enormous effort devoted by Sartorius to this repertoire is unlikely to have been motivated by a mere collector's passion. It most probably had its pragmatic aspect, so highly valued by the humanists. Since the thorough and complete education of youth was a priority in the humanist circles, the collection presumably offered a pretext for such educational work. The pre-texts of culture collected by Sartorius (which functioned as maps of the seventeenth-century Italian musical world) could also serve the pupils of the *Elisabetanum*: a house full of books and music scores imported from the other side of the Alps.

Trans. Tomasz Zymer

⁵¹ Barbara WIERMANN, *Die Entwicklung vokal-instrumentalen Komponierens im protestantischen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002 (Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte 14), pp. 339–349; Allen SCOTT, 'Protestant Sacred Music Culture in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Breslau', in: *"Hands-On" Musicology: Essays in Honor of Jeffery Kite-Powell*, ed. Allen Scott, Ann Arbor: Steglein Publ., 2012, pp. 146–168, particularly at pp. 158–163.

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*The 'Litaniarum liber' (SI-Lnr, Ms 344): Transmission of Musical
Litanies from Graz to the Duchy of Carniola*

In 1616, exactly four hundred years ago, a choirbook containing litanies plus a few Marian antiphons was presented to the Bishop of Ljubljana, Thomas Chrön (Bishop from 1597 to 1630).¹ Rather than residing in Ljubljana, a capital of the Duchy of Carniola, Chrön spent considerable time at his residence in Gornji Grad (Oberburg in German), located at the border between Styria and Carniola. From 1614 to 1621, when he served as governor of Inner Austria, Chrön mostly resided at Archduke Ferdinand's court in Graz. Chrön had two music chapels, one in Gornji Grad and the other in Ljubljana, both of which sometimes collaborated in performances of solemn music.² The donator of the choirbook was Karl Kuglmann, *juris utriusque doctor* (doctor of both laws).³ He was a son of the Graz court bass singer and

¹ Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica [National and University Library], Rokopisna zbirka [Manuscript, Rare and Old Prints Collection] (SI-Lnr), Ms 344.

² Also known as Tomaž Hren in the Slovenian language. For more on Chrön and his attitude towards the arts, see France M. DOLINAR, 'Chrön (Croen, Crön, Hren), Thomas', in: *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reichs 1448 bis 1648*, ed. Erwin Gatz, Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1996, pp. 103–104; Ana LAVRIČ, *Vloga ljubljanskega škofa Tomaža Hrena v slovenski likovni umetnosti* [The role of the Bishop Thomas Chrön of Ljubljana in the Slovenian fine arts], 2 vols., Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1988 (Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Razred za zgodovinske in družbene vede, Dela 32. Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta 1); and Edo ŠKULJ, 'Dodatek: Škof Hren in cerkvena glasba' [Appendix: Bishop Thomas Chrön and church music], in: *Hrenove korne knjige* [Chrön's choirbooks], ed. Edo ŠKULJ, Ljubljana: Družina, 2001, pp. 147–158.

³ This refers to a combined law degree, in both civil and canon law.

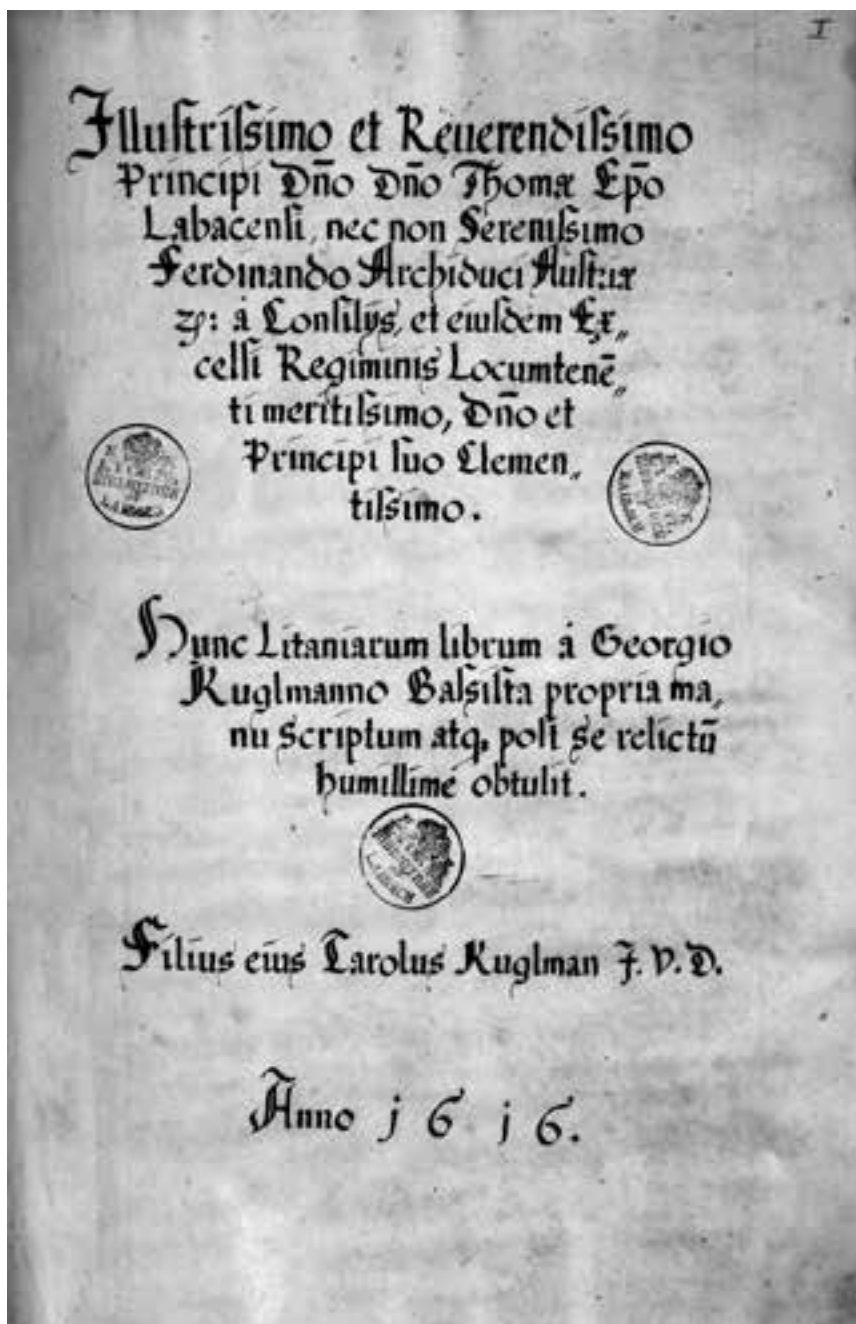


Figure 1. SI-Lnr, Ms 344, fol. 1r, dedication to Bishop Chrön.

music scribe Georg Kuglmann (fl. 1579–1613),⁴ who had written out the choirbook, now kept in the National and University Library in Ljubljana.

This very well preserved manuscript is a collection of twenty-one litanies for two choirs (comprising four and six voices, respectively) followed by five seasonal Marian antiphons for five voices (see Table 1).⁵ The litanies preserved in this codex were composed by some of the foremost Graz court musicians: Pietro Antonio Bianco (c. 1540–1611), Simone Gatto (c. 1545–1594/95) and Francesco Rovigo (1541/42–1597). Bianco is also the author of one of the antiphons, while the others are by Milanese composer Orfeo Vecchi (1550/51–1603), copied from his 1596 print of *Psalmi integri*.⁶ Until recently, it was believed that the litanies and Bianco's *Ave Regina coelorum* were all known only from this source.⁷ However, it contains two unica: the *Litaniae pro uno fidei defuncto* and the *Litaniae sacrae pro fidelibus defunctis* by Francesco Rovigo. From a musical perspective these two litanies are the same, and so one of them is a contrafactum. Actually, there are further litanies in this collection which were retexted: two by Bianco and ten by Gatto, which means that all Gatto's litanies use the same music. Thus, altogether, there are only eight musically different litanies.

⁴ For more on Kuglmann, see Wolfgang SUPPAN, 'Kuglmann, Georg', in: *Steirisches Musiklexikon*, 2nd ed., Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2009, p. 389; and Hellmut FEDERHOFER, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1967, pp. 95–97.

⁵ The texts of these litanies are published in Edo ŠKULJ, 'Bogoslužna besedila v Hrenovih kornih knjigah' [Liturgical texts in Chrön choirbooks], in: *Arhivska zapuščina škofa Tomaža Hrena* [...] [The archival legacy of Bishop Thomas Chrön (...)], ed. Metod Benedik, Ljubljana: Inštitut za zgodovino Cerkve pri Teološki fakulteti, 1997 (Acta ecclesiastica Sloveniae 19), pp. 496–536.

⁶ Orfeo Vecchi, *Psalmi integri in totius anni solemnitatibus, Magnificat duo, antiphonae quatuor ad B. V. post Completorium, & modulationes octo, quae vulgo falsibordoni nuncupantur, quinque vocibus* (Milano: eredi di Francesco & Simon Tini, 1596).

⁷ See Metoda KOKOLE, 'From Graz to Today's Central Slovenia: The Influence of Italian Polychoral Music in the Period c. 1595 to c. 1620', in: *La musica policorale in Italia e nell'Europa centro-orientale fra Cinque e Seicento / Polychoral Music in Italy and in Central-Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Aleksandra Patalas and Marina Toffetti, Venezia: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2012 (TRA.D.I.MUS. Studi e monografie 1), p. 349; and also Klemen GRABNAR, 'From Graz to Ljubljana? Towards Discovery of the Origin of the Hren Choirbooks', *De musica disserenda* 11/1–2 (2015), p. 214.

Table 1. Contents of SI-Lnr, 344.

No.	Folios	Title	Composer	Remarks
1	2r–18r	Litaniae Spiritus Sancti ex Sacra scriptura depromptae	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek (A-Gu), Ms 97
2	19r–34r	Litaniae Sacrae Dulcissimi nominis Ihesu ex variis locis Sacrae scripturae decerptae	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 3, 5–12 and 19
3	35r–50r	Litaniae Sacrosanctae Eucharistiae, ex Sacra scriptura, Concilio Tridentino Sanctisque Patribus depromptae	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 5–12 and 19
4	51r–64v	Litaniae Sacrae de Sanguine domini nostri Ihesu Christi	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
5	65r–75r	Litaniae Sacrae Deiparae virginis Mariae ex Sacra scriptura depromptae	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 6–12 and 19
		<i>Nomina Epytheta figurae ac typi quibus Beatae Mariae dignitas adumbratur. Ex sacris literis et Sanctorum Patrum scriptis deprompta, Et in formam litaniarum per hebdomadam recitandarum redacta</i>		
6	76r–87r	Litaniae Beatae Virginis Mariae. Pro die Dominico	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5, 7–12 and 19
7	88r–91v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Lunae	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–6, 8–12 and 19
8	92r–95v	Litaniae Beatae Virginis Mariae. Pro die Martis	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–7, 9–12 and 19
9	96r–99v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Mercurii	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–8, 10–12 and 19
10	100r–103v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Iovis	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–9, 11–12 and 19
11	104r–107v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Veneris	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–10, 12 and 19
12	108r–11v	Litaniae Beatae virginis Mariae. Pro die Sabbathi	Simone Gatto	Musically same as nos. 2, 3, 5–11 and 19
13	112r–122r	Litaniae de Sancto Michaelis Archangelo	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
14	123r–135v	Litaniae Sacrae de Angelis	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97

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15	136r–148v	Litaniae Sacrae de Apostolis	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
16	149r–164v	Litaniae Sacrae de Martyribus	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Musically same as nos. 17 and 18; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
17	165r–180v	Litaniae Sacrae de Confessoribus	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Musically same as nos. 16 and 18; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
18	181r–198v	Litaniae Sacrae de Virginibus	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Musically same as nos. 16 and 17; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97;
19	199r–221r	Litaniae Sacrae de Omnibus Sanctis	Simone Gatto	Also in <i>Thesaurus litaniarum</i> (München, 1596); musically same as nos. 2, 3 and 5–12; other version in A-Gu, Ms 97
20	222r–241v	Litaniae pro uno fideli defunct	Francesco Rovigo	Musically same as no. 21
21	242r–272v	Litaniae Sacrae pro fidelibus defunctis	Francesco Rovigo	Musically same as no. 20
22	273v–276r	Alma Redemptoris mater	Orfeo Vecchi	From VECCHI's <i>Psalmi integri</i> (Milano, 1596)
23	276v–278r	Ave Regina coelorum	Orfeo Vecchi	From VECCHI's <i>Psalmi integri</i>
24	278v–281r	Ave Regina coelorum	Pietro Antonio Bianco	Also in A-Gu, Ms 8 (wrongly attributed to Orfeo Vecchi)
25	281v–284r	Regina caeli	Orfeo Vecchi	From VECCHI's <i>Psalmi integri</i>
26	284v	Salve regina	Orfeo Vecchi	Incomplete; from VECCHI's <i>Psalmi integri</i>

The litany is a highly formulaic and repetitive form of prayer, marked by a series of invocations to God, Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Saints, etc., each followed by a brief petition.⁸ Its origins go back to the late fourth century at

⁸ Two fundamental studies on the early modern polyphonic litany and its history are Joachim ROTH, *Die mehrstimmigen lateinischen Litaniekompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1959 (Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 14); and David A. BLAZEY, 'The Litany in Seventeenth-Century Italy', PhD diss., University of Durham, 1990. One of the most recent discussions of litanies include Alexander J. FISHER, 'Thesaurus litaniarum: The Symbolism and Practice of Musical Litanies in Counter-Reformation Germany', *Early Music History* 34 (2015), pp. 45–95, to which I am especially indebted.

the latest. The earliest surviving musical settings of the litany are monophonic. Although the litany in small measure inspired more complex polyphonic musical treatment from the late fifteenth century onwards,⁹ it was often improvised in simple polyphony.¹⁰ The production of composed polyphonic settings increased considerably in the late sixteenth century. One of the more important published settings of a polyphonic litany was *Litaniae deiparae Virginis Mariae ex Sacra Scriptura depromptae* by the *maestro di cappella* at Loreto in Italy, the Franciscan Conventual Costanzo Porta, issued in 1575.¹¹ It was the increasingly popular cult of Loreto that to a considerable measure stimulated the increase in composing the polyphonic litany in Italy and also in Catholic South German lands by the end of the sixteenth century.

As Alexander Fisher observed, it was the duchy of Bavaria, a stronghold of the Counter-Reformation in the confessionally fragmented landscape of the Holy Roman Empire, which saw an explosion of interest in the litany in the decades immediately preceding the Thirty Years War. The Bavarian capital of Munich in particular, where Duke Wilhelm V and his family cultivated the litany with enthusiasm, was the epicentre for litany composition. Already by the mid-1570s Wilhelm was commissioning polyphonic litany settings from his father's 'Hofkapellmeister' Orlando di Lasso.¹² Today there are sixteen polyphonic settings by Lasso preserved in numerous court chapel manuscripts and in two printed collections.¹³

Among the latter is the large anthology of polyphonic litanies from the late sixteenth century: the *Thesaurus litaniarum* or 'Treasury of Litanies' published in 1596 and edited by *musices praefecto* at the Jesuit church of

⁹ Some fragmentary settings are present in manuscript Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, 431, dating from 1480s.

¹⁰ E.g. with the use of simple *falsobordone*. Robert L. KENDRICK, "Honore a Dio, e allegrezza alli santi, e consolazione alli putti": The Musical Projection of Litanies in Sixteenth-Century Italy', *Sanctorum* 6 (2009), p. 20.

¹¹ Costanzo PORTA, *Litaniae Deiparae Virginis Mariae ex sacra scriptura depromptae, quae in alma domo Lauretana omnibus diebus sabbati, vigiliarum, & festorum eiusdem Beatae Virginis decantari solent, cum musica octo vocum*, Venezia: Giorgio Angelieri, 1575. The collection was also issued at Munich in 1583 by Adam Berg, though it was falsely attributed to Costanzo Festa.

¹² FISHER, 'Thesaurus litaniarum', pp. 45–95.

¹³ See Orlando di LASSO, *Litaneien, Falsibordoni und Offiziumssätze*, ed. Peter Bergquist, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993 (Sämtliche Werke, Neue Reihe 25).

St Michael in Munich, Georg Victorinus.¹⁴ The *Thesaurus litaniarum* was the greatest contemporary anthology of polyphonic litanies published in this period, containing fifty-nine settings of litanies for the Name of Christ, the Most Blessed Sacrament, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Saints and the Dead, by thirty named composers (in addition to nine settings by unknown composers), plus three motets (see Table 2).¹⁵ It comes as no surprise that the best-represented composer in the collection is Orlando di Lasso (twelve settings are attributed to him). The remaining litanies are by Lasso's Munich colleagues (e.g. Johannes de Fossa, second *Kapellmeister* at the Munich court), by composers from Catholic German-speaking lands and some are by composers working in Italy.

Table 2. Contents of the *Thesaurus litaniarum* (München, 1596).

No.	Composer	Title	Voices
<i>Liber primus</i>			
1	Ferdinand di Lasso	Litaniae de nomini Jesu	4
2	Rudolph di Lasso	Litaniae de nomini Jesu	4
3	Georg Victorinus	Litaniae de nomini Jesu	4
4	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de nomini Jesu	5
5	Fileno Cornazzano	Litaniae de nomini Jesu	6
6	Cesare de Zacharia	Litaniae de venerabili Sacramento	7
7	Annibale Stabile	Litaniae de nomini Jesu	8
8	incertus author	Litaniae de nomini Jesu	8
9	incertus author	Litaniae de nomini Jesu	8
10	incertus author	Litaniae de nomini Jesu	8
11	Philippe de Monte	O bone Jesu	6
<i>Liber secundus</i>			
12	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	4
13	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	4
14	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	4

¹⁴ *Thesaurus litaniarum. Quae a praecipuis hoc aevo musicis, tam in laudem Sanctiss. Nominis Iesu, quam in honorem Deiparae Coelitumque omnium, Quatuor, Quinque, Sex, plurimum vocum compositae*, ed. Georg Victorinus, München: Adam Berg, 1596.

¹⁵ In the 'Index litaniarum, quae libro secundo continentur' *partes* of Palestrina's two litany settings are listed as individual items. Cf. FISHER, 'Thesaurus litaniarum', pp. 74–75 and 92–95.

15	Johannes de Fossa	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	4
16	Giacomo Perlazio	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	4
17	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
18	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
19	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
20	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
21	Annibale Stabile	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
22	Rudolph di Lasso	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
23	Fileno Cornazzano	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
24	Rinaldo del Mel	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
25	Franz Sales	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
26	Heinrich de Plau	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
27	Wolfgang Püchler	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
28	Christian Erbach	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	5
29	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	6
30	Jacob Regnart	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	6
31	Tiburzio Massaino	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	6
32	Conrad Stuber	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	6
33	Hans Leo Hassler	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	6
34	Gioseffo Ascanio	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	6
35	Philippe de Monte	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	7
36	Costanzo Porta	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	7
37	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	8
38	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	8
39	incertus author	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	8
40	Gregor Aichinger	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	8
41	Annibale Stabile	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	8
42	incertus author	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	8
43	Annibale Stabile	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	8
44	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	9
45	incertus author	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	10
46	Martin Roeber	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	10
47	Georg Victorinus	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	10
48	incertus author	Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei genitrice	12
49	Cristophorus Clavius	Ego flos campi	5
<i>Liber tertius</i>			
50	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	4
51	Georg Victorinus	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	4
52	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	5
53	Giulio Gigli	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	5
54	Jacob Reiner	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	6
55	Wolfgang Püchler	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	6
56	Orlando di Lasso	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	7
57	Giovanni Cavaccio	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	8

58	Bernhard Klingenstein	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	8
59	incertus author	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	8
60	incertus author [Simone Gatto]	Litaniae de omnibus sanctis	10
61	incertus author	Litaniae pro defunctis	10
62	Rudolph di Lasso	O quam gloriosum	6

Litany played a much-reduced role in Protestant culture. A vernacular version, the ‘German litany’, found a way into early Protestant hymnals and they were at times set polyphonically, for example, Michael Praetorius and, later, Heinrich Schütz both wrote polyphonic litanies.¹⁶ The considerably lesser role of the litany in Protestant churches was due to the issue of sanctoral invocation. As David Crook points out, although neither Luther nor Calvin completely renounced the veneration of Mary, the Reformers uniformly disdained calling upon her for assistance. Invocations such as the title ‘Queen of Heaven’ were regarded as demeaning to the unique mediatorship of Christ. The Council of Trent (held between 1545 and 1563), on the other hand, ‘defended the invocation of the Virgin Mary as well as her ability to intercede for the faithful on earth, and in the confessional struggles of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the cult of Mary became a favourite subject of controversy.’¹⁷ In response to the Protestant positions, the weighty defence of the Catholic teaching on Mary was a work titled *De Maria virgine incomparabili* of 1577 by the Jesuit St Peter Canisius. He dedicated this monumental work to Albrecht V, which testifies to Canisius’s close relationship to the Wittelsbach court. In the preface, Canisius gave tribute not only to Albrecht for his devotion to the Virgin Mary but also his son and heir, Wilhelm V, who, he remarked, was equally pious and had made pilgrimages to various Catholic shrines.¹⁸

¹⁶ See Michael PRAETORIUS, *Kleine und Grosse Litaney, Zusambt dem Erhalt uns Herr bey deinem Wort: Zu diesen letzten betrübten und sehr gefehrlichen Zeiten in der Christlichen Kirchen zum offtern zugebrauchen: In zween Choren, Mit V. VII. und VIII. Stimmen gesetzt*, Wolfenbüttel, 1613; Heinrich SCHÜTZ, *Zwölff Geistliche Gesänge, Mit vier Stimmen Für kleine Cantoreyen zum Chor Benebenst dem Basso Continuo nach beliebung zu gebrauchen [...] Opus decimum tertium*, Dresden: Wolfgang Seyffert, 1657.

¹⁷ David CROOK, *Orlando di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994, p. 69.

¹⁸ *IBID.*

Inner Austria was closely connected to Bavaria in particular and the Graz court maintained the most extensive musical contacts with the Munich court. This was due to the dynastic ties between the Munich and Graz courts. Archduke Karl II's wife, Maria of Bavaria (1551–1608), was not only a Wittelsbach princess, but, as Steven Saunders supposed, may also have been a pupil of Orlando di Lasso.¹⁹ Be that as it may, she had strong connections with his family, as is attested by the letters to Lasso's wife and the fact that Maria had been a godmother to Lasso's daughter Anna.²⁰ Close ties between Munich and Graz are confirmed also by the number of musicians from the Munich court who served at the Graz court (among them for example Ferdinand de Vento, a son of the better-known Ivo de Vento), and by the strong influence wielded by Lasso's music. The parody or imitation Magnificat, closely associated with Lasso and his Munich circle, was cherished at the Graz court, and Lasso's compositions were also significantly represented in the choirbooks from the Graz chapel. Moreover, many of the parody or imitation Masses by Graz composers are modelled on Lasso's compositions.²¹ Archduchess Maria was so keen on Lasso's music that in 1576 she even wrote her brother telling him that she will send a list of Lasso's works present at Graz in order to acquire those which the court lacked.²² She repeatedly asked her brother to send her Lasso's compositions. So, not surprisingly, there are some unica of Lasso's compositions present in the Graz choirbooks, e.g. *Missa Osculetur me* for eight voices and *Magnificat septimi toni* for ten voices.²³

Maria wrote to her brother from Graz in 1572 requesting a copy of a 'Ledaney von unser Frauen' for four voices that had been sung at Landshut and also at Altötting. Having received this, she thanked her brother in writing in February 1573 and in July 1576, stating on that occasion that she

¹⁹ Steven SAUNDERS, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619–1637)*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 8.

²⁰ Linda Maria KOLDAU, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur: ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit*, Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2005, pp. 70–71.

²¹ See Klemen GRABNAR, *Parodične maše v Hrenovih kornih knjigah* [Parody Masses in Hren choirbooks], PhD diss., Univerza v Ljubljani, 2015, pp. 49–53.

²² Johanna WEHNER, *Maria von Bayern, Erzherzogin von Österreich. Ihr Leben zum Tode ihres Gemals (1590)*, PhD diss. Graz, 1965, p. 147.

²³ *Missa Osculetur me* is present in SI-Lnr, Ms 339 and *Magnificat septimi toni* for ten voices is present in SI-Lnr, Ms 341. Cf. GRABNAR, 'From Graz to Ljubljana?', pp. 213–214.

was ‘happy in her heart about the litany’, and again in April 1583. Although we cannot be completely certain, she was likely referring to the settings by her beloved composer Orlando di Lasso, though, settings by Johannes de Fossa, for example, are also among the possible candidates.²⁴ In May 1573 Archduchess Maria ordered the singing of the litany on all Saturdays and vigils of Marian feasts at the archducal chapel in Graz; in subsequent years composers at Graz produced quite a few settings of polyphonic litanies.²⁵ There are two more important testimonies of Maria’s fondness for litany. First, in 1598 she, with a large entourage, left Graz accompanying her daughter Margaret to Madrid where she was to marry the future Philip III of Spain. On her long journey to Spain Maria stopped at lake Wörthersee near Klagenfurt, where she, the court chaplain and chapel master Pietro Antonio Bianco and others performed a litany, as she recounted in a letter to her brother Wilhelm. Maria also sent him the litany mentioned in the letter. Second, Wilhelm V published a collection of litany texts in 1600, the *Fasciculus sacrarum litaniarum ex sanctis scripturis et patribus*, dedicating it to his sister Maria.²⁶ The volume, originally printed in Munich, was reprinted at least five times before 1620. It contains thirty-three different litanies, ranging from the more traditional sanctoral litanies to those honouring, for example, Saints Militant in Time of War.²⁷ The preserved documents thus clearly speak for Maria’s enthusiasm for the litany.

As Fisher demonstrated, there are many different ways in which composers responded to the litany’s distinctive call-and-response structure. He stylistically divided the fifty-nine settings of the *Thesaurus litaniarum* into two broad groups: litanies for a single choir of up to seven voices and litanies for seven to twelve voices organised clearly in a double-choir or polychoral format. In the settings for a single choir, some composers strove to maintain some distinction between title and petition by using plainchant

²⁴ There are two litanies by Fossa preserved in Munich court chapel manuscripts (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [D-Mbs], Mus.ms. 1095 and Mus.ms. 14. Cf. CROOK, *Orlando di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats*, pp. 75–76).

²⁵ FEDERHOFER, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof*, pp. 23–24.

²⁶ Hellmut FEDERHOFER, ‘Pietro Antonio Bianco und seine Vorgänger Andreas Zweiller und Pietro Ragno an der Grazer Hofkapelle’, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 38 (1954), p. 76; KOLDAU, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur*, p. 73.

²⁷ FISHER, ‘*Thesaurus litaniarum*’, p. 58.

or ‘falsobordone’, while others obliterated this distinction by assimilating the litany to prevailing modes of continuous polyphony. Both single-choir and double-choir/polychoral litanies could either be through-composed (with titles rendered in mensural polyphony) or have titles rendered in monophonic chant or *falsobordone*, with petitions in mensural polyphony (see Table 3).²⁸

Table 3. Litany types in *Thesaurus litaniarum* according to Alexander J. Fisher.

Single-choir settings	Double-choir or polychoral settings
- monophonic titles followed by short polyphonic petitions	- falsobordone titles
- <i>falsobordone</i> titles followed by short polyphonic petitions	- through-composed
- through-composed (‘motet’-style) setting	

As can be observed from the two extant sources of Graz origin containing litanies, namely Ms 97 at the Universitätsbibliothek Graz and the Ljubljana ‘Litaniarum liber’ (they both share quite some concordances), composers in the Graz orbit preferred double-choir settings with the variable-length titles in ‘falsobordone’ and brief, fully composed petitions. The opening Kyrie and closing Agnus Dei acclamations are composed polyphonically and are often lightly contrapuntal (see Figure 2). The ‘Litaniarum liber’ is especially striking due to its uniformity since all the settings are for the same combination of voices – two choirs of four and six voices, respectively. The designation and arrangement of voices – ‘primus praecinens chorus’ and ‘secundus vero totus chorus’ – indicates that the music is performed not by physically separated individuals or groups but that the same ensemble should perhaps perform both titles and petitions. The same structure and principles are evident in one of Orlando di Lasso’s litany, *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis decem vocum, duobus choris*, although the voices in the original manuscript appear in a standard choirbook arrangement.²⁹ With regard to the familiarity of Graz composers with Lasso’s litany settings it is quite possible that the mentioned

²⁸ *IBID.*, pp. 77–78.

²⁹ D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 48. The transcription is available in: LASSO, *Litaneien, Falsibordoni und Offiziumssätze*, pp. 98–110.

setting by Lasso served as a model for the Graz litanies. Interestingly, three litanies for ten voices by unknown composers present in the *Thesaurus litaniarum* show a very similar approach to the litany from the Graz orbit. In fact, it turns out one of the litanies is Simone Gatto's *Litaniae sacrae de omnibus sanctis*, present in the 'Litaniarum liber' in Ljubljana (no. 19 in Table 1 and no. 60 in Table 2).³⁰ Since the Munich settings (with Lasso's at the head) seem well attributed, the other two settings for ten voices could therefore be by Gatto as well or by another composer from the Graz court.



Figure 2. SI-Lnr, Ms 344, fols. 2v–3r, beginning of Pietro Antonio Bianco's *Litaniae Spiritus Sancti ex sacra scriptura depromptae*.

It is not entirely clear when the litany settings of the 'Litaniarum liber' were composed. Rovigo's litany, at the least, can be dated to between 1582 and 1590, since this is the period he was active at the Graz court. The title of his litany settings suggests they were written for a deceased person or persons

³⁰ Georg Victorinus in his *Thesaurus litaniarum* prefers to render *falsobordone* passages in empty *maximae* rather than in mensural notation.

from the circle of the ruling family at Graz. Perhaps he wrote his *Litaniae pro uno fideli defuncto* for Karl II and Maria's daughter Elizabeth, who died in 1583 at the age of eight, or for Karl alone, who died in 1590. The *Litaniae sacrae pro fidelibus defunctis* could have been retexted at a later time and so could have been intended for both Karl and Elizabeth. The period of composition of Gatto's and Bianco's litanies is even harder to establish and, therefore, they cannot be dated.

The litany was often performed in churches on Rogation days, on Saturday evenings, at public and confraternal devotions, during Sacramental devotions, during the course of private spiritual exercises, and in public processions. Sanctoral litany was even part of the rites of exorcism in the late sixteenth century and by the early seventeenth century it was prescribed at the opening of the exorcism rite in the new *Rituale Romanum* (1614) and other manuals on exorcism. Litanies were often performed also on occasions of external threats. The imperial wars against the Turks were especially invoked and some litanies contain additions calling on God to confound the Turks. Similar additions are present also in some of the Graz litanies.³¹ Monophonic performance of litanies was certainly very common in pilgrimages, although simple polyphonic litanies could also have been performed by more musically proficient amateurs. A schematic and rather rigid, formulaic approach that emphasises brevity and consistent alternation of titles and petitions of the Graz litanies suggest they could have been performed during the course of processions or pilgrimages. Given that the source for the Graz litanies, the Ljubljana 'Litaniarum liber', is a folio-size choirbook, these litanies could also suggest performance by stationary ensembles, rather than a mobile choir. In addition, the codex contains polyphonic antiphons gathered under the title *Sabbatho post vespas* indicating performance on Saturdays. The practice thus perfectly conforms to the already mentioned order issued by archduchess Maria in 1573.

At the Graz court, music (especially sacred music) was considerably shaped by the personal tastes of the members of the ruling family. It was the

³¹ E.g. 'Ab imminentibus Turcarum hoereticorum et omnium inimicorum nostrum periculis', 'Ut Ecclesiam suam sanctam Deus regere, conservare et a Turcarum feritate defendere dignetur'. See ŠKULJ, 'Bogoslužna besedila v Hrenovih kornih knjigah', pp. 524, 526, 529, 531.

archduchess Maria's enthusiasm for the litany that stimulated the production of a sizable repertoire of litany settings at the Graz court. The litany became a popular vehicle for the expression of Catholic piety in other parts of Inner Austria and its assertion of sanctoral intercession helped to guarantee it a prominent place in the devotional culture of the whole Catholic Counter-Reformation.³² As the case of the Ljubljana 'Litaniarum liber' shows, with the bishop of Ljubljana, the foremost proponent of Catholicism, the interest in litany was also firmly established in the Duchy of Carniola. Chrön, for example, even issued a decree in 1621 ordering the singing of the litany on each Saturday: 'In civitatibus vel pagis diocesis et in ecclesia oberburgensis monasterii singulis diebus sabbatinis hora vespertina cantentur litaniae Beatissimae Virginis in cantu musico, vel in cantu choralis ubi non sunt cantors', which echoes the archduchess Maria's order.³³ Since the litany was perhaps the most distinctively Catholic form of sounding prayer and music, 'Litaniarum liber' must have been a particularly well-suited, appropriate gift to the leader of the Counter-Reformation commission in Carniola and music lover, Thomas Chrön. Although today the litany is rather neglected and seen as of lesser importance, it was indeed a significant part of the Catholic soundscape of Central Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century.

³² FISHER, '*Thesaurus litaniarum*', p. 58.

³³ See ŠKULJ, 'Dodatek: Škof Hren in cerkvena glasba' p. 152.

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*Operas, Dialogues and Oratorios Based on the Book of Judith
in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe.
Migrations of Subject, Librettos and Musicians**

The Book of Judith tells of the Assyrians' invasion of the lands of the West and the deeds of the pious and beautiful Jewish widow who cunningly severed the head of the enemy commander, Holofernes, who was besieging her home town of Bethulia. Through the centuries, this story has inspired countless works of art. As Mieke Bal notes, it is an 'ideo-story', that is, 'a narrative whose structure lends itself to be the receptacle of different ideologies. Its representational makeup promotes concreteness and visualization. Its characters are strongly opposed so that dichotomies can be established. And its fabula is open enough to allow for any ideological position to be projected onto it. Ideo-stories are not closed but extremely open; however, they seem to be closed, and this appearance of closure encourages the illusion of stability of meaning'.¹ The reception of the Book of Judith down the ages, in both Jewish and European culture, has been the subject of at least several interdisciplinary research projects.²

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¹ Mieke BAL, 'Head Hunting: "Judith" on the Cutting Edge of Knowledge', in: *A Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna*, ed. Athalya Brenner, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press (The Feminist Companion to the Bible 7), p. 264.

² Recently e.g. *The Sword of Judith. Judith Studies Across the Disciplines*, eds. Kevin R. Brine, Elena Ciletti, Henrike Lähnemann, OpenBook Publishers, 2010; *Giuditta e altre eroine bibliche tra Rinascimento e Barocco. Orizzonti di senso e di genere, variazioni, riscritture. Atti del Seminario di Studio (Padova, 10–11 dicembre 2007)*, ed. Luciana Borsetto, Padova: Padova University Press, 2011.

In the Catholic Church, interest in this text grew around the turn of the seventeenth century, on the wave of the Counter Reformation. It was ideally suited to the vision of man's life as a struggle against adversities, both spiritual and also earthly, of a political nature, which were not lacking in a Europe fraught with religious wars and living in fear of an attack from Islamic Turkey³. Also manifest in the figure of Judith, understood as an Old Testament prefiguration of Mary, was the power of faith, prayer and purity, as guarantees of divine succour. It is not surprising, therefore, that this book proved one of the most popular themes in the new genre of non-liturgical sacred music that arose on the Apennine Peninsula during the first half of the seventeenth century, namely Italian oratorio, written to both vulgate and Latin texts. The ways and means through which oratorial repertoire based on the Book of Judith spread across Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will be the subject of brief reflection in the present article.

A turning point in the history of the use of the Book of Judith in Italian oratorios of the Baroque and Classical eras came in 1734, when the most celebrated Italian poet of those times, Pietro Metastasio, wrote in the musically Italianised Vienna the famous libretto *La Betulia liberata*, for Emperor Charles VI, which was first set to music by Georg Reutter Jr. Before that date, we can find several *rappresentazioni sacre* and *drammi per musica* intended for stage⁴ and more than fifty different Italian oratorios and dialogues based on this biblical subject. After that date, the situation changes radically: the next three decades brought only eight new texts of oratorios and shorter *componimenti per musica*, which were performed in Rome and in smaller Italian centres. So the oratorial repertoire based on the Book of Judith that could be heard in Europe was dominated by the

³ Elena CILETTI, 'Judith Imagery as Catholic Orthodoxy in Counter-Reformation Italy', in: *The Sword of Judith*, pp. 345–368.

⁴ These may be regarded as a musical continuation of Italian and Latin spoken plays written on the Apennine Peninsula and in Sicily around the turn of the seventeenth century. During the 30s, however, that tradition unexpectedly died out, and everything suggests that the gap was filled by oratorial output.

work of Metastasio⁵. New texts of Italian oratorios only began to appear on a larger scale in the late 1780s.

In Vienna, besides Reutter, whose *Betulia* was performed there again in 1740, Metastasio's libretto was used by Andrea Bernasconi (probably in 1738) and Florian Leopold Gassmann (1772), whose works were subsequently revived several times⁶. It is probably for Vienna that Francesco Piticchio, who lived there from 1786 to 1791, wrote his oratorio *La Betulia liberata*. His score (in A-Wgm) is dated 1786, although nothing is known about the circumstances surrounding any performance of that oratorio in Vienna. Also presented in the imperial capital, during Lent, at the Burgtheater, was Ignaz Holzbauer's *Betulia* (1761), yet that work was premiered not in Vienna, but in Mannheim.⁷ Also appearing on the list of settings of *Betulia* (see n. 5) is *Judith und Holofernes* by Leopold Koželuch (1799). This was an oratorio performed on stage (a frequent practice in Vienna around the turn of the nineteenth century), but its links with Metastasio's libretto have not been confirmed.⁸ It may have been rather a German-language version of Koželuch's oratorio *La Giuditta*, to a libretto by Giovanni Bertati, written for Prague c.1790–1792 (score in I-Fc, A.III.83-85).

On the Apennine Peninsula, Metastasio's libretto was published in Rome immediately following its Vienna premiere,⁹ and from 1737 we have the

⁵ Lists of further settings (and any performances) of Metastasio's *Betulia* are given by: Don NEVILLE, 'Metastasio Pietro', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 16, London: Macmillan, 2001, p. 517; [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Betulia_liberata_\(Metastasio\)#cite_note-89](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Betulia_liberata_(Metastasio)#cite_note-89), (access: 10 April 2016); Mario VALENTE, introduction to: Pasquale ANFOSSI, *Betulia liberata*, ed. Giovanni Pelliccia, Roma: MOS Edizioni, 2008, pp. XXXIII–XXXIV. I supplement and correct the data from these lists with information acquired over the course of my own research or obtained from other publications, which I list every time.

⁶ Gassmann's work was still being performed in 1821, to mark a round anniversary of the Composers' Society (Tonkünstler Sozietät), in an arrangement by his pupil, the then elderly Antonio Salieri.

⁷ The Viennese reception of *Betulia* is discussed by Elisabeth BIRNBAUM, *Das Juditbuch im Wien des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: Exegese – Predigt – Musik – Theater – Bildende Kunst*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 220–228 (Österreichische Biblische Studien 35).

⁸ Christine BLANKEN, *Franz Schuberts 'Lazarus' und das Wiener Oratorium zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002, p. 67.

⁹ *La Betulia liberata. Azione sacra per musica cantata nell'Augustissima Cappella Della Sac. Cesarea, e Cattolica Real Maestà di Carlo VI. Imperadore de' Romani Sempre Augusto [...]. In Vienna, ed in Roma, 1734.* I-Rn, 6.19.G.23.

first documented evidence of this work being performed at the Oratorio of St Philip Neri in Genoa, with music by the local kapellmeister, Benedetto Leoni. Later in Italy it was set to music by such composers as Gianfrancesco Almerici, Pasquale Anfossi, Baldassare Angelini, Antonio Aurisicchio, Pasquale Cafaro, Giuseppe Callegari, Giuseppe Giordani, Niccolò Jommelli, Bonaventura Matucci, Giacomo Francesco Milano, Giuseppe Morosini, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Joseph Mysliveček, Antonio Pio, Giovanni Ricci and Carlo Sodi. In Venice, too, more or less free Latin paraphrases of *Betulia* were produced for performance by the *figlie* from the Ospedali, with music written by local *maestri di coro*, including Felice Alessandri, Vincenzo Ciampi, Bonaventura Furlanetto, Baldassare Galuppi and Gaetano Pampani.¹⁰

The most famous settings of *Betulia* prepared in Italy came from the pens of Jommelli and Anfossi. Jommelli's work was premiered, almost at the same time, by the Oratorians of Rome and Genoa, in 1743. On that occasion, the libretto was altered, with the characters Amital and Cabri removed and new arias added in the part of Judith, including a Marian *licenza* at the end. In this way, the oratorio – originally connected with the House of Habsburg and the situation of the Empire at the time of the War of the Polish Succession – came to form part of the cult of the Mother of the Saviour, brought to the Oratorian congregation by its founder, St Philip Neri. In 1781, the same version of this text fell into the hands of Anfossi, and his setting soon achieved – at least among the Roman Oratorians – a similar status to Jommelli's earlier *Betulia*. These were also – as research has shown – the only scores produced on the Apennine Peninsula that could boast some kind of reception across the Alps as well. Jommelli's work was sung in London in 1768 at a benefit for the Italian singer Tomaso Guarducci,¹¹ and in 1779

¹⁰ Among the features shared by these Latin libretti are the lack of the character of Holofernes, which is characteristic of Metastasio's work, and the presence of Achior and Amital. In exchange, they specify a greater contribution from the chorus, and there are also additional Israelite characters, introduced to give scope for the whole *coro* to display its ability. See also Helen GEYER, 'Einige Beobachtungen zur Rezeption der metastasianischen Azioni sacre an den venezianischen Ospedali', in: *Traditionen – Neuansätze. Für Anna Amalie Abert (1906–1996)*, ed. Klaus Hortschansky, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997, pp. 304–308.

¹¹ Gaetano PITARRESI, 'La tradizione della *Betulia liberata* di Niccolò Jommelli nel Settecento', in: *Leonardo Vinci e il suo tempo*, ed. G. Pitarresi, Reggio Calabria: Jiriti

in Prague. One may also speculate about a possible performance in Stuttgart, since there is an extant autograph of the composition attesting a further stage in Jommelli's work on it while he was employed at the court of the Duke of Württemberg.¹² Anfossi's oratorio, meanwhile, can be found in the Cathedral Chapter Archive (Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej) in Cracow, where pupils of Canon Waclaw Sierakowski's Singing School could have performed it – with the text translated into Polish – in concerts organised by the canon.¹³ We also find Anfossi's score and a separate book with the part of Judith at the Cistercian monastery in Einsiedeln, Switzerland,¹⁴ so it is likely that this work was also performed in that centre, known for its Marian cult.

So *Betulia* owed its huge popularity in Europe not to the importing of scores from Vienna or Italy, but to the easy access to the printed text of the work¹⁵, which enjoyed deserved renown and to which music was written by local kapellmeisters composing in Italian style and by Italian *maestri di cappella* active in different countries. We should mention here first of all German Catholic courts, imitating the oratorial traditions of the Viennese court: during the first half of the eighteenth century, it was still presentations of oratorios in palatial chapels that dominated; during the second half of the century, they slowly began to be replaced by concert performances in public princely theatres during Lent or Advent. In Dresden, for instance, this text was used by Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1760 and 1805), Joseph Schuster (1787, 1796 and 1797) and Franz Seydelmann (1776), whose *Betulia* was also played in the Saxon city of Leipzig (1778). In Mannheim, the above-mentioned *Betulia* by Ignaz Holzbauer was heard (1760 and 1774).

Editore, 2005, pp. 564–565.

¹² *IBID.*, pp. 569, 575.

¹³ For a description of the source for Anfossi's oratorio held in Cracow Archives (PL-Kk I 693, 694), see Anna RYSZKA-KOMARNICKA, *Oratoria Pasquale Anfossiego w Polsce* [The oratorios of Pasquale Anfossi in Poland], Warszawa: Instytut Muzykologii UW, 1996 (Prace Zakładu Powszechnej Historii Muzyki 6: Recepcja wzorów włoskich w polskiej kulturze muzycznej), pp. 34–40.

¹⁴ Pasquale ANFOSSI, *La Betulia liberata*, 16 parts. CH-E, 97, 4 (Ms.2389); *ID.*, *La Betulia liberata*, Giuditta's part with b.c. CH-E 696,18 (Ms. 4607); *ID.*, *La Betulia liberata*, manuscript score. CH-E, 168,2 (Ms. 2554).

¹⁵ Successive editions of the collected works of Metastasio, increasingly enlarged, were published from the turn of the 1740s in Rome (e.g. by Pietro Leoni and by Carlo Giannini) and in Venice (e.g. by Giuseppe Bettinelli and by Paolo Baglioni).

Bernasconi's oratorio, in an altered setting compared to the Viennese, was presented in Munich (1754, 1755, 1760 and 1775) and in Rastatt (1762), to mark the name-day of Marie Victoire, wife of Augustus George, Margrave of Baden.¹⁶

Betulia was also played in other German centres, sometimes with the text translated into German. In concerts in Hamburg, *Betulia* appeared with music by Jacob Schuback (1770) and in an unknown setting (1773), and in Augsburg was treated to Johann Michael Demmler's *Judith, oder der Entzatz Bethuliens* (1780).¹⁷ Performed in Berlin was Natale Nicola Mussini's *Das befreiete Bethulien* (1806), and in Ehrenbreitstein am Rhein (1783), which during the reign of the elector of Trier and prince-bishop of Augsburg, Clemens Wenzeslaus, became an important centre for the cultivation of Italian oratorio, *Betulia* with music by Pietro Pompeo Sales. *Betulia* also found its way – together with Italian composers and vocal ensembles – to the end of the continent. It was played in a concert in Edinburgh with music by Domenico Corri (1774). British music lovers also had in their collections, besides the above-mentioned oratorio by Jommelli, whom they appreciated for his *La Passione* as well, copies of various numbers from *Betulia* with music by an unidentified composer.¹⁸ *Betulia* was heard at least twice at a theatre in Lisbon, first with music by Giuseppe Scolari (1768), then later in an unknown setting (1773). It was also performed at a theatre in Moscow, with music by Mattia Stabingher (1783).

The final, veiled, act in the popularity of Metastasio's *Betulia* was the oratorio *La morte d'Oloferne. Tragedia sacra per musica*, with music by Pietro Guglielmi (also known as *Il trionfo di Giuditta, o sia La morte d'Oloferne*). In several recitatives, the unknown librettist quoted the most pertinent passages

¹⁶ *La Betulia liberata. Dramma di musica cantato per la celebre festa del nome di Sua Altezza Serenissima Maria Victoria Margravia Regnante di Baaden [...]. La poesia [...] Pietro Metastasio [...]. La Musica [...] Sig'r Bernasconi, Maestro di Cappella di S.A. Elettorale di Baviera*, Rastatt: Karl Anton Schell, 1762. CH-Zz, Rd 150: g.

¹⁷ This was a rare school presentation with music. *Betulia* was more often translated into German, to serve as edifying reading or for performances in educational institutions as a spoken play.

¹⁸ See e.g. *preghiera con coro* 'Pietà, se irato sei'. GB-Cu, MS.Add.9117, manuscript copy formerly in the possession of Lord Mount Edgecombe.

from *Betulia*, also restoring the characters of Holofernes and Bagoas (Wagao) that were absent from the *Metastasio*, removing Amital and Achior and introducing other protagonists, such as Artemisia, beloved of the Assyrian commander, all in order to build up a much livelier and more complex quasi-operatic plot.¹⁹ From the time of its premiere at the Teatro del Fondo in Naples during Lent 1791 (or a year earlier at the Colonna Palace in Rome),²⁰ this work enjoyed great success across Italy. It was also played in St Petersburg (1800), Barcelona (1805) and Lisbon (1815, 1816).²¹ Passages from its libretto were even used in the Spanish work *Judith, drama sacro en musica en dos actos*, which was performed at the Los Caños del Peral theatre in Madrid during Lent 1800.²²

At the time *Betulia* was written, oratorios in national languages were also flourishing, in both Catholic and Protestant centres, where this genre not infrequently – despite familiarity with the Italian tradition – took on specific features distinct from that tradition. This phenomenon could not fail to encompass such a popular story as the biblical tale of Judith. There are German-language works which are not translations of *Betulia*, such as *Die von dem stolzen Holoferne bis zum Todt gebreste Stadt Bethulia* (1742), by Gregor Joseph Werner, who specialised in oratorial output written for the Esterházy court in Eisenstadt,²³ and *Das gerettete Bethulia* by Adolph Carl Kunzen (1759), who – like his father, Johann Paul Kunzen – continued the tradition

¹⁹ Giorgio MANGINI, ‘“Betulia liberata” e “La morte d’Oloferne”: momenti di drammaturgia musicale nella tradizione dei “Trionfi di Giuditta”’, in: *Mozart, Padova e la Betulia liberata: Committenza, interpretazione e fortuna delle azioni sacre metastasiane nel ‘700’*, ed. Paolo Pinamonti, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1991 (Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 24), pp. 154–169.

²⁰ ID., ‘Le azioni sacre di Metastasio: conservazioni del testo e varianti librettistiche’, in: *Il diletto della scena e dell’armonia: Teatro e musica nelle Venezie dal ‘500 al ‘700. Atti del III ciclo dei corsi estivo di musicologia del Conservatorio ‘A. Buzzola’*. Adria 1986–1988, ed. Ivano Cavallini, Rovigo: Minelliana, 1990 (Studi musicali: Quaderni del Conservatorio di Adria 2), p. 292.

²¹ ID., ‘“Betulia liberata”’, p. 158.

²² ID., ‘Le azioni sacre’, pp. 296–299.

²³ This composer was famed for his predilection for counterpoint, as is discussed, taking arias from Werner’s oratorios as examples, by Zoltán FARCAS, ‘Imitáció és ellenpont Gregor Joseph Werner Oratórium-áriáiban’ [Imitation and Counterpoint in Gregor Joseph Werner’s oratorium arias], *Magyar zenetudományi folyóirat* 35/2 (1994), pp. 118–160.

of famous oratorical concerts (*Abendsmusiken*) at the Marienkirche in Lübeck established during the seventeenth century by Dietrich Buxtehude.²⁴

This subject also appeared in English oratorio, with Willem de Fesch's *Judith* (1733), regarded as a direct artistic response to a performance of Handel's *Esther* in 1732. That oratorio was followed by others of the same title by John Christopher Smith Jr (?1755–1758) and Thomas Arne (1761).²⁵ All these works, in accordance with the British tradition, were divided into acts, not parts.

Three solo cantatas were written during the first half of the eighteenth century in Paris by devotees of Italian music, Sébastien de Brossard, Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre and René Drouard de Bousset.²⁶ We also have the score of a specifically French, one-act oratorical work entitled *Judith*, composed by Antonio Sacchini, probably during his time in Paris (1781–1786), to be performed in Lent concerts there.²⁷

During the first half of the eighteenth century, Catalonia, and especially Barcelona and the surrounding area, was something of a hotbed for oratorio. Examples of oratorios about Judith from that region,²⁸ including *Betulia libertada de la esclavitud de los Assirios soccorrida por el poder de Dios en el brazo de la muger mas fuerte Triunfo de Judith* by Jaime [Jayme] Casellas (1726) and *La triunfante Judith* by Salvador Figueira (1746), point to Italian models in

²⁴ These oratorios consisted of five parts, because the performance of a work was spread across the five successive Sundays in Advent – see Howard SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 3: *The Oratorio in the Classical Era*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, p. 333.

²⁵ Works discussed in Eva ZÖLLNER, 'Murder Most Virtuous: The Judith Oratorios of De Fesch, Smith and Arne', in: *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, pp. 158–171.

²⁶ For an interesting analysis of the first two cantatas, see Michele CABRINI, 'The Composer's Eye: Focalizing Judith in the Cantatas by Jacquet de la Guerre and Brossard', *Eighteenth Century Music* 9/1 (2012), pp. 9–45.

²⁷ D-B, Mus.ms. 19150. The exact circumstances of this work's performance are not known. Lists of oratorios performed in Paris at that time generally mention Sacchini's *Esther* – a work that was repeatedly performed in *Concerts Spirituels* during the years 1786–1790, see SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio*, pp. 546–547.

²⁸ The oratorios are given here after the catalogue in Josep PAVIA I SIMÓ, *La música en Catalunya en el siglo XVIII: Francesc Valls (1671c.–1747)*, Barcelona: Institució Milà i Fontanals CSIC, 1997.

the shaping of the libretto, linked to oratorios and dialogues cultivated during the last decades of the seventeenth century in the south of the Apennine Peninsula and Sicily – a region that was under Spanish rule at that time.²⁹ Such is indicated by the archaic dramatic structure of these texts, designed in a single part, marked by the considerable participation of the chorus and lines sung by *uno del coro* and *secondo del coro*. This reminds one, for example, of *La superbia abbattuta da Giuditta trionfante, simbolo della colpa atterrata dalla Gran Vergine Vergine Madre di Dio Signora Nostra*,³⁰ a work played in Catania in 1688, which turns out to be an abridged version of the Roman oratorio *La morte di Oloferne* by Bartolomeo Nencini (words) and Alessandro Melani (music), performed at the Church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini during a famous cycle of oratorial concerts organised for Holy Year 1675 by the local Compagnia della Pietà. Meanwhile, José [Joseph] Picañol's *La valiente Judith* and *Judith triunfante* (Barcelona 1734 and 1735) and Manuel Gonimo's *La esforzada Judith* (Gerona 1766) indicate the influence of the typically Spanish tradition of sacred theatre, with the libretto divided into acts and scenes, which in turn influenced the keen interest in Naples and in Sicily in writing works on religious subjects for performance on stage.

To return, however, to Italian works based on the Book of Judith that were written during the pre-Metastasio era, it should be stated that none of the librettos gained such popularity as *Betulia*. Yet one can point to several texts that attracted some interest across the Alps as well. The first of these is the *azione sacra in musica La Juditta* by Andrea Salvadori and Marco da Gagliano, staged in Florence in 1626. That event was promoted by the regent of Tuscany, Archduchess Maria Maddalena of Austria. Allegorical intermedia added to the *azione* and the work's subject matter were intended to draw the attention of the guest, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, a nephew of Pope Urban VIII, to the active role played in resolving current threats (the Thirty Years' War, the Turkish eastwards expansion) by Medicis and the

²⁹ This may be linked to the recruitment of musicians from the Spanish south of the Apennine Peninsula by Archduke Charles Habsburg, who briefly ruled Spain as Charles III and resided in Barcelona during the War of the Spanish Succession. This issue would require further research.

³⁰ *La superbia abbattuta da Giuditta trionfante, simbolo della colpa atterrata dalla Gran Vergine Vergine Madre di Dio Signora Nostra*, libretto in I-CATc, Civ.mss.E.305.6.

Austrian Habsburgs, jointly represented by the archduchess.³¹ Little came of her political agitation, because Barberinis did not alter their pro-French stance and referred dismissively to the activities of the Empire in fighting the Reformation and the Turkish threat. Yet the cardinal could have taken a deeper interest in the *azione* itself as a splendid example, in artistic terms, of politically committed sacred opera. It was probably he who prescribed the preparation of a manuscript copy of the libretto of *La Giuditta*,³² in order to have it to hand as a model for similar initiatives at his own court that he would soon launch.³³

In Barberinis's *drammi per musica*, a trace of interest in the figure of Judith can be found in Giulio Rospigliosi's *La Genoinda* (1641, music Virgilio Mazzocchi). Rospigliosi included in the plot of that work a striking episode in which the persecuted titular heroine asks her ladies-in-waiting to read to her, from the lives of famous women, the story of the indomitable Judith, wishing to draw from it inspiration for her own stance.³⁴ Slightly later, Rome also acquired its own stage production of the tale about Judith. That was an *intermedio* by Giacomo Carissimi, unfortunately lost, which was staged at the Collegium Germanicum in 1656 in honour of Christina, Queen of Sweden, who on converting to Catholicism travelled to the Eternal City, where she was received with honours worthy of a ruler who actually held power and not a queen who had recently given it up.

There is no evidence that the *azione* by Salvadori and da Gagliano was known at the Warsaw court, but it is worth mentioning that here, too, similar politically-motivated use was made of the Book of Judith in the first *dramma*

³¹ Kelley HARNES, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Arts and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence*, Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006, especially Chapter IV: *Una forte, magnanima, e generosa vedova: Judith*. Harness emphasises the Florentine context of the invocation of Judith in the *azione* by Salvadori and da Gagliano. It would seem, however, that no less crucial here are the Austrian roots and political motives of the archduchess, sister of Emperor Ferdinand II.

³² *La Giuditta*, ms copy in I-Rvat, Barb.lat.3839, fols. 66r–94v.

³³ See more in Virginia Christy ΛΑΜΟΤΗ, *The Theater of Piety: Sacred Operas for the Barberini Family (Rome, 1632–1643)*, PhD diss., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2009, pp. 26–44.

³⁴ See Giulio ROSPIGLIOSI, *La Genoinda*, ed. Leonardo Margiacchi, Banca Dati „Nuovo Rinascimento”, www.nuovorinascimento.org, 2003 (access: 16 December 2013).

per musica to be staged, in 1635, under the reign of Ladislaus IV Vasa. This time, the story represented an echo of the Polish-Russian War of 1632–1634, and above all of the relief brought by the king/Judith to Smolensk, the principal fortress that – like the biblical Bethulia protecting the route to Jerusalem – defended the road from Moscow to Vilnius.³⁵

Salvadori's libretto was also translated – like *Judith* – into German by the Silesian Martin Opitz, a key figure in the development of German literature. The translation was probably ready by *c.* 1628,³⁶ which would confirm the assumption that *Judith* was intended as another literary-musical project – following *Dafne*, also of Florentine provenance – realised in collaboration with Heinrich Schütz.³⁷ Yet, for reasons unknown, that joint operatic project was not brought to fruition. In 1635, Opitz published his translation in Wrocław (Breslau) under the title *Judith*. It enjoyed great interest for years: it was reworked for use in various spoken plays featuring incidental music and served as a model for other plays based on the same subject written not only in German, but even in Danish. So Opitz's *Judith* played a significant role in the development of German theatre during the seventeenth century.³⁸

Finally, passages from Salvadori's *azione sacra* – quoted or partly paraphrased – served as a kind of framework for the libretto of *La Giuditta*, compiled from texts by several authors ('di diversi celebri penne'). Music to that libretto was written by Maurizio Cazzati, and the work was staged in Bologna in 1668 in the private concert hall of Count Astorre Orsi. In his dedication in the printed libretto, the composer praised both the count's fondness for patronising oratorial concerts and also the virtues of his spouse, who as a lady from the House of Montecuccoli, which for years had served the Empire in its eternal struggle against the enemies of Christianity, could truly appreciate Judith's valorous

³⁵ Anna RYSZKA-KOMARNICKA, 'Between Literary Tradition and Patriotic War: The Warsaw *Giuditta*', in: *Italian Music in Central-Eastern Europe. Around Mikołaj Zieleniński's Offertoria and Communiones (1611)*, eds. Tomasz Jeż, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, Marina Toffetti, Venezia: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2015, pp. 279–293.

³⁶ Mara WADE, 'The Reception of Opitz's *Judith* during the Baroque', *Daphnis* 16 (1987), pp. 150–151.

³⁷ Marian SZYROCKI, *Martin Opitz*, München: C.H. Beck, 1974, p. 100.

³⁸ For a survey of the importance of Opitz's *Judith*, see M. WADE, 'The Reception', pp. 147–165. See also SZYROCKI, *Martin Opitz*, p. 101.

deeds.³⁹ So again a political context accompanied the performance of a work about this heroine: those words refer to Emperor Leopold I's recent war with Turkey (1663–1664), in which the decisive defeat in the Battle of St Gotthard was dealt by Raimondo Montecuccoli. Cazzati repeated the performance of *Giuditta* four years later at the Gonzagas' court in Mantua,⁴⁰ at the start of a whole series of concerts featuring oratorios of his composition.

Italian oratorio and dialogue enjoyed a truly dynamic development during the mid seventeenth century in Rome, which alongside Venice became the principal centre on the Apennine Peninsula for the cultivation of the new style of recitation and aria. Thus Roman musical experimentation underlay two works based on the Book of Judith composed during the second half of the seventeenth century beyond the Alps: *Dialogus de Juditha et Holoferno* by Kaspar Förster junior (before 1666–1667)⁴¹ and *histoire sacrée Judith Sive Bethulia liberata* by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (H. 391; c. 1675).⁴² Both these composers played a huge role in their respective environments in transmitting the latest achievements of the Italian style. It would not appear, however, that their works about Judith referred in the actual verbal layer to specific works based on that subject which they could have heard during their time in Rome.

Attention is due also to the patronage in the Eternal City of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, a unique example of one person being responsible for the writing of such a large number of oratorios based on the Book of Judith.⁴³ First, there were

³⁹ *La Giuditta. Accademia spirituale posta in musica da Maurizio Cazzati Maestro di Capella[!] dell'Insigne Collegiata di S. Petronio. Dedicata All'Illustrissima Signora Co. Chiara Montecuccoli Orsi, cantata nella Sala dell'Illustrissimo Sig. Co. Astorre Orsi [...]*, Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1668, p. 6. I-Rn, 35.4.L.15/5.

⁴⁰ *La Giuditta. Oratorio per Musica Rappresentato in Corte dell'Altezze Serenissime di Ferdinando Carlo, et Anna Isabella Duchi di Mantova, Monferrato, &c. [...]*, Mantova: gli Osanna, 1672. I-Bc, Lo. 7437.

⁴¹ Kaspar FÖRSTER jr, *Dialogus de Judith et Holoferne a canto, alto, tenore, basso, due violini, due viole e basso continuo*, ed. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997 (Sub Sole Sarmatiae 5).

⁴² Dating after Patricia M. RANUM, *JUDITH, 'FEMME FORTE' and Marian Figure: A Look at how the Vulgate Text was redacted into a Libretto for a Guise 'Devotion'*, http://ranumspanat.com/judith_libretto.html (access: 12 February 2014).

⁴³ See Anna RYSZKA-KOMARNICKA, *Księga Judyty w oratoriach włoskich epoki baroku* [The Book of Judith in Italian oratorios of the Baroque], part II: *Tryumf Judyty na dworze księcia kościoła, kardynała Pietra Ottoboniego* [Judith's triumph at the court of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, Prince of the Church] [in print].

two oratorios with music by Alessandro Scarlatti, namely the ‘Naples’ *Giuditta* (1693–1694), to words by Pietro Ottoboni himself, and the ‘Cambridge’ *Giuditta*, to words by the cardinal’s father, Antonio (1695 or 1697)⁴⁴. Next we may include in the orbit of the cardinal’s patronage the oratorio *Giuditta* to words by Giacomo Cossa, dedicated to Ottoboni by the composer, Francesco de Messi (1705).⁴⁵ Also Arcangelo Spagna’s *L’Amazone hebrea nelle glorie di Giuditta*, published in the collection *Oratorii ovvero Melodrammi sacri* (1706), preceded by a treatise on the history and specificities of the oratorio genre, has an indirect link to Ottoboni, since that text is a modernised version of an oratorio entitled *La divina potenza trionfante nella destra di Giuditta* (Florence 1701). The editorial work undertaken by the canon displays the influence of the librettos about Judith by both the cardinal and his father, which is not surprising inasmuch as Spagna, as *maestro di camera* in the service of Pietro Ottoboni, no doubt attended their premieres.⁴⁶ Finally, to mark the visit of the ‘German noblemen’ to Rome, the cardinal organised a performance of another work, *Giuditta*, by Giacomo Buonaccorsi, with music by Pietro Paolo Bencini (1706), at the same time dedicating the print of his libretto to Marquis Francesco Maria Ruspoli.⁴⁷ Years later, in a new redaction, the above libretto became the basis for a musical setting by the Portuguese composer Francisco António de Almeida, performed at the Oratorio of St Philip Neri in Rome (1726).⁴⁸ Among the additions to the text was a significant quotation from the

⁴⁴ Alessandro SCARLATTI, *La Giuditta*, ed. Lino Bianchi, Roma: Edizioni De Santis, 1964 (Gli Oratorii di Alessandro Scarlatti 1); SCARLATTI, *La Giuditta di ‘Cambridge’*, ed. L. Bianchi, Roma: Edizioni De Santis, 1966 (Gli Oratorii di Alessandro Scarlatti 3).

⁴⁵ *Giuditta. Oratorio posto in musica da Francesco de Messi Milanese, e dal medemo dedicato all’Eminentiss. e Reverendiss. Sign. Cardinal Prencipe Pietro Ottoboni*, Roma: Giuseppe de Martijs, Stamperia di Gio: Francesco Chracas, 1705. I-Rig, Rar.Lib. Orat. 18.Jh.66.

⁴⁶ For more information see Anna RYSZKA-KOMARNICKA, ‘Arcangelo Spagna’s *perfetto melodramma spirituale* as seen on the example of two versions of his oratorio based on the Book of Judith’, *Musicologica Brunensia* 49/1 (2014), pp. 73–88.

⁴⁷ *La Giuditta. Oratorio dell’Abbate Giacomo Buonaccorsi e dal medesimo dedicato al Signore il Signor Marchese Francesco Maria Ruspoli*, Roma: Antonio de’Rossi, 1706. I-Rn, 34.1.L.38.2.

⁴⁸ *La Giuditta. Oratorio posto in musica dal Sig. Francesco Antonio d’Almeyda, e da cantarsi nell’Oratorio de’Padri della Chiesa Nuova [...] Dedicato all’Illustrissimo, ed Eccellentissimo Signore il Sig. D. Andrea De Melo De Castro Ambasciatore Ordinario della Maestà del Rè di Portogallo*, Roma: Gaetano Zanobi, I-Rn, Misc. Valenti 703.7. For more on the

libretto by Pietro Ottoboni, from the moment when Judith and her maid leave Holofernes' tent with his severed head and set off back to Bethulia ('Ecco diviso il capo dall'escrando busto'). It is highly likely that this redaction was the work of the cardinal himself, a long-term protector of the Oratorian congregation in Rome.

These librettos, excluding the text by Spagna, enjoyed success in Italy for many years, thanks partly to the position occupied by Ottoboni and partly to the conviction of the lofty artistic qualities of the works that he usually promoted, guaranteeing their success. Their reception beyond the Alps was significant, if not all that ample. Pietro Ottoboni's oratorio was performed twice in Vienna. In 1695, at the court of Leopold I, it was heard in a setting by Alessandro Scarlatti; that work may have been recommended by the imperial ambassador *ad Sedem Sanctam*, who a year earlier had attended its Roman premiere at the Palazzo della Cancelleria. Then in 1704 it appeared with an expanded libretto, with music by Carlo Agostino Badia, performed at the Ursuline convent, which was frequently visited by the imperial family. That 'expanded' version of the libretto is rooted in Roman presentations of this oratorio within the orbit of Ottoboni's patronage, yet it was never published in Rome itself, possibly because some of the additions clearly emphasised the erotic aspect of the story of Judith and Holofernes. Those additions only appeared in print in 1700, when the work was performed several times with Scarlatti's music in Florentine brotherhoods. It should be assumed that this text reached Vienna not from Rome, but from the Tuscan capital, where Badia wrote other oratorios, originally for the imperial court. Pietro Ottoboni's text and Scarlatti's music, in turn, had some influence on the oratorio *La Giuditta* written by Nunzio Stampiglia and set to music by Badia in Vienna (1710). It is also possible that the finer arias from the two oratorios with Scarlatti's music circulated in copies not only around the Apennine Peninsula, but also on the other side of the Alps, a faint trace of which may be the collection *Arie del Sig.^r Scarlatti*, copied by Johann Christoph Schmidt, linked to the Saxon

libretto, see Anna RYSZKA-KOMARNICKA, 'Metastasio's "La Betulia liberata" (1734) in the Context of Selected Late-Baroque "trionfi di Giuditta" Held in Rome', in: *La cultura del barroco español e iberoamericano y su contexto europeo*, eds. Kazimierz Sabik, Karolina Kumor, Varsovia: Instituto de Estudios Ibericos e Iberoamericanos de la Universidad de Varsovia, 2010, pp. 673–682.

chapel in Dresden, which contains three numbers from *Giuditta* to words by Antonio Ottoboni.⁴⁹

Buonaccorsi's libretto as reworked for Almeida was highly popular in Italy. It was also presented twice on the other side of the Alps, in Würzburg and Bamberg, with music by Franz Georg Wassmuth, at the court of two successive local archbishops, Friedrich Carl von Schönborn and Carl Philipp von Greiffenklau.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, no study has been found on the subject of the archbishops' musical patronage and Wassmuth's output, so one can only affirm that the extant librettos of oratorios by this composer (usually bilingual, Italian and German) prove that both archbishoprics were important centres for the cultivation of Italian oratorios.

References to the Ottoboni librettos – the cardinal's *Giuditta* (a paraphrase of the opening of the text) and Buonaccorsi's *Giuditta* (the way in which the principal heroine is portrayed, the presence of Achior and the motif of his conversion) – can also be found in Metastasio's *Betulia*. They show that the Italian tradition from the Apennine Peninsula was just as important for him as the Viennese tradition of oratorios about Judith written by Italians active in the imperial capital. That is because Viennese oratorios on this subject present a kind of history of the empire: each successive Judith portrays another holy emperor.⁵¹ The Judith full of faith and piety, saving her people, but demanding unconditional obedience of her subjects, in Antonio Draghi's *Oratorio di Giuditta* (1668) represented the dowager empress Eleonore and the young Leopold I. The courageous and devious Judith in the above-mentioned oratorio by Nunzio Stampiglia and Carlo Agostino Badia (1710)

⁴⁹ Arias: 'Se ritorno entro le mura', 'Non ti curo, o libertà', 'Tu che desti, o eterno Nume'. D-Hs, ND VI 1075 (Nr. 16–18).

⁵⁰ *Giuditta. Oratorio da cantarsi, per clementissimo commando di Sua Altezza Reverendissima Federico Carlo, Principe del S.R.I. Vescovo di Bamberg e di Wirzburgo, Duca di Franconia, nella Cathedral di Bamberg. Muscia del Sig. Giorgio Francesco Wassmuth, Compositore della Corte di detta S.A.R. Bamberg: Georg Andreas Gertner [c. 1735?].* D-WÜu, 52/Rp. XV.43; *Giuditta. Oratorio, cantato nella Quadragesima per commando dell'Altezza Reverendissima di Carlo Filippo Principe del S.R.I. Vescovo di Wirzburgo, Duca di Franconia &c. La musica e' del Sign. Giorgio Wasmuth[!], maestro di cappella della detta Altezza Reverendissima, Würzburg: Markus Anton Engman [1746–1754].* CZ-Bu, CH 7.717.

⁵¹ For more information see Anna RYSZKA-KOMARNICKA, *Księga Judyty* [The Book of Judith], part III: *Wiara Judyty w służbie Habsburgów* [Judith's faith at the service of the Habsburgs] [in print].

was an ideal portrait of the young and enterprising Joseph I, basking in military glory from the first phase in the War of the Spanish Succession. The Judith again pious and full of faith, but also of combative spirit, who ensures her people of triumph in *Il trionfo di Giuditta* by Bernardino Maddali and Giuseppe Porsile (1723), meanwhile, presaged the future reign of Maria Theresa, presented to the court at that time as the successor to Charles VI. Finally, the prudent, valiant and constant Judith from *Betulia* by Metastasio and Reutter (1734) reflected Charles VI and his wife, Elisabeth Christine, in accordance with emperor's motto *constantia et fortitudo*.

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*Eumene: A Case Study of an Opera Hero Migration
in the Early Modern Age*

Every time period needs its own superheroes: icons, with whom people can identify, and whom they can admire or treat as role models. They are the figures who strike a chord with the audiences, and capture their collective imagination. The seventeenth century saw the birth of a new type of public spectacle, called *dramma per musica*, which also introduced (or, to be more precise, re-introduced) to public and private theatres a host of heroes including Orpheus, Hercules and Jason, who awed and entertained the audiences with their superhuman skills and hair-raising adventures. As the genre gained popularity, there arose a need for new material. One can imagine the fashionable librettists such as Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Metastasio frantically scouring classical literature and history books for inspiration. Soon, the ranks of *dramma per musica* protagonists swelled to include Tito, Alessandro, Adriano, Ezio and Artaserse (to mention just a few prominent examples of heroes brought to life by Metastasio.) All these characters would reappear in different librettos, where their stories would be repeatedly revised and modified to suit the tastes and requirements of a particular audience and, perhaps more importantly, the talents, strengths and preferences of the singers. Throughout Europe, in its many opera theatres, the same protagonists would reappear in different librettos. The audiences were familiar with the outlines of their stories through sheer repetition, but also thanks to their familiarity with the source materials (mostly classical texts). Avid opera goers could also read printed librettos.

The aim of my article is to offer a case study of one such character. Eumene, though somewhat obscure today, was one of the most popular operatic heroes in the seventeenth century, and even more so in the eighteenth. In my article,

I would like firstly to shed some light on Eumene's story and outline the history of the migrations of *Eumene* as an operatic libretto. Secondly, I will attempt to explain the overwhelming popularity of the character on European operatic stages. My third objective is trying to answer a broader question: what factors contributed to the popularity of operatic librettos or operatic heroes and were responsible for their migration? To this end, I would like to compare several versions of the *Eumene* libretto, analysing the similarities and differences between them. I based the selection of librettos on the dates (librettos from different decades of the eighteenth century) as well as on the characteristics of the opera centres and their geographical location¹.

Who was Eumene? The shortest answer is that he is a minor historical character: one of Alexander the Great generals, much admired in his day for his courage and sense of honour. Today, he is a somewhat forgotten, but his life and career were described in ancient sources, notably in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* and Cornelius Nepos' *De Viris Illustribus* and also in Quintus Curtius Rufus' biography of Alexander the Great. Eumene (or Eumenes in English²) was a Greek, a native of Cardia. Thanks to his intelligence, courage, loyalty and honour, he rose through the ranks to become first a secretary to Philip of Macedon, and then a general in the army of Philip's son Alexander the Great. In the last years of Alexander's reign, Eumene gave many proofs of his loyalty and devotion. However, royal favour shown to a foreigner caused the jealousy of Macedonian commanders, though, according to Nepos, they learned to accept his supremacy as 'Eumene indeed surpassed them all with his prudence, intelligence, perseverance and cunning.'³ After Alexander's death, when the vast empire disintegrated,

¹ This article is one of my contributions to the broader MusMig project. In my part of the project, I focused on libretto migrations. However, this is a very broad theme so I chose a specific point of focus to my research. These were the operas dedicated to Maria Klementyna Sobieska, the Polish consort of James III Stuart. For this reason, the version of *Eumene* that was dedicated to Maria Klementyna in 1721 is of special interest to this contribution. Therefore, in the final part of the article I will endeavour to answer the research questions outlined above using the material from that specific libretto.

² For this article I use the Italian version of the name, the one that appears in librettos.

³ Cornelius NEPOS, *Lives of Eminent Commanders*. The quotation is a translation from the Polish edition: Korneliusz NEPOS, *Żywoty wybitnych mężów*, www.zrodla.historyczne.prv.pl (access: 15 April 2016).

Eumene became a ruler of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. He was also forced to play a part in the brutal wars waged by Alexander's former generals, each of whom now vied for supremacy over the others. Eumene emerged from these wars victorious thanks to his cunning, intelligence and courage. In fact, some reports of his actions during that period make him sound like an ancient James Bond. However, when his former friends banded together against him, his fate was sealed. Breaking a solemn oath that he would not be harmed, other ex-generals betrayed him to his enemy Antigonos. When imprisoned in Antigonos' dungeon, he was reportedly asked by a warden why, if he were such a great hero, he did not die a glorious death in battle but allowed himself to be taken prisoner and he replied: 'I regret that it is so, but I have never met a foe whom I did not vanquish. What brought me to this pass is not the valour of my enemies, but the treachery of my friends.'⁴ A few days later, he was killed in his prison cell by Antigonos' henchmen. He was forty-five years old.

Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives* dwells on Eumene's physical attractiveness: 'For he had a pleasant face, not like that of a war-worn veteran, but delicate and youthful, and all his body had, as it were, artistic proportions, with limbs of astonishing symmetry; and though he was not a powerful speaker, still he was insinuating and persuasive, as one may gather from his letters.'⁵ In short, Eumene possessed all the prerequisites for a popular hero: he was staggeringly handsome, intelligent, courageous and worshipped by the soldiers under his command. He led an adventurous life and had an uncanny ability to survive and thrive amid political turmoil. Finally, his tragic death was a result of treachery. All these features made Eumene predestined to become an operatic hero. All that the story was missing was a girl – but this problem could easily be fixed by any librettist worth his salt.

The first documented appearance of Eumene on the operatic scene happened in 1666 in a production staged in Teatro S. Stefano in Ferrara.⁶

⁴ IBID.

⁵ PLUTARCH, *The Life of Eumenes*, in: ID., *The Parallel Lives*, vol. 8, Loeb Classical Library edition, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Eumenes*.html (access: 20 April 2016)

⁶ Claudio SARTORI, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*, Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990.

The libretto was penned by Almerico Passarelli, and the score, written by Antonio Massini, is now regrettably lost. The libretto was dedicated to Cardinal Buonvisi, the papal legate in Ferrara. The Ferrara *Eumene* has all the markings of a seventeenth-century Venetian-type opera: it has a large cast of tragic and comic characters, and indiscriminately mixes tragic and comic scenes and tropes. To quote Passarelli, it is ‘un misto di nobile, e di plebeo.’ The libretto contains many of the main operatic *topoi* such as a dream scene, a letter-reading scene, cross-dressing, and a lament. The poet explained that these stock elements of the plot had to be included in deference to public tastes and also because of the demands of the musicians: ‘Alcuno de’Musici vuol far vedersi frequente in Iscena hora vuole l’arietta, hor il lamento.’⁷ The *Eumene* from the Ferrara production does not actually have much in common with the historical character whose career I have outlined above. Virtually the only point of similarity is that this *Eumene* is also one of Alexander’s generals. Apart from this, the protagonist of this opera does not have any of the enviable qualities that I have described. He is decidedly anti-heroic. No wonder perhaps that this production of *Eumene* did not inspire any migrations or revivals and remained a local affair. To the best of my knowledge, it did not influence any later productions.

Thirty years later, an *Eumene* resembling his historical counterpart took the operatic stages by storm. In 1697, Apostolo Zeno wrote his *Eumene* libretto and this date marks the beginning of *Eumene*’s triumphal march through the operatic stages of Europe, which included the following productions:⁸ 1700 Verona; 1706 Palermo, with music by Marc’Antonio Ziani; 1709 Venice; 1714 Reggio, with music by Francesco Gasparini; 1715 Reggio; 1715 Naples, with music by F. Gasparini and Leonardo Leo; 1719 Milan, with music by F. Gasparini; 1720 Florence; 1721 Rome, with music by Nicola Porpora; 1723 Venice, with music by Tomaso Albinoni; 1724 Livorno; 1737 Turin; 1742 Bologna, with music by Niccolò Jommelli; 1747 Naples, with music by N. Jommelli; 1754 Rome, with music by Antonio Aurisicchio; 1757 Brescia; 1759 Turin, with music by Antonio

⁷ Almerico PASSARELLI, *Eumene*, Ferrara: Alfonso, e Gio. Battista Maresti, 1666, p. 5.

⁸ The list of productions is based on the research by Sartori and the present author.

Mazzoni; 1764 Florence, with music by Antonio Sacchini; 1765 London, pasticcio directed by Gioacchino Cocchi; 1765 Barcelona, with music by N. Jommelli; 1765 Rome, with music probably by Sacchini; 1771 Naples, with music by Gian Francesco de Majo, Giacomo Insanguine, Pasquale Errichelli; 1772 Barcelona; 1773 Lisbon, with music by Giovanni De Sousa Carvalho; 1775 Cremona; 1778 Turin, with music by Giacomo Insanguine; 1778 Venice, with music by Giovanni Battista Borghi; 1784 Venice, with music by Ferdinando Bertoni.

In 1717, the figure of Eumene was also used by Antonio Salvi in his libretto entitled *Il pazzo per politica*. The opera was also staged under an alternative eponymous title *Eumene*. This version was produced in Livorno with music by Luca Antonio Predieri and in Venice with music by Tomaso Albinoni. Apart from these productions, it was also staged in Munich in 1720 with music by Pietro Torri. However, the respective numbers of productions prove that Salvi's *Eumene* libretto was decidedly less popular than Zeno's.

As the list of productions testifies, Zeno's libretto was used on the operatic stages for almost one hundred years: from 1697 to 1784 (the date of the last known production). In that period, *Eumene* graced the stages of many important operatic centres in Italy (Venice, Bologna, Rome, Naples and Milan – the latter remained under Habsburg rule in the period) and beyond (London, Barcelona and Lisbon).

In order to briefly sketch the libretto, I should first introduce the characters:

- Eumene, one of successors to Alexander the Great, in love with Artemisia
- Laodicea, ruling queen of Cappadocia, secretly in love with Eumene
- Artemisia, rightful queen of Cappadocia, Eumene's beloved
- Aminta, Eumene's little son by his first wife Apamia
- Antigene, the commander of the Argyraspides (an elite force), secretly in love with Artemisia
- Leonato, prince of Macedonia, in love with Laodicea
- Peuceste, Artemisia's captain, friend to Eumene
- Nesso, courtier and advisor to Laodicea

Eumene is in love with Artemisia, the rightful queen of Cappadocia, whose throne was usurped by her aunt Laodicea. He plans to overthrow

Laodicea and put his beloved Artemisia on the throne before they marry. His fleet arrives at Sebastia, the capital of Cappadocia, where Laodicea's court is in residence. It transpires that Laodicea met Eumene some years ago at the court of Alexander, and has loved him secretly ever since. Laodicea's political ambitions are supported by Leonato, the prince of Macedonia and Alexander's relative. Leonato is in love with Laodicea and so he has helped her to seize the throne. We also learn that he is an enemy of Eumene. When Eumene comes to Sebastia, he is accompanied by Antigene (another historical figure). Antigene is the commander of an elite army unit called the *Argyraspides*. He is Eumene's comrade and used to be his friend, but now is secretly in love with Artemisia and his jealousy of Eumene prompts him to plot his downfall. Antigene betrays Eumene to Laodicea and as a result, Eumene is captured and imprisoned. The triumphant Laodicea summons the captured Eumene to her presence and voices her demands: she wants Artemisia to relinquish her claim to the throne and to put herself in her hands in exchange for Eumene's life. The heartbroken Eumene asks Laodicea for one favour: he would like to break the news of this ultimatum to Artemisia himself. Laodicea agrees, because she knows Eumene is honourable (in fact, he is well known throughout the ancient world for his sense of honour and moral forthrightness). A poignant meeting between Eumene and Artemisia ensues: Artemisia is willing to fulfil Laodicea's demands in order to save the life of her beloved Eumene. Both lovers understand that if Artemisia put herself in Laodicea's power, she would probably be killed. Eumene refuses to even contemplate this plan and, oblivious to Artemisia's entreaties and his soldiers' protests, he comes back to Laodicea's court. Before he leaves, he has a conversation with Antigene and forgives him his betrayal. Antigene now suffers pangs of conscience and vows to do all in his power to save Eumene.

When he comes back, Laodicea confesses her love to Eumene. He listens to her with deference, but is unable to return her affection. Laodicea's confessions of love are overheard by Leonato, who feels cheated and now vows to avenge himself on the faithless queen. Antigene arrives at the court, pretending to be Laodicea's ally. He promises Laodicea that he will deliver Artemisia into her hands. Meanwhile it transpires that the Senate and the people of Cappadocia demand Eumene's death. They put their demands

in a letter which is brought to the court by Leonato. In his confrontation with Laodicea, the furious Leonato reveals that he knows she is in love with Eumene. Now Laodicea realises that her position is precarious: she cannot continue to trust the jealous Leonato, so she transfers the control of her army to Antigene. Now Laodicea decides to put Eumene's affection for Artemisia to one final test: she lies to him, telling that she has imprisoned Artemisia and tries to blackmail Eumene into marrying her (Laodicea) in order to save the life of his beloved. But contrary to her expectations, the honourable Eumene spurns her again, thus proving his moral credentials. Meanwhile, Leonato, consumed by mad jealousy, attacks Laodicea's soldiers. He wants to bring about Eumene's death. His surprise attack causes turmoil in the city, which makes it easier for Eumene's soldiers (commanded by Antigene and Peuceste) to gain control of Sebastia. Laodicea relents and decides to free Eumene and to give him a chance to fight Leonato in a fair fight. They fight in a duel, in which Eumene wins. His victory means the ultimate defeat of Laodicea, who now has to step down as the queen of Cappadocia. Artemisia and Eumene are finally free to enjoy their mutual love, with Artemisia assuming her rightful place on the throne. Artemisia now forgives Laodicea her usurpation and thanks her for not executing Eumene, and the latter asks Laodicea to accept Leonato as her husband. The opera concludes with a quartet of the four lovers: Eumene and Artemisia and Leonato and Laodicea.

In the *argomento* Zeno describes Eumene as 'uno de' più famosi Capitani Macedoni' [one of the most famous Macedonian captains], 'il gran carattere' [a great character], 'gran Capitano troppo celebre ai posteri, per non riguardarlo senza ammirazione' [a great captain, revered among the next generations who regarded him with admiration], 'così stimato, temuto' [much valued and much feared]. He is also referred to as a hero whose 'peccò solo, mà in due virtù, per eccesso; in una per troppa bontà; nell'altra per troppa fede.' [only sin was the excess of two virtues: the first was excessive kindness, and the second – excessive faith] and who 'potea bene perder la vita, mà non mancarle di fede' [could lose his life, but could not lose his faith/honour]. We can infer that Zeno's opinion of Eumene is representative for the era: it seems that he was indeed viewed as the epitome of honour and loyalty, and these characteristics were responsible for his popularity on the operatic stages of Europe in the eighteenth century. Zeno strikes the point home by often making his protagonist declare his belief

in the principles of steadfastness, loyalty and honour. An apt illustration of his credo is the scene where Eumene promises to Laodicea that he will come back after giving Artemisia her ultimatum. He says: 'Caro e più de la vita, e più del Figlio /Il mio Onor quì t'impegno e la mia Fede.' [I leave here something that is more precious to me than my son/ it is my honour and my faith]. He repeats the same sentiment in a later aria *Tornerò, s'altri non riede* (I/17) in which second part he sings:

E potrò mancar di vita;
Mà di fede
Non potrò.

[I can lose my life,
But my faith
I cannot.]

Staying true to his promises is Eumene's *raison d'être*, his dominant characteristic. This virtue puts him on a par with the most admired historical heroes such as Attilio Regolo, Otto I Count of Burgundy (the son of Emperor Frederick I) or Saint Louis (Louis IX of France). Even in the face of death, Eumene declares: 'più de la vita amo la fede' [I love faith/honour more than life] (III,4). When Laodicea threatens to kill Artemisia, he still remains forthright and his musings on his predicament take the following form:

Artemisia m'è cara...
Mà romperò la fede?
Quella fè che giurai? Quella per cui
Mille vite darei?
Sacra a me più che il Ciel, più che gli Dei? (III,12)

[Artemisia is dear to me ...
But can I break my faith?
Can I break the vows I swore to uphold? The ones to which
I sacrificed thousands of lives?
More sacred to me than heaven, more sacred than the gods?]

Because, as shown above, the number of opera productions featuring Eumene in the seventeenth and eighteenth century is so overwhelming, in the following part of my article I am going to focus only on selected versions of Zeno's libretto: the *Eumene* productions from Naples (1715), Turin (1759), London (1765), Barcelona (1765) and Lisbon (1772). As I indicated in the opening section of the article, these specific versions of the libretto were chosen with a view to achieving maximum diversity: they come from different decades and operatic centres.

The Naples *Eumene* was staged in 1715 in the great hall of the Royal Palace of Naples. It was dedicated to Emperor Charles VI on his birthday. The choice of subject was explained in the dedication, which, typically for the period, drew a parallel between the dedicatee and the eponymous hero. While the comparison might strike the modern reader as sycophantic, it fits the well-known encomiastic convention whereby rulers were equated or identified with heroes of antiquity. The relevant passage reads: 'poiche essendo l'E. V. il nostro Marte, non sdegnarà ricevere sotto la sua protezione un Guerriero, che anche in periglio della propria vita sà serbare la Fede nell'Armi' [Because Your Majesty is our Mars, you will not be offended by this request to extend your patronage to a warrior, who, even when his life is endangered, still remained unwaveringly loyal to the army]. The same encomiastic tone can also be detected in the occasional prologue, entitled 'Reggia della Dea Bellona'.

The Neapolitan version follows Zeno's libretto faithfully and retains most of the recitatives (although some of them were slightly altered, mostly for the sake of brevity.) But though the plot and the recitatives remained the same, the majority of the arias were changed. The author of the Naples version of the libretto introduced a new character, Rosinda, a lady-in-waiting to Laodicea, and a love interest of Nesso, and he got rid of the silent part of Aminta, Eumene's little son. Rosinda and Nesso are not only a comic couple, which can feature in *scene buffe*. In this version, they become keen observers and commentators of events at the court. The behaviour of the couple provides an implicit critique of flattery, a common failing of courtiers, both in ancient Cappadocia and in eighteenth-century Europe.

As for the titular character, the Neapolitan Eumene retains the dignity, steadfastness and sense of honour which were his hallmarks in Zeno's original libretto. The only minor alterations are visible in the scene

where Laodicea tries to blackmail him with the possibility of imprisoning Artemisia. Here, the Neapolitan libretto adaptor added a short recitative which shows the human side of Eumene: the fearless paragon of military virtue openly fears for the life of his beloved, and is not afraid to talk about his feelings:

Trovar vorresti al fine
L'arte di spaventarmi. A' questo colpo
Freme la mia costanza,
Ma ancor non m'abbandonera. In tante pene
Rispettate, o timori il cor d'Eumene.

[You would like to find
A way to terrify me. My constancy
Is in terror of this final stroke,
But yet it will not forsake me. In the face of such misery
Respect, O ye fears, the heart of Eumene]

When in Act III Laodicea threatens Eumene with Artemisia's death, he cries out in terror: 'Ah sospendi / Ah sospendi per pietà!' [Oh stay your hand/ stay your hand for mercy's sake]. Apart from these minor alterations, the personality of Neapolitan Eumene does not differ from the original.

The next libretto which I am going to analyse was commissioned by the Teatro Regio in Turin and produced during carnival of 1759. In contrast with the Neapolitan libretto, the one from Turin restored the character of Eumene's son Aminta, and omitted Laodicea's advisor Nesso. Some of Zeno's text was retained in recitatives, and new arias were introduced. The plot was also somewhat altered. The most significant change involved the portrayal of Artemisia. In the Turin production, she becomes a strong and independent character, who openly and with great determination fights to save the man she loves. In contrast with the previous librettos, in the Turin version it is Artemisia who closes Act I. She also gets a longer monologue in Act II after Eumene goes back to Laodicea's palace in order to keep his word given to the usurper queen. In her monologue, Artemisia decides to go to Laodicea in person and to offer her life in exchange for Eumene's. But she also has

an ulterior motive: Artemisia states that she wants to ascertain whether Eumene's decision to come back to Laodicea's court was not motivated by a change in his affections (whether he is not now in love with Laodicea). Making Artemisia a more dominant character occasions the introduction of new, highly dramatic scenes, the most important of which is a scene in which Eumene and Artemisia face Laodicea together. The furious Laodicea tells them to choose which one of them should be executed, and each of them professes that they want to die for the other. Finally, Laodicea makes an even more cruel decision: they are both going to die. This gives an occasion for a poignant 'duet of farewell' in which the two lovers sing of their mutual love in the face of death. It seems probable that this significant enlargement of Artemisia's role was due to the fact that the part was performed by the talented Clementina Spagnoli.⁹ In accordance with the fashion of the day, the entr'actes between the acts were filled with ballet numbers, whose detailed descriptions feature in the printed libretto.

The most striking difference between the Turin *Eumene* and the earlier productions pertains to the portrayal of the protagonist's emotions. The Turin *Eumene* contains many sequences in which he openly expresses his feelings, not only professing his heroic creed, but also showing a whole range of human emotions such as his longing for his beloved Artemisia and for his son. He also expresses despair at the separation from his soldiers and regret that his life is coming to an end. This is evidenced for example in his recitative and aria from Act II, Scene 8.

Lode agli Dei, vi riconosco al fine,
O miei fidi guerrieri, ora, che il varco
Alla gloria mi aprite: or sì che sento
Tenerazza in lasciarvi: or sì che provo
Mille affetti in un punto. Il vostro Duce

Praised be the Gods, now I recognise you
O my loyal soldiers: now you open my path
To glory: now I feel softened at the thought
Of leaving you: now that I feel
Millions of emotions in one moment. Your
Valiant Prince

⁹ Dennis LIBBY, 'Clementina Spagnoli', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O006160?q=spagnoli&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (access: 15 May 2016). The entry does not mention either Spagnoli's sojourn in Turin or her subsequent contract with the King's Theatre in London.

Io sono al fin: sono il tuo amante, o cara.	I am: I am your lover, my dearest
Nella partenza amara	In this bitter separation
Cede la mia forza ... Ah miei guerrieri,	My strength dwindles...O my soldiers
A voi lascio il mio bene... A te, mia speme,	I leave my love here...And to you, my hope
Solo commetto il dolce figlio, e tutto	I commend my sweet son and
Lascio in pegno il mio cor. Resta in mia	all my heart. Stay here in my stead
vece;	
Alla vendetta accendi	Stir the spirit of vengeance
Le generose schiere ... Ah col tuo pianto	In these noble ranks...But do not distract me
Non sedurmi di più. Soffri costante	Any more with your tears...Suffer with constancy
Il rigor del destino avverso, e rio ...	The adverse fate...
Valorosi compagni, io parto, addio.	O brave companions, I leave you, farewell.
Aria:	Aria:
Sposa, perdona ... oh pene!	My wife, forgive me...oh the pain!
Figlio, ti lascio ... oh Dio!	My son, I leave you...oh God!
Vado alle mie catene,	I must follow my chains
Al mio destin m'invio.	I must fulfil my destiny
Serbami il figlio mio: a Peuceste	(to Peuceste) Take care of my son
Serbami il caro ben: ad Antigene	(to Antigene) Take care of my love
Vado a morir beato	I will die happy
Con questa speme in sen.	With this hope in my heart
Serbami il figlio amato,	Take care of my beloved son
Serbami il caro ben.	Take care of my love

It is worth pointing out that Eumene's aria contains multiple instances of ellipsis (...). Eumene's despair makes it difficult for him to speak in complete sentences: his thoughts are incoherent because of his acute distress. The example of this aria suggests that at that point the audiences probably expected greater emotional truthfulness from operatic heroes and they wanted the portrayal of emotions (however extreme) to be more realistic and truthful to life. It is also significant that the part of Eumene in this production was played by the famous Gaetano Guadagni, a student of David Garrick in London and the future first performer of the part of Orpheus in Gluck's

Orpheus and Euridice. Records from the period suggest that Guadagni not only had a spectacular voice, but also possessed considerable acting talent.¹⁰

The next version of *Eumene* which I am going to briefly describe is the London production of 1765. It was a pasticcio, conducted by Gioacchino Cocchi, who used the title of *maestro di cappella napolitano*.¹¹ Interestingly, also in this production the part of Artemisia was played by Clementina Spagnoli, who had previously appeared in the same role in the above-mentioned Turin production. The plot of the London *Eumene* also closely follows the plot of the Turin production, so that the role of Artemisia is again quite prominent. What is different in the London version is the language, which is simple and direct, less embellished, and – to my mind – less poetic. In this version, the most significant change involves the presentation of Eumene's personality. Just like in the previous versions, he is honourable and full of dignity, but in the London production he seems less sure of himself and more introspective. He is plagued by a sense of foreboding and of approaching death. The London *Eumene* is thus made more human and less idealised. When he learns that Laodicea imprisoned his beloved Artemisia, he is completely shattered. In vain he tries to calm himself, find inner strength and live up to the ideals of courage and perseverance. In Act III, when Laodicea sentences Artemisia to death, it seems that Eumene's beloved accepts the news with more impassivity than him:

Parto, perchè speravo
In te più di coraggio. Ah, Duce invito
Non son degni di noi
Gl'inutili trasporti,
Il pallido timor, che invano ascondi.
Ma tu resti! Mi guardi! E non rispondi?

[I am leaving, because I hoped
To find more courage in you. O unvanquished prince

¹⁰ Cf. Patricia HOWARD, *The Modern Castrato: Gaetano Guadagni and the Coming of a New Operatic Age*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

¹¹ The arias were written by Ponzo, Bertoni, Hasse, Maio, Jomelli, Sacchini, Cocchi, Barbiera, Mazzoni, Galuppi and Scolari.

These useless displays of emotion
 Are below us.
 This fear that makes you pale, and which you are vainly trying to hide.
 But you are staying behind! You're looking at me! And not replying?]

Eumene is suffering, and his suffering makes him human. It is not a sign of weakness (though it appears so to Artemisia). Again, the change in the character's personality may be at least partly explained by a look at the cast list. The eponymous part in the London production was played by Filippo Elisi, known for his impressive range of expression. One of his contemporaries, Thomas Gray, wrote about him thus in 1761:

'Elisi is finer than anything that has been here in your memory ... We have heard nothing, since I remember Operas, but eternal passages, divisions, and flights of execution. Of these he has absolutely none ... His point is expression.'¹²

This emphasis on expression, a more natural acting style, and the attempt to make the character's psychological states probable and fitting to the action, and finally, a measure of realism in the portrayal of emotions: all these qualities can be attributed to the influence of the actor David Garrick. Worshipped by the London audiences, Garrick single-handedly revolutionised the acting style, and the realism and naturalness of his acting were emulated not only by his fellow thespians, but also by opera singers,¹³ though it would probably be fair to say that the opera performers adopted this change in acting style with more delay than theatre actors.

The next production of which I am going to offer an overview is the Barcelona *Eumene* of 1765. The production was staged in public to celebrate the nameday of King Charles III of Spain. The music was composed by Niccolò Jommelli.¹⁴ Even a cursory perusal of the printed libretto leads to

¹² Dale E. MONSON, 'Filippo Elisi', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, accessed online at: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O007585?q=Elisi&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (access: 15 May 2016).

¹³ Daniel HEARTZ, 'From Garrick to Gluck: the Reform of Theatre and Opera in the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 94 (1967–1968), pp. 111–127.

¹⁴ The libretto was printed in two language versions, in Italian and Spanish.

the conclusion that the Barcelona *Eumene* was different from its predecessors: the roster of *dramatis personae* lists Eumene third, even though he is the eponymous character. The first name on the list is Artemisia, followed by Laodicea. We are dealing here with a heroine-centred opera, and both Artemisia and Laodicea are definitely what would today be called ‘strong female characters.’ The plot follows Zeno’s libretto with some minor alterations, but the text has been completely rewritten by an anonymous poet-adaptor. The text is much longer than in any of the previous versions after 1697. The Barcelona adaptor gave voice to the characters feelings and innermost thoughts. We often hear them thinking aloud, planning and plotting their next moves. This feature of the Barcelona version is especially visible in the part of Artemisia.

The Barcelona production finished with a *licenza*, performed by Eumene accompanied by the chorus. In it, Eumene describes himself as only a pale imitation of the true leader and commander, the all-conquering sun. This vision served as a preparation for the final climax, an encomium for King Charles III. Once Eumene sang the line, a bust of the king appeared on the stage, emerging from sun-shaped machinery.¹⁵ The scene was made even more awe-inspiring and symbolic by the painted backgrounds on both sides of the bust. The painting on one side of the bust represented America, and Europe on the other. The space between them, behind the bust, represented the ocean, traversed by ships sailing between the two continents. This startling image was of course not a symbol of cultural exchange (even though, to our modern minds, this is the obvious symbolism of the ships sailing in both directions). Rather, it represented the imperial power of Spain and the wealth of its colonial holdings. In truth, less than two years before, Charles III had lost Florida to Great Britain as a result of his involvement in the Seven Years’ War. But Spain had not yet forgot its imperial ambitions, and wanted to be counted among the great powers. The Barcelona *Eumene* symbolically reinforced and enhanced this vision of a strong, victorious Spain, led by a warlike king.¹⁶

¹⁵ Si scuopre il Sole, nel di cui corpo, si vede il Busto del nostro Invitto Monarca CARLO III. da una parte l’America, e dall’altra l’Europa, e nel fondo si vede il mare, con navi che passano dell’uno all’altro Emisfero. *Eumene*, Barcellona 1765, p. 92.

¹⁶ This interpretation receives further support from the analysis of a poem printed on the title page of the libretto:

The last version of the libretto which I am going to present is the Lisbon *Eumene*, performed on 6 June 1773 in the royal theatre of the Ajuda Palace, to celebrate the birthday of King Joseph I. The libretto lists Zeno as the author, but the first character listed in the *dramatis personae* is Artemisia, which suggests that alterations had been made. The Lisbon Artemisia is once again a strong female character, and it is she who closes Act I. In Act II, she makes an independent decision to go to Laodicea's court and offer her life in exchange for Eumene's. Her appearance at court prompts Leonato to warn Laodicea that Artemisia's presence will inspire loyalty in the hearts of her father's former subjects. This development is decidedly at variance with the previous versions:

Sappi, che ne'tuoi fidi
 L'aspetto d'Artemisia à già destata
 Tenerezza, ed amor. La guarda ognuno;
 Ognun del Genitore
 Ripete il nome. In ogni sguardo io vidi
 Svegnata già la rimembranza antica;

[Know that among your subjects
 The appearance of Artemisia will inspire
 Tenderness and love. All look at her:
 All repeat her father's
 Name. In every look
 I have seen
 Old memory reawakened.]

Can we assume that that scene is an allusion to the Portuguese succession? Was King Joseph subtly preparing the ground for the accession of his daughter Maria after his own death?

In the confrontation with Laodicea, the Lisbon Artemisia's behaviour is full of noble dignity. She scornfully calls Laodicea's demands that she should renounce Eumene in order to save his life 'a new form of tyranny' [un nuovo

Si à Eumenes eterniza una victoria/ Y à fus fieles Vassallos el corage;/ Si la Scena lo trahe à la memoria / Y lo aplaude Señor nuestro homenaje; / Es que es simbolo aquel de vuestra Gloria / Y los fuyos, de maestro vassalage; / En ellos la lealtad de nuestros pechos,/ Y en lo Eroico de Eumenes vuestros hechos. *Eumene*, p. 1.

stile di tirannia]. When in Act III Laodicea sentences her to death, she greets the news with equanimity. It is Eumene's reaction which is untypical in this version: he promptly decides to commit suicide. Artemisia talks him out of it and asks him for the final sign of his love: when her time comes, it should be he who will deliver the deadly blow. In the end, as we know from the other versions, the fortunes of the protagonists will undergo a reversal, and there will be no need for such drastic actions. Eumene and Artemisia will be saved by Peuceste and Antigene and the opera will finish with a *lieto fine*. As we can see from the Lisbon production, through the years and through the different libretto versions, the role of Artemisia gradually grew, and she finally became an equal consort of Eumene. In turn, the eponymous character changed from being an impossibly perfect paragon of all virtues to a more human, and thus more appealing character.¹⁷

Now I would like to come back to the research questions which I sketched in the first part of my presentation. An overview of almost one hundred years of performance history of Zeno's *Eumene* allows us to see that the libretto's two great strengths were an engaging plot and an attractive protagonist. Zeno's Eumene is something of a superhero: a figure with which audience members coming from different social classes could identify or whom they could admire. As a general and political ruler, Eumene would be an attractive hero for the upper classes, who would accept him as one of their own: the fact that he commanded vast armies and was popular with his soldiers was bound to be appreciated by aristocratic or royal audience members. But the universal values he stood for, such as loyalty, honour and staying true to one's word would also make him attractive to the broader masses. We have some first-hand testimonies of the appeal of Zeno's protagonist, and the most detailed among them is an entry from the diary of a Richard Rawlinson, an English visitor to Rome. Upon seeing a performance of the Rome *Eumene*, dedicated to Maria Klementyna Sobieska Stuart in 1721, Rawlinson noted down his impressions in the following words:

'I went to the opera House of the Conte d'Aliberti where we were entertained with excellent Musick and good singing, the name of the play

¹⁷ Eumene's humanity is demonstrated e.g. by his monologue after hearing the news that Laodicea sentenced Artemisia to death: *Che ascoltai!* (III, 7).

was Eumene in which was more good sense, tenderness of expression and passion than I have before observed in Italy and the different parts acted as well as sung to great perfection: the house was very full, and persons of the first quality were present...'.¹⁸

The study of the librettos suggests that, apart from the attractiveness of the story and the protagonist, another advantage of Zeno's libretto was its flexibility. Zeno's text adapts itself well to changing operatic and musical fashions and performance styles. Its flexibility no doubt made it popular among adaptors and among operatic audiences, and that flexibility was responsible for the vast scale of the libretto's migration.

An answer to the crucial question of what made some librettos more popular (and therefore more 'migratory') than others can be found in contemporary adaptation theory. This relatively new, interdisciplinary field is concerned with the study of adaptations (mainly screen adaptations of literary texts, but also adaptations in other media, for example, video games or music). One of the forerunners of adaptation studies, Linda Hutcheon, highlights the fundamental fact that people enjoy telling stories and sharing them with others.¹⁹ In Poland, we know this sentiment well, as it is evoked in one of the most often quoted lines from the cult movie *Rejs* (*The Cruise*, 1970, directed by Marek Piwowski): 'Dear sir, I only enjoy listening to songs which I have heard before.' Quite simply, we enjoy listening (again and again) to stories we know. The migration of opera librettos is a perfect illustration of this universal human taste, and of the pleasure of engaging repeatedly with stories that are known to the audience. Why do we like it? Hutcheon endeavours to answer this question: 'Part of this pleasure, I want to argue, comes simply from repetition with variation, from the comfort of ritual combined with the piquancy of surprise. Recognition and remembrance are part of the pleasure (and risk) of experiencing an adaptation; so too is change... With adaptations, we seem to desire the repetition as much as the change.'²⁰

¹⁸ GB-Ob, MS. Rawl. D. 1180.

¹⁹ Linda HUTCHEON, *A Theory of Adaptation*, Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006, p. 9. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Anna Gutowska for drawing my attention to Linda Hutcheon's work on adaptation.

²⁰ *IBID.*, p. 4.

To return to Eumene and other protagonists of early modern operas: one could venture to say that these historical and mythological figures would be familiar to the well-educated sections of the audience from classical literature or history books. Their stories would then get repeatedly shown on the stage (even during only one opera season in one city, the audience would be exposed to multiple reappearances of the same protagonist), and thanks to this repetition, the audiences would become intimately acquainted with the characters' stories. But the opera of the day offered something beyond simple repetition: the fashionable performance style encouraged improvisation and the search for novelty. Thus, in the course of one operatic season, the audience would be exposed to repeated re-enactments of the same story – but always with some significant difference. This would in fact be the perfect example of Hutcheon's 'repetition with variation' formula.²¹

Let me now pre-emptively refute one obvious counter-argument. It is often repeated in the scholarly literature that eighteenth-century opera audiences were very inattentive, that is, that audience members only listened attentively during the opening night, and during other performances it was in fact deemed ill-bred and provincial to be too absorbed in the action on the stage. I think we can also interpret the well-known records in a different and somewhat subversive way and argue that the fact that audiences were so familiar with the main characters and the plots of the operas made such inattentive listening possible and even permissible. After sitting a few times through the same opera, audience members would have a good understanding of the overall plot and would be able to recognise the set pieces. It should also be remembered that foreigners would usually listen attentively during any performance they attended, which is testified to not only by the above-quoted Richard Rawlinson but also by a better known French diarist Charles de Brosse. As Marita McClymonds notes the rules of correct audience behaviour also differed from one opera centre to another: whereas in Naples 'opera was more a background for a social evening', and the true purpose of attending was the social interaction, the possibility of seeing and being seen, in Stuttgart and Portugal 'silence and attention were

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

demanded of the audience.²² Not surprisingly, codes of behaviour prove to be culturally conditioned and time-bound. It seems therefore that some of the productions of *Eumene* I have listed (notably the Lisbon *Eumene* of 1773) would have been performed in front of an attentive and engaged audience.

Finally, when talking about libretto migrations, it is not possible to disregard the financial aspect. Theatre impresarios and opera promoters were obviously interested in making profit. Not unlike modern day Hollywood producers, eighteenth-century impresarios would be more likely to adapt librettos that had a history of success elsewhere or that were written by famous poets. It should also be remembered that it was considerably cheaper to adapt an existing libretto than to commission a new opera. To prove my point, I am going to briefly outline the financial records coming from Teatro d'Alibert, a Roman theatre whose *drammi per musica* were frequently dedicated to Maria Klementyna and her husband. Sadly, the records for 1721, the year when the theatre put on a production of *Eumene*, did not survive, but we have the records for the following season, 1722/1723. They testify that for example, the theatre paid Ignatio de Bonis 70 scudi for adapting an opera called *Adelaide* (based on original libretto by Antonio Salvi), which was dedicated to Maria Klementyna. The entry in the ledger reads: 'per accomodare l'opera intitolata l'Adelaide.'²³ In 1726, Metastasio received 65 scudi for adaptation of his own libretto of *Didona*, and in 1728 he was paid 300 scudi for his *Ezio*. In the category 'spese di poeti' [expenses on poets] we read: '300 scudi a Pietro Metastasio per il libretto intitolato Ezio da esso consegnatoci e da noi comunicato a Grimani di Venezia' [300 scudi for Pietro Metastasio for a libretto entitled *Ezio* which he had delivered to us and which we have communicated to the Grimani in Venice]. The considerable sum of 300 scudi is definitely proof of Metastasio's rising status, but I think that it is also partly explained by the fact that *Ezio* is a new work by the poet. Its premiere in Venice with a score by Porpora happened one month before the same libretto was produced in Rome with a score by Auletta. The

²² Marita McClymonds, quoted in: Manuel Carlos DE BRITO, 'Portugal and Brazil', in: *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, eds. Anthony R. DelDonna, Pierpaolo Polzonetti, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 238.

²³ I-Rome, Biblioteca e Archivi Magistrali, Ordine di Malta, entry CT 441.

‘expenses on poets’ quoted above were a significant item in a theatre’s budget, when we take into account the total revenue. The revenue from the two operas performed during the 1723 carnival season amounted to 9.616: 68 scudi and total expenditure was 9.622: 13 scudi. In essence, it meant that Teatro d’Alibert closed the season with a loss of 5: 45 scudi.

I would like to close my article with a quote from Walter Benjamin: ‘storytelling is always the art of repeating stories.’²⁴ The habit of storytelling, deeply ingrained in European culture, lies at the foundation of the European migrations of Eumene the operatic hero, and of his many brothers and sisters. The migrations of opera librettos in the early modern period created a shared cultural capital which united the East, West, North and South of the continent, and one could venture to say that remnants of these cultural transfers and connections are still visible today.

Transl. Anna Gutowska

²⁴ Walter BENJAMIN, *The task of the translator*, quoted in: HUTCHEON, *A Theory*, p. 2.

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Did Andrea Bernasconi Compose 'Adriano in Siria' Twice?

'Aria del Signor Bernasconi': five Italian opera arias in a collection of about one hundred – inventoried in 1744 for their owner, Countess Maria Josepha von Attems (née Khuen) from Graz in the Inner-Austrian province of Styria – bear this attribution. Seven further arias in the same collection can be identified as compositions by Andrea Bernasconi through textual and music comparison with other extant sources.

Andrea Bernasconi (1706 in Marseilles – 1784 in Munich)¹ was born in 1706 in southern France to a father who was an army officer. When the father retired, the family moved to Parma and engaged in trade. Nothing is known of Andrea's schooling. It seems that he had no regular education in music, for in his earliest known works he is styled a 'dilettante'. The Paduan libretto for *Temistocle*, given at the Teatro Obizzi in 1740, informs us that 'La Musica sarà Composizione del Sig. Andrea Bernasconi Dilettante'.² In the 1741 Venetian production of *Didone abbandonata* at S. Giovanni Grisostomo we read that 'LA MUSICA È del Sig. Andrea Bernasconi dilettante',³ and the same is

¹ The information on Andrea Bernasconi is taken from Robert MÜNSTER – Paul CORNELSON, 'Bernasconi, Andrea', in: *Grove Music Online*, (access: 18 November 2012); Daniela SADGORSKI, *Andrea Bernasconi und die Oper am Münchner Kurfürstenhof 1753–1772*, München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2010.

² Claudio SARTORI, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 7 vols., Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–1994, no. 22933. *Temistocle. Dramma per Musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Obizzi in Padova in occasione della Fiera dell'Anno MCCCXXX*. Padova: Per Gio: Battista Conzatti, 1740, p. 12. Available online through OPAC SBN is a digitised copy of the I-Mb libretto.

³ ID., *I libretti italiani*, no. 7779. *Didone abbandonata. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel famosissimo Teatro Grimani di S. Gio. Grisostomo il Carnovale dell'anno 1741*. Venezia: Per Marino Rossetti, 1741, p. 10. Available online through OPAC SBN is a digitised copy of the I-Mb libretto.

true for the *Demofonte* given at the Teatro delle Dame in Rome in 1741.⁴ From 1742 onwards, however, the description ‘dilettante’ is dropped from the librettos of Bernasconi’s operas. His life as a musician and composer up to the point when he settled for good in Munich in 1753 is only fragmentarily known and has not yet been researched as thoroughly as his career in Munich.⁵ Bernasconi’s Munich years will not be the focus of this paper, since we are here discussing sources dating from before 1744.

Nearly everything we know today about Bernasconi’s earlier life comes from printed librettos and annotations on the widely dispersed copies of his arias. In the surviving score of his earliest work known so far – the opera *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* (on a libretto by Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Pariati), which was staged in Vienna at the Teatro Privilegiato or Kärntnertortheater in the Carnival of 1737 – he is described as ‘dilettante Milanese’.⁶ According to the musicological literature, his operas from the period up to 1744 were performed in Vienna, Venice, Padua, Lucca, Turin and Rome.⁷ Between 1744 and 1753 Bernasconi spent most of his time in Venice as *maestro di coro* at the Ospedale della Pietà. From 1753 onwards we find him at the court in Munich, and by 1755 he had risen to the rank of *Kapellmeister*, becoming one of the best-paid and most fashionable musicians attached to the *Hofkapelle*. He remained in the Bavarian capital until his death in 1784.

The arias attributed to Bernasconi preserved in the miraculously surviving music collection of the Counts of Attems – discovered after World War II at their castle of Slovenska Bistrica in Slovenia (at that time still the seat of the Styrian branch of this noble family) and today preserved at the Provincial Archives of Maribor⁸ – all belong to the period preceding his occupation

⁴ ID, *I libretti italiani*, 7484. *Demofonte. Dramma per Musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro, detto delle Dame nel Carnevale dell’Anno 1741*. Roma: Per gli Eredi del Ferri, 1741, p. 9. Available online through OPAC SBN is a digitised copy of the I-Nn libretto.

⁵ See especially SADGORSKI, *Andrea Bernasconi*, pp. 47–52.

⁶ SADGORSKI, *Andrea Bernasconi*, p. 48 (note 127). The libretto has apparently not survived, but the music is extant: a score originating from the Vienna *Hofkapelle* is today preserved in the music collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. A-Wn, Mus.Hs. 18294/1–3 Mus.

⁷ A list of all extant operas by Bernasconi up to his arrival to Munich in 1753 appears in SADGORSKI, *Andrea Bernasconi*, p. 50.

⁸ Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, Gosposočina Bistriški grad, Musicalia, TE 67, AE 1; cited hereafter as SI-Mpa.

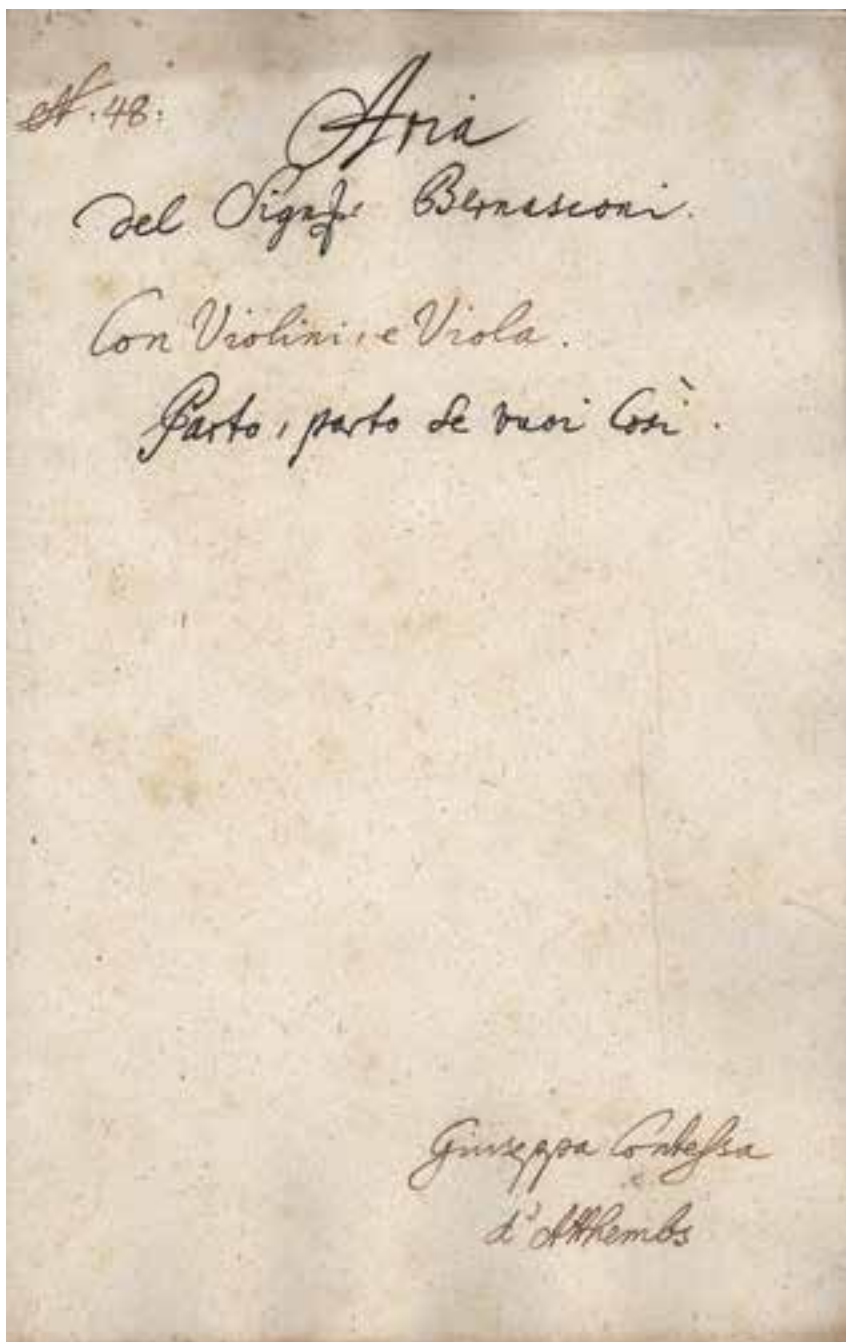


Figure 1. The title page of Andrea Bernasconi's aria *Parto se vuoi così* (SI-Mpa, 27; Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Maribor).

Aria

Andante

Parto, parto, se vuoi Così se vuoi Così,
 ma pensa ma pensa ama-to bene
 che nel partir io sento un Così fier tormento
 che mi trafigge il Cor pensa che mi trafigge il

Figure 2. The first page of Andrea Bernasconi's aria *Parto se vuoi così* (SI-Mpa, 27; Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Maribor).

of more stable posts in Venice and Munich and are therefore of interest for research into the least well known area of his compositional endeavours.

The surviving Attems collection comprises over one hundred music manuscripts⁹ and is accompanied by an inventory of Italian operatic arias for soprano, entitled *Lista delle Arie*, which was compiled in 1744 for their owner, the 'Illustrissima Signora Signora Giuseppa Contessa d'Atthembs Nata Contessa di Khuen'.¹⁰ This original list of the Countess's arias contains 89 titles. The music for nos. 1–21 has not survived, but the collection as it has come down to us also contains various other pieces, including duets, *canzonette* and instrumental pieces. There are altogether 89 compositions for soprano solo preserved in the collection as it survives today. Nearly all the manuscripts include on their first page or title page the name of either Count Ignaz von Attems (Ignaz Maria Maximilian Dismas Josef Alexander, Count of Attems-Heiligenkreuz; 1714–1762) or of his wife Josepha (Maria Josepha Elisabeth Augusta Claudia Khuen zu Auer von Belasi-Lichtenberg; 1721–1784), who is styled in this context 'Giuseppa'.¹¹

The couple lived in the family palace in the Sackstraße in the Styrian capital of Graz, as well as at their castle of Slovenska Bistrica, and intermittently also in Vienna, where they both held positions at the Imperial court and where they both died.¹² From various surviving documents, especially musical ones, it becomes clear that they were both musical: the Count played the transverse

⁹ All the items, totalling 102, were catalogued for the RISM A/II database in 2012.

¹⁰ *Lista delle Arie dell'Illustrissima Signora Signora Giuseppa Contessa d'Atthembs Nata Contessa di Khuen. L'Anno 1744*. SI-Mpa, without shelfmark.

¹¹ An analysis of the collection that includes an appendix of the annotated contents (updating the RISM catalogue) as well as biographical information on the first owners of the collection appears in Metoda KOKOLE, 'Migrations of Musical Repertoire. The Attems Music Collection from Around 1744', in: *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe. Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, eds. Gesa zur Nieden, Berthold Over, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2016, pp. 341–377.

¹² On the family history, see especially the unpublished, typescript history of the Attems Family written by Maria Victoria Markgräfin Pallavicino-Attems from 1955 onwards, today kept among the documents of the Attems family archive at the Styrian Provincial Archives in Graz (Steiermärkischen Landesarchiv = A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Familiengeschichte, verfaßt von Maria Victoria Markgräfin Pallavicino-Attems, 1950ff.), K. 3, H. 7 (3. Kapitel). I am grateful to Dr Johannes Attems and Dr Victor Attems-Gilleis for granting me special permission to consult this source.

flute, while his wife was an amateur soprano. The two were undoubtedly fervent admirers of contemporary opera, and one or both of them possibly played keyboard instruments in addition. One of these instruments – ‘ein neues Clavicordel’ – was inventoried after the Count’s death in 1762 as standing in the ‘sixth’ room in the family castle at Slovenska Bistrica.¹³

The arias are all scored for soprano voice and instrumental accompaniment. A rough date for the manuscripts would lie between the 1730s and 1744, the latest possible year. The arias are mostly preserved in short score (for voice and basso continuo), but separate parts for instruments are added in many instances. Such copies were used for private performances given by a singer seated at the harpsichord, plus additional instrumentalists when available. The combination of a short score and a violin part or parts is thus able to present the full musical content. The parts were sometimes copied out by a hand different from that responsible for the scores. There are also some occurrences of ‘arranged’ parts that depart from the original scoring. These appear to reflect the wishes and special requests of the commissioner of the copied music – in this instance, Josepha’s husband Ignaz.

Among the extant arias at least three major groups (according to origin) have been detected through an investigation of repertoires, paper types, watermarks and scribal hands. The first group is southern Italian and belonged originally to Count Ignaz von Attems, the husband, who brought the manuscripts home from his Grand Tour of Italy in 1738.¹⁴ In this group most of the composers are either named or otherwise securely identified. The second major group, which has fewer identified composers – among them Andrea Bernasconi, Johann Adolf Hasse, Giovanni Battista Lampugnani, Leonardo Vinci and Giovanni Porta – seems to have been locally assembled, since the music was copied out by a single scribe on local paper of Styrian and Carniolan origin (34 pieces; SI-Mpa, 22–55). The third, bulkier group of manuscripts, which is written on a variety of Venetian papers with the

¹³ A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Ignaz Maria Attems, Fideicommiss-und Allodial-Inventar 1762, K. 126, H. 1142, fol. 26v. The instrument was valued at ‘4 gulden.,

¹⁴ For more on the same topic, see KOKOLE, ‘Migrations of Musical Repertoire’, pp. 354–359, and EAD., ‘Glasbeni utrinki s potovanja štajerskega plemiča po Evropi 18. stoletja’ [Musical Impressions from an Eighteenth-Century European Tour by a Styrian Nobleman], *Muzikološki zbornik* [Musicological Annual] 51/ 2 (2015), pp. 57–79.

familiar three crescents as the watermark and a bow traversed by an arrow as the countermark, contains works of which some have been identified as being by Hasse, Leo or Vinci. This group is also possibly local, or else of another, still undetermined provenance hinting at the German-speaking world.¹⁵

The names of fifteen composers have been identified so far.¹⁶ Some of these are given either in the inventory of the arias or on the musical manuscripts themselves. The dates of the compositions – in some cases written on the scores and in other cases ascertainable from relevant surviving documents such as librettos for the productions of the operas from which the pieces originated and/or the musical incipits in the RISM A/II database – reveal the fact that the Attems household collected only music popular at the time and never more than about ten years old. Among these composers are several well-known names, including those of Hasse, Vinci, Leo, Giuseppe Arena, Geminiano Giacomelli, Niccolò Logroscino, Gaetano Latilla and Niccolò Jommelli. That Hasse tops the list with fourteen pieces is no surprise. However, it is surprising that second place, with twelve identified arias, is taken by a composer whose operatic music was seemingly much less widely disseminated: Andrea Bernasconi.

Arias by Andrea Bernasconi in the Attems collection

SI-Mpa:

16. *Oh Dio! mancar mi sento* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, III/7)

22. *Se non ti moro allato* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, I/15)

25. *Ch'io mai vi possa* (Metastasio: *Siroe*, III/12)

27. *Parto se vuoi così*

28. *Numi, se giusti siete* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, I/11)

29. *Son sventurato* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, III/9)

30. *È vero che oppresso la sorte* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, I/8)

39. *Il mio caro e dolce amore* (sacred *contrafactum*)

42. *Amor mio la cruda sorte* (*Il giorno felice*, Vienna 1737)

47. *Ah! che s'avessi il seno* (sacred *contrafactum*)

¹⁵ The handwriting reminds us of certain manuscripts attributed to Graz musicians of that time. See KOKOLE, 'Migrations of Musical Repertoire', pp. 353 and 364 (especially footnote 68).

¹⁶ For tabulated statistics, see KOKOLE, 'Migrations of Musical Repertoire', p. 354.

52. *La raggion, gli affetti* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, II/4)
 55. *Digli, ch'è un infedele* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, III/1)

Among the arias attributed or attributable to Bernasconi, the composer's name appears on five musical manuscripts (those distinguished by whitespace characters). His authorship of the remainder has been established mainly through matching against RISM incipits and identifications made by comparison with other musical sources. The attribution of the aria *Son sventurato* (SI-Mpa, 29) is based solely on a textual match. It is included because it seems to be one item in a homogeneous group of Bernasconi arias (SI-Mpa, 27–30) that all come from Metastasio's libretto for the opera *Adriano in Siria*, discussed below. Two of the arias in the Attems collection bear Bernasconi's name but cannot so far be matched against other sources: *Ch'io mai vi possa* and *Parto se vuoi così*. The text of the first-named aria comes from Metastasio's libretto for *Siroe*.

Another two attributions come from matches in the RISM database, but these concordances are indirect, taking the form of sacred *contrafacta*. A 'pastoralle', *Cur relinquis Deus*, corresponds exactly in its musical incipit to the aria *Il mio caro e dolce amore*, and it also informs us in its original title that it is 'con Fondamento del Sig. Bernasconi'.¹⁷ This Czech source dates from the mid-eighteenth century. The scribe and fitter of this music to its new, sacred text is identified as Joseph Antonin (Josef Antonín ?) Sehling, a Czech composer active between 1710 and 1756 (the year of his death). The other *contrafactum*, *O Jesu mi dilecte et sponse*, is a retexting of the aria *Ah che s'io avessi il seno*.¹⁸ The composer is once again named in the title: 'Aria O Jesu mi dilecte a Solo Canto, Violini 2, Viola e Fondamento. Del Sig. Bernasconi'. This title was likewise penned by Sehling, but the music for the piece is in the hands of two different scribes.

It would appear that the only entirely secure identification is that for Bernasconi's aria *Amor mio la cruda sorte*, which apparently originates from the production of *Il giorno felice* at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna.¹⁹ *Il giorno felice* was staged at this theatre on 5 February 1737 in celebration of the birth of the first-born son of the Imperial couple, Maria Theresa and her husband

¹⁷ RISM ID No. 550018292 for the *contrafactum* and SI-Mpa, 29 for the aria.

¹⁸ RISM ID No. 550018291 for the *contrafactum* and SI-Mpa, 47 for the aria.

¹⁹ RISM ID No. 450059470 (concordant with the aria SI-Mpa, 42).

Franz Stephan.²⁰ This was a pasticcio opera based on Antonio Vivaldi's *La fida ninfa*, composed on a libretto by Scipione Maffei for the original production at the Teatro Filarmonico in Verona in 1732. The aria *Amor mio la cruda sorte* is sung by Licori, a nymph from the island of Skyros (Sciro), in the first act of the opera.²¹ For the Viennese production this number was apparently set to music by Andrea Bernasconi.²² The source giving his name belongs to a collection of nineteen Italian arias by Hasse, Latilla, Galuppi and Bernasconi originating from the private collection of Count Clemens August von Hatzfeld-Schönstein (1743–1794) from Bonn, today preserved at the University of Köln.²³ Since Bernasconi had his own opera *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* staged at the court theatre in Vienna during the Carnival season of 1737²⁴ his authorship of an individual aria for the Kärntnertortheater at the same time is quite conceivable.

Most puzzling remains the attribution of as many as seven arias on texts taken from Metastasio's *Adriano in Siria*. Andrea Bernasconi's only known setting of this libretto dates from 1755, when he was already a *Kapellmeister* in Munich – over ten years later than the *terminus ad quem* of the Attems collection's compilation. All but one copy (*Oh Dio! mancar mi sento*; SI-Mpa, 16) of these seven arias in the Attems collection were most likely copied locally, possibly in Graz itself, by the same scribe; they belong to the above-mentioned second major group of copies in the surviving Attems collection. The scribe used paper from the Seisenberg paper mill in Carniola for four of the arias (SI-Mpa, 22, 28, 29 and 30) and wrapped the music in another kind of paper, also widely used locally in Styria and Carniola, featuring a stag in the watermark. Another two arias (SI-Mpa, 52 and 55) were copied on

²⁰ SARTORI, *I libretti italiani*, no. 12019. *Il giorno felice / Der Glückselige Tage*. Wien: Johann Peter van Ghelen, 1737. Available online through OPAC SBN is a digitised copy of the I-Mb libretto. The libretto is bilingual, with Italian text on *verso* pages and German translation on *recto* pages.

²¹ In the libretto printed in Vienna in 1737 the aria appears on pp. 28–29.

²² Vivaldi's setting is different: see RISM ID No. 212006261.

²³ RISM ID No. 450059457. The paper has a watermark with three crescents and a crossbow with an arrow in the countermark. The Count had in his collection also three arias from Bernasconi's setting of *Alessandro Severo*, all copied on a paper of Roman origin (a lily in a double oval frame).

²⁴ See above, footnote 6.

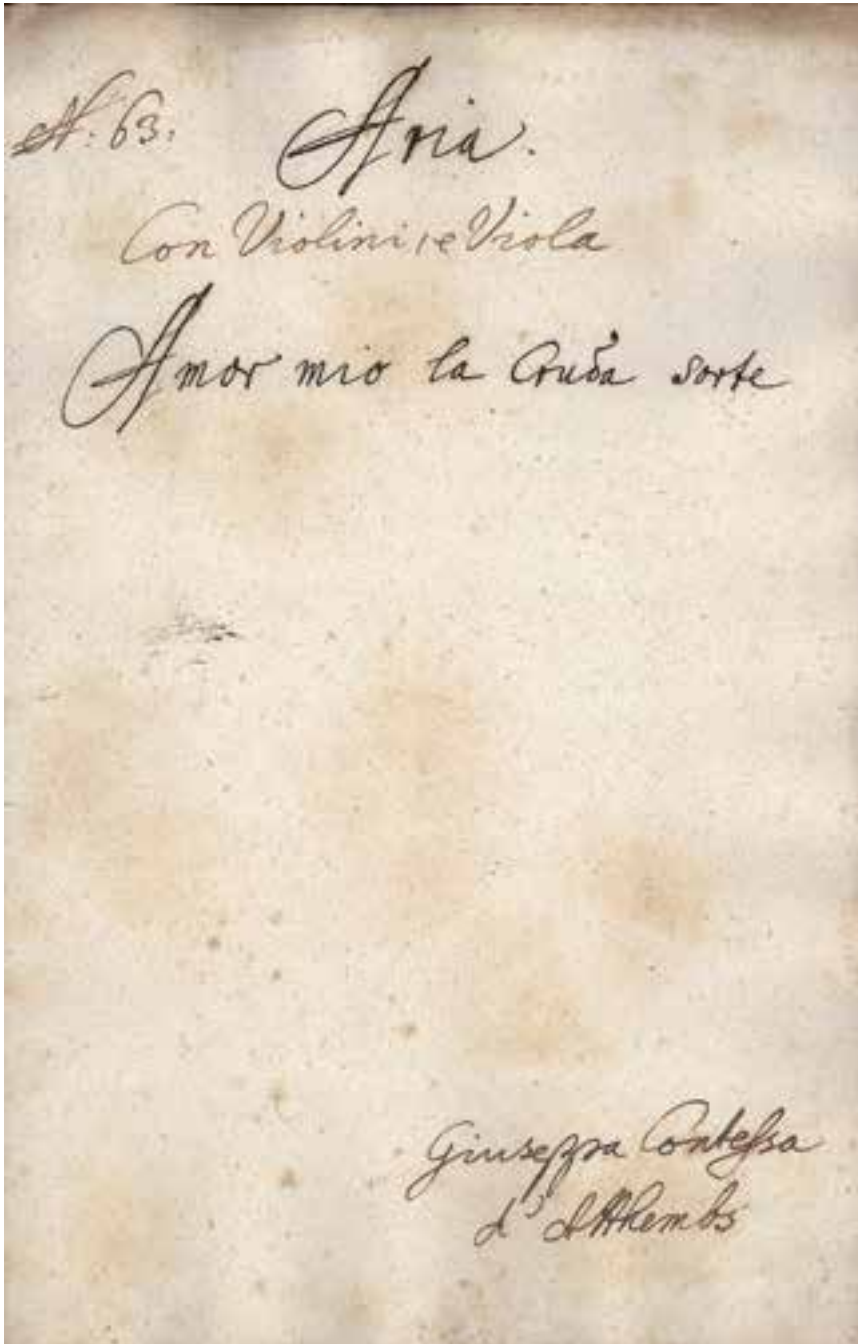


Figure 3. The title page of Andrea Bernasconi's aria *Amor mio la cruda sorte* from the opera *Il giorno felice* of 1737 (SI-Mpa, 42; Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Maribor).

Aria

Allegretto

Amor mio = la cruda sorte

mi fa leade = per via morte e non =

cito

Figure 4. The first page of Andrea Bernasconi's aria *Amor mio la cruda sorte* from the opera *Il giorno felice* of 1737 (SI-Mpa, 42; Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Maribor).

a different locally used paper (featuring St Vitus in a cauldron of boiling oil enclosed by a pair of antlers as the watermark and the letters ZA as the countermark), but this time without the presence of separate folders.

The Viennese Court Poet Pietro Metastasio wrote *Adriano in Siria* in 1732 on a commission from the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI, for an opera with music by Antonio Caldara to be performed at the court theatre.²⁵ In the eighteenth century alone this libretto served for at least sixty different settings. Up to the year 1744 fifteen composers are known to have composed music for this text.

The background of the story is taken from classical Roman history and takes place in Antioch in Syria at the time when the future Roman Emperor Hadrian was its Governor. It relates a fictional love story, where the virtue of Hadrian is tested by his infatuation with Emirena, a Parthian princess, both before and after his marriage to Sabina. There are in fact two intricate love-triangles that are, of course, satisfactorily resolved with a happy ending, as was expected in the *opera seria* of the time. The original libretto contains twenty-six arias,²⁶ and we find in Metastasio's original libretto all seven texts used for the arias preserved in the Attems collection.

Arias in Metastasio's original libretto of *Adriano in Siria* (1732) and arias in the Attems collection (distinguished by whitespace characters)

- I/1 Dal labbro che t'accende (Adriano)
- I/2 Già presso al termine (Farnaspe)
- I/3 Sprezza il furor del vento (Osroa)
- I/5 Dopo un tuo sguardo (Farnaspe)
- I/8 È vero che oppresso (Adriano)
- I/9 Prigioniera abbandonata (Emirena)
- I/10 Vuoi punir l'ingrato amante? (Aquilio)

²⁵ This basic information is taken from the free encyclopaedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adriano_in_Siria (access: 16 June 2016). For the various productions, see also SARTORI, *I libretti italiani*, pp. 34–39.

²⁶ The libretto by Metastasio was checked online against the critical edition published on the official Metastasio homepage of the University of Padua: <http://www.progettometastasio.it/public/>. The same is also available at: <http://www.librettidopera.it/adrisiriac/adrisiriac.html> (access: 16 June 2016).

- I/11 Numi se giusti siete (Sabina)
I/15 Se non ti moro allato (Farnaspe)
I/16 Infelice in van mi lagno (Emirena)
- II/2 Per te d'eterni allori (Emirena)
II/3 Ah ingrato, m'inganni (Sabina)
II/4 La Ragion, gli affetti ascolta (Adriano)
II/5 Saggio guerriero antico (Aquilio)
Che fa il mio bene? (Emirena)
II/6 Volga il Ciel, felici amanti (Sabina)
II/9 Tutti nemici, e rei (Adriano)
II/10 Quell'amplesso, e quel perdono (Emirena)
II/11 Leon Piagato a morte (Aquilio)
II/12 È falso il dir, che uccida (Farnaspe)
- III/1 Digli ch'è un infedele (Sabina)
III/2 Più bella, al tempo usato (Aquilio)
III/5 Barbaro, non comprendo (Adriano)
III/6 Non ritrova (Osroa)
III/7 Oh Dio! mancar mi sento (Emirena)
III/8 Son sventurato (Farnaspe)
III/9 È ingrato, lo veggio (Sabina)

The libretto used by Andrea Bernasconi for his only known setting of *Adriano in Siria*, premiered on 5 January 1755 at the court theatre in Munich and well documented by a preserved libretto²⁷ as well as two copies of the complete opera score,²⁸ deviates to some extent from Metastasio's 1732 version.

²⁷ D-Mbs: Res/4 Bavar. 2165,VIII,11. A digitised copy of the bilingual libretto in Italian and German on facing pages is available on the library's website: http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10885804_00156.html (access: 16 June 2016).

²⁸ Both copies are today in D-Mbs: Mus.ms. 148 (a working manuscript with a short score for voice, one violin part and basso continuo in a soft binding) and Mus.ms. 185 (a clean full score copy richly bound in red leather and decorated with the Bavarian coat of arms that was clearly intended for the court archives). The facsimiles of both scores are freely available online on the library's website: <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/-db/0006/bsb00069073/images/index.html?seite=00001&l=en> (access: 16 June 2016), etc. for each of the acts of the two copies; also available through Wikipedia: [http://imslp.org/wiki/Adriano_in_Siria_\(Bernasconi,_Andrea\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Adriano_in_Siria_(Bernasconi,_Andrea)) (access: 16 June 2016).

The printed text claims to be the work of Pietro Metastasio, the Court Poet of the Holy Roman Emperor,²⁹ but on closer inspection is revealed to be a much-modified version – nothing abnormal for operatic texts in the eighteenth century. Seven arias have been left out, and three replaced with other texts. Two of the latter have become duets. Particularly extensive are the modifications in the second and third acts. Both acts have been appreciably shortened. The score follows faithfully the printed libretto. Even a quick glance at the arias in this version reveals the fact that we have here only four textual concordances (indicated in italics in the table below) with the Attems collection arias for *Adriano in Siria*. Three arias attributed to Bernasconi in the Attems collection definitely formed no part of the 1755 setting.

Arias in Metastasio's libretto as used for *Adriano in Siria* (1755) compared with his original 1732 version

I/1	Dal labbro che t'accende (Adriano)
I/2	Già presso al termine (Farnaspe)
I/3	Sprezza il furor del vento (Osroa)
I/5	Dopo un tuo sguardo (Farnaspe)
I/8	<i>È vero che oppresso (Adriano)</i>
I/9	Prigioniera abbandonata (Emirena)
I/10	Vuoi punir l'ingrato amante? (Aquilio)
I/11	<i>Numi se giusti siete (Sabina)</i>
I/15	<i>Se non ti moro allato (Farnaspe)</i>
I/16	Infelice in van mi lagno (Emirena)
H/2	Per te d'eterni allori (Emirena)
II/3	Ah ingrato, m'inganni (Sabina) → Infedel secondar non sai (Sabina + Adriano)
H/4	La Ragion, gli affetti ascolta (Adriano)
II/5	Saggio guerriero antico (Aquilio) → II/4 <i>Che fa il mio bene? (Emirena)</i>
II/6	Qual se in mar turbato (Farnaspe)
II/6	Volga il Ciel, felici amanti (Sabina) → II/7
II/9	Tutti nemici, e rei (Adriano) → II/10

²⁹ On the title page: 'La Poesia è del Sig. Abbate Pietro Metastasio, Poeta di S. M. C. e. C.'

- II/10 Quell'amplesso, e quel perdono (Emirena) → II/11
II/11 Leon Piagato a morte (Aquilio) → II/12 (Osroa)
~~II/12 È falso il dir, che uccida (Farnaspe)~~
II/13 Qual se in mar turbato (Farnaspe)
III/1 *Digli ch'è un infedele* (Sabina)
III/2 Più bella, al tempo usato (Aquilio)
III/5 Barbaro, non comprendo (Adriano)
~~III/6 Non ritrova (Osroa) → Ah, se non ai corragio~~
~~III/7 Oh Dio! mancar mi sento (Emirena) → Ah che in
lasciarti (Farnaspe + Emirena)~~
~~III/8 Son sventurato (Farnaspe)~~
~~III/9 È ingrato, lo veggio (Sabina)~~

A musical comparison of the textually concordant arias establishes that the settings transmitted by the sources contained in the Attems collection differ in fact from those in Bernasconi's 1755 setting. As a case in point, I will shortly discuss the aria *Se non ti moro allato* from Act I, Scene 15, for which I have so far found three concordances of the music preserved in Maribor, all of which are different from Bernasconi's setting of 1755.³⁰ These are all copied in standard score format for voice, basso continuo, two violins and a viola. The Attems copy (SI-Mpa, 22) lacks, however, the instrumental introduction and is preserved only as a short score for voice and instrumental bass.

At least two of the concordant copies compared originate from a time before 1741. The first comes from a collection of twenty-two music manuscripts, predominantly arias from operas staged in Italian theatres in Venice, Rome and Bologna between about 1737 and 1741.³¹ This collection was acquired by Chicago University in the early 1980s.³² Its first owner was, according to those

³⁰ RISM ID No. 000110878: a copy today in US-Cu (Ms. 1267); RISM ID No. 000101180: a copy today in US-Fay (Quarto 532 MS 9) and RISM ID No. 4510023811: a copy today in D-MÜs (SANT Hs 183, Nr. 12). The last-named manuscript was copied by Antonio Reggio (1725–1800) for its first owner, the music collector Fortunato Santini. This item comes from a collective volume of 30 arias by Bernasconi and (in lesser quantity) Latilla (RISM ID No. 451002369). All three versions are in the same key, G, and have the same tempo marking, Andante (affettuoso).

³¹ US-Cu (Ms. 1267).

³² RISM ID No. 000110878: US-Fay (Quarto 532 MS 9). Among the twenty-two pieces in the collection there are two by Bernasconi. Apart from the *Se non ti moro allato*, there is also *In te*

Aria

Andante *Se non ti moro allato f.*

Solo del lor mio f. = Solo del lor mio = Col

fuo del nome anato fa letti is nori = ro se

non si moro eleto - Col fuo del nome anato fa

letti is nori = ro Col fuo del nome anato f.

ito

Figure 5. The first page of the aria *Se non ti moro allato* attributed to Andrea Bernasconi (SI-Mpa, 22; Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Maribor).

who have had custody of the collection, an amateur singer. On account of its great resemblance to other sources of this type I would venture the hypothesis that this collection was in fact compiled by a person undertaking a Grand Tour who had good musical training and some amateur skills, but above all the desire and good sense to take home some worthwhile musical souvenirs.

The second such source has a rather exactly defined origin, being one of the bound fascicles of music scores brought back from his Grand Tour in Italy by the internationally known English pre-Romantic poet Thomas Gray (1716–1771).³³ Gray toured Italy with his wealthy school friend Horace Walpole, famous for his artistic interests and wide circle of friends. They set foot on Italian soil in late 1739, stayed in Florence for a winter and then visited Rome and Naples before returning to the north again for the winter of 1740/41. The two men sojourned again in Florence in the house of Walpole's friend, the British diplomat Horace Mann. After a brief visit to Venice in May 1741 Gray returned to England.

After a few years Gray settled down, more or less, at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he remained until his death in 1771. Although his inclination towards music is not immediately apparent from his poetry, and he speaks little about music in his letters, Gray passionately adored music – especially Italian opera – and was also an active amateur musician. According to his friend Charles Mason, he chased away the 'nothingness' of his life by playing the harpsichord and also by singing to his own keyboard accompaniment.³⁴

spero, sposo amato from the opera *Demofonte* (possibly the Roman production of 1741 at the Teatro delle Dame; see also above, footnote 4). On this collection, see also Howard MAYER BROWN, 'Embellishing Eighteenth-Century Arias: On Cadenzas', in: *Opera and Vivaldi*, eds. Michael Collins, Elise K. Kirk, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984, pp. 258–276. In the appendix to Howard Mayer Brown's text there is a list of contents (pp. 270–271).

³³ On Thomas Gray, see the exhaustive web-page *Thomas Gray Archive*: <http://www.thomasgray.org> where all Gray's works, including his correspondence, are found in critical digital editions (access: 16 June 2016). For his biography, see also John D. BAIRD, 'Gray, Thomas (1716–1771)', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. I have also consulted the online version: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/11/101011356> (access: 18 November 2015). On Gray's interest in music, see Charles CUDWORTH, 'Thomas Gray and Music', *The Musical Times* 112/1541 (1971), pp. 646–648, and Henry Edward KREHBIEL, *Music and Manners in the Classical Period*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898, pp. 3–39.

³⁴ CUDWORTH, 'Thomas Gray and Music', p. 647.

While in Italy, Gray collected – through purchase or his own copying – over 200 pieces of music: mostly operatic arias that he had heard in theatres visited during his tour; or ones so popular at the time that he could, perhaps, have heard them on several occasions during his travels in Italy.³⁵ He later had them bound into ten volumes, which are today held by the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University.³⁶

Gray compiled these ten volumes with special care, grouping the pieces according to composers, schools or other rationally determined criteria. He preceded each volume with his own list of contents noting the names of the composers, the titles of the arias and in some cases also the titles of the operas, the roles and even the individual singers whom he had heard performing these pieces. Bernasconi's aria *Se non ti moro allato* is the thirtieth piece in volume 9.³⁷ Gray described the composer as 'Andrea Bernasconi Milanese', noted the name of the opera (*Adriano*) and added the role (Farnaspe). I have investigated the dates of the productions of the operas mentioned by Gray in his ninth volume. They collectively fall within the time-frame 1737–1740. This fact speaks in favour of the hypothesis of an *Adriano in Siria* by Bernasconi that Thomas Gray heard (or heard about) at the time of his visit to one or other Italian city – possibly Florence, where he spent the winter of 1739/40 – an experience that induced him to acquire a copy of this apparently rather popular aria.

³⁵ For a description of Gray's musical collection, see KREHBIEL, *Music and Manners*, pp. 3–14.

³⁶ On this collection, *Manuscript music collected by Thomas Gray, ca. 1740* (US-Fay, Quarto 532 MS 9), see <http://orbexpress.library.yale.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=8254305> (access: 16 June 2016). On the Lewis Walpole Library that hosts Gray's music manuscripts, see also Warren Hunting SMITH, 'The Manuscript Collections at the Lewis Walpole Library', *The Yale University Library Gazette* 56/3–4 (1982), pp. 53–60; the music is mentioned on p. 57.

³⁷ KREHBIEL, *Music and Manners*, pp. 13–14. On the cover of the volume Gray himself inscribed: 'Arie di G. Bta. Lampugnani, Andrea Bernasconi, Milanese; Rinaldo di Capua, Gaetano Latilla, Michele Fini, Napoletani; Gaetano Schiassi, Bolognese; e altri Autori'. There are in all 36 arias assembled in this volume. One by Rinaldo di Capua (from his opera *Vologeso*, staged in Rome in 1739) was copied out by Gray himself. Latilla's arias come from a Roman production of *Siroe* in 1740; two arias by Fini come from his *Semiramide*, given in Florence in 1740; the two Lampugnani pieces are from his *Alessandro*, staged in Florence in 1740. To sum up, this is an anthology of pieces that Gray genuinely could have heard in person while in Italy.



Figure 6. The first page of Andrea Bernasconi's aria *Se non ti moro allato* (US-Fay, Quarto 532 MS 9; Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University).

The arias in the Attems collection identified as being by Bernasconi – including the two (*Oh Dio! mancar mi sento* and *La raggion, gli affetti*) that are absent from the *Adriano in Siria* of 1755 – possess with only one exception concordances preserved at various locations in Europe and the USA: Rostock, Münster and Berlin in Germany; Milan and Naples in Italy; London in England, Chicago and Farmington in the USA; Strasbourg in France; and Brussels in Belgium. The number of copies may be taken as a rough guide to a specific aria's contemporary popularity. The 'winners' in this sense are *La raggion gli affetti*, with as many as six known copies,³⁸ and *Numi se giusti*

³⁸ The copy today held by the British Library in London, RISM ID No. 806351387: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 29274, is attributed to Pergolesi. The error is probably connected with the rather late date of copying, around 1780. The copy preserved in Milan, RISM ID No. 851000189: I-Mc, Mus. Tr. Ms. 173, was likewise copied late, between 1790 and 1799, and is transposed from D to C.

siete, with five (the manuscript of the second aria preserved in Berlin bears an erroneous attribution to Filippo Finazzi).³⁹ In fact, the Bernasconi arias not present in his 1755 setting seem to have enjoyed a more vigorous and wider dissemination than those of his later setting for the Munich Court Theatre.

Musical concordances of pieces in SI-Mpa

16. *Oh Dio! mancar mi sento* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, III/7)
also found in D-ROu & B-Bc
22. *Se non ti moro allato* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, I/15)
also in US-Cu, US-FAy & D-MÜs
28. *Numi, se giusti siete* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, I/11)
also in B-Bc, D-ROu, GB-Lbl & D-B
[attributed to F. Finazzi]
29. *Son sventurato* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, III/9)
[only textual concordance]
30. *È vero che oppresso la sorte* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, I/8)
also in I-Mc & F-Sgs [sacred *contrafactum*]
52. *La raggion, gli affetti* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, II/4)
also in D-ROu, B-Bc, I-Mc, I-Nc & GB-Lbl
55. *Digli, ch'è un infedele* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*, III/1)
also in D-ROu

³⁹ RISM ID No. 455027164: D-B, Mus.ms. 30110. This aria is one of the three attributed to Finazzi in the collection of 19 pieces by various composers (RISM ID No. 455027162) linked to Pietro Mingotti's production of a pasticcio, *La finta cameriera*, produced in Hamburg in 1745. The aria *Numi se giusti siete* appeared there in Act II, Scene 7. The other two are *Quel labro adorato* and *Dimmi ch'infido sai*. Finazzi's name is indeed inscribed above the music: 'Aria di Signore Filippo Finazzi'. On the basis of this single manuscript, Müller von Asow included the aria among the compositions by Finazzi linked to the operatic *impresa* by the Mingotti brothers. Erich H. MÜLLER VON ASOW, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Oper im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Dresden: Richard Bertling, 1917, p. CCXII (in *Anhang* II). Maybe Finazzi was named not as a composer but as a singer, for it is known that he sang, for example, in the Carnival 1741 production of an *Adriano in Siria* by various composers in Ferrara, taking the title role of Adriano (the aria in question was on that occasion sung by Giacinta Forcellini in the role of Sabina). SARTORI, *I libretti italiani*, no. 385. *Adriano in Siria. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Ferrara nel Teatro Bonacossi da S. Stefano il Carnovale de l'Anno 1741*. Ferrara: Giuseppe Barbieri, 1741, p. 8. Available online through OPAC SBN is a digitised copy of the I-Mb libretto.

Oh Dio! Mancar mi sento, with its two concordances, is another example of an aria not included in Bernasconi's setting of 1755. In the Attems collection this is an aria by Bernasconi copied in a hand different from that used for all the rest and the only one preserved in the form of a score. The two concordances come from larger collections of Bernasconi's arias today held by the libraries of Rostock University⁴⁰ and the Brussels Conservatory.⁴¹ The Rostock copy has an interesting and significant annotation. It is described there as the work of 'Signor Bernascone / Dilettante'. This is indeed how Bernasconi was named in the librettos of his earliest operas – up to about 1742. The same designation accompanies the arias *Numi se giusti siete* and *Digli ch'è un infedele* from the same collection.⁴² The Brussels copy identifies the composer merely as 'Signor Bernascone'.

The aria collections in Rostock and Brussels merit further mention, since they contain in addition further arias by Bernasconi for an *Adriano in Siria* not corresponding to the composer's 1755 setting. Two of these (underlined in the list below) were not set at all for the Munich production. Three of them have the attribute 'Dilettante' following the composer's surname, and one copy provides the name of the singer and/or first owner: Signor Carestini.⁴³

Further sources (arias) of Bernasconi's 'other' *Adriano in Siria*

I/1 Dal labbro che t'accende

D-ROu & B-Bc [Sig.r Carestini]

I/5 Dopo un tuo sguardo

D-ROu [Del Sig. Bernascone Dilettante], B-Bc & D-SW1

I/9 Prigioniera abbandonata

D-ROu [Del Sig. Bernasconi Dilettante]

II/3 Ah ingrato, m'inganni

D-ROu

⁴⁰ RISM ID No. 200021411: D-ROu, Mus.Saec. XVIII:6/1/4.

⁴¹ RISM ID No. 703001893: B-Bc, 3726.

⁴² RISM ID No. 200021408: D-ROu, Mus.Saec. XVIII:6/1/0 and RISM ID No. 200021404: D-ROu, Mus.Saec. XVIII:6/1/2.

⁴³ RISM ID No. 703001887: B-Bc, 3720. 'Sig.r Carestini' in the top left-hand corner and 'Aria Con V.V. Del Sig.r Andrea Bernascone' immediately above the music. This copy is a short score for soprano and instrumental bass. The previous owner of this manuscript was Jean-Baptiste-Jules de Glimes (1814–1881).

II/10 Quell'amplesso e quel perdono

B - B c

III/9 E ingrato lo veggio

D - R O u & B - B c [Sig: Bernascone Dilettante]

Giovanni Carestini (1700–1760) was one of the more famous Italian castrato singers of the first half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ During his career he collaborated with Handel, Hasse and Gluck, to mention only the most famous names. He is first recorded in an opera production in Milan in 1719. His voice was noted as being powerful, and Hasse commented: 'He who has not heard Carestini is not acquainted with the most perfect style of singing'. The name of Signor Carestini is also written on one further source of the discussed Bernasconi arias on Metastasian texts for *Adriano in Siria*: the Milanese copy of the aria *È vero che oppresso la sorte*.⁴⁵ It occurred to me that Carestini's recorded association with two of the arias was perhaps more than a coincidence, so I checked his performances during the years of interest: those running from the late 1730s to 1744. And the result was very interesting: Carestini indeed sang in a production of *Adriano in Siria* in Milan during Carnival 1736. There he interpreted the role of Adriano, *Dal labbro che t'accende* being Adriano's entry aria in the first scene of Act I.⁴⁶

The title page of the preserved libretto of this production runs as follows:
ADRIANO / IN SIRIA / DRAMA / Da rappresentarsi nel Regio-Ducal Teatro / di Milano / Sotto il Clementissimo Patrocinio / DELLA / SACRA REAL MAESTÀ / DI / CARLO / EMANUELE / RE DI SARDEGNA, DEL CIPRO, / DI GERUSALEME, / E DUCA ec. ec. ec. / Nel Carnevale dell'Anno 1736. / IN MILANO, MDCCXXXV. / Nella Reg. Duc Corte, per Giuseppe Richino

⁴⁴ On Carestini, see Dale E. MONSON, 'Carestini, Giovanni', in: *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (access: 18 July 2016). For the most up-to-date information, see especially Claudia Maria KORSMEIER, *Der Sänger Giovanni Carestini (1700–1760) und "seine" Komponisten. Die Karriere eines Kastraten in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Eisenach: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Wagner, 2000 (Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster 13).

⁴⁵ Not in RISM. I-Mc, Mus. Tr. Ms. 175. 'Aria C. Solo Con VV Del Sig. Bernascone Dilettante / Sig.r Carestini.'

⁴⁶ SARTORI, *I libretti italiani*, no. 372. *Adriano in Siria*, Milano: Giuseppe Richino Malatesta, 1735. Available online through OPAC SBN is a digitised copy of I-Mb, Racc. Dramm. 6048/3.

Malatesta / Stampatore Regio Camerale / Con lic. De'Super. Although the libretto mentions neither the name of the composer nor the author of the drama, the text itself faithfully follows Pietro Metastasio's original version of *Adriano in Siria*. There are two replacement arias duly cited before the opening of Act I (both by the same author: 'Dello stesso Autore'), and one aria for Emirena in Act II, Scene 5 (*Che fa il mio bene?*) is omitted. All other changes are only minor.

Arias in *Adriano in Siria* produced in Milan 1736

- I/1 Dal labbro che t'accende (Adriano)
- I/2 Già presso al termine (Farnaspe)
- I/3 Sprezza il furor del vento (Osroa)
- I/5 Dopo un tuo sguardo (Farnaspe)
- I/8 È vero che oppresso (Adriano)
- I/9 Prigioniera abbandonata (Emirena)
- I/10 Vuoi punir l'ingrato amante? (Aquilio)
- I/11 Numi se giusti siete (Sabina)
- I/15 Se non ti moro allato (Farnaspe)
- I/16 Infelice in van mi lagno (Emirena)

- II/2 Per te d'eterni allori (Emirena)
→ Ritrova in quei detti [dello stesso Autore]
- II/3 Ah ingrato, m'inganni (Sabina)
- II/4 La Ragion, gli affetti ascolta (Adriano)
- II/5 Saggio guerriero antico (Aquilio)
Che fa il mio bene? (Emirena)
- II/6 Volga il Ciel, felici amanti (Sabina)
- II/9 Tutti nemici, e rei (Adriano)
- II/10 Quell'amplesso, e quel perdono (Emirena)
- II/11 Leon Piagato a morte (Aquilio)
- II/12 È falso il dir che uccida (Farnaspe)

- III/1 Digli ch'è un infedele (Sabina)
- III/2 Più bella, al tempo usato (Aquilio)
- III/5 Barbaro, non comprendo (Adriano)
- III/6 ~~Non ritrova~~ (Osroa)

- Ah, se non ai coraggio [dello stesso Autore]
 III/7 Oh Dio! Mancar mi sento (Emirena)
 III/8 Son sventurato (Farnaspe)
 III/9 È ingrato, lo veggio (Sabina)

The above table, in which Bernasconi's arias up to this date are identified as different from, earlier than or absent from his 1755 setting of *Adriano in Siria* – distinguished by whitespace characters – clearly demonstrates that they all match this libretto, where they account for half the total number of arias. All the facts adduced, musical as well as contextual, lead to the inescapable conclusion that Andrea Bernasconi probably composed music to Metastasio's text as early as 1735 in connection with the production at the Royal and Ducal Theatre of Milan in Carnival 1736. So it may well be that this is exactly what we were seeking: an earlier setting of the opera, made by 'Signor Bernascone Milanese, dilettante' in and for his native city of Milan.

It seems possible, moreover, that at least some of Bernasconi's music was used again in the 1743 *pasticcio* production of *Adriano in Siria* at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna, from where the music could, in theory, have found its way into the Attems music collection.⁴⁷ Bernasconi's connections with Vienna are recorded from at least 1737, when he had his opera *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* staged at the Kärntnertortheater, and where he apparently contributed in addition at least one aria to *Il giorno felice* during the same season.⁴⁸ Out of thirteen identified arias by Bernasconi set to texts from Metastasio's *Adriano in Siria* that differ from those in his 1755 version, nine have textual concordances in the Viennese libretto of 1743 – and of these arias, five are present in the Attems collection.⁴⁹ The close connection of the

⁴⁷ SARTORI, *I libretti italiani*, no. 386. *Adriano in Siria*, Vienna: Giovan Pietro van Ghelen, 1743. Available online through OPAC SBN is a digitised copy of I-Mb, Racc. Dramm. 2336. The libretto was printed separately also in a complete German translation (*Hadrianus in Syrien*), a copy of which survives in Vienna in the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus (A-Wst), A 139.134. I am indebted for this information to Andrea Sommer-Mathis. The composer and the singers are not indicated in the libretto; the only named artist is the dancing master Franz Hilfering. The German version is a translation by Johann Leopold van Ghelen.

⁴⁸ See above, footnotes 6 and 19–21.

⁴⁹ Apart from the Viennese libretto of 1743, there is only one further *Adriano in Siria* known to have been performed with music by various anonymous composers ('Musica di diversi

Habsburg capital of Vienna to cultural life in Milan, which from 1713 lay under the dominion of the Austrian Habsburgs, lends further support to the hypothesis of such a link.

Countess Josepha and her husband Ignaz von Attems both visited Vienna regularly and were, as music-lovers and opera-goers, well informed at the very least about Viennese cultural life.⁵⁰ The music in their collection could, of course, have equally well reached Graz indirectly via a third party, perhaps a musician or an impresario, only later being copied for the Countess. The surviving documentation concerning the operatic repertoire produced in Vienna at the Kärntnertortheater in the late 1730s and early 1740s does indeed show similarities to the productions organised for the Estates Theatre (Ständische Theater) in Graz from 1736 to 1745 under the management of the impresarios Angelo and Pietro Mingotti. Although the connection of the Mingottis with Vienna has not yet been securely established, it would seem that they at least had very good contacts there.⁵¹ In Graz their operatic productions were closely followed and also supported by the family of the Counts of Attems.⁵²

The case of a possible earlier and hitherto unknown setting of Andrea Bernasconi's *Adriano in Siria* of course opens up a series of further questions on his earlier music in general, including the need for a thorough musical analysis and assessment of his early arias⁵³ and a study of the general development of his operatic style between 1735 and 1755 – subjects that go beyond the scope of this paper. A cursory glance at the 1755 score and the music of the identified earlier arias corroborates the general assessment of his style transmitted by existing literature: namely that he avoided great

autori'): a production of 1741 in Ferrara. See above, footnote 39. The concordances with identified music are, however, fewer: only six items out of thirteen, of which only three arias are also found in the Attems collection.

⁵⁰ See the biographies in KOKOLE, 'Migrations of Musical Repertoire', pp. 432–437.

⁵¹ I have been kindly provided with information on operatic productions in Vienna by Dr Andrea Sommer-Mathis, who shared with me information gathered during the 'work-in-progress' stage of a database, for which I am deeply indebted. On the activities of the Mingotti brothers in Graz, see especially MÜLLER VON ASOW, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti*.

⁵² KOKOLE, 'Migrations of Musical Repertoire', pp. 362–363.

⁵³ It would be worth comparing all the handwritings to establish which possibly represents his *manupropria*.

change and showed no interest in contemporary operatic reforms.⁵⁴ The orchestration of his later setting of the opera is, however, richer, and there are more ensemble pieces than in his early operas. As for the form of his arias, he remained true to the 'safe', traditional *da capo* form. But even though his operas composed for Munich were highly appreciated and he was one of the best paid musicians there,⁵⁵ his earlier versions survived in a larger number of copies and were apparently more generally popular, enjoying a wider distribution.

⁵⁴ MÜNSTER – CORNEILSON, 'Bernasconi, Andrea'.

⁵⁵ Britta KÄGLER, 'Competition at the Catholic Court of Munich. Italian Musicians and Family Networks', in: *Musicians' Mobilities*, pp. 73–90: 81–84.

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Schikaneder in Ljubljana: Repertoire Transmission Routes

The period of Enlightenment is inscribed in European cultural history as an important turning point at the end of the eighteenth century which, owing to the newly awakened sense of national awareness, prompted changes in production and reproduction trends. The dynamic of different repertoire trends at that time also sheds light on musical life in Ljubljana, the capital of the former Austrian province of Carniola. The central part of the geographical territory of present-day Slovenia was regarded as a peripheral corner of the Habsburg Monarchy and as a 'musical edge'. However, with a population of no more than 10.000, its capital Ljubljana was a multicultural city in which Italian, German, French, and Carniolan were spoken; it was at a crossroads of different cultural influences.

When the Austrian monarch Joseph II encouraged the production of original culture based on the German language and accelerated the process of decreasing the influence of previously dominant Italian music with the introduction of reforms and the founding of a national theatre, a wave of organisational changes spread from the capital to every corner of the monarchy. The changes in theatre administration, coupled with the support for German theatre, influenced the decisions made by the Ljubljana Theatre Administration, which endeavoured to engage German or Austrian theatre companies for prime winter seasons. The aforementioned changes are typically reflected in the repertoire which was presented in Ljubljana by the German theatre troupe led by its principal, actor, singer and writer Johann Joseph Schickeneder – Emanuel Schikaneder.¹ This company performed at

¹ The guest performances of the Schikaneder Company were already mentioned by Peter Radics (1912) in his historical depiction of the German theatre in Ljubljana, but he only

the Ljubljana Estate Theatre from December 1779 to February 1780, and again in April of that year, and from November 1781 to February 1782.

Since the theatre archives burned down in 1887 along with the wooden building of the Ljubljana Theatre, research of the history of the theatre and the identification of the staged repertoire is limited to scarce, accidentally preserved archival sources. The aim of this case study is therefore to draw attention to the little known second guest appearance of Schikaneder in Ljubljana and above all to throw light on two completely unexplored and forgotten sources, namely, librettos printed for two performances of the Schikaneder Company in Ljubljana, which were not preserved in Slovenian archives. These two librettos constitute a valuable source for researching the concrete performances and at the same time symptomatically reveal the repertoire transmission routes.

ORGANISATIONAL ASPECTS OF SCHIKANEDER'S TWO GUEST
APPEARANCES IN LJUBLJANA IN THE WINTER SEASONS 1779/80
AND 1781/82

The Schikaneder Company received an invitation to visit Ljubljana by the then commissioner of the Ljubljana Theatre, Baron Alexander von Schell,² a man of broad cultural background who knew about the successes that the

referred to the performances of the first tour. On the basis of newly discovered archival materials in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Dušan Ludvik later conducted more thorough research of the previously unknown second guest performances of Schikaneder in Ljubljana (1957). Anke Sonnek, whose research also draws on Radics's book, makes no mention of the Schikaneder Company's second tour to Ljubljana in her monograph on Schikaneder (1999). See Peter RADICS, *Die Entwicklung des deutschen Bühnenwesens in Laibach*, Ljubljana: self-published, 1912, pp. 53–57; Dušan LUDVIK, *Nemško gledališče v Ljubljani do leta 1790* [German Theatre in Ljubljana until 1790], PhD diss., University of Ljubljana, 1957, pp. 61–92; Anke SONNEK, *Emanuel Schikaneder: Theater Prinzipal, Schauspieler und Stückeschreiber*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999, pp. 29, 41, 55.

² Very little is known about Baron Alexander von Schell. Documents kept in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia refer to him as Baron Schell. He died in Carniola in 1792. See *Oberdeutsche, allgemeine Literaturzeitung im Jahre 1792*, Nr. 2, p. 1032 and *Der Adel in den Matriken des Herzogtums Krain*, ed. Ludwig Schiviz von Schivizhoffen, Gorizia: self-published, 1905, p. 207.

newly founded theatre company had had in southern German cities.³ In the summer of 1779, he wrote to Schikaneder in Nuremberg and invited him to perform in Ljubljana.⁴ The reason that Schikaneder decided to come to Ljubljana, whose relatively small theatre promised little in terms of profitability, may be ascribed to the principal's ambitions, as he considered performances in this city as an opportunity for his company to further establish itself in bigger musical centres of the Austrian milieu, especially Salzburg and Vienna. In other words, Schikaneder was just starting his career in theatre. He accepted a high sum of money in advance from the Ljubljana Theatre Administration and made a commitment to reimburse it with the profit from the company's performances. At the end of November 1779, he set out from Rothenburg ob der Tauber to Ljubljana, as is also indicated in the diary of Jakob Neukäufler, a member of the company.⁵

German actors, singers and dancers started their performances at the Ljubljana Estate Theatre on 5 December 1779 and continued performing until February the following year.⁶ After the end of the winter season, Schikaneder travelled to Klagenfurt, Linz and Salzburg to agree on further guest performances. He returned to Ljubljana after Easter and then staged six more performances; later he travelled to Klagenfurt and to Linz and in October to Salzburg. Although the obligation to reimburse the loan bound him to perform in Ljubljana again, Schikaneder decided to remain in Salzburg in the autumn

³ Although Schikaneder had only just started his theatre career, he was already a well-established actor. In early 1778, he founded his own theatre troupe with which he successfully performed in Ulm, Stuttgart, Augsburg, Neuburg an der Donau, Nuremberg and Rothenburg ob der Tauber. See SONNEK, *Emanuel Schikaneder*, pp. 29–42.

⁴ In his dissertation, Dušan Ludvik mentions Schikaneder's response, dated 28 July 1779 and sent to Ljubljana, which is said to be part of the archives of the Ljubljana Theatre kept in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia. However, the present author has not found the document in the aforementioned archives. LUDVIK, *Nemško gledališče*, p. 178.

⁵ The Schikaneder Company's journey to Ljubljana and the events from the road were beautifully described by a member of the company, the actor Jakob Neukäufler. The actors travelled by wagons from Rothenburg, following the trade route through Innsbruck, the Brenner Pass, Puster Valley and Carinthia, where they were surprised by snow, continuing their journey to Carniola and Ljubljana. See *Aus dem Leben eines Wanderschauspielers Jakob Neukäufler (1754–1835)*, ed. Konrad Schiffmann, Linz: J. Feichtinger, 1930, pp. 42–54.

⁶ As evident from the list of actors, published in *Theater-Kalender* in 1780, the Schikaneder Company had at the time over thirty-two members, including four children. *Theater-Kalender auf das Jahr 1780*, Gotha: C.W. Ettinger, 1780, pp. 259–260 and 214–227.

of 1780, where he was granted the much-desired permission to perform until the end of the year.⁷ Interesting documents testifying to the great reception of Schikaneder's performances in Salzburg and his concern about his agreements with the Ljubljana Theatre Administration are three letters which Leopold Mozart sent to his son on 2, 11 and 15 December 1780.⁸ As evident from the correspondence with the Ljubljana Theatre Administration, entered on the list of correspondences of 1780/81 which is kept in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Schikaneder postponed his arrival in Ljubljana.⁹ His prolonged stay in Salzburg could also be due to extraordinary circumstances brought about by the death of Empress Maria Theresa at the end of 1780, when the Ljubljana Theatre was briefly closed down for the period of official mourning. The theatre administration thus allowed Schikaneder to remain in Salzburg until the beginning of the following year. In summer, the Schikaneder Company performed in Graz and returned to Ljubljana no earlier than November 1781.

DOCUMENTED AND PRESUMABLY STAGED MUSIC REPERTOIRE

Not even one half of the staged works that the Schikaneder Company presented to the Ljubljana audience in the two winter seasons related to music or ballet.¹⁰

⁷ According to Ludvik, Schikaneder had already sent two petitions to Salzburg in 1778, requesting permission to perform. The petitions were initially denied, but eventually granted for the period from September to the end of 1780. See LUDVIK, *Nemško gledališče*, pp. 63–64.

⁸ *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesmtausgabe*, Bd. III, eds. Wilhelm Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, Salzburg: Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, 1961, pp. 42, 52, 56, cit. after SONNEK, *Emanuel Schikaneder*, p. 54.

⁹ As evident from the document *Nota des zwischen dem Fasching 1780 u. 1781 in Theater-Correspondenz ausgegebenen Briefporto* kept in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Schikaneder sent three letters to Ljubljana from Linz and two letters from Salzburg. The Ljubljana Theatre Administration responded by sending five letters to Linz and four to Salzburg. Alas, the letters have not been preserved. See: Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Višja gledališka direkcija v Ljubljani AS 13, fasc. 2, Collectanea. Gledališki akti za obdobje 1773–1792, *Nota des zwischen dem Fasching 1780 u. 1781 in Theater-Correspondenz ausgegebenen Briefporto*.

¹⁰ On the basis of available materials and literature, Ludvik estimated the number of productions and the share of staged dramatic and musical repertoire of the Schikaneder Company in Ljubljana in the winter seasons 1779/80 and 1781/82. He estimated that as much as 30% of the repertoire comprised comedy, 25% drama (tragedy), 35% *singspiel*,

Given the fact that Schikaneder's troupe provided the audience with a different programme every day or that the repertoire was repeated only exceptionally, barely a fraction of the repertoire may be identified on the basis of available sources. The Slovenian National Museum keeps only two theatre flyers as part of the legacy of the historian Peter Radics – an invitation to the comedy *Die Haushaltung nach der Mode oder Was soll man für eine Frau nehmen* and the ballet *Scherenschleifer* and an invitation to the comedies *Das unschuldige Mädchen* and *Der Bletter* and the ballet *Die Insel der Liebe*.¹¹ Radics's legacy also contains a printed speech in which Schikaneder's wife bid farewell to the Ljubljana audience at the end of the first tour in Ljubljana in 1780. Her speech also cites some titles of staged works, including the musical work *Lottchen am Hofe* (with music by J.A. Hiller) and the melodrama *Medea* (with music by J.A.G. Benda).¹² Some titles of works staged in the season 1779/80 are mentioned in the diary of the actor Jakob Neukäuffer, a member of the troupe. He, among others, listed the opera *Lisuart und Dariolette* (with music by J.A. Hiller) and described an event that took place during the staging of the ballet *Orfeo ed Euridice* (with music by C.W. Gluck).¹³ Another valuable primary source for the identification of the repertoire staged during Schikaneder's second tour to Ljubljana in the winter season 1781/82 was the weekly records of revenue from performances for the one-third tax on income kept in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia. The records from December 1781 to February 1782 state the dates as well as titles of performances staged by the Schikaneder Company.¹⁴

On the basis of available sources it may be concluded that the members of Schikaneder's troupe presented three *singspiels* in Ljubljana by the German composer Johann Adam Hiller: *Die Jagd* (1779/80), *Lisuart und Dariolette oder*

comic opera, song-play, semi-opera, melodrama, duodrama, and 10% ballet. See LUDVIK, *Nemško gledališče*, p. 70.

¹¹ The preserved invitations for shows staged by the Schikaneder Company do not state dates. See Narodni muzej Slovenije, Radicseva gledališka mapa, XV. Carn. Z: Laibach Theater XXVII, Kuv. 24, Nr. 2 in 3.

¹² *Abschieds Rede in Laybach. Gesprochen von Madame Schikaneder*, Ljubljana: Eger [1780]. Kept in the Slovenian National Museum, Radicseva gledališka mapa, IV. Carn. D: Laibach Theater XXVII, Kuv. 13, Nr. 1.

¹³ *Aus dem Leben*, pp. 51–53.

¹⁴ Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Višja gledališka direkcija v Ljubljani AS 13, fasc. 2, Collectanea. Gledališki akti za obdobje 1773–1792, Wochentliche Tabelle über das von Hr. Emanuel Schikaneder abgenommenen Drittel.

Die Frage und die Antwort (December 1779) and *Lottchen am Hof* (December 1779, 30 December 1781), two works by Georg [Jiří Antonín] Benda: the melodrama *Ariadne auf Naxos* (31 January 1782) and the melodrama *Medea* (1782), the comic opera by his son Friedrich Ludwig Benda *Der Barbier von Sevilla* (1780), and an earlier French *opéra comique* by Christoph Willibald Gluck, *La Rencontre imprévue*, in its German translation titled *Die Pilgrime von Mecca* (26 January and 6 February 1782). On its second tour to Ljubljana in early 1782, Schikaneder's troupe also presented the Ljubljana audience with the work by the Austrian composer Ignaz Umlauff *Die pücefärbenen Schuhe oder Die schöne Schusterinn* (3 February 1782), a melodrama based on Bürger's ballad composed by Peter von Winter, *Lenardo und Blandine* (7 February 1782), and an Italian opera by Giovanni Paisiello, *La frascatana*, in its German translation titled *Das Mädchen von Fraskati* (9 and 11 February 1782).

The titles of most staged performances may be deduced only indirectly from secondary sources. On the basis of works that Schikaneder's troupe performed in southern German cities in the year preceding their arrival in Ljubljana, it may be assumed that they also performed other musical works on Ljubljana's stage, e.g. two *singspiels* by Johann André, *Der Töpfer* and *Erwin und Elmire*, a French *opéra comique* composed by Egidio Duni *Les deux chausseurs et la laitère* in its German translation titled *Das Milchmädchen und die beiden Jäger*, Hiller's musical works *Die verwandelte Weiber oder der Teufel ist los*, *Der Erntekrantz*, *Die Liebe auf dem Lande*, *Der lustige Schuster*, the 'operetta' by Georg Joseph Vogler *Der Kaufmann vor Smyrna*, and the principal Schikaneder's music debut *Die Lyranten*.¹⁵ In Ljubljana, they presumably also performed two of Piccinni's musical works translated into German, *La pescatrice innocente* (Germ. *Das Fischermädchen oder die geretteten Seeleute*) and *La schiava* (Germ. *Die Sklavin, Der Seefahrer oder die schöne Sklavin*), previously performed in Nuremberg in the summer of 1779.¹⁶

A notable portion of the productions that the Schikaneder Company staged in Ljubljana were ballets.¹⁷ In view of the frequency with which they

¹⁵ SONNEK, *Emanuel Schikaneder*, pp. 26–27, 29–30, 33–35, 279–280.

¹⁶ *IBID.*, p. 279.

¹⁷ Schikaneder also brought a group of fourteen ballet dancers to Ljubljana; some actors or singers performed as dancers as well, including Schikaneder's wife. The dancers were led by the ballet master H. Huber. See *Thaterkalender*, pp. 259–260.

were performed before the theatre company's arrival in Ljubljana and between the two Ljubljana seasons in Salzburg (1780/81),¹⁸ it is safe to assume that they constituted ten percent of Schikaneder's repertoire. We may document some titles of staged dance performances. One of the two aforementioned extant theatre invitations contains the title of the ballet *Der Scherenschlefer*.¹⁹ The invitation is not dated. Based on weekly records of events for the season 1781/82 we can conclude that this particular ballet was performed together with the aforementioned comedy *Die Haushaltung nach der Mode* on 20 January 1782. As indicated in the same source, on 21 January 1782 the company also performed the ballet *Die Insel der Liebe* (probably on the music from the Sacchini's comic opera *L'isola d'amore*) in Ljubljana. On the basis of Neukäufler's reference to dancers performing Gluck's ballet from the opera *Orfeo ed Euridice* with burning hats,²⁰ it may be assumed that Schikaneder's staging of ballet performances also contained variety show elements to attract larger numbers of audiences to the theatre.

Other titles of staged ballets may be inferred from the lists of ballets performed by the Schikaneder troupe between 1778 and 1779 in Augsburg, Ulm, Stuttgart and Nuremberg.²¹ The sources rarely allow us to identify the composers and choreographers. Since the same ballet was performed a few months earlier in Nuremberg,²² we can assume that in Ljubljana the dancers of the Schikaneder Company also presented the 'tragic ballet' *Macbeth, König von Schottland* based on Shakespeare's play.

¹⁸ SONNEK, *Emanuel Schikaneder*, pp. 280–282.

¹⁹ The published records reveal that the ballet *Scherenschlefer* was performed in the southern German cities of Augsburg, Ulm and Stuttgart already in 1778, along with a series of other shorter ballets of mainly comic content. SONNEK, *Emanuel Schikaneder*, pp. 26–27, 29–30, 33–35.

²⁰ Neukäufler described the event thus: '...dann ein Ballett "Orpheus und Euridice" wie das Laibacher Publikum in dieser Größe noch keines gesehen hatte. Als nun die Furien mit brennenden Kappen und Flambeaus herauskamen, schrie alles: "die Kappen brennen!" Schon wollte man in der Angst, es fange das Theater zu brennen an, fortlaufen, aber Schikaneder ging auf die Bühne, nahm einer Furie das Baret herunter, hielt es in der Hand, setzte es dann auf und zeigte, daß es von Blech war und daß nur oben ein in Spiritus getauchter Schwamm brannte. Als die Leute das sahen, entstand ein allgemeines Gelächter und "die Kappen brennen" wurde zum Sprichwort.' See *Aus dem Leben*, pp. 53–54.

²¹ SONNEK, *Emanuel Schikaneder*, pp. 382–383.

²² *IBID.*, pp. 368, 382.

LIBRETTO *GESÄNGE AUS DER KOMISCHEN OPER: DER BARBIERER
VON SEVILIEN* (LJUBLJANA, 1780)

The absence of sources makes it impossible to assess the quality of the musical productions staged by Schikaneder in Ljubljana. Performances of Italian operas were most probably of inferior quality to those performed by Italian opera companies, since the members of the German company mostly performed the dramatic repertoire and had a poorer singing education than Italian singers. The opera texts, printed in Ljubljana for Schikaneder's performances, reveal some peculiarities when compared to texts of other performances. The Ljubljana-based printer Eger printed a libretto of *Der Barbierer von Sevilien* in 1780.²³ This was an adaptation of Beaumarchais's text, written by the German playwright, actor and director Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Großmann and set to music by Friedrich Ludwig Benda.²⁴ One copy of the libretto is kept at the National Library in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). There is no information on how the libretto came into the library's possession. The libretto is bound as the fifteenth in a volume of twenty-seven librettos and bears the signature Mus. T. 21. According to data in the Preußische Staatsbibliothek, the collection was compiled no earlier than the end of the nineteenth century. The librettos were most probably obtained from the archives of the old court opera.²⁵

The aforementioned Ljubljana libretto comprises eight pages. The first page features the title *Gesänge / aus der komischen Oper: / der Barbierer / von / Sevilien*, casting and Figaro's introductory aria. The booklet has no additional graphic

²³ The list of works printed in Carniola, issued in 1803, records two booklets of texts under the name Schikaneder that were printed by the Ljubljana-based printer Eger in 1780: the play *Julius von Tarent* (a tragedy by Johann Anton Leisewitz) and 'Operngesänge *Der Barbierer von Sevilien*'. See *Bibliotheca Carnioliae*, Ljubljana: Historische Verein für Krain, 1862, p. 48. (Reprint of the first edition of 1803).

²⁴ Friedrich Ludwig Benda, son of a more famous composer Georg [Jiří Antonín] Benda, experienced his greatest success with the comic opera *Der Barbier von Sevilla*, with arias in Italian style. The premiere of Benda's comic opera took place in 1776 in Berlin. See Zdeňka PILKOVÁ, 'Benda, Fridrich Ludwig', in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil 2, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999, col. 1072.

²⁵ The data regarding the copy kept in the State Library of Berlin were submitted to the present author by the librarian at the Music Department, Titus Mehling. The digitised version of the libretto is freely available in the repository of the German digital library Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek.

elements, only an ornament added at the end of the text and an inscription below the line 'Laibach, gedruckt bei Joh. Friedrich Eger'.²⁶ It comprises thirteen singing acts performed by four protagonists: Count Almaviva, Doctor Bartolo, Rosina and Figaro, the barber of Seville. A comparison with the piano reduction of Benda's comic opera printed a year earlier in Leipzig shows that it is an identical text and that, with the exception of Rosina's aria in Act 3, the work was performed in its entirety in Ljubljana. Based on the known data concerning the staged repertoire of the Schikaneder Company, it may be concluded that the work was performed for the first time in Ljubljana. Schikaneder's singers performed the show again in Salzburg in October 1780.²⁷ This is presumably the first presentation of the content from the *Barber of Seville* in Ljubljana and undoubtedly one of the earliest presentations of the adapted Beaumarchais text in German and Austrian milieus.²⁸

LIBRETTO *DAS MÄDCHEN VON FRASKATI* (LJUBLJANA: EGER, 1782)

AND LIBRETTO *DAS MÄDCHEN VON FRASKATI*

(GRAZ: GEORG WEINGAND UND FRANZ FERSTL, 1782)

By performing Paisiello's opera *La frascatana*, Schikaneder catered to the taste of Ljubljana's audience, which favoured Italian opera, and by using the German translation followed the latest cultural-political trends in German and Austrian milieus.²⁹ The comic opera premiered in the Venetian theatre

²⁶ *Gesänge aus der komischen Oper: der Barbierer von Sevilien*. Ljubljana: Eger, 1782.

²⁷ SONNEK, *Emanuel Schikaneder*, p. 281.

²⁸ Benda's setting to music of the story about a barber of Seville was produced a few years before the more famous setting to music of *Il barbiere di Siviglia ovvero La precauzione inutile* by the Italian composer Giovanni Paisiello (premiere 1782) and forty years before the premier of Rossini's opera, still the most popular setting to music of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (premiere 1816). See *Lexikon der Oper*, vol. 1, Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2002, pp. 165–166.

²⁹ Based on the tables of revenue from the two performances, it is also possible to make a rough estimate of the size of audience; Ludvik's estimate puts the number somewhere between 150 and 200, accounting for one third of available seats. According to Ludvik, the somewhat poor attendance was also due to the fact that the theatre was not heated during winter. Cf. LUDVIK, *Nemško gledališče*, p. 90.

of *San Samuele* in 1774 and was successfully performed in other Italian cities, in Vienna (then still in Italian) the following year,³⁰ and later in other major European music centres as well.³¹ Livigni's text of this popular opera, which found audiences all across Europe, was translated from Italian to other languages, as is also evident from the list of preserved librettos in the thematic catalogue of Paisello's works. A bilingual Italian-German opera text was printed for the performance given in Dresden in 1776, an Italian-English libretto was printed for the staging in London in 1778 and an Italian-French libretto for the production in Paris.³² The opera in German translation was performed in various German cities and its popularity is also made evident by the publication of arias and duets from the 'operetta *Die Frascatanerinn*', with the German text incorporated into the popular edition of the song with piano *Lieder, Arien und Duette bey dem Klavier*, published in Berlin (1782).³³ Ljubljana's audience heard Paisiello's opera in German first in 1782 performed by the Schikaneder Company, in the season of 1784/85 performed by the Franz Diwald Company³⁴ and in the following season performed by the Johann Zollner Company.³⁵

A valuable source for historical research on the performance in Ljubljana is the preserved booklet containing an opera text that the Ljubljana-based printer Eger printed for the Schikaneder Company in 1782.³⁶ The libretto

³⁰ The good reception of the opera *La frascatana* among the Viennese audience is documented in written sources. The opera was performed in the Vienna Court Theatre (Burgtheater) thirty-five times between 29 April 1775 and 5 February. See OTTO MIGHTNER, *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne. Von der Einführung des deutschen Singspiels (1778) bis zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II. (1792)*, Wien: Harman Böhlaus Verlag, 1970, p. 164.

³¹ Paisiello's opera *La frascatana* was performed in 1776 in Dresden (under the title *Die Frascatanerinn*), London (under the title *La frascetana*) and Copenhagen (in Danish!), in 1777 in Madrid, in 1778 in Paris, in 1779 in Stockholm, and later on in other cities.

³² *Giovanni Paisiello. A Thematic Catalogue of his Works*, ed. Michael F. Robinson, New York: Pendragon Press, 1991, pp. 190–191.

³³ *Lieder, Arien und Duette bey dem Klavier*, Berlin: Johann Andre, 2 (1782), nos. 3–4, pp. 88–97 and 123–139.

³⁴ Jože SIVEC, *Opera na ljubljanskih odrih od klasicizma do 20. stoletja. Izbrana poglavja* [Opera on the Ljubljana stages from Classicism to the 20th century: Selected chapters], eds. Metoda Kokole, Klemen Grabnar, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, p. 36.

³⁵ LUDVIK, *Nemško gledališče*, pp. 102, 105.

³⁶ The libretto was printed in the firm of Janez Friderik Eger, until then the only printing firm in Ljubljana. Apart from German books, Eger's printing firm also printed Pohlin's

with the signature number 845000-A.213,1 and label 'Theaterbibliothek Schikaneder'³⁷ is kept in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek). The front page of the libretto states *Das Mädchen / von / Fraskati / Ein Singspiel / in drey Aufzügen./ Nach dem italiänischen. / von A. L. *** / Ausgeführt von der Schikanederischen Gesellschaft. / Laybach / Gedruckt mit Egerischen Schriften. / 1782* (Figure 1). Interestingly, unlike the previous practice of printing bilingual librettos, the original opera text by Filippo Livigni is only printed in its German translation. The libretto *Das Mädchen von Fraskati* is bound as the first of the librettos collected in the volume³⁸ and comprises seventy-nine pages. The covers of said volume are plain, free from ornaments, containing only an inscription No. 25 in black ink. Apart from ornaments and a crown on the top, the front page of the aforementioned libretto has no special pictorial matter. The inscription Schmidt, Johann Friedrich / Livigni, Filippo / Komp. Paisiello, Giovanni was written in pencil in the upper left corner of the first page at a later date.

From the catalogue entries we can find that in the same year that Eger printed the libretto of Paisiello's opera in Ljubljana, the Graz-based printing firm of Johann Georg Weingand und Franz Ferstl also printed a booklet for the Schikaneder Company titled *Das Mädchen / von / Fraskati / Ein Singspiel / in drey Aufzügen./ Nach dem italiänischen. / von A. L. *** / Ausgeführt von der Schikanederischen Gesellschaft*. Two copies of this libretto have been preserved, one in the Düsseldorf University and Provincial Library (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Düsseldorf, Sign. 129252101) and one in the formerly private libretto collection of the noble family Vrtba now kept in the library of

Kraynska grammatika (1768) and Linhart's collection of poems and translations *Blumen aus Krain* (1781). See Branko BERČIČ, *Tiskarstvo na Slovenskem* [Printing in Slovenia], Ljubljana: Committee for the Commemoration of the Centennial of Graphic Organisation in Slovenia, 1968, pp. 69–71.

³⁷ 'Theaterbibliothek Schikaneder' from the Vienna Theatre Museum is part of the archives of the former Viennese theatre called Theater auf der Wieden, which was led by Schikaneder from 1789 until 1801.

³⁸ The same signature number is used to designate two other plays. These are the play by Ludwig Erdmann, *Der Mißverstand oder die wiedergefundene Tochter*, printed in 1782 in Leipzig, and the play by Christian Jacob Wagenseil, *Mustapha und Zeangir*, first printed in 1768 in Berlin.



Figure. 1. The front page of the libretto *Das Mädchen von Fraskatidopisac* printed in Ljubljana in 1782. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, sign. 845000-A.213,1.

the Křimice Castle in the Czech Republic.³⁹ It is not known how the copies found their way from Graz to the aforementioned locations in the Czech Republic and Germany.⁴⁰ A copy of the libretto kept in Düsseldorf is the first

³⁹ Today, this collection of librettos is in the care of the National Museum in Prague and kept in the Kladruba Castle near Střibro, the Czech Republic. See *Teatralia zámecké knihovny z Křimic*, eds. Jitka Šimáková, Eduarda Machácková, Praha: Divadelní ústav, 1970, pp. 16 and 400.

⁴⁰ It is a known fact that the Schikaneder Company later staged this opera in Salzburg (1786) and Regensburg (1787). See SONNEK, *Emanuel Schikaneder*, p. 357.

in the volume, which also contains four dramatic texts that were printed at approximately the same time.⁴¹

A comparison between the libretto printed in Ljubljana and a copy of the libretto which was printed in Graz and is now kept in the Düsseldorf library reveals that it is the same print or the same copy, and that only the inscription of the printing firm on the front page is different. Given the interrupted line on the margin of the front page, it appears that the name of the Graz-based printing firm was added to the printing at a later date. Apart from that, the two front pages look identical. It may be assumed that the libretto was first printed in Ljubljana, since the German text contains eight inserted lines in the Slovenian (Carniolan) language and given the fact that Schikaneder took the booklet with him to Graz. These conclusions lead to the question of how the translation of the popular Italian opera came to be made: on the initiative of the principal Schikaneder, or that of a member of the Ljubljana Theatre Administration favourably inclined toward Italian opera production, or simply that of the translator himself?

LIBRETTO *DAS MÄDCHEN VON FRASKATI* (LJUBLJANA: EGER, 1782)
VS. LIBRETTO *LA FRASCATANA / ODER DAS MÄDCHEN*
VON FRASKATI (? , 1782): SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

The answer to the question above is illustrated by a comparison with another German translation of Livigni's text published that same year. The booklet titled *LA FRASCATANA / oder / Das Mädchen von Fraskati / ein / Singspiel in drey Aufzügen* is kept in the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) under the signature 1762-A. The front page contains no indication for which theatre company or on which occasion the libretto was printed. A small graphic image is printed below the title and beneath it

⁴¹ The volume under the signature number 129252101 also contains the following texts: the play *Johannes oder die Macht des Christentums und seiner Würde* printed in Basel in 1784, the play *Die Schwäger* written by Friedrich von Eckardt and printed in 1780 in Vienna, the comedy *Der Frömmeler* printed in Basel in 1782, and the text *Mein Stammbuch: für tugendliebende Freunde und Freundinnen; aus den Quellen edler Seelen geschöpft* printed in Frankfurt in 1783.

nothing but an inscription ‘die Musik von Paisiello’ and the year 1782. There is no indication of the printer’s name either. Given the fact that the work was presented in Vienna in its German translation no earlier than the end of 1783,⁴² it may be assumed that the aforementioned libretto found its way into the book collection from elsewhere, probably from the German region. German cities were presented with the German translation of Paisello’s opera before that, with (Johann Friedrich) Schmidt stated as the translator in German theatre almanacs.⁴³

A comparison of two German translations published the same year against the Italian opera text serves as the starting point for identifying locally-conditioned language and dramaturgical specifics. The prints of both German librettos differ in form and content, which is evident from the already mentioned front page, as well as the contents and number of pages. The differences are immediately noticeable from the manner in which the names are written on the list of actors. The comparison reveals striking differences in the translation itself as well as some differences in dramaturgy. We may establish with certainty that these are two different translations of the original Italian text.

This conclusion raises the question of the names of both translators. The catalogue entry in the Vienna library states the name of the translator – Johann Friedrich Schmidt – for both copies; the same name is also pencilled into the upper left corner of the first page of the libretto printed in Ljubljana. However, the inscription on the front page of the libretto *Nach dem italiänischen. / von A. L. **** raises doubts about the identification of the translator’s name, which are further confirmed by the differences in the two translations. The added Slovenian translation of the cavatina for Nardone in Scene 3 of Act 1⁴⁴ leads to the assumption that the translation of the libretto printed in Ljubljana was the work of a local author. The translation was produced in the early 1780s when the enlightened intellectuals surrounding the Ljubljana nobleman Sigmund Zois translated popular Italian arias for

⁴² Paisiello’s opera *La frascatana* was performed in a new set up and in German translation in the Vienna Hofburgtheater in December 1783. See Anton BAUER, *Opern und Operetten in Wien. Verzeichnis ihrer Erstaufführungen in der Zeit von 1629 bis zur Gegenwart*, Graz – Köln: H. Böhlau, 1955, p. 35.

⁴³ *Theaterjournal für Deutschland* (1782/20), pp. 39, 41, 45 and 51.

⁴⁴ *Das Mädchen von Fraskati*, transl. A. L. [Anton Linhart], Ljubljana: Eger, 1782, p. 13.

theatre troupes to put them on the stage and for the Slovenian or rather the provincial Carniolan language to reach the domestic public. The initials A. L. reveal that the libretto was probably translated by a member of the Zois circle, a historian, dramatist and poet Anton (Tomaž) Linhart (1756–1795). It is well known that Linhart only signed with his initials, that he translated Italian opera librettos⁴⁵ and that his first literary works were produced in the official German language. Whether the translation of Livigni's opera text was produced on Linhart's or Schikaneder's initiative is not clear. There is a great possibility that they made each other's acquaintance in Ljubljana, since going to the theatre was also a social code of Ljubljana's distinguished citizens from the circle of enlightened intellectuals, to which Linhart belonged as well.⁴⁶

On the basis of the comparison it was concluded that the translation of the libretto printed in Ljubljana differs from the Italian text more than the other German translation. Act 1 omitted Scene 5 with Pagnotta and Lisette. The most conspicuous changes were made in Act 2, with the reversal of the sequential order of the initial scenes and the repeated omission of the scene with Pagnotta and Lisette which affected the dramaturgy of the production. In Linhart's translation, Act 2 begins with Scene 5 of the original text, in which both central male protagonists don Fabrizio and Nardone appear, followed by Scenes 6, 7 and 8, and then Scenes 2, 3, and 4. Scene 9 is omitted. There are also differences in the closing act. The peculiarities of Linhart's translation are most striking in the use of language. The comic scene at the end of Act 2 contains minor changes to the text, adapted to the local environment including words in the Slovenian language, 'Poberi se!' and in the Croatian language, 'Sto radish?', uttered by a Carniolan ('ein Krainer') and a Croat ('ein Kroat').⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Only one Linhart translation of an opera text into German is known from that period. This is a free translation of Metastasio's text *L'Isola disabitata*. Linhart's translation of the libretto titled *Das öde Eiland* was published in the collection of his translations and texts *Blumen aus Krain. Für das Jahr 1781*, Ljubljana: Eger, 1781, pp. 9–36.

⁴⁶ That Linhart and Schikaneder knew each other could also be confirmed by the fact that a copy of Linhart's play *Miss Jenny Love* has been preserved in Schikaneder's collection kept in the Vienna Theatre Museum. See Katja Mihurko PONIŽ, 'Nekaj ugotovitev o Linhartovi *Miss Jenny Love*' [Some observations on Linhart *Miss Jenny Love*], *Slavistična revija* 60/1 (2012), pp.1–13: 8.

⁴⁷ [LINHART], *Das Mädchen von Fraskati*, p. 63.

We were unable to identify the copy of the Italian libretto on which Linhart's translation is based. The differences in the two German translations may, in addition to the translators' interventions, also be the result of different Italian source materials. The variations in the Italian text and translations in different prints were a reflection of the established performance norms of comic operas, where the text set the rendition of the opera. Editions of librettos with their deviations from Livigni's original opera text provide an illustrative example of the cultural and musical dynamics of the Europe at the end of the eighteenth century.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SCHIKANEDER'S THEATRE PRODUCTIONS FOR SLOVENIAN CULTURAL AND MUSIC HISTORY

The repertoire which the German theatre company of Emanuel Schikaneder staged in Ljubljana sheds light on the ways and the manner in which the German-language repertoire was disseminated at the end of the eighteenth century to the periphery of the Austrian Monarchy, whereas the comparison of preserved librettos reveals much about the ways in which the repertoire was adapted to local performance conditions.

Apart from a lighter repertoire, the Schikaneder Theatre Company also presented the Ljubljana theatre audience with important original texts of the German playwrights Lessing and Goethe and German translations of Shakespeare's tragedies. It popularised the German language and culture by staging original musical works, German *singspiels*. The list of documented and presumably staged musical works that the Schikaneder Company performed in Ljubljana during the winter seasons 1779/80 and 1781/82 mostly contains Hiller's works. Given the composer's popularity in the German milieu at the time as well as the fact that the German language was also the official (state) language in the capital of the former Austrian province of Carniola, this is not so surprising. The Ljubljana audience also heard the musical work of the Austrian composer Ignaz Umlauff, which heralded a major new influx of the *Vienna singspiel* repertoire to the Ljubljana stage. From the end of the eighteenth century, Austrian theatre companies often performed musical works of Viennese composers in Ljubljana, with especially popular *singspiels*

by Wenzel Müller. Even Schikaneder himself, who revisited Ljubljana in the summer of 1801 as a guest of the Schantroch Company, appeared in Müller's comic opera *Das neue Sonntagskind*.⁴⁸ However, despite the growing number of Austrian theatre companies, Ljubljana still hosted their Italian counterparts and the popularity of Italian opera among Ljubljana's audiences remained undiminished.

Given the strengthening position of the German theatre as well as the growing importance of language as a signature of identity and a means of communication, it is no surprise that the Schikaneder Company also staged popular *opera buffa* by Paisiello (and probably also by Piccini) in Ljubljana as well as Gluck's early French *opéra comique* translated into German, the official language of the monarchy. The translation of Paisiello's opera *La frascatana* was the work of a local author who adapted the original and inserted into the German text the Slovenian translation of the known cavatina for Nardone. Still linguistically awkward and – compared to complete translations in languages of the so-called historical nations – a negligible eight-line insertion seems hardly noteworthy, but in light of the cultural development of the non-historical, 'small nation' it constitutes an important document. Until now, the only known preserved translation of an Italian opera was an eight-line cavatina translated into Slovene by Baron Sigmund Zois.⁴⁹

The lines translated into Slovene are an important document testifying to the first phase of the introduction of the national (provincial) language. Linhart was undoubtedly familiar with Paisiello's popular works as well as Beaumarchais's texts, which found audiences all across Europe. Based on these facts, it seems no coincidence that a few years later, under the influence of enlightenment ideas, Linhart produced the text for the first musical-theatrical work in Slovene, *Ta vesseli dan ali Matizshek se sheni* (1790), as a free adaptation of Beaumarchais's text, 'based on the French *La Folle Journée, ou le Mariage de Figaro* par M. De Beaumarschais'. The structure of

⁴⁸ This comic opera was staged on 30 July 1801; Schikaneder appeared in the role of a building superintendent (Hausmeister). The theatre flyer for the show is kept in the Slovenian National Museum.

⁴⁹ Stanko ŠKERLJ, *Italijansko gledališče v Ljubljani v preteklih stoletjih* [Italian theatre in Ljubljana in past centuries], Ljubljana: Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1973, pp. 442–444.

the text reveals that Linhart thought about musical contributions. We may say that the origin of this work and Novak's subsequent setting of the text to music under the title *Figaro* (following the example of Mozart's music) were the result of European cultural hybridity at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The latter marked the beginnings of original productions in the languages of 'small nations', based on free adaptations of established and popular models of 'great' cultures. The aforementioned case also shows that the understanding of the musical history of a certain geographical territory rests as crucially on musical life and works as on relations between music centres and peripheries, as well as on identifying the paths of transmitting repertoires, ideas and styles.

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*‘Quid agat musica in tarantis & in aliis morbis’ – Ideas on Music
Therapy in ‘Dissertatio VI’ (1695) by Giorgio Baglivi*

Among the 210 entries in the bibliography on Giorgio Baglivi published in Zagreb in 1997 as an appendix to the new bi-lingual (Latin-Croatian) edition of Baglivi’s work *De fibra motrice et morbosa*,¹ and encompassing a selection of articles and books published on Baglivi throughout Europe during the 280 years between 1717 and 1997, there is not a single article or book dealing exclusively with Baglivi and his musical observations. Although the author of this paper has previously made reference to this issue on several occasions,² the following will be the first detailed presentation – at least as far as I am aware – on this topic. As this paper has been conceived within the MusMig project dealing with musical migrations at large, I will divide the text into two parts. Firstly, let me briefly present the ‘outer’, biographical migratory elements in Baglivi’s life, and, secondly, the ‘inner’ aspects of this migration, that is, the content and the manner of the transfer of Baglivi’s ideas on music therapy.

¹ Gjuró BAGLIVI, *De fibra motrice et morbosa / O zdravom i bolesnom motoričkom vlaknu* [On the nature and disorders of motor fiber], ed. Mirko Dražen Grmek, Zagreb: Medicinski fakultet Sveučilišta, 1997, p. 434.

² Cf. Stanislav TUKSAR, ‘On Music Culture of Dalmatia between the Sixteenth and the Eighteenth Centuries’, in: *On Bunker’s Hill. Essays Offered in Honor of Bunker Clarke*, eds. William A. Everett, Paul Laird, Sterling Heights (MI): Harmonie Park Press, 2007 (Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music 50), p. 173; Stanislav TUKSAR, ‘Les écrivains musicaux et les théoriciens de la musique’, in: *Croatie. Le temps du Baroque et des Lumières. Trésors d’art et de la culture (XVIIe – XVIIIe siècle)*, eds. Ivan Golub, Ivan Supičić, Rennes – Zagreb: Presses Universitaires de Rennes – Školska knjiga, 2012, p. 634.

BIOGRAPHICAL MIGRATORY ELEMENTS³

Giorgio was born on September 8, 1668, in today's Croatian town of Dubrovnik, then the main city of the tiny independent Republic of Ragusa on the south-eastern shores of the Adriatic. His grandfather was a merchant originating from Nor Gyugh⁴ in Kotayk in eastern Armenia, who immigrated to Dubrovnik and was known as Gjuro Armen (Georgius Armenus, in Latin). There he married a local young woman Anica with whom he had three sons and a daughter. The youngest son Vlaho, bearing the Slavic name of the Dubrovnik patron St Blasius, married twice and in his second marriage with Anica Vuković (de Lupis) he had two sons, namely our protagonist who was called Gjuro (obviously named after his grandfather) in Croatian and Georgius in Latin, and the younger son Jakov (later known as Giacomo in Italian). Unfortunately, both the mother and the father died soon after the birth of the younger son, in 1670, probably of tuberculosis, and leaving practically no property. Thus the two children were taken and cared for by their uncle Jakov Armen, but he also died prematurely, in 1679. His maid Marija Dragišić cared for the boys until the Dubrovnik Jesuits took over the accommodation and schooling of both Gjuro and Jakov. Gjuro was especially cared for by the Italian-born Jesuit Ardelio Della Bella from Foggia, the author of one of the most important dictionaries of the Croatian language⁵ published in the Baroque period, and 'celebrated and beloved as a missionary and preacher along the Venetian coastline and in Dubrovnik'.⁶

The young Gjuro displayed an early talent for Latin and a vivid interest in Classical literature and archaeology, and stayed with the Jesuits in Dubrovnik at least until the age of 15 in 1683. According to Simeone Paolo Capitozzi,

³ In this occasion biographical details have been mostly taken from the study by Mirko Dražen GRMEK, 'Život, djela i značenje Gjure Baglivija' [Life, works and the importance of Gjuro Baglivi], in: BAGLIVI, *De fibra motrice*, pp. 359–378.

⁴ Also romanized as Nor Gyukh; formerly, Tazagyukh, a town in the Kotayk Province of Armenia. 'Nor Gyugh' can be translated into English as 'New Village'.

⁵ Ardelio DELLA BELLA, *Dizionario Italiano, Latino, Illirico*, 1st ed., Venezia 1728, 2nd ed., Dubrovnik 1785.

⁶ 'Slavljen i voljen kao misionar i propovjednik u mletačkom Primorju i Dubrovniku', see Mihovil KOMBOL, *Poviest hrvatske književnosti do preporoda* [The history of Croatian literature to the National Revival], Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1945, p. 336.

as stated in the Minutes of the Jesuit Collegium for 1682, Gjuro was sent through the intermediacy of the Jesuits to the Italian town of Lecce to be adopted there by the well-off local physician Pier Angelo Baglivi, who – having no children and heirs of his own – wanted that some talented poor young man inherit both his material property and share his professional interests in the science and skills of healing. After personally taking Gjuro, as well as his brother Jakov, from Dubrovnik to Lecce, Pier Angelo then sent Gjuro to study medicine in Naples. Enrolled under his original name of Georgius Armenus he studied there for four years, from 1684 until 1687, and was strongly influenced by Professor Luca Tozzi (1638–1717). Along with his studies, Gjuro frequently returned to Lecce and accompanied his future foster-father Pier Angelo during his treatment of patients, thus serving his apprenticeship in medical practice in parallel to his studies. In April of 1687, after finishing his studies, Gjuro (as well as his brother Jakov) was finally formally adopted by Pier Angelo and his wife Margarita d'Amato, and from that point on – at the age of 19 – he started to present himself as Giorgio Baglivi. During the same period his brother Jakov/Giacomo (1670–1712) pursued his studies in theology in Rome, became a priest, was elected member of the learned society *Accademia degli Arcadi*, and finally returned to Lecce in order to succeed as canon Oronzo Polidor Baglivi, Pier Angelo's brother and his ardent supporter.

Giorgio Baglivi did not obtain the title of doctor of medicine in Naples as he had completed only four out of seven prescribed years of studies. Since there is no trace of him after the earthquake that shattered Naples on 5 June 1688, his biographers presume that he had graduated at the School of Medicine in nearby Salerno, once famous for its studies in medicine throughout Europe.⁷ From the second half of 1688, Baglivi started to travel extensively: in 1688 to Lecce, Brindisi and Dubrovnik; in 1689 along the Dalmatian Coast to Venice, and then further on to the universities of Padua and Bologna, and later in the same year to Florence and Pisa. During 1690 and 1691 he stayed mostly in Padua, but again visited Bologna, Venice and Florence, and extended his

⁷ See GRMEK, 'Život, djela i značenje', p. 367, Grmek asserts that in Baglivi's letter to the Swiss physician Jean Jacquet Manget, dated 1 August 1693, he himself confirmed this biographical data.

travels to Pavia, Ferrara and Perugia. In that period he also spent some time in Dalmatia. All these visits and sojourns in various towns and universities – where he met, studied and worked temporarily with outstanding personalities of Italian medicine such as Antonio Marchetti (1640–1730), Domenico Marchetti (1626–1688), Lorenzo Bellini (1643–1704), Francesco Redi (1626–1697), Antonio Magliabecchi (1633–1714), Alessandro Pascoli (1669–1757), and some others – contributed to Baglivi’s research and widened his horizons in human anatomy and physiology, the two contemporary fields in which serious clashes of opinion were occurring, resulting from the conflict between ‘praxis based on clinical experience, and pathophysiological theories founded on anatomical observations and experiments on animals’.⁸ It seems that regarding these issues the University of Padua was especially attractive to Baglivi, because of its reputation as the ‘focus of Galilei’s new science’, and where he was allowed to lead experiments on living animals, as well as exercise dissections of dead animals (from turtles to deer) and of cadavers of people who died in Paduan hospitals.⁹ In 1691 he continued with similar activities at the University of Bologna under Professor Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694), one of the greatest experimentators of his age.¹⁰ Of special interest is Baglivi’s account of his practical use of a method of healing wounds by means of cold water, which he learned from Dalmatian sailors during his sojourn on the island of Lastovo in 1688. His treatise in Italian on this method, entitled *Sopra l’utile, e raro metodo di medicare le ferite coll’acqua fredda*, was published posthumously in 1735 in Perugia.

After these four years of apprenticeship in various medical theories and practices, Baglivi suddenly moved to Rome in April of 1692 on the invitation of his Bologna mentor Malpighi – who in the meantime had become Pope Innocent XII’s personal physician – to become his secretary concerning both medical practice and research. In the years to come Baglivi continued his experimental works with animals, extended his medical practice with human patients and developed correspondence with outstanding physicians throughout Europe. Apart from Malpighi, he mostly collaborated with the

⁸ ‘Praksu osnovanu na kliničkom iskustvu i patofiziološke teorije osnovane na anatomskim opažanjima i pokusima na životinjama’, see GRMEK, ‘Život, djela i značenje’, p. 367.

⁹ *IBID.*, p. 368.

¹⁰ *IBID.*, p. 372.

professor of botanics Giovanni Battista Trionfetti (1656–1708) and the anatomist Antonio Pacchioni (1665–1726), both outstanding scientists. The circle of his scientific addressees soon expanded: he started to correspond with the Scottish physician Archibald Pitcairne (1652–1713), the famous French physician and anatomist Guichard Joseph Duverney (1648–1730), the French philosopher Pierre Régis (1632–1707) and especially with the Swiss physician, bibliographer and editor of medical works Jean Jacquet Manget (Johann Jacob Mangetus; 1652–1742). However, all Baglivi's contacts did not seem to be so rosy: for example, in his work *Physiologia medica*¹¹ one of the most outstanding German physicians of his age, Johann Gottfried von Berger (1659–1736), made an unauthorized presentation of some of Baglivi's original concepts after taking Baglivi's unpublished manuscript on the fundamentals of chirurgy with him from Rome.

The following four years brought into Baglivi's life even more unexpected experiences. The contacts of his protector Malpighi with the Polish court of the King Jan III Sobieski (1629–1696) resulted in Queen Maria Kazimiera's invitation to Baglivi in 1693 to assume the position of archiatrist (i.e. the first physician) at the Court in Warsaw, which Baglivi politely rejected. In November of 1694 Malpighi suddenly died and – according to his explicit wish – Baglivi performed a dissection of his master's body, publishing a report on his findings later in 1696. The next year 1695 was especially significant for Baglivi: Pope Innocent XII named him his personal secondary physician, while the main position, after Malpighi's death, was occupied by Baglivi's former teacher in Naples Luca Tozzi; further on, at the end of the year Baglivi was appointed new professor of anatomy – at the age of 27! – at La Sapienza University as the youngest among 12 candidates, and not without help of the Pope's letter of recommendation. In order to justify his appointment Baglivi published his first work in 1696 – *De praxi medica*, outlining there his 'programmatic declaration on the necessity of a return to Hippocratic principles of direct observation of patients and the definition of tasks for the 'new medicine''.¹² In short, 'Baglivi's book on medical practice is a critical observation on the shortcomings of

¹¹ Published in 1702 in Wittenberg.

¹² 'Programska je deklaracija o nužnosti povratka na hipokratske principe neposrednog promatranja bolesnika i pokušaj definicije zadataka 'nove medicine', see GRMEK, 'Život, djela i značenje', p. 378.

clinical medicine of that time and a lucid programme of the methodology which would be realized only by the masters of medical art in the nineteenth century. This work does not contain any epoch-making medical discovery, but played a decisive role in the history of medicine'.¹³

The years to come are described by Baglivi's biographers as 'brilliant part of his life path'.¹⁴ When he turned 32 in 1700, he saw published another two editions of his book *De praxi medica*, and was elected member of some of the most prestigious European learned societies: the English *Royal Society* (in 1698), the German *Accademia Caesareo-Leopoldina Naturae Curiosorum* (in 1699) and the Italian *Accademia dei Fisiocratici* (in 1700). He further expanded contacts and correspondence with outstanding scientists in fields other than medicine (archaeologists, astronomers, and numismatists) and *literati* outside of Rome and Italy – in Paris, Montpellier, Amsterdam, Augsburg, London, Geneva, and so on. However, his overall scientific success, together with his brilliance as an orator, teacher and educator, provoked rumours that in his book he might have plagiarized an unknown manuscript of his late patron Malpighi, accusations which turned to be false, a result of the envy of his less talented rivals. On the other hand, he was admired by many others, who described, for example, his lectures as well-prepared theatre performances, elegant and serious ('as if it were Cicero talking about medicine'), with great sense for details, often accompanied by original experiments on animals.¹⁵ He even became a kind of Roman celebrity: for example, the Ottoman Sultan's physician Israele Conigliani stated that with Baglivi's work *De praxi medica* '... the number of works in my library doubled, formerly consisting of one book, that of Hippocrates, it now consists of two, Hippocrates and Baglivi'.¹⁶

¹³ 'Baglivijeva knjiga o liječničkoj praksi kritički je osvrt na nedostatke kliničke medicine onog vremena i lucidni program metodike koju će ostvariti tek majstori liječničkog umijeća u XIX. stoljeću. To djelo ne sadržava nijedno epohalno medicinsko otkriće, ali je ono ipak odigralo odlučnu ulogu u povijesti medicine (...)' *IBID.*, p. 380.

¹⁴ Cf. the subtitle in Grmek's biography: 'Blistavi dio životnoga puta'; p. 382.

¹⁵ See GRMEK, 'Život, djela i značenje', p. 383.

¹⁶ '... sua immortale opera *de Praxi Medica*: con la quale si è radoppiato il numero d'libri nella mia biblioteca, la quale sin ora era composta d'un libro solo, cioè d'Ippocrate, adesso ne avera due cioè Ippocrate, & il Baglivi'. Israele Conigliani (*Medicus Constantinopolitanus, & in aula Magni Turcarum Imperatris*); in: Giorgio BAGLIVI, *Opera omnia medico-practica, et anatomica*, 9th ed., Antwerpen 1715, p. 731.

Along with his theoretical and teaching work Baglivi was also active as practitioner by healing a number of patients and giving advice to colleagues Europe-wide, often to the detriment of his experimental and writing activities. However, at the very beginning of the eighteenth century his career approached its culmination. The new Pope, Clement XI, kept him as his personal secondary physician and in 1701 Baglivi was appointed professor of theoretical medicine at La Sapienza University. Following the previous model of behaviour, he published his second crucial work in 1702, *Specimen ... De fibra motrice and morbosa* (A Specimen ... on Healthy and Sick Fiber), again as a kind of justification for his second appointment at the University.

At the age of 36 Baglivi witnessed the publication of the first edition of his collected works – *Opera omnia medico-practica*.¹⁷ However, only its next edition, published posthumously in 1710, contains practically all his writings, the first one being only a wide selection of them. Baglivi's life came to an end quite abruptly, but not fully unexpectedly. Already in the authentic portraits of him at the age of 34 and 35 his face seems to manifest traces of some bodily misfunctions. Today it is stated that he suffered from periodical digestive disorders and severe headaches, caused very probably by a disorderly and intensive professional life, having no regular family or meaningful privacy as a kind of corrective counterbalance. He died in Rome on 14 June 1707, in his 39th year of life, after long and very painful digestion troubles. The diagnosis immediately prior to death was 'tympanitis', i.e. *peritonitis* (the inflammation of peritoneum), which caused the final stage of *ascites* (the pathological swelling of the abdomen). This remarkable man was buried in the Roman church of San Marcello al Corso.

IDEAS ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MUSIC
AND THE HUMAN CONDITION

Baglivi's ideas on the relationship between music and the condition of the human body and spirit cannot be understood without substantial insight into and an understanding of his general medical and philosophical attitudes

¹⁷ *Opera omnia*, Roma: Bernabò, 1704, p. 205.

on the whole complex of the human condition and life at large. In this, I will firstly introduce Baglivi's music-medical perspectives as such and only later situate them in a medico-philosophical context.

The essence of Baglivi's concepts on the impact of music on the human condition is given in the thirteenth chapter of his sixth 'dissertation'. However, it is preceded by a series of smaller texts in chapters 9–12, consisting of both general statements and case studies on persons who became sick after suffering the toxic bite of the tarantula spider. These case studies are descriptions of circumstances which lead to the bite and the medical symptoms which followed these bites, all originating from the province of Apulia (Puglia), and specifically the region of Taranto. Individuals – younger and older people of both sexes, peasants as well as city dwellers – came into contact with the tarantula spider during domestic work in their homes, sleeping in an open field or even eating fruit previously poisoned by the spider. The symptoms which followed the toxic bite seemed to be the same: the loss of bodily strength and the stiffening of the poisoned person into a state of total immobility, difficulties in breathing, accelerating palpitations and contractions of heart, even convulsions of the tongue leading to temporary muteness, insomnia, unquenchable thirst but without hunger, and so on. Interestingly enough, only some physical states were accompanied by pain in different parts of the body, and others not. Another point of interest is that exactly 254 years later, in 1949, the Croatian physician Dr Zvonimir Maretić published an article¹⁸ in which he described five cases of sick people from the province of Istria whose diagnosis was 'Morsus Tarentulae', that is, complex pathological states caused by the spider's toxic bite. The symptoms described there were pains and stiffening in different parts of the body, nausea, sweating, and so on – in short very similar to those described in Apulian patients two and a half centuries earlier. The patients were again of both sexes, aged 9 to 44, including even a 44-year old German prisoner of war. The only two great differences between these groups of patients are, firstly, that two of the Apulian patients died whereas those from Istria did not, and secondly, that

¹⁸ Cf. Zvonimir MARETIĆ, 'Toksičnost ugriza pauka *Tarentula apuliae*' [Toxicity of *Tarentula apuliae* spider bites], *Liječnički vjesnik* 71 (1949), pp. 163–166.

Istrian patients were healed by medicaments and not by music and dance, which was the case with the surviving Apulians, which brings us back to the main topic of this article.

After describing the symptoms, Baglivi continued in his case studies to describe the treatment of patients with music and dance. Interestingly enough, he mentioned that the character of music pieces played was picked up according to various kinds of tarantula spiders which caused each of the specific cases. It is even further specified that not only did individual patients demand specific melodies to be played, but that in music-making specific instruments were used in various combinations, such as a shepherd's pipe, tabor, cittern, lyre (viol), dulcimer and some other unspecified string and wind instruments (in the Latin original: '... alii scilicet fistula pastorali, alii tympano parvo, cythara, lyra, cymbalo, fidibus, & tibicinibus varii generis'¹⁹). Also, if necessary, players tried to play several different pieces until the right one was found which would incite the patient to first breath intensively, and then start to dance violently. However, it was clear to Baglivi that every single patient demanded a very quick tempo of performance of the series of melodies, generally named as *tarantella*. If the patient danced slowly to a quick tempo, the players would immediately unmask her/him as a fraud who only pretended to be a sick person. Such music-making and accompanied dance – starting usually with the sunrise – would last for approximately three hours, then after a short break for the next twelve hours, with a one-hour break about noon for lunch. Breaks caused by instruments which went out of tune would result in an overall crisis of the patient, manifested in heart contractions, convulsions and amazing sighs. During the evening and the night the patient would eat a light meal and then sleep until dawn next day, when the whole procedure would restart, lasting for four and sometimes even six days. After such a treatment, many patients would feel completely relieved of all symptoms, and would walk away recovered, living comfortably for one year. Then they could expect a return of symptoms and the same type of music-making and dancing had to be repeated in order to heal them again. If it did not happen, the patient would suffer for another year with general

¹⁹ Georgius BAGLIVUS, *Opera omnia medico-practica, et anatomica*, Lyon: Anisson & Joannis Posuel, 1704, Dissertatio VI, Caput X, p. 564.

exhaustion, his symptoms would become worse and worse, until finally – in the years to come – he would get *cachexia* (a kind of wasting disease with muscle atrophy) and *hydrops* (abnormal collecting of liquids in fibres), along with some other incurable diseases.

The very event of music-making and dancing seemed to be a kind of spectacle for the eye-witnesses who were present – a kind of real choreo-musical exorcist ritual.²⁰ Baglivi mentioned a series of peculiarities performed by patients who ‘almost completely lose the capacity for the correct use of the inner and outer senses’.²¹ Many of them amused themselves with vine leaves or reed, waving with them around their heads or soaking them in water. They usually prefer to be dressed in red or blue clothes, while detesting black clothes and attacking people dressed in that way. Some preferred to exercise with swords, others dug out holes in the ground, filled them with water and then wallowed there like pigs, and again others take mirrors sighing vehemently while seeing their faces in them. Many of them ‘delighted in various instincts, incited by the damaged ability of their imagination’,²² which probably meant the negligence or rejection of various types of behaviouristic inhibitions.

Baglivi expanded his research on this topic by examining the spider itself and the behaviour of other animals under the influence of its poison. Supporting his belief with ancient (Epiphanius²³), recent (Kircher²⁴) and contemporary (Borelli²⁵) authorities, he advocated the idea that the tarantula moves according to the complex influence of its own movable nature, summer heat and the air pressure caused by music sounds, resembling the

²⁰ For live performance see, for example; www.atlasobscura.com/articles/the-tarantula-possessed-women-who-could-only-be-cured-by-dance (an article by Angelica Calabrese, October 26, 2015), in which an insert from the movie *Meloterapia del Tarantismo di D. Carpitella* (1960) is included, consisting of two performances, one authentic and the other performed as a play (access: 28 July 2016).

²¹ ‘... internorum externorumque sensuum rectum usum ferè amittunt’. *IBID.*, Caput IX, p. 563.

²² ‘... ac delectantur saltationis tempore juxtà varios impulsus, quos laesa imaginatio intus excitaverit’. *IBID.*, p. 564.

²³ EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS (310/320–403), Bishop of Cyprus, and his *Panarion*, compiled in years 374–377.

²⁴ Athanasius KIRCHER (1602–1680), *Magnes sive de arte magnetica opus tripartitum*, Cologne: Jodocus Kalcoven, 1643.

²⁵ Alfonso BORELLI (1608–1679), *De vi percussiois*, Bologna: Giacompo Monti, 1667.

movements of dance.²⁶ He himself even experimented with a tarantula's severed leg, which moved and jumped by itself for almost two hours during his observation. Baglivi performed another experiment during his studies in Naples, when he put an irritated tarantula on the head of a rabbit, and after the crisis caused by its bite he exposed the rabbit to the music-making of a cithar player. It provoked no action in the poor animal which died after a five-day coma. However, the reaction to be seen in wasps and roosters when poisoned by the tarantula's bite spoke for the transmission of the inclination towards movements similar to the behaviour of tarantula itself. As a general conclusion, Baglivi considered that the amount of heat produced by the hot sun was decisive in producing the level of frenzy necessary for healing the tarantula's bite with music and dance.

And what are today's contemporary views towards the phenomena described above by Baglivi, especially in judging the possibility of healing tarantism with the help of music and dance? From popular to medical and other scholarly attitudes they seem to oscillate between disagreement, balanced criticism and general acceptance. The topic itself found its place even in popular manuals such as, for example, the broadly used travel guide on Italy, issued in the Eyewitness series,²⁷ which states in its entry on Taranto, in a special small text on Tarantella, that this '... lively and graceful folk dance ... grew out of tarantism – the hysteria that appeared in fifteenth- to seventeenth-century Italy'. This centuries-long tradition by common people in the province of Apulia is still very much alive in the local celebration of Saints Peter and Paul in Galatina, nowadays mostly in cultivated and even modernized shows which can be easily accessed through YouTube.²⁸

The expert scholarly output concerning today's views on tarantism (including Baglivi's contribution to this topic) is mostly to be found in surveys of the history of medicine, while the contextualisation of Baglivi's ideas in his time is mostly elaborated within texts on the history of science in general and in cultural studies at large. Let us mention only a modest selection

²⁶ As an illustration see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V4c2mQgTUX8> (access: 28 July 2016).

²⁷ Cf. *Italy*, London–New York–Stuttgart–Moscow: Dorling Kindersley, 1996, p. 495.

²⁸ Cf. especially: Ernesto DE MARTINO, *La terra del rimorso*, 1959, 2nd ed., Milan: Net Editore, 2002.

of such views. For example, the Italian scholars W. Baroni and P. Ascanelli seem to be sceptical, especially regarding the dancing aspect of the whole issue. For them, the tarantella-type of ‘ballomania’ was just a two centuries (16th–17th) long manifestation of collective hysteria, having its predecessors in the Medieval world imbued all around Europe with superstitions, fears, fanaticism and ecstatic frenzy, more specifically in the German ‘chorea Sancti Viti’.²⁹ The other duo of Italian authors, G. Selmi and E. Giovanardi, shares another opinion, stating in their final conclusion that Baglivi was among the most authoritative precursors of the modern understanding of tarantism, not only regarding his pathogenetic interpretation and outline of the symptoms of the illness, but also in his proposed therapy.³⁰

The more balanced attitude can be seen in Mirko Dražen Grmek’s account of today’s medical views:

Newer research had shown that the bite of the tarantula spider is not poisonous at all, so that some historians of medicine concluded that the syndrome described by Baglivi is not of toxic nature, but the result of heat-

²⁹ Cf. W. BARONI – P. ASCANELLI, ‘Tarantismo e manifestazioni discinetiche’, in: *Atti del XXIV Congresso Nazionale di Storia della Medicina (Taranto–Bari, 1969)*, Rome: Società italiana di storia della medicina, 1971, pp. 482–483: ‘... e che la ballomania altro non fosse che una delle tante manifestazioni di isterismo collettivo proprie del tempo, così come la “chorea Sancti Viti” che Jean Schenck ritenne manifestazione endemica soprattutto in Germania (“chorea Germanorum isterica”). Partorita dalla superstizione e alimentata dal fanatismo fu uno dei terrori del medio evo. Quando, sulla metà del XIV sec. La peste nera invase l’Europa, le popolazioni, decimate dal flagello ferale, infarcite come erano di superstizione, ricorsero alle più strane pratiche di devozione che ben presto degenerarono in sfrenato fanatismo. Scoppiò una specie di frenesia estatica che sotto il nome di “ballo di San Vito”, dal martire siciliano ritenuto dai tedeschi capace di liberarli dal male, affisse larga parte d’Europa’.

³⁰ Cf. Giacomo SELMI – E. GIOVANARDI, ‘Gli studi del Baglivi e le moderne conoscenze sul tarantolismo’, in: *Atti del XXIV Congresso Nazionale di Storia della Medicina (Taranto–Bari, 1969)*, Rome: Società italiana di storia della medicina, 1971, p. 177: ‘Nonostante ciò concludiamo questa nostra breve nota, ritenendo di poter riconoscere nel Baglivi uno dei più autoritari precursori delle moderne conoscenze sul tarantolismo non solo per ciò che riguarda la interpretazione patogenetica e la sintomatologia della malattia ma anche in parte, per ciò che concerne la stessa terapia’.

stroke or, more probably, a hysterical reaction. As a mass phenomenon the said discomfort is undoubtedly of hysterical nature, but the primary cause could nevertheless be a spider's bite. The popular false belief is that people attribute this bite to the proportionally more frequent types of tarantula species instead of to the considerably infrequently encountered species of *Latrodectus tredecimguttatus*. Baglivi affirms symptoms which really mostly correspond with latrodectism accompanied by secondary hysterical manifestations. Araneism (i.e. arachnidism) is culturally and historically an extremely interesting disease, since it was cured in folk medicine with the help of music. (...) But it should be borne in mind that the remedy is not listening to music but continuous dancing accompanied by instrumental sounds.³¹

In this way we have come closer to the core of this problem by identifying the connection between objective facts and processes on the one hand, and subjective conditions and curing procedures used on the other. Thus it can be stated that the poison injected only by a certain species of tarantula spider (*Latrodectus tredecimguttatus*, Figure 1) does really cause serious objective physiological changes and pathological states in a poisoned living being, particularly in humans, but that the treatment of such human beings remains clear only in its outer manifestations and still remains a sort of mystery in its mechanism. And it is precisely in the medico-technical or mechanical explanation of the secret of this mechanism where the most interesting part of Baglivi's discourse on this topic lies.

³¹ 'Novija su istraživanja pokazala da ujed pauka Tarentula uopće nije otrovan, pa su stoga neki povjesničari medicine zaključili da sindrom koji je opisao Baglivi nije toksičke prirode nego je rezultat toplinskog udara ili još vjerojatnije histerička reakcija. Kao masovna pojava navedene su tegobe nedvoumno histeričke prirode, ali bi osnovni uzrok ipak mogao biti ugriz pauka. Pučka je zabluda pripisivanje tog ugriza razmjerno čestim primjercima roda Tarentula umjesto znatno rjeđoj vrsti *Latrodectus tredecimguttatus*. Baglivi navodi simptome koji doista uglavnom odgovaraju latrodectizmu sa sekundarnim histeričkim manifestacijama. Araneizam je kulturno-historijski napose zanimljiva bolest, jer se u narodnoj medicini liječila s pomoću muzike. (...) No treba imati na umu da lijek nije slušanje muzike nego neprekidno plesanje uz zvukove instrumenata'. GRMEK, 'Život, djela i značenje', pp. 380–381.



Figure 1. *Latrodectus tredecimguttatus*.

Baglivi proclaimed movement and matter to be central categories of all living creatures, following the intellectual trend promoted by Galilei, Descartes and Bacon, that is, the mechanistic and materialist view of life, resulting in post-Renaissance positivism and ‘scientification’, where ‘science became the dominant world view, seeking to measure and control nature’.³² He belonged to the school of iatromechanics, or, the medical application of physics. Some historians of medicine, such as Glauco De Bertolis and Carlo Agostoni, even think that Baglivi – open-minded and critical at the same time, as he was – skilfully used popular beliefs and practices in order to promote the already existing ideas of his time as his own.³³

³² Cf. Mercedes PAVLICEVIC, *Music Therapy in Context. Music Meaning and Relationship*, London – Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1997, pp. 49–50.

³³ ‘Per un iatromeccanico convinto, se pur libero da preconcetti nella pratica, quale era il Baglivi, che cosa più e meglio del movimento della danza provocato dalla musica, la quale era già di per se stessa fonte movimento, sarebbe stato in grado di guarire il “mal della tarantola”? Tanto più quanto a sostenere questa idea vi era tutta una saldisima tradizione popolare ed una unanime opinione corrente. Non ci deve pertanto meravigliare che pure il Baglivi, uomo dotato di ampia apertura mentale e di senso

Be that as it may, Baglivi's crucial idea – bearing deeper philosophical and scientific implications – seemed to be that the basic structural element of all living organisms is fibre, consisting of atoms, having both passive mechanical properties and a certain *vis innata*. Consequently, each 'organism is a characteristic watch, a *horologium oscillatorium*, which is permanently guided by the soul'.³⁴ In further developing these theoretical concepts, in our particular case, Baglivi asserted that movements produced by string or wind instruments are waves of air (a fact known already since Antiquity), which are transmitted with the help of the ear, an organ physically close to brain (the seat of the soul), and by its commands, into the blood of the poisoned person. By streaming through blood and other bodily liquids, and also affecting the solid parts of our body (i.e. fibres), these swift movements gradually separate and resuscitate the coagulated blood of the poisoned individual. The effects of the process of this separation are supported and strengthened by the long-term intensification of musical beats and vibrations, and the accompanied dance and other bodily movements, until the liquids regain their primary fluidity. As a final consequence, the sick person moves his/her extremities, stands up, starts to sigh and is eventually completely revived, throwing out all the traces of poison by perspiration, regaining their correct tonus and the equilibrium between various liquid and solid parts in his/her entire body. Baglivi stated that these effects and the subsequent complete recovery could not be achieved by ordinary medicaments for perspiration which were available during his time, since they lost their effectiveness before even entering the blood, and also were not able to effect solid parts of human body. So, nothing can be compared to music because its sound produces momentary explosions and stormy agitation in both the liquid and solid parts of the body.³⁵ Considered within the history of ideas, with such statements

critico notevole, abbia fatto suoi i concetti del suo tempo piegandoli all'interpretazione dei fenomeni che osservava, in modo da dare a questi una plausibile spiegazione'. Glauco DE BERTOLIS – Carlo AGOSTONI, 'Il tarantolismo nell'opera di Giorgio Baglivi', *Minerva medica* 58 (1967), p. 2632.

³⁴ GRMEK, 'Život, djela i značenje', pp. 389.

³⁵ Although it seems today to be a somewhat naive mechanistic and simplified explanation of music therapy procedures, its empirical value in curing tarantism cannot be denied up to modern times. To this one can add the newest experiments and their results (notably in Japan and Germany) concerning the influence of air waves – produced by

Baglivi could be positioned somewhere between the eccentric German Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher – ‘the most representative iatromusician of his time’³⁶ – and the famous English physician Richard Mead (1673–1754), who wrote on tarantism³⁷ obviously inspired by Baglivi and Robert Boyle. However, this highly interesting historiographical aspect, so well generally announced and brilliantly elaborated in many details by Jacques Marx for the Age of Enlightenment,³⁸ needs further and more thorough investigation with

various types and genres of music – on animals, plants and even on non-living matter such as water and the ways of its crystallization.

³⁶ ‘Athanasie Kircher (1602–1680), l’iatromusicien le plus représentatif de son époque’. Jacques MARX, ‘Du mythe à la médecine expérimentale: le tarantisme au XVIIIe siècle’, in: *Etudes sur le XVIIIe siècle*, eds. Roland Morthier, Hervé Hasquin, Bruxelles: Editions de l’Université, 1975, p. 157.

³⁷ Cf. Richard MEAD, *The Mechanical Account of Poisons*, 1702, pp. 133–151. Cited according to MARX, ‘Du mythe à la médecine expérimentale’, p. 161.

³⁸ For the bibliographical reference see footnote 37 and selected bibliography below: BARONI – ASCANELLI, ‘Tarantismo e manifestazioni discinetiche’, pp. 479–484; Biserka BELICZA, ‘Gjuro Armeno Baglivi’, in: *Znanost u Hrvata: prirodoslovlje i njegova primjena* [Centuries of natural science in Croatia: Theory and application], ed. Greta Pitaf Mrzljak, vol. 1, Zagreb: MGC, 1996, pp. 429–431; EAD., ‘Gjuro Armeno Baglivi – promišljanja i stavovi o znanstvenim spoznajama, metodama istraživanja i medicinskoj praksi u djelu De praxi medica iz godine 1696’ [Gjuro Armeno Baglivi – considerations and attitudes on scientific cognition, research methods and medical practice in “De praxi medica” from 1696], *Medicus* 6/1 (1997), pp. 125–133; Nicola CAPUTI, *De Tarantulae Anatome et Morsu*, 1741; Žarko DADIĆ, *Hrvati i egzaktne znanosti u osvitu novovjekovlja* [Croats and exact sciences at the beginning of the New Century], Zagreb: Naprijed, 1994, pp. 245–246; Glauco DE BERTOLIS – Carlo AGOSTONI, ‘Il tarantolismo nell’opera di Giorgio Baglivi’, pp. 2620–2633; *Handbuch der Musikpsychologie*, ed. Helga DE LA MOTTE-HABER, 2nd ed. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1996; Ernesto DE MARTINO, *La terna del rimorso*, [1959], 2nd ed., Milan: Net Editore, 2002; Vladimir DUGAČKI, ‘Đuro Baglivi’, in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [Croatian biographical lexicon], vol. 1, Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1983, pp. 342–344; Mirko Dražen GRMEK, *Prva biološka revolucija. Razmišljanja o fiziologiji i medicini 17. stoljeća* [The first biological revolution. Thoughts on physiology and medicine of the 17th century], Zagreb: Globus, 1996; ID., ‘Život, djela i značenje Gjüre Baglivića’, pp. 359–378; Wilhelm KATNER, *Das Rätsel des Tarentismus. Die Aetiologie der italienischen Tanzkrankheit*, Leipzig: Barth, 1956, pp. 115 (Nova Acta Leopoldina 124); Pietro LICHTENTHAL, *Trattato dell’influenza della musica sul corpo umano*, Milano: Giuseppe Maspero, 1811; Zvonimir MARETIĆ, ‘Toksičnost ugriza pauka Tarentula apuliae’ [Toxicity of tarantula apuliae spider bites], *Liječnički vjesnik* 71 (1949), pp. 163–166; ID., *Araneizam* [Araneism], Zagreb: Medicinski fakultet, 1958; Zvonimir MARETIĆ – Drago LEBEZ, ‘Lycosa tarentula in fact and fiction’, *Bulletin du Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle* 41 (1969–1970), suppl. 1, pp. 260–266; Jacques MARX, ‘Du mythe à la médecine expérimentale: le tarantisme au

regard to Baglivi's ideological roots and his subsequent followers, but that lies outside the frame of this article.

In order to close the migration circle in the case of Baglivi – migration of 'people, works, styles, paths of dissemination and influence' being the initial idea of the conference for which this text was prepared, we would like to point out that Baglivi himself migrated as a person from his native Ragusan state to various Italian political entities (Venice, the Papal States, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), and that his world of ideas was formed within the seventeenth-century 'Repubblica delle Lettere', that ideal inter- and supranational community of men of letters. In the field of musical therapy, and its special case of tarantism, Baglivi undertook a particular and very personal migration of ideas taken from various bookish sources to their verification in such diverse environments as Naples, Apulia, Dubrovnik and Dalmatia. Thus one musico-medical theory created in an abstract intellectual centre turned towards peripheral practices, closing the imaginary circle consisting of periphery – centre – periphery, both in its genesis and in the destiny of its creator.

XVIIIe siècle', in: *Etudes sur le XVIIIe siècle*, eds. Roland Morthier, Hervé Hasquin, Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université, 1975, pp. 153–165; *Program proslave 300-godišnjice rođenja Gjuro Baglivija* [Program of the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Gjuro Baglivi], [ed. s.n.], Zagreb: Sekcija za povijest medicine, 1968; Ladislao MÜNSTER, 'Giorgio Baglivi, mancato archiatra della regina di Polonia', *Rivista di Storia della Medicina* 1 (1957), pp. 182–194; Mercedes PAVLICEVIC, *Music Therapy in Context. Music Meaning and Relationship*, London–Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1997; Erich SCHWANDT, 'Tarantella', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 25, 2nd ed., London etc.: Macmillan Publishers, 2002, pp. 96–97; Nikola SELAK, 'Život i djela Gjura (Armena) Baglivia, Dubrovčanina, profesora anatomije i teoretične medicine na rimskom arhiličiju "Sapienza": 1668 –1707' [Life and work of Gjuro (Armen) Baglivi from Dubrovnik, professor of anatomy and theoretical medicine at Sapienza University of Rome: 1668–1707] Zagreb: Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 107 (1891), pp. 1–80; Giacomo SELMI – Ernesto GIOVANARDI, 'Gli studi del Baglivi e le moderne conoscenze sul tarantolismo', in: *Atti del XXIV Congresso Nazionale di Storia della Medicina (Taranto–Bari, 1969)*, Rome: Società italiana di storia della medicina, 1971, pp. 173–177; Angelo TURCHINI, *Morso, morbo, morte. La tarantola fra cultura medica e terapia popolare*, Milano: Angeli, 1987, p. 284.

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Stratico and Tartini – Student and Master.

*Giuseppe Michele Stratico's Music System in Comparison
with Tartini's Music Theory**

This article takes into consideration the relationship of the two violinists, composers and music theorists, one as teacher and another as pupil – Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770) and Giuseppe Michele Stratico (1728–1783). It is assumed that Stratico studied violin and composition with Giuseppe Tartini whose *Scuola delle nazioni* (established in 1727 or 1728) was well known and attracted musicians from all over Europe to come to Padua. Besides Stratico's reference to Tartini as his teacher in his work *Lo spirito Tartiniano*,¹ their relationship as student and master was described in the text by Giordano Riccati (1709–1790) *Memorie sul violinista G. Tartini (Stratico Michiele allievo a Tartini in violino e composizione)*,² and in the memoirs by Antonio Bonaventura Sberti (1732–1814) as 'Sig. Michele Stratico, insigne alunno del gran Tartini'.³ Recent research by Guido Viverit has revealed

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¹ Giuseppe Michele STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. It. Cl. IV, 343e (=5348), fols. 171r–191r.

² Giordano RICCATI, 'Memorie sul violinista G. Tartini (1774)', *Il Santo* 9 (1969), p. 408. Information on the possible falsification of Riccati's text is given in Stanislav TUKSAR, 'Giuseppe Tartini i Josip Mihovil Stratico' [Giuseppe Tartini and Giuseppe Michele Stratico], *Muzikološki zbornik* 28 (1992), p. 60. The note at the beginning of the article in the journal *Il Santo* explains that a reprint of the text was made according to the typewrite copy of the original text in the property of the violinist Letizia Caico. The original Riccati text written in 1774 was supposedly published in 1776 by Pellegrino Zarni di Bassano Veneto, but none of the only 20 copies have been traced.

³ Antonio Bonaventura SBERTI, *Memorie intorno l'abate An^{to} Bonaventura Dr Sberti Padovano scrite da lui medesimo in 9bre 1814*, Padova, Biblioteca Civica, sign. B. P. 1749/V.

another interesting document.⁴ A letter by Tartini sent to Count Francesco Algarotti (1712–1764),⁵ who at the time was in the service of Frederic II King of Prussia,⁶ confirms the relationship of Tartini and Stratico as that of teacher and pupil, and gives interesting information on mid eighteenth-century musical practice:⁷

Ma nemen questo è obietto, perché qui in Padova vi è un Giovane diletante mio scolare (si chiama Michiele Straticò, et è persona civile assai) che in mia mancanza potrebbe esser scielto Maestro del Giovane destinato. È cert[issi]mo, che se ben nato tale, non direbbe di nò ad un tal Monarca; et è cert[issi]mo, che nel suonare e comporre è famoso, e distinto fra tutti li miei scolari, perchè possiede l'anima intiera della mia scuola.⁸

The importance of this letter not only confirms that Stratico was Tartini's pupil, but it also informs us of Tartini's very positive attitude towards him and towards both his playing and composing skills. This also results in more questions, such as what was the result of Tartini's proposition, what was the reason that such a skilful player and composer was 'lost', whether theoretical disagreements and differences really caused their separation, and so on.

⁴ Guido VIVERIT, *Problemi di attribuzione conflittuale nella musica strumentale veneta del Settecento*, PhD diss., Univeristà di Padova, 2015.

⁵ A Venetian polymath, philosopher, poet, art critic, art collector.

⁶ Friedrich II, King of Prussia from 1740 until 1786.

⁷ Among Algarotti's writings and letters we can find that he admired Tartini very much and that Tartini used his contacts to advocate for his pupils. For example in 1749 he recommended his pupil Pasquale Bini, as his best student: 'Tartini me mande, Sire, que son meilleur écolier, Pasquale Bini, a été obligé de quitter le service qu'il avait à Rome, et qu'il en cherche ailleurs. Il a la confiance de s'adresser à moi pour que je tâche de placer un homme auquel il s'intéresse comme à un de ses meilleurs ouvrages. L'orchestre de V. M. est trop bien pourvu pour qu'il puisse aspirer à son service. J'ai cru pourtant, Sire, qu'il était du devoir d'un serviteur de V. M. de ne pas recommander ailleurs un tel homme, si recommandable par la supériorité de son talent, avant que V. M. sût qu'elle était la maîtresse d'en disposer.' Letter by Francesco Algarotti to Frédéric le Grand, Berlin, 15 September 1749, <http://friedrich.uni-trier.de/de/oeuvres/18/75/text/> (access: 26 April 2016).

⁸ Tartini's letter to Francesco Algarotti, 7 June 1750. The letter is kept in Rovigo in the Accademia dei Concordi, sign. Concordiano 369/24.1; published complete in VIVERIT, *Problemi di attribuzione*, p. 56.

Padua at the time was an environment suitable for learned discussions on many topics (within the University and outside of it), and among these music occupied an important place – on the one hand in a physical-mathematical sense (as science), and on the other in a philosophical-moral sense (the function of music). Discussions were often accompanied by musical performances.⁹ In such a cultural and intellectual environment was Tartini's famous school formed, widely known for its violin technique, but as pointed out by Margherita Canale, was also considered a school that educated 'a complete and conscious musician'.¹⁰ The school included education in violin playing on the one hand, and composition and counterpoint on the other. The principle of the third sound ('terzo suono'), and Tartini's theoretical system in general, had an important role in his didactic method. This is evidenced by the numerous documents, texts and letters of his students, as well as by Tartini himself in his two published theoretical treatises, *Trattato di musica* and *De' principj dell'armonia musicale contenuta nel diatonico genere*.¹¹

We can not determine precisely at what point Stratico was Tartini's student, but Blažeković considers that it might have been towards the end of his studies in 1745.¹²

⁹ See Antonio CAPRI, *Giuseppe Tartini: con 22 illustrazioni e un catalogo tematico*, Milano: Garzanti, 1945; Ivano CAVALLINI, 'Da Gianrinaldo Carli a Tartini: genio, imitazione, stile sentimentale e patetico. Le prospettive della critica tartiniana nella seconda metà del Settecento', *Quaderni istriani* 7–8 (1995), pp. 27–38. Both authors describe in particular the meetings of the intellectuals around Giuseppe Tartini and Gianrinaldo Carli (Padre Giacomo Stellini, Lodovico Riva, counts Francesco and Decio-Agostino Trento, Francesco Venier, conte Girolamo Rinaldi, padre Alessandro Barca, etc.) in the years 1739–1749. Their gatherings offered the possibility of discussing various subjects and exchanging ideas. We have no evidence if Stratico had the opportunity to participate in these meetings.

¹⁰ 'Formare un musicista completo e consapevole e non solamente ad impartire nozioni di tecnica violinistica', Margherita CANALE, 'Fonti per una ricostruzione della didattica di Tartini nella „Scuola delle nazioni”', *Muzikološki zbornik* 28 (1992), p. 15.

¹¹ Canale mentions the following texts as examples: *La Regola del terzo suono, Libro del Contrapunto. Del Signore Giuseppe Tartini Appartenuto a Antonio Lebneis Anno 1774*, and *Trattato di Contrapunto di G. Tartini e Introduzione al Sistema di Tartini* Antonia Mariottinija, CANALE, 'Fonti per una ricostruzione', p. 20.

¹² Zdravko BLAŽEKOVIĆ, 'Elementi za životopis Josipa Mihovila Stratica' [Elements for biography of Giuseppe Michele Stratico], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Zadru* 32 (1990), p. 124.

His musical studies in violin and composition, Stratico completed also as a writer on music. He had already begun to develop his theoretical thinking within Tartini's school, but it is generally agreed that he started to deal more seriously with music theory after he resettled in Sanguinetto. All of his theoretical writings, as far as we know, have been preserved as manuscripts in Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. Among Stratico's manuscript texts we will identify three different treatises, unlike previous studies that mentioned only two:¹³

1. *Trattato di musica*, in 10 versions and related studies
2. *Nuovo sistema musicale*, dialogue, 1 version
3. *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, dialogue, 1 version.¹⁴

Lo spirito Tartiniano, written after Tartini's death in 1770, reflects Stratico's standpoint on his teacher's musical system, expressed as a presentation and a critique of Tartini's treatise *De' principj dell'armonia musicale contenuta nel diatonico genere*. On the other hand, both the *Nuovo sistema musicale*, and *Trattato di musica* are presentations of Stratico's own musical system, with the first treatise aimed at practical musicians and the second at more learned readers. Thus the first can be related to the practical and the second to the scientific context. It is possible that the *Trattato* when considered in this way, was written (or at least elaborated) after 1774, when Eximeno wrote his treatise *Dell'origine e delle regole della musica*, in which he denies a scientific foundation to music. Some of Stratico's settings in general were compatible with the musical practice of the time, but some settings brought certain novelties and/or differences rather difficult to accept. Due to some of its formal characteristics, as well as the development of some of its contents, we can assume that the *Nuovo sistema musicale* was written before *Trattato di musica*, and that *Trattato* emerged from *Nuovo sistema*. Most of the practical issues were gradually reduced and a more scientific approach was introduced. Also, in different versions the disposition of the text changed: some issues

¹³ All studies on Stratico mention *Trattato di musica* and *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, considering *Nuovo sistema musicale* as one version of the former.

¹⁴ It seems that Stratico himself wasn't sure of the final disposition of the text and the number of the treatises. At several places in the texts we can find a statement or remark on this, as is for example, 'we will discuss it maybe in another treatise' changed to 'at the end of this treatise.'

were re-introduced, some left out, and even minor details were changed such as seemingly irrelevant words or phrases, all in order to achieve a clearer presentation of the importance and novelty of the system. Although some of the versions were almost fully prepared and ready for public presentation or print, Stratico's premature death disrupted the finalisation of his work.

Before proceeding to the comparison, here we can summarize the most important characteristics of Stratico's musical system.

The foundation of Stratico's systems is in the two proportional series – the harmonic and the arithmetic, and Stratico's approach is mathematical. He uses string lengths to represent the tones, rather than frequencies, vibrations or other physical phenomena. Unlike his teachers, he finds both series of equal importance, and doesn't consider the harmonic to be the preferred one as in Tartini's and Vallotti's systems. Besides the mathematical approach, the psycho-acoustical moment is of great importance to Stratico – the sensory (aural) effect that the ear receives and recognizes in a certain way and which is in many cases of decisive importance. Therefore, in the demonstrations within the *Trattato*, Stratico often invokes the sensory/aural experiment ('*esperimento sensibile*').

All relationships (horizontal and vertical) in Stratico's system are deduced using proportional harmonic and arithmetic relations, and the goal is to maintain all the relations as pure as possible. But, the widely accepted notion of temperament interfered with this aspect of the musical system. Stratico's characteristic in opposition with the main course, as well as general music and music-theoretic trend, was a standpoint on preservation of just intonation (for which we can nowadays find many supporters). This system advocated by Stratico is specific to string instruments where there is the possibility of regulating the intonation. This is exactly the kind of repertoire (performing ensemble) which was used by Stratico in his compositions for small string ensembles. In his treatises Stratico wants to demonstrate the aural difference of the proportions, true and altered, even those that differ minimally (for example by a comma $1/80$ $1/81$, or by the 'semituono minimo' $1/63$ $1/64$). From this results the notion and use of the proportional sevenths, harmonic, arithmetic and mixed, which are different than those we find in treatises by other authors. Since the proportions are crucial to form the relationship of the low tones to the high, which is the manner in which the melody and the

bass correspond, this can be seen as a mathematical counterpart to Rameau's fundamental bass, or Tartini's third sound. Stratico finds this correspondence between the proportion of the octave which is the representative of the natural bass (low), and the major third which represents the melody (high), both in the harmonic and the arithmetic system.

To improve the possibility of marking the natural ratios he uses more precisely, Stratico adapts the existing markings by introducing new signs which indicate the relations that are smaller or larger than the usual ones. This sign system was developed gradually from *Nuovo sistema* through the versions of *Trattato*. Although advocating a more precise system, Stratico still resorted to approximation in certain cases, not wanting to overload the system with new unnecessary signs. With the introduction of the new signs, Stratico's recommendation is to always apply numerical markings alongside the musical. I suppose that the impracticality of such advice to compositional practice is not relevant, since it is related to theoretical explanations, while in practice most ratios (unless stated otherwise) would probably be implied.

Although many music theorists of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century 'balanced' with the seventh harmonic, Stratico was a rare one who went all out declaring the seventh to be a consonance. We can find the relation with Tartini, Riccati and especially with Euler who considered the function of the seventh but Stratico's system made that breakthrough which would certainly provoke loud criticism and rejection. The attitude towards the consonant seventh caused its insertion into the scale obtaining the nine-tone scale which has proportional construction and form, as well as the symmetry of its ascending and descending motion, which is the second characteristic of Stratico's which differed from the practice. The problems encountered by introducing the new term on the scale, such as naming the intervals, were solved by compromise, so that new terminology wouldn't have to be introduced. Without this solution Stratico's proposal would be too far from actual practice which would then drastically reduce the potential possibility of considering his system as relevant.

Another characteristic of Stratico's system is the explanation of the minor scale deriving from the arithmetic series. Its natural form is thus descending, and bearing all minor thirds, as an opposite of the major mode which is

ascending and with major thirds. The minor scale, as commonly understood in Stratico's system, is called the mixed scale (derived from the harmonic series but with applied arithmetical divisions), and, given its variety in combinations of minor and major thirds, has a wider use than the arithmetic. Additional scales or progressions are derived (the nine-tone and eleven-tone derived scale) to demonstrate different effects that a melody can form with a bass, caused by the change of the proportions. This is related also to the derivation of the origin of the modes, and modulations, elaborated more practically in *Nuovo sistema* than in *Trattato*. Regarding this issue it is important to emphasize Stratico's proposal of the mobility of the tones of the scale to maintain the natural proportions in the scale when changing the mode, ie when modulating.

Examining the relationship of Tartini and Stratico based on Stratico's theoretical writings offers the possibility of considering two directions:

1. Stratico as a critic of Tartini's theoretical system
2. Tartini as an initial point of Stratico's theoretical system.

STRATICO AS A CRITIC OF TARTINI'S SYSTEM

Tartini's *Trattato di musica* initiated much controversy in the musical and scientific milieu and comments on the treatise, critical analysis, reflections, and attacks can be found in various forms from personal letters, public/published letters, articles in reviews, book chapters, etc. All unanimously praised Tartini's performing and composing skills, but many authors said that his writings are obscure and incomprehensible and in some cases even denied validity of his scientific thinking. Among the reflections (whether positive or negative) we can single out the following: Euler, d'Alembert, Serre, Blainville, Rousseau, Eximeno and Riccati.¹⁵

¹⁵ Leonhard EULER, *Esame del Trattato di Giuseppe Tartini, 1754–56(?)*, Archivio Musicale della Cappella Antoniana, Ms. D. VI. 1894, fols. 16a-e, published in: Euler LEONHARD – Alvise DE PIERO, *Il Tentament novae theoriae musicae di Leonhard Euler (Pietroburgo 1739): traduzione e introduzione*, Torino: Accademia delle Scienze, 2010 (Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Serie V, vol. 34),

Considering that these are all texts published during Stratico's life, he could have been familiar with them, at least indirectly (via Tartini's dissertation, or Vallotti's treatise). Stratico mentioned several of these names in *Lo spirito Tartiniano* (Serre, Euler), or in *Trattato di musica* (Eximeno).

Stratico was familiar with both of Tartini's published works, *Trattato di musica* and *De' principj*, but critically reflects only on the latter work. Although he commented only on the content of *De' principj*, in his explanations and summaries he also used examples from *Trattato di musica*. Since the basis of Tartini's system is the same in both works, but reduced and clarified in the smaller one, we can take Stratico's *Lo spirito Tartiniano* as a standpoint on Tartini's system as a whole.

In commenting upon Tartini's system, Stratico took the position of a practical musician and thus did not engage with the question of the physical or demonstrational foundations of Tartini's system – 'lasciando da un canto i numeri, e le Proporzioni, se non che al caso, ch'esse fossere necessarie, e indispensabili'.¹⁶ Therefore, to Stratico many of the topics of discussion are

pp. 41–44; Jean-Baptiste le Rond D'ALEMBERT, 'Fondamental', in: *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Denis Diderot, Jean le Rond d'Alembert eds.), University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2013 Edition), ed. Robert Morrissey, vol. 7, 1757, pp. 54–63, <http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.6:50.encyclopedia0513> (access: 11 November 2015); Jean-Adam SERRE, *Observations sur les principes de l'harmonie* (2nd chapter, critique de l'ouvrage de M. Tartini, intitulé Traité de Musique selon la vraie science de l'Harmonie, de 175 pag. in -4° 1754'), Geneva: Henri-Albert Gosse et Jean Gosse, 1763, <https://books.google.hr/books?id=KHjXJjsL5JEC&printsec=frontcover&hl=hr#v=onepage&q&f=false> (access: 11 November 2015); Charles-Henri DE BLAINVILLE, *Histoire générale, critique et philologique de la musique* (see Supplement), Paris: Pissot, 1767, <https://books.google.hr/books?id=Jo1YAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=hr#v=onepage&q&f=false> (access: 25 November 2015); Jean-Jacques ROUSSEAU, 'Systeme', in: *Dictionnaire de musique*, 1768, pp. 461–496, <https://books.google.fr/books?id=3WAHAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr#v=onepage&q&f=false> (access: 26 January 2016); Antonio EXIMENO, *Dell'origine e delle regole della musica colla storia del suo progresso, decadenza e rinovazione* (4th chapter 'Della Teorica del Signor Tartini'), Roma: Stamperia di Michel' Angelo Barbiellini, 1774, <https://books.google.hr/books?id=1u1CAAAAcAAJ&hl=hr&pg=PP7#v=onepage&q&f=false> (access: 11 November 2015); Giordano RICCATI, 'Esame del sistema musico del Sig. Giuseppe Tartini. Dissertazione acustico-matematica', *Continuazione del Nuovo Giornale de' letterati d'Italia*, 22, 1781, pp. 169–227, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101076536000> (access: 2 December 2015).

¹⁶ STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fol. 173v.

irrelevant: the primacy in the discovery of the phenomenon of the third sound, the similarities and differences between Tartini's and Euler's system, ie the derivation of mathematical formulas to prove the system(s), and like Vallotti, completely ignores the Tartini's circle as a geometric aspect of harmony.¹⁷ But in relation to the 'terzo suono', unlike Vallotti's explicit rejection, Stratico considered it a good physical basis to the system,¹⁸ finding on the other hand Rameau's phenomenon of the three tones of the sounding string incomplete. The link between Vallotti's and Stratico's position on this issue is that neither of them would use such a physical base for their own theories. Unfortunately, further development of Stratico's position on the third sound announced in the treatise *Nuovo sistema musicale* is missing, while in the *Trattato di musica* we do not find any mention of this Tartini phenomenon. In *Lo spirito Tartiniano* Stratico used the third sound only to justify the extension of the system from Six-fold to Eight-fold,¹⁹ while in the context of Tartini's system he agreed with the general objection that it didn't support in the same way the harmony of the major and the minor third, criticizing also that the third sound did not support in the same way the system of the remains (In Italian: 'avanzi', when a string is divided into segments for ex. $1/2$, $1/3$, the rest of the string counts as 'avanzi' – what remains) – arithmetic division, as it did the system of the divided string – harmonic division.²⁰ However, the other authors didn't notice the 'transformation' of the minor harmony through the third sound into major, which Stratico used to give it the natural legitimacy attributed only to the major (perfect, natural) harmony. Although adopting an adversarial position on the matter, here Stratico actually defended Tartini's foundation.

¹⁷ All these issues were a significant part of the discussion of Tartini's system. See more in the articles by Barbieri. However, it should be noted that the geometric aspect of harmony and the circle theory in *De' principi dell'armonia musicale* compared to the *Trattato di musica* is almost completely excluded.

¹⁸ STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fol. 174v.

¹⁹ 'Gli intervalli tutti dell'Ottuplo Sistema si lascian reggere da una sola Base, o sia dalla prima ottava. Sono dunq̄ concordi, son consonanti.', STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fol. 190r.

²⁰ Giuseppe TARTINI, *Trattato di musica secondo la vera scienza dell'armonia*, Padova: Stamperia del Seminario, 1754, p. 70; ID., *De' principi dell'armonia musicale contenuta nel diatonico genere, dissertazione* (1767), Padova: Cedam, 1974, pp. 26–27.

Another aspect of Tartini's theory which was unacceptable to Stratico is the exclusion of the minor sixth from the consonant system (since it remains are getting out of the limits of the diatonics). He, as Vallotti and others, explained the minor sixth from the relation of the terms $1/5$ $1/8$.

Commenting on the discrete geometric proportions of the octave ('dupla') and the fifth ('sesquialtera') that Tartini used to show that the system of the remains is essential to the system, Stratico criticized Tartini's partiality in the derivation. The system of the remains, as Stratico stated, wasn't used completely for each proportion: within the extremes of the octave only the first two terms were used to get the harmonic and the arithmetic mean (40, 45), while Stratico considered that the other terms were supposed to be used within the same extremes (40, 45, 48 and 50), as well as within the extremes of the fifth (45, 48 and 50), and within the extremes of the fourth ('sesquitercia'; 48 and 50). It is, however, hard to believe that Tartini would accept such an explanation in real life as he did in Stratico's dialogue, since his main intention was to find the proportions in the given series which doesn't occur in Stratico's request to include all the remains. In the derivation of the diatonic scale, Stratico's position that the derived tones do not appear in the proper order, which is an essential characteristic of a scale (the tone *d* is one octave higher, and the tone *g* is repeated),²¹ was an isolated remark. But he primarily criticized the duality of the principles used due to the use of both the geometric discrete proportion and the organic formula 1–3–5. Relating to the derivation of the scale, Stratico takes a different approach to the three cadences (harmonic, arithmetic and mixed). Tartini gave to each cadence one degree of its perfection – the harmonic cadence is perfect because it is based on one third sound, the arithmetic is less perfect since based on two third sounds. The mixed cadence is imperfect because it produces the extraneous third sound ('terzo suono estraneo'). Stratico believed that Tartini made the conclusion using the wrong procedure, ie examining the cadences simultaneously, while they

²¹ 'S'esse [corde] vi sono, non v'è però la serie, è l'ordine, che sono il vero, e sostanziale carattere della Scala. Mancando questo, manca la Scala. Vi sono i materiali, è vero, mà v'è poi bisogno di perito artefice, che ve li ponga in uso, ed opera', STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fol. 183v.

should be viewed separately – ‘quest’ sono tre dati separati, e disgiunti’.²² Since Stratico takes the arithmetic cadence as an inversion of the harmonic (the same tones but in a different order), he determined the same degree of perfection to both harmonic and arithmetic cadence.²³ This notion was ‘contro la comune opinione de’ musicopratici, che voi [Maestro] pur sostenete.’²⁴ The opposition to musical practice that Stratico here took, will be even more evident in the formation of his own theory. The difference that Stratico finds between the cadences is in their effect, since the arithmetic cadence moves away from the fundamental tone, and the harmonic returns to it. The mixed cadence Stratico puts inside the frame of the extremes of the octave, which was highlighted by Walker.²⁵ While the relation from the low extreme moves away from the foundation, the relation to the high extreme returns to it, in which the mixed cadence unites both effects of the previous cadences.

On the issue of dissonances, Stratico pointed out in particular the question of the minor seventh and Tartini's apparent indecisiveness on the issue. Specifically, Tartini's treatise clearly reflects the dual approach to the minor seventh. On the one hand, Tartini named it the consonant seventh, and on the other did not accept it as a part of a consonant system because it exceeded the Six-fold system. Stratico therefore compared this position with the ‘story of the bird in the hand’,²⁶ significantly pointing out that the

²² STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fol. 184v.

²³ This corresponds to Shirlaw's conclusion in his article ‘The Nature of Harmony’: ‘To sum up in a few words: the consonances of the fourth and the fifth may each appear in two different aspects or orders, affecting the ear in two different ways. This difference of effect depends on the position these consonances occupy within the octave – as c–g–c’ or g–c–g’. The first order does not arise naturally, and the second artificially; the second is as natural as the first.’ Matthew SHIRLAW, ‘The Nature of Harmony: Major and Minor Triads’, *The Musical Times* 68 (1927), No 1020, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/914672> (access: 2 December 2015), p. 118.

²⁴ STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fol. 184v.

²⁵ Walker stated that the mixed cadence was Tartini's invention, and only a part of the (extended) perfect cadence IV–V–I. Daniel Pickering WALKER, *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance*, London: The Warburg Institute, University of London; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978, p. 162.

²⁶ STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fol. 185v. I couldn't find the source of Stratico's story. Through different Internet sources one can find that it is an old folk tale of different origins, or of unknown origin.

problem was not so much in the content but in the method. It is important to point out that Stratico here criticized Tartini's introduction of the minor seventh into the scale, since it is a non-diatonic interval. He made the same insertion but on a different basis. Tartini assigned to the minor seventh the 'carattere di mezzanità frà le consonanze e le dissonanze', and Stratico commented on the free treatment in the use of the seventh, and the almost insensible difference between the minor seventh, as used in practice, and the so-called natural seventh, as can be found in the marine trumpet scale. Stratico's main objection is mixing the major seventh of the diatonic scale with the minor seventh not belonging to it, since they are two different intervals, which remained unclear in Tartini's treatise. Stratico also pointed out that Tartini's system of the dissonances was not coherent, since the major seventh was resolved by ascending, and all the other dissonances by descending. But, Stratico's proposal is not constructive. While criticizing Tartini for avoiding the problem by replacing the major seventh with the minor seventh, he didn't realize that he made the same mistake by excluding the major seventh from the number of dissonances in the diatonic system: 'restando esclusa la settima magre, l'uso di cui vi si nega dall'approvata, e buona pratica'.²⁷

The last problem Stratico referred to was Tartini's objections to the descending scale in relation to the fundamental bass: the tritone between the parts, the use of the arithmetic cadence immediately after the harmonic, and the inversion of the mixed cadence. Tartini's solution to all the problems was the insertion of the minor seventh into the scale by which the scale obtained a symmetrical form and a circular nature. Stratico used these advantages in his system. Contrary to Tartini, Stratico rejected the first two problems, finding the relation of the tritone frivolous ('Ella è un'antica favola de' Maestri del Contropunto')²⁸, the sequence of cadences vain and unreasonable ('e quel termine di rimozione che usate, suppone ciò ch'è falso')²⁹, and maintained that only the third problem was of relevance. His proposal of a solution to the problem of the inversion of the mixed cadence is to harmonise the ascending

²⁷ STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fol. 187v.

²⁸ *IBID.*, fol. 188r.

²⁹ *IBID.*, fol. 188r.

and the descending scale differently, ie to change the basses ('correggere le Basi').³⁰ To demonstrate that this didn't stand in opposition to Tartini's third sound he offered a harmonisation of the example. As a response to Tartini's justification of the inferior sequence of the descending scale,³¹ Stratico replied by considering the ascending and the descending scale as two different motions with two different effects:

ch' è un'assurdo il volere che servano le Basi stesse in precisione al progresso, ed al regresso della Scala. Sono due moti contrarj; e due risultano perciò gli effetti. L'udito nostro apprende, e vi rimarca le differenze. Ci convien dunque applicarci, per rilevar, e scoprire quale sia la natura del progresso, e quale del regresso, onde per fine adattarvi le convenienti Basi.³²

Based on these reflections, I consider Stratico's approach to Tartini's work and theoretical system to be an original contribution to the discussion, rather than a mere continuation of the already identified weaknesses of Tartini's system. Stratico's opinion in some cases corresponds to those of his contemporaries (the third sound not be a basis of the minor harmony, the exclusion of the minor sixth), but we can find the independence in his thinking as well as the practical musician's position in consideration of the system which is particularly evident in the discussion of cadences, scale and the relation of the scale and the bass. This practical position might be also the reason why some of Stratico's propositions in changing Tartini's settings are not entirely coherent and logical. Despite Stratico's disagreements with some of the aspects of his teacher's system, and the modifications he offered, one possible approach could be to consider Stratico's treatise as a way to bring Tartini's work closer to practical musicians in a similar way d'Alembert did with Rameau's work in his *Éléments de musique*.

³⁰ IBID., fol. 188v. Stratico applied the new basses according to the analogy of the first descending tetrachord to the inversion of the first ascending tetrachord using also the consonant seventh (Cf. fol. 189r.).

³¹ 'Se il sistema è armonico a priori, deve ascender la scala, e non discendere, perchè il progresso armonico per natura di principio è dal grave all'acuto. Si troverà dunque tutta la perfezione ascendendo, si troverà segno d'imperfezione discendendo.' TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 132.

³² STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fol. 189v.

TARTINI'S THEORETICAL THINKING AS A STARTING POINT
OF STRATICO'S SYSTEM

If we start from the earlier statement that Stratico did not accept some basic premises of Tartini's system, it is reasonable to ask on what grounds we can consider Tartini's thinking to have provided the basis for Stratico's theoretical thinking. I will try to demonstrate that in both Tartini's treatises we can find direct incentives (yet not the solutions) for Stratico's reasoning formulated in his treatises on music. After one of the summaries of Tartini's topics presented at the beginning of the *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, Stratico indirectly stated that he and his teacher share a similar line of thought but use a different method:

Questo vostro trasunto, per rispetto all'essenziale, non è mancante, lo abbraccia, quantunque poi esposizione che fate delle materie riconosca uno stile e metodo dal mio diverso; Ma non importa, v'è la mente mia, e questo basta. Ognuno ha suo proprio metodo nel ragionare, è difficile in ciò la convenienza.³³

The links can be found to both Tartini's treatises, but given that the content in the *De' principj* is much more simplified and without connections to the notion of the harmonic circle, the content of this treatise is closer to Stratico's understanding of Tartini's theory. Stratico's relatively simple and transparent style of writing contrasts with Tartini's complicated text, which is full of repetitions and incomplete conclusions. But, unlike Tartini, Stratico didn't define many concepts but took them as understandable. In addition, Tartini's constant invocation of the ancient Greek foundations and sources are missing in Stratico's texts. The works of both authors can be considered in the context of giving possible answers in the form of a system within which music functions as a science. Therefore, foremost for each of them the only correct are the laws of Nature – it comes before all the rest, and provides the basis of the system. For Tartini Nature is 'fonte comune', or systematized by Petrobelli:

³³ *IBID.*, fol. 183v.

“la ‘natura” è l’insieme dei fenomeni che cadono sotto i nostri sensi, fenomeni che sono regolati da principi ben precisi, e che non sono stati ancora alterati da alcun intervento umano.”³⁴

Although even in the eighteenth century (and before) music theorists sensed that nature itself cannot give the answer to all musical phenomena that can be found in practice, in Tartini’s and Stratico’s system (which are necessary simplifications of the practice) we can find the search for what Cazden called the ‘prototypes.’³⁵

Unlike Tartini, Stratico did not seek the physical base for his system. He returned to the mathematical basis without taking into account the scientific debates of the time about the validity of the foundation of the musical system in one of the physical phenomenon – vibration, sound body, ‘terzo suono’ etc. The physical basis of Tartini’s system is a phenomenon called the third sound. In his treatise Tartini explained the phenomenon, gave the method to calculate it, and understood it as the basis of the harmonic context, ie the fundamental bass. Related to this, Stratico also rejected Rameau’s phenomenon of the sounding string considering that it does not cover the complete Six-fold system and does not include the explanation of the modus of the minor third, on which he agreed with Tartini and Vallotti. Therefore, Stratico was seeking for an explanation or a foundation which would include all the existing elements, and not the foundation from which to derive certain elements. In addition, Stratico criticized Tartini that although he dismissed Rameau’s phenomenon as incomplete, in his dissertation he constantly returns to it. He legitimized it through the part of the Master: ‘l’illustre nome, e la fama de’ soggetti, che anno preteso di fondare Musicale sistema sopra q^{to} Fenomeno, l’autorità de’ quali presso ‘l volgo de’ musici far poteva molta impressione.’

Although Stratico didn’t base his conclusions on the third sound, we can still find the similarities of this concept with the proportional relationships

³⁴ Pierluigi PETROBELLI, ‘Tartini, le sue idee e il suo tempo’, *Rivista musicale italiana* 1/4 (1967), p. 663.

³⁵ ‘There is no doubt that the combinations of tone which are most readily ‘conceivable as entities’ are those which have a prototype in the chord of nature, and which derive from their indirect confirmations in it a certain fundamental validity and naturalness.’ Norman CAZDEN, ‘The Definition of Consonance and Dissonance’, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 11/2 (1980), p. 218.

upon which Stratico relied. For example, the importance of the minimal differences that have a particularly important place in Stratico's system, such as the minimal difference of the comma $1/80$ $1/81$, are sufficient to change the harmonic proportion of the major third into arithmetic. For Stratico, these two proportions give different aural impressions or effects:

Lo sviluppo delle armoniche Proporzioni, ed aritmetiche, dalle geometriche discrete si è fatto, all'oggetto di rimarcare, che nella comparazione sensibile dell'una, all'altra, distingue l'udito il carattere, o sia natura armonica, dall'aritmica, fino a che giunge a rilevare la differenza recata dagli rispettivi proporzionali mezzi armonico, ed aritmetico, dalle linee curve additati nelle adotte Posizioni.³⁶

In Tartini's system, a minimal difference is sufficient to change the third sound. To demonstrate it Tartini gave the example of the third sound of the major tone 9, 8 and the minor tone 10, 9, for which he concluded that one has to insist on their perfect intonation.³⁷

The question of perfect intonation brings into focus the both authors' standpoint on the question of temperament. Tartini in *Trattato di musica* pointed out that he supported Vallotti's unequal temperament in which the natural (perfect) relations of the white keys of the organ were retained, while black keys allowed greater imperfections. But, aware of the practice which in the second half of the eighteenth century tended more towards equal temperament, Tartini would also accept it.³⁸ On this issue Stratico was unwilling to compromise. The system he developed was in the framework of just temperament, and also required the possibility of adapting the pitch of the tone, thus making it possible only to a limited instrumental corpus (strings). For so-called mechanical musical instruments (keyboard instruments) he encouraged the search for new solutions. However, in the context of answering to the scientific quality of music, he considered that to music as an applied science certain imperfections tolerated by the ear were allowed. Considering the precision of the tones and relations Stratico particularly emphasized the

³⁶ STRATICO, *Lo spirito Tartiniano*, fols. 196v–196(b)r.

³⁷ TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 16; ID., *De' principi dell'armonia musicale*, p. 85.

³⁸ Cf. ID., *De' principi dell'armonia musicale*, p. 95.

importance of connecting notes (musical symbols) and numbers (mathematical symbols) to determine in the most accurate way in which tone or relation was considered. Opposed to Tartini who was uncomfortable using fractions related to harmonic series, Stratico didn't have any problem with them.

One of the bases of Stratico's system was the extension of the base from the Six-fold system to the Eight-fold system. We can find a direct impetus for this in Tartini's constant questioning of the limits of 'Sestupla' and his inability to give strong reasons for the exclusion of the term $1/7$ from the system. The reasons for such exclusion for Tartini were that the term $1/7$ broke down the consonant system and turned it to dissonant resulting from the geometric continuous proportion and that from this term started the enharmonic system which results in an end to the diatonic. On the other hand, the naturally intoned minor seventh – 'intervallo di facilissima intonazione sopra il Violino, ed è voluto dalla natura armonica'³⁹ – for which the minor seventh receives privileged treatment in practice, Tartini considered consonant: 'Dunque una tal settimana è consonante, non dissonante.'⁴⁰

As already noted, Tartini's not fully defined attitude towards the minor seventh was the basis of Stratico's criticism of his teacher, but Stratico was the only theorist who, without reservations, adopted Tartini's perspective and declared the (natural) minor seventh a consonance and treated it accordingly in his system. There are several consequences of this attitude. One is to include the minor seventh in the scale, which Stratico did.⁴¹ He himself recognized that only Tartini had preceded him in this issue.⁴² Tartini introduced the minor seventh into the diatonic scale to solve several problems in the relationship of the

³⁹ ID., *Trattato di musica*, p. 126.

⁴⁰ IBID., p. 128. In *De' principi dell'armonia musicale*, this statement was slightly softened: 'bfa di settimana minore ch'è dissonanza talmente omogenea, che si usa in pratica con privilegj affatto particolari, i quali se non la determinano consonanza positiva, certamente la singolarizzano mezzana tra le consonanze, e le dissonanze'. TARTINI, *De' principi dell'armonia musicale*, pp. 88–89.

⁴¹ As Tartini stated: 'Perciò la sesquiestesa $1/6$ $1/7$ nel diatonico sistema è un assurdo, perchè la scala diatonica, che costa di otto termini, verrebbe a costare di nove termini, se $1/7$ avesse luogo, come si vedrà in appresso', TARTINI, *De' principi dell'armonia musicale*, p. 59.

⁴² 'Che sebbene la giunta, che facemmo alla Scala di comune pratica ed uso del termine $1/42$ non sia nuova, essendochè detto termine fù considerato, ed ammesso eziandio da qualch'altro Autore – Tartini a c° 132 del Trattato di Musica secondo la vera scienza dell'Armonia', STRATICO, *Trattato di musica*, fol. 199v.

scale and the fundamental bass when descending, which, as we have explained, Stratico refused. It is possible that Stratico was also impressed by the symmetry and the circular form of this construction. However, the introduction of the minor seventh into the scale also provides the proportional form of the scale, the lack of which was criticized by Eximeno.⁴³ Tartini's 'extended' scale and its corresponding basses correspond to Stratico's nine-tone scale as well as their corresponding basses. Due to this evident basis of Stratico's thinking, we can pose the question whether any other Tartini pupil interested in music theory shared the same standpoints as Stratico.

It is possible to predict Tartini's objections to Stratico's admission of the minor seventh in the consonant system, and therefore the rejection of such an attitude and system, since we can find his explanation at various points in his treatises regarding why the seventh $1/7$ could not be the part of the consonant system:

Si trova finalmente, che il di più è bensì legittima conseguenza di questo antecedente, ma non necessaria; perchè finalmente tutto il di più è bensì modo diverso di armonia, ma non è già sostanza diversa. Come sostanza, è sempre la dedotta dalla sestupla senza che sia mai possibile nè dimostrativamente, nè praticamente di alterarla. Dunque con tutta ragione resta dimostrato, e confermato nella sestupla il compimento, e periodo del fisico armonico sistema.⁴⁴

In my opinion, it was precisely this definition of the limits of the consonant system in the 'Sestupla' which Stratico wanted to question by developing his own system.

In order to more accurately mark the tone represented by the seventh term of the harmonic series, Tartini introduced the new sign $\flat B$, explaining also that the tone $\flat B$ (180) is lower than $\flat B$ (175) in relation of minor halftone

⁴³ TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 132.

⁴⁴ *IBID.*, p. 133. In addition, when comparing the diatonic scale with the marine trumpet scale, Tartini states that the seventh term of such a scale ($1/14$) couldn't be part of the diatonic scale, which was in opposition with his later introduction of the minor seventh: 'Primieramente nella scala de' suddetti strumenti vi è una nota musicale di più, ch'è la settima nota, quale non vi è, nè vi può essere nella scala pratica comune', TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 95. Cf. explanations in TARTINI, *De' principi dell'armonia musicale*, pp. 92–93.

(‘semituono minore’) 36 35.⁴⁵ This was a possible impetus for Stratico to start thinking about introducing new signs into his system. For the term 1/7 Stratico used the sign \flat (or earlier \flat),⁴⁶ and the difference of the tone $\flat B$ (1/42) to the tone $\flat B$ (1/45) he called ‘semituono maggiore crescente in ragione 1/35 ad 1/36.’ While Tartini stopped with one sign, Stratico developed a whole system of signs in accordance with his standpoint that particular relations between the tones should be marked more precisely in the notes. In the following passage by Tartini we can almost read an invitation to such a project by Stratico:

Se poi in pratica per evitar la confusione giova intender il numero organico come si è inteso fin'ora (e giova veramente), si faccia senza scrupolo alcuno: molto più, perchè un tal difetto non procede intrinsecamente dal numero organico, quale per propria forza è sempre una pratica dimostrazione; ma procede dalla mancanza di un segno musicale, che in quello, e in altri casi dovrebbe aggiungersi di nuovo per dimostrare la individual differenza di que' termini, i quali sebben segnati con la stessa lettera musicale, non ostante sono tra loro diversi.⁴⁷

There are a few more issues important to Stratico which we can single out as based on or having at least found an impetus in Tartini's thinking: the issue of the limiting of the harmonic series, the issue of the exclusion of the terms 1/11 and 1/13 from the diatonic scale, the issue of the absence of the arithmetic mean from the octaves from the fundamental tone of the harmonic series, and the origin of the minor mode.

The limitation of the harmonic series is one of the major questions for both authors. Tartini in his *Trattato* connected the problem with the theory of the harmonic circle in following way:

⁴⁵ TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 126.

⁴⁶ It is necessary to notice that Vallotti in his treatise *Della scienza teorice e pratica* used the sign \flat , the same one used by Stratico in his earlier versions of his texts but with different function, to mark the seventh member of the natural scale, but without going into explanations of its exclusion from the diatonic scale. Cf. Francescantonio VALLOTTI, *Della scienza teorica, e pratica della moderna musica*, Libro primo, Padova: Apresso Giovanni Manfrè, 1779, p. 163.

⁴⁷ TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 166.

Se il diametro [del circolo] si deve dividere armonicamente; se il diametro è capace di esser diviso in infinito dalla progressione armonica, e dell'infinito non vi è nè vi può essere scienza; dunque è forza dimostrare i confini della divisione, da quali resta determinato il periodo, o sia compimento della divisione sudetta; e in conseguenza resta formato, e determinato il sistema armonico Musicale.⁴⁸

In his other treatise *De' principj* the problem is articulated differently:

Rimane ad esaminare fin' a qual termine debba estendersi la serie delle frazioni, che per propria natura non ha confine, pre determinare fin dove si estenda la simultanea consonante armonia, che per propria natura ha confine.⁴⁹

In a similar manner Stratico posed the question associating it with the use of the harmonic and the arithmetic series:

Poiche qual ragione, o diritto abbiam noi di limitar un Progresso, sia nell'Armonica, sia nell'Aritmetica serie, che anno estensione infinita, in una parte piuttosto, che in altra di dette Serie, come si è fatto?⁵⁰

In Stratico's treatise the issue is related to the fundamental problem of the proportional relationship of the low tones to the high (in other words, the problem of harmony). The solutions to these two problems resulted in the derivation of the scale and its relation to the corresponding basses by finding the fundamental relation of the proportion of the octave and the major third. Two of Tartini's settings are in this respect important to Stratico: the 'dupla' or the octave is to Tartini the fundamental *a priori* principle of the physical harmonic system,⁵¹ and in the relation of the parts the proportions are of crucial importance:

⁴⁸ *IBID.*, p. 53.

⁴⁹ *ID.*, *De' principj dell'armonia musicale*, p. 39. In this work the problem is associated with the 'Sestupla' and related to a response to the criticism that the minor sixth was excluded from the system.

⁵⁰ STRATICO, *Trattato di musica*, Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. It. Cl. IV, 341e (=5294), fol. 201v.

⁵¹ 'Principio fondamentale del sistema fisico armonica è la dupla a priori'. TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 53.

Nella pratica musicale comune s'intende, che qualunque consonanza sia costituita da due soli termini, grave, e acuto, e nulla più. L'errore è patente. Non vi è, nè vi può esser consonanza, se non vi sia proporzione armonica. Non vi è, nè vi può esser proporzione armonica, se non vi siano tre termini, il mezzo, e i due estremi.⁵²

This was likely one of the starting points of Stratico's reflections on the proportional relationships of the low proportion to the high, one of the key points of his system. Tartini examined his system on several levels, physical, demonstrative and musical. On the physical level he considered a variety of phenomena and explained his preference of the third sound. On the demonstrative level, he placed great importance on proportions due to the confirmation of the music as a science. Thus, in the *Trattato* he made the connection with the circle as a geometric demonstration of the harmonic system, and in *De' principj* he modified it with the concept of harmonic unity ('armonica unità'). Although it is difficult to find a path through Tartini's links of musical issues with the circle, we can perceive that Stratico in his work, without such geometric links, similarly used the concept of proportions, especially discrete geometric proportion as a merging of the two proportional means – harmonic and arithmetic – between the two extremes of the proportion. Tartini made this link connecting the square which has the arithmetic nature, with the circle which has the harmonic nature. In *De' principj* Tartini derives from the discrete geometric proportion the three cadences, and also the diatonic scale in combination with the formula 1–3–5. Stratico on the other hand introduced the discrete geometric proportion in a more simple way: 'Dall'innesto poi delle armoniche Proporzioni, colle aritmetiche, anno causa, ed origine le Proporzioni geometriche discrete.'⁵³ He used them primarily to demonstrate the difference between the two diverse effects that harmonic and arithmetic proportions in music invoke.

The problem of the exclusion of the terms 1/11 and 1/13 from the scale is related to the connection of the tones of the scale with the natural terms of the harmonic series. With the aforementioned problem

⁵² IBID., p. 65.

⁵³ STRATICO, *Trattato di musica*, fol. 196r.

of the seventh harmonic which was not included in the diatonic scale, a problem also pertained to the fourth and the sixth term of the scale which didn't correspond to their natural correlatives. Tartini's position on this issue was firm, and could be seen from Stratico's point of view as a certain provocation to find a different solution. Comparing the tones of the natural scale of the marine trumpet⁵⁴ to the common diatonic scale Tartini concluded: 'Dunque concludo esser dimostrativamente, e fisicamente impossibile la deduzione della scala pratica comune dalla scala armonica de' sudetti strumenti.'⁵⁵

The issue is elaborated in more detail in the *De' principj* explaining the difference of the terms 1/11 and 1/13 of the natural scale ('F A della tromba marina') to the fourth and the sixth tone of the diatonic scale ('F A diatoniche'), which was ignored by some authors.⁵⁶ Stratico's position is in accordance with Tartini's argument for the incompatibility of the proportions, but instead of changing the principle, he proposed to find an adequate replacement for the proportion. The change of the terms 1/33 and 1/39 (representatives of the 1/11 and 1/13 in the third octave), which are with the proportional mean 1/36 in the proportion of the major diminished third, he substituted with the proportion of the major third 1/32 1/40. He justified this with the notion that they both have the same proportional mean. The proportion of the major third includes the smaller proportion of the major diminished third and the major third has a priority due to the fact that its lower extreme is the arithmetic mean of the octave within which they are both placed. The lower extreme, then, necessarily entails a connection with the high one.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Also of the *corni da caccia*, and trumpets (*trombe a fiato*).

⁵⁵ TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 96.

⁵⁶ ID., *De' principi dell'armonia musicale*, pp. 94–95; 106–107. See the rather simplified, but practical explanation of the change in the just scale (24 27 30 32 36 40 45 48) – 'the true, fundamental scale' – compared to overtones 8 to 16 (24 27 30 33 36 39 45 48) in distinguishing the tones generated by fifths from those generated by thirds, which corresponds to Tartini's theory N. Lindsay NORDEN, 'A New Theory of Untempered Music. A Few Important Features with Special Reference to 'A Cappella' Music', *The Musical Quarterly* 22/2 (1936), pp. 222–223.

⁵⁷ STRATICO, *Trattato di musica*, fols. 197r–197v, 198v–199r.

In relation to the previous question, the issue of the arithmetic mean in the harmonic series opens. In *De' principj* Tartini approached this by firstly criticizing Rameau's approach in which the tone *F* as the arithmetic mean of the octave *C–c* can be found in the inverse proportion, related with minor harmony, which Tartini considered absurd.⁵⁸ According to Tartini the tone *F* is the arithmetic mean of the octave *C–c* because it is on the fourth place in the harmonic fundamental bass (derived from the discrete geometric proportion of the octave). In the natural sequence in the octaves from the fundamental tone, the arithmetic mean didn't have its place:

Nel sistema della tromba marina, e della serie degl'impari non solamente non vi è la lettera diatonica *F*, ma è fisicamente, e dimostrativamente impossibile, che vi sia. [...] Dato il primo termine musicale in *C*, e dato l'armonico principio della serie nella dupla indivisibile 1, $1/2$, è dimostrativamente certo, che la seconda dupla $1/2$, $1/4$ dev'esser armonicamente divisa da $1/3$ determinante l'armonica serie, e $1/3$ musicalmente è *G*. È dimostrativamente certo, che per serie indefinita di duple $1/4$, $1/8$, $1/16$ ec. dovrà trovarsi lo stesso mezzo armonico $1/3$ per serie indefinita di duple $1/6$, $1/12$ ec., e però musicalmente sempre nella lettera *G*.⁵⁹

This also corresponds to Stratico's position. To find, then, the tone *F* as an arithmetic mean in the same octave as the harmonic mean *G* for Tartini is an absurd notion. But, Stratico didn't find the solution starting from the fundamental tone of the series but from the third ($1/3$), as was shown in his system.⁶⁰

Regarding minor harmony, Tartini, as well as many other music theorists, sought its origin in the arithmetic series. At the same time, the problem was that minor harmony was not based in the same way as the major in the third sound as a physical basis, nor in his theory of the circle as a demonstrative basis. Therefore, Tartini necessarily had to declare the arithmetic system to be of secondary importance and deficient in respect to the harmonic which was considered perfect. Stratico would take Tartini's first position that the origin

⁵⁸ TARTINI, *De' principj dell'armonia musicale*, pp. 70–71.

⁵⁹ *IBID.*, p. 96.

⁶⁰ STRATICO, *Trattato di musica*, fols. 197r, 199r.

of minor harmony is in the arithmetic series,⁶¹ but he would implement this thinking more consistently (although not without difficulties) following the position that the harmonic and the arithmetic series are of equal importance but of inverse sequence.⁶² While Tartini derived the minor scale ('scala di terza minore') from the major ('scala di terza maggiore'), Stratico derived it as a new entity from the arithmetic series.⁶³

From the connections of Tartini's and Stratico's system that I demonstrated, we can conclude that Stratico began reflecting on music theory under the influence of his teacher Tartini. But, Stratico offered different solutions and answers to particular problems and issues already raised in Tartini's treatises. One possible reason was the predetermined nature of certain parts of Tartini's system in which he wanted to do everything to maintain his concepts (such as, for example, the 'Sestupla' and the diatonic scale). In Stratico's thinking, on the other hand, we can find a measure of courage (and audacity) in challenging his teacher's views, causing him to accept some new features beyond the common framework which led to the formation of his new musical-theoretical system.

⁶¹ Cf. TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 66; ID., *De' principi dell'armonia musicale*, pp. 19–21.

⁶² That this equivalency of the harmonic and the arithmetic series did not occur in practice, and therefore in the formation of Stratico's system, can be gained from the problems that Stratico faced in explaining the arithmetic system, or occasionally even avoiding its more detailed discussion.

⁶³ TARTINI, *Trattato di musica*, p. 94.

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*Music Migrations from the Bohemian Lands to Trieste
and the National Awakening of the Southern Slavs*

A contrasting or parallel concept of dissemination to that of migration of music along the main historical routes is that of the migration of musicians and their repertoires to the centres of peripheral regions, a tendency which can be considered an exception rather than a rule. The matter at issue here, Trieste and its surroundings from the mid-eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century represents a case study of a peripheral town which was reinvented by a modern non-native capitalist middle class which, in accordance with the provisions policy of the Habsburg Empire, outmatched the conservative patricians. Although it seems to be a step forward in the direction of the European revival of minor centres after the Turkish defeat and the war of succession, the economic rebirth of Trieste cannot be compared to Mannheim at the time of elector Charles Theodore, or to the Eisenstadt residence of the Hungarian family Esterházy, both of which became important cities mainly as a result of their musical patronage. Thanks to the grant of free port from 1719, in particular at the time of Maria Theresa's reign, the little town of Trieste achieved extraordinary commercial development through its establishment of tax-free retailing opportunities, and in two centuries its population increased from 5,000 to 230,000 inhabitants.¹

The incredible amount of people coming from Central Europe and the Mediterranean sea provoked a sort of cultural entropy, in which three kinds of music migration are recognizable: music for the private use of religious groups; music imported by individual migrations, for example the classical-romantic style of both Austrians and Bohemians; and the musicians that helped either

¹ Claudio MAGRIS – Angelo ARA, *Trieste: un'identità di frontiera*, Torino: Einaudi, 1982.

Slavic minorities or Italians create music schools and introduce new methods of playing instruments. Obviously, the story of this last case is more complicated to explain than the others. In fact, at the time of the national revivals of the Slovenes and Croats, there was also a reaction by Italian and German societies which promoted opera and instrumental music as the symbols of their own identity. From a compositional viewpoint, the national label was applied to several vocal tunes on a linguistic basis, even if its character remained supranational. From a political viewpoint, the unification of both the Italian and German Kingdoms, in 1861 and in 1871 respectively, and the subsequent triple alliance between Italy, Austria-Hungary and Germany in 1882, have to be considered as crucial events within the framework of the conflict for supremacy among the three national groups of the city.

At this juncture the increasing use of the Italian language in Trieste should be stressed. In that cosmopolitan chaos of mixed native Italians, Slovenians and Croats, to whom non-native Germans, Austrians, Greeks, Serbs, Czechs, Poles and Jews were added, the evolution of the Italian language is astonishing.

From 1382 until the fall of Austria, Trieste was annexed to the territory of the Habsburg dynasty. Before becoming a free port, in addition to the Carniolan Slovene, the local mother tongue ‘tergestino’ was a type of Ladin (Rhaeto-Romance language) closer to the language spoken in the western part of the present-day region of Friuli. Owing to the import-export sea trading, the earlier mentioned demographic growth must be regarded as a linguistic meeting point between different ethnic groups. Ship-owners, sailors, shipyard workers and merchants from Dalmatia, in particular the rich families of Lošinj and Kotor (Cosulich, Tripcovich, Gopčević et al), spoke the so-called colonial Venetian dialect, the ancient *lingua franca* of the Adriatic Sea. Paradoxically, both Croatian migrants and Italianized Croats of the Eastern littoral, ruled by the Republic of Venice for a long time, were the main agents of a linguistic turn. This conventional vernacular, spoken in Trieste until today, is the heritage of the Dalmatian variant of the Venetian language (i.e. the dialect beloved by James ‘Giacomo’ Joyce).² Within

² Gianfranco FOLENA, ‘Introduzione al veneziano “de là da mar”’, in: *Venezia ed il Levante fino al XV secolo*, vol. 1, ed. Agostino Pertusi, Firenze: Olschki, 1973, pp. 297–346; Charles E. BIDWELL, ‘Colonial Venetian and Serbo-Croatian in Eastern Adriatic: A Case Study of Languages in Contact’, *General Linguistics* 7 (1967), pp. 13–30.

the frame of this revolutionary break, and the consequent assimilation of a remarkable number of Slavic people (including Slovenes and Serbs), it is not surprising that Italian inhabitants had Slavic surnames and Slavic inhabitants had Italian surnames, as well.

Some remarks on the transmission of music in the Orthodox communities of Trieste.

The so-called 'Greek oriental' community, comprising Greeks and Serbs, was attracted by the financial benefits provided by Maria Theresa. It left Venice in 1756 and established a new community in Trieste with the consent of the Austrian government. In 1784, two years after their separation from the Greeks, the Serbian citizens started holding the orthodox Paleoslavlic liturgy under the jurisdiction of the Sremski Karlovci metropolitan church.³

The ties established between Russia and the Serbian community during the reign of Empress Catherine influenced the musical taste of the Serbs. Similarly to the orthodox church of Vienna, the parish of Saint Spyridon (Sveti Spiridon, It. San Spiridione) not only played the ancient monody derived from the Byzantine church, but also the contemporary polyphony of Baldassarre Galuppi, the Venetian maestro hosted by Catherine, who in Saint Petersburg composed operas and four-part music as required by the rite.⁴ To explain this kind of dissemination, there are two important aspects that must be considered. The Serbs in Venice and Trieste were educated in Western music, and they always wanted Italian conductors for their choir. This is an evident penchant I recognised when checking the sources kept in Saint Spyridon's archive, which collects – among others – Galuppi's scores and some works by Maxim Berezovsky, who studied with padre Giambattista Martini in Bologna, as well as works by Pyotr Ivanovitch Turchaninov, a pupil of Giuseppe Sarti, and Dmitry Bortnjansky, a pupil of Galuppi.⁵

³ Giorgio MILOSEVICH – Marisa BIANCO FIORIN, *I serbi a Trieste: storia, religione, arte*, Udine: Istituto per l'Enciclopedia del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1978, pp. 9–12.

⁴ Ekaterina ANTONENKO, 'Orthodox Church Music of Baldassarre Galuppi at the Court of Catherine the Great', *Die Tonkunst* 7/1 (2013), pp. 30–43.

⁵ Danica PETROVIĆ, 'Duhovna muzika u srpskoj crkvoj opštini' u Trstu' [Sacred music in the church of the Serbian community of Trieste], *Muzikološki Zbornik* 25 (1989), pp. 95–105; the music of the eighteenth-century Russian composers is extensively listed in ЕАД., 'Музыкалније српске црквене општине у Трсту' [Music (kept) in the church of the Serbian community of Trieste], *Sveske Matice Srpske. Grada i Prilozi*

A century later, from 1840 onwards, this music was also sung under the conductorship of Francesco Sinico and his son Giuseppe. They wrote masses and other sacred pieces after the model of eighteenth-century orthodox polyphony, and being Italian, they were forced to write under the text the phonetic transcription in Roman letters of the Paleoslavlic Cyrillic alphabet, as is demonstrated by some of the manuscripts. Even though the scores of the Sinicos, as well as the music of the quoted Russian composers, had survived only in the isolated context of a church in Trieste, they would also have become part of the repertoire of Serbian choirs of Pančevo, Kotor, Zemun, and Belgrade.⁶

Obviously, the sacred polyphony of the Serbian community did not play a key role in spite of the secular music. Musical life in a broad sense, including Gorizia and Ljubljana, received a stimulus by the individual migrations of Bohemian composers and players devoted to the classical style at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The various causes of this phenomenon are retraceable in the diary of the renowned British musicographer Charles Burney. In his *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces* (1775) he describes, with disappointment, the poor status of the Bohemian musicians.⁷ Even if they were considered among the best performers both at home and abroad, they could obtain miserable engagements or worst, they were obliged to emigrate. The wars of religion of the seventeenth century, as well as the war of succession of the eighteenth century, compelled many aristocrats to leave Bohemia for other regions of the Austrian Empire. The migration of Czech musicians due to the lack of domestic patronage has been studied more than thirty years ago by Zdenka

za *Kulturnu i Društvenu Istoriju* 8/18 (1992), pp. 49–56. I am grateful to my colleague professor Danica Petrović for her help and advice. I am also indebted to the choir conductor of the Serbian Church, maestro Anna Kaira, who helped me to find the music of Galuppi reprinted in Saint Petersburg and kept in the Archives of Saint Spyridion Church.

⁶ Dušan MIHALEK, 'Литургија за мушки кор франческа синика' [The liturgy for a male choir of Francesco Sinico], *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Scenske Umetnosti i Muziku*, 6/10–11 (1992), pp. 75–81.

⁷ Charles BURNLEY, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., London: T. Becket – J. Robson – G. Robinson, 1775, see the chapter on Prague: pp. 10–11.

Pilková, who had defined it as a diaspora.⁸ Far from being a catastrophic departure from the homeland, this phenomenon contributed to creating the preconditions of the so-called classical style in Mannheim, which inspired Haydn and Mozart (e.g. the oeuvre of the Stamic family). The same happened to the Czech composers who had travelled to the South of the Empire. In Gorizia, from the end of the eighteenth century the work of some composers, like František Dusík, Wenceslao Wrattni, Jan Keyha and Jan Schreiber, intensified the spread of the classical style, as well as the oeuvre of Giuseppe Scaramelli, the author and conductor who organized public chamber concerts in Trieste in which the string quartets and trios of Haydn and Mozart were played.⁹ This was also a trend reflecting the use of *Musizieren* in private musical encounters at home – (almost unknown in Italy), which were enjoyed by the bourgeois *Kenner* and *Liebhaber* of any nationality, even at the time of the ideological clash between Italian, Slavic and German people. A refined *Hausmusik* turn is revealed by the subscription launched in 1801 by the Leipzig publishing house Hoffmeister and Kühnel to sell a Johann Sebastian Bach keyboard anthology, signed by fifty buyers.¹⁰ This is why in his travel diary Franz Rzehack wrote that ‘in this seaside town, which is renowned for its trading, the merchant and bourgeois are better than the nobleman’ (*Neu bearbeitetes Post und Reisebuch*, 1793).¹¹

In 1841 Jan Kollár was one of the first Slovak intellectuals to visit Trieste. He planned a grand tour aiming to gather sources about Slavic peoples in

⁸ Zdenka PILKOVÁ, ‘Praha – Wrocław – Warszawa – Dresden: zur Frage der Musikeremigration im 18. Jahrhundert’, in: *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis*, vol. 7, ed. Eleonora Harendarska, Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska im. Ignacego Paderewskiego, 1985, pp. 151–165.

⁹ Alessandro ARBO, *Musicisti di frontiera: le attività musicali a Gorizia, dal medioevo al Novecento*, Monfalcone: Laguna, 1998, pp. 71–86; Ivano CAVALLINI, ‘Minerva nel regno di Mercurio: aspetti e tendenze del classicismo a Trieste’, in: *Off-Mozart. Glazbena kultura i mali majstori srednje Europe 1750.–1820. / Off-Mozart. Musical Culture and the Kleinmeister of Central Europe 1750–1820*, ed. Vjera Katalinić, Zagreb: HMD-HAZU, 1995, pp. 181–188.

¹⁰ Luca AVERSANO, ‘Commercio musicale a Trieste tra la fine del XVIII e i primi anni del XIX secolo’, in: *Attorno al palcoscenico: la musica a Trieste fra Sette e Ottocento e l’inaugurazione del Teatro Nuovo*, eds. Maria Girardi, Paolo Da Col, Bologna: Forni, Bergamo: Fondazione Donizetti, 2001, pp. 253–276.

¹¹ Italian translation in: *21 autori. Impressioni su Trieste 1793–1887*, ed. Lina Gasparini, Trieste: Zibaldone, 1951, p. 21.

Bavaria, Tyrol, Istria, the island of Krk, Trieste and Venice.¹² The eminent professor at the University of Vienna and Lutheran pastor gave a heartfelt description of the Slavs living in Trieste, in particular the Illyrian (Croatian) and Serb communities. He enjoyed listening to some speeches in Slavic languages along the streets ('Slyšelti sice po ulicech [...] slavske zvuky') and he recorded the names of Demetar Stanisavljević, the man responsible for the Serbian school, and Ivan Gvozdanović from Zagreb. He met the prominent Sofija Žinić Rusnov from Varaždin, the renommé Illyrian Saffo, emphasising her poem *Mojoj domovini* (To my Homeland) and the national pride of the Croatian minority.¹³ However, Kollár does not mention the Slovenes at all which is unfortunate as only a few years after his visit, the Slovenes and the Czechs would become a solid political, linguistic and economic reality on the North coast of the Adriatic Sea. On the contrary, Vilém Dušan Lambl, the future secretary of the Steering Committee of the 1848 Prague Pan-Slavic Congress, visited Trieste in 1847 and wrote that the Czechs he met were integrated in the social context of the city. Twenty years later, the famous poet Jan Neruda also visited Trieste testifying that many Czechs were good tailors, seamstresses, glovers and local garrison soldiers.¹⁴

Following the South Pan-Slavic point of view, in the magazine *La favilla*, edited by the poet Francesco Dall' Ongaro, a democrat influenced by Giuseppe Mazzini's ideas, the noblemen of Dubrovnik Medo Pucić (It. Orsatto Pozza) and August Kaznačić in their articles *Studi sugli slavi* (1842) recalled the discovery of the manuscripts *Dvůr Králové* (1817) and *Zelená Hora* (1822).¹⁵ As is well known, the first contains poems in the ancient Czech language of

¹² Jan KOLLÁR, *Cestopis obsahující cestu do horní Italie a odtud přes Tyrolsko a Bavorsko se zvláštním ohledem na slavjanské živly, roku 1841 konanou* [Travel diary on Northern Italy and from there through Tyrol and Bavaria, with particular attention to Slavic life, held in 1841], Prague: Kober, 1862, pp. 68–75.

¹³ These are the verses: 'U tudjini/Al u domovini/Tko svoj rod ljubi/nikad sardce njemu izgubi' ('Either abroad/or at home/he who loves his folk/never stops to love it'. I'm indebted to my friend Stanislav Tuksar for this translation); the poem appeared also in *Danica Horvatska, Slavonska i Dalmatinska* 9, 37, 16 September, 1843, p. 146.

¹⁴ Borut KLABJAN, 'Puzzling (Out) Citizenship and Nationality: Czechs in Trieste before and after the First World War', in: *Beyond the Balkans. Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Sabine Rutar, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2014, pp. 265–278.

¹⁵ P. e K. [= Medo PUCIĆ – August KAZNAČIĆ], 'Studi sugli slavi VI. Il manoscritto di Kraljodvorski', *La favilla. Giornale triestino* 7/15 (1842), 15 August, pp. 289–294.

the thirteenth century; the second is a fragment recording the early Slavic civilization in the eighth and ninth centuries, that is, before the adoption of Christianity. Despite the 'neo-Illyrian' policy of Pucić and Kaznačić, who introduced the poetry of the Polish Adam Mickiewicz to Italy,¹⁶ they gave a particular emphasis in their articles to the aforementioned Bohemian sources, which were considered false by the philologist Josef Dobrovský. On the strength of these Paleoslav documents Jan Palacký initiated a battle to endorse the icon of an antique Czech nation based on democracy.

Around 1847–1848, in Trieste, like in Zagreb and Ljubljana, the Czechs played a driving role in the creation of the first reading rooms, where meetings, called *besedy*, were hosted. As early as 1844, the first *šedjlka*, after the model of the Czech *besedy*, was held in Zagreb. According to the newspaper accounts of the time, the rich bourgeois and the intellectuals read poems and sang patriotic anthems and Lieder, both in Czech and Croatian.¹⁷ Later, reading rooms were transformed into national societies called *čitalnice* in present-day Slovenia and Trieste, while in Croatia, from Rijeka (It. Fiume) to the littoral of Dalmatia, they were called *čitaonice* in which also the Italians took part.¹⁸

The beginning of Slovenian cultural activity on the coast can be traced back to 1848 when the *Slavjansko društvo* (Slavic Society) was found in Trieste. This club of 250 members included mostly Slovenes, but Serbs, Croats, Poles, Bohemians took part in the meetings, organizing the *bésede*, or soirées provided with political speeches, concerts and sometimes theatrical performances.¹⁹ As the expression of a Pan-Slavic orientation, the first

¹⁶ EID., 'Studi sugli slavi XI. Adamo Mickiewicz', *La favilla. Giornale triestino* 8/1 (1843), 15 July, pp. 197–209; EID., 'Studi sugli slavi XIV. Una lezione del professor Mickiewicz', *La favilla. Giornale triestino* 8/22 (1843), 30 November, pp. 341–345.

¹⁷ Dubravka FRANKOVIĆ, '“Šedjlke” ou “besède” (soirées ou cercles) à Zagreb en 1844: caractères socio-historiques et musicaux', *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 23/2 (1992), pp. 171–176.

¹⁸ Nataša CIGOJ KRSTULOVIC, 'Uvod v glasbeno delo čitalnic na Slovenskem do ustanovitve Glasbene Matice (1848–1872)' [Musical activity of reading societies in Slovenia until the founding of the Musical Centre (1848–1872)], *Muzikološki Zbornik*, 32/1 (1996), pp. 61–73; Ivan KLEMENČIĆ, 'The Contribution of Music to Slovenian National Awakening: The Role of Reading Rooms between Trieste, Ljubljana and Maribor (1848–1872)', *Musica e Storia* 12/3 (2004), pp. 513–530.

¹⁹ Aleksander ROJC, *Cultura musicale degli sloveni a Trieste: dal 1848 all'avvento del fascismo*, Trieste: Editoriale Stampa Triestina, 1978.

Slavjanska narodna čitalnica (Slavic National Reading Room) was born in Trieste in 1861. After the failure of Alexander Bach's totalitarian government, the cultural and political life of the Slovenes was concentrated in the *čitalnice*, and during the 1860s musical activities were also focused on the programs provided by Bohemian musicians. The reading room choir was conducted by the Czech writer and music amateur Jan Vacláv Lego. He was invited to Carniola, a region of Slovenia, by his compatriot Anton Nedvíd, first to Kamnik and Ljubljana, and between 1860 and 1862 to Trieste as a zealous choirmaster.

At the time of the national awakening, many composers from Bohemia were employed as chapel masters in nearby Koper, like the musician Josef Czastka from Brno, and in Split during the years of the political clash between the Croats and the Italian minority.²⁰ The development of Slavic/Slovene musical culture in Trieste and abroad must be tackled as a unique body of two halves, in which popular and art music always influenced one another with the help of the Bohemians. This is why some Czech folk tunes still survive in the Slovenian choral repertoire. For a correct interpretation of the topic, we should consider the value of the concept of nation, disregarding the categories of *true* and *false* – *false* also in terms of a re-inventing tradition. The same applies with the meaning of quality, for which in national music the categories of *beautiful* and *ugly* are useless. The simple features of dances, choral music, Lieder or the *Trivialmusik* of reading rooms had a primary role in enhancing the knowledge and awareness of Slovenian identity in Trieste and Ljubljana, just like the Croats in Zagreb, or in other places of those 'peoples without history' (as Engels said), while the renewal of the musical grammar, which began thanks to Bedřich Smetana, is a different issue. Two questions need to be raised about such a theme. On the one hand, the quest for nationhood involved the process of establishing identity through autochthonous characteristics. On the other hand, the negotiation of cosmopolitan and domestic songs enables current musicology to categorize as *functional* any kind of music perceived

²⁰ Giuseppe RADOLE, *La musica a Capodistria*, Trieste: Centro Studi Storico-Religiosi del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1990, pp. 109–112; Miljenko GRGIĆ, *Glazbena kultura u splitskoj katedrali od 1750. do 1940* [Musical culture in the Cathedral of Split from 1750 to 1940], Zagreb: HMD, 1997, pp. 128, 139, 143, 152.

as national according to the mother tongue, also without reference to its origins.²¹

After the mid-nineteenth century, as far as the professional music of Ljubljana and Trieste is concerned, the new violin method flourished thanks to Friedrich Pixis's pupils, namely Otakar Ševčík and Petr Těpý known as Pietro Caldo. Pixis was one of the fathers of the Prague violin school. Adolf Skolek, a bohemian schooled in Vienna, was the first player that introduced modern piano teaching to Trieste, thus changing the old method of articulation.²²

In the early 1900s, the work of Petr Těpý had great significance; he was not only a violin player but also a renowned conductor of the 97th infantry regiment band. The contribution of Josef Rudolf Zavrtal from Prague, composer and conductor, was equally important. In Trieste, in 1850 he conducted the Austrian military navy band and then he founded a musical society. In 1857 he entered the service of the Archduke Maximilian of Habsburg, brother of the Emperor Franz Joseph, and followed him to Mexico, where he accepted its crown. Zavrtal came back from Mexico in 1867, the same year when, after a long war, Maximilian was executed by the rioters.²³

The clarinet player Václav Zavrtal, Josef Rudolf's brother, worked in Ljubljana and in Prague. In 1845 he was appointed Kapellmeister of the 18th Bohemian Regiment in Milan, and between 1855 and 1859 he received a similar position for the 49th infantry regiment in Trieste. As a Czech patriot, after the battle of Solferino between Austria and Italy, he resigned in 1859 and joined the grenadiers in Turin. Finally he settled in Treviso and then in Modena as theatre intendant.²⁴ His son Ladislaus, strongly attached to

²¹ Nataša CIGOJ KRSTULOVIC, 'Glasba za rabo kot družbenozgodovinski pojav v drugi polovici 19. stoletja na Slovenskem' [Utilitarian music as a socio-historical phenomenon in the Slovenian territory in the second half of the nineteenth century], *De musica disserenda* 3/1 (2007), pp. 65–76.

²² Maruša ZUPANČIČ, 'V iskanju lastne identitete: češki violinisti kot glavni tvorci violinizma na Slovenskem' [In search of its true identity: Czech violinists as the main creators of violinism in Slovenian lands], *De musica Disserenda* 4/2 (2008), pp. 105–133; Giuseppe RADOLE, *Le scuole musicali a Trieste e il Conservatorio "Giuseppe Tartini"*, Trieste: Svevo, 1992, pp. 106–107.

²³ John CLAPHAM, 'Zavrtal. Czech Family of Military Musicians', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 24, London: MacMillan, 2001, ad vocem.

²⁴ CLAPHAM, 'Zavrtal. Czech Family of Military Musicians'.

his homeland traditions, worked in many cities in Italy and Great Britain.²⁵ He visited Trieste in 1923, perhaps for work reasons, and he listened to a symphonic concert conducted by Adriano Lualdi. In the treatise *L'arte di dirigere l'orchestra* (*The Art of Conducting the Orchestra* 1940) Lualdi published a letter sent to him by Ladislav the day after the performance. It is a letter full of detailed critical notes on the interpretation of Antonin Dvořák's *New World Symphony* (op. 95), in which Zavrta claims to have had personal relationships with Dvořák. It took me some years to understand that the surname 'Lavertal' is wrongly printed in Lualdi's book, who did not know the Czech colleague.²⁶ Living in Italy from 1907 onwards, he was appointed Knight of the Crown of Italy by King Umberto I and he died in Como in 1942.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century the Czech presence in Trieste was significant: senior civil servants, skilled economists, teachers, engineers, inspectors could be found. At the beginning of the twentieth century they created two cultural societies in cooperation with the Slovenes and Croats at the *Narodni Dom* (*National House*), built in 1904 and designed by the architect Max Fabiani. Both the cultural events of the Czechs and their well-stocked library were hosted at the *Narodni Dom*. In 1907, they also founded a branch of the Bohemian Central Bank (*Ustředna Banka Českých sporitelén*), the bank *Bohemia*, and a branch of the oldest Bohemian *Živnostenska Banka*, thus supporting the local economic effort towards the creation of an independent Prague-Trieste corridor (like the Gdańsk corridor), as proposed by Tomáš Masaryk before the First World War.²⁷

As an example of musical education, I would like to mention Hrabroslav Volarič (1863–1895). Volarič was one of the most important composers

²⁵ Marta OTTLOVÁ, 'Zavrta Ladislav', in: *Hudební divadlo v českých zemích: osobnosti 19. Století* [Musical Theatre in the Bohemian Lands: Outstanding Figures of the Nineteenth Century], Prague: Divadelní Ústav, Academia, 2006, p. 632.

²⁶ Adriano LUALDI, *L'arte di dirigere l'orchestra. Antologia e guida*, 2nd ed., Milan: Hoepli, 1949, pp. 250–258.

²⁷ Borut KLABJAN, *Českoslovaška na Jadranu. Čebí in slovaki ter njihove povezave s Trstom in Primorsko od začetka 20. stoletja do druge svetovne vojne* [Czechoslovakia in the Adriatic. Czechs and Slovaks and their links with Trieste and the Littoral from the beginning of the twentieth century to the Second World War], Koper: Založba Annales, 2007, pp. 90–91.

of *čitalnice*, who studied composition at the school of Koper under the mentorship of the Bohemian violinist and organist Josef Czastka and who acted as director of the Philharmonic Society which included more than thirty pupils.²⁸ In 1912, the Slovenes created the *Glasbena Matica* (Music Centre) music school. It was provided with a small symphony orchestra which performed the music of Bohemian composers at the *Narodni Dom*, in particular that of Dvořák and Smetana, such as the famous *Prodaná nevěsta* (*Bartered Bride*, 1913).²⁹

The idea of a Slavic brotherhood encouraged the collaboration between Slovenes and Croats under the patronage of the Croatian bishop of Trieste Juraj Dobrila, the *spiritus movens* of the newspaper *Naša sloga* (Our Own Concord, 1870–1915). In the same cultural context we should mention the launch of the journal *Hrvatska misao* in Prague in 1897, and of the Pan-Slavic newspapers edited in Trieste by Ante Jakić from 1888 until 1909: *Il diritto croato*, *Il pensiero slavo*, *La pensée slave*, *Slavenska misao*.³⁰ The new Czech music as well as Masaryk's thought deeply influenced *Petar Svačić*, a historical opera written by the Croatian Josip Mandić. A concert performance was given in Trieste in 1903, and one year later it was staged in Ljubljana.³¹ A lawyer, composer and critic for the papers *Naša sloga* and *Jadran* (The Adriatic), Mandić moved to Prague after the First World War, where his scores were performed by the Czech Philharmonic under Václav Talich. Mandić married a Czech woman and changed his name into Josef. For the Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music, held in Vienna in 1932, his *Puhački quintet* (Wind Quintet) was performed in a section devoted to

²⁸ Janko LEBAN, 'Hrabroslav Volarič, slovenski skladatelj. Življenjepisna črtica' [Hrabroslav Volarič, Slovene Composer. A Biographical Sketch], *Dom in Svet* 9/7 (1895), pp. 214–215, 246–247.

²⁹ Pavle MERKŪ, 'Orkester Glasbene Matice pre požigom Norodnega Doma' [The orchestra of Glasbena Matica before the burning of the Narodni Dom], in: *75 let Glasbene Matice* [The 75 Years of Glasbena Matica], ed. Jože Koren, Trieste: Glasbena Matica, 1985, pp. 44–46.

³⁰ Petar STRČIĆ, 'Il *Naša sloga*, primo periodico croato a Trieste per i croati d'Istria e delle isole del Quarnero', in: *I croati a Trieste*, ed. Damir Murković, Trieste: Edizioni Comunità Croata di Trieste, 2007, pp. 245–268; Erika VALENTINČIĆ, 'Il periodico *Il pensiero slavo* di Ante Jakić, 1888–1909', in: *I croati a Trieste*, pp. 285–328.

³¹ Natka BADURINA, 'Croatian Historical Myth, South Slavic Brotherhood, and the Death of the Opera', *De musica disserenda* 12/1 (2016), pp. 81–93.

Czechoslovakia. He died in Prague in 1959 where he had been imprisoned for his political ideas.³²

As already mentioned, the activities of the Czechs, who numbered 2,000 of the wealthy bourgeoisie until the Nazi occupation of Bohemia in 1939, are linked either to the development of the national consciousness of the autochthonous Slovenes or the Croatian community. Nevertheless, the history of the Czech settlers in Trieste has a political and cultural profile that seems a paradox. There are some elementary reasons which justify the long stay of this group in the first part of the Habsburg Empire. On the one hand, the Italian irredentists of Trieste were fascinated by the patriotic movement that arose in Bohemia immediately after the Council of Vienna (later named as *narodni obrozeni*). On the other hand, the Czechs always promoted the common cultural life of Slavic societies, aiming to unify the Slavs of Central Europe against the aggressive Pan-Germanism of the Reich. An exception to this was the support of the Young Czech Party of the effort to establish an Italian university in Trieste which was rejected by Slovene and Croat students in 1914.³³ To this extent, there are two magnificent examples of this ambiguity: the biography *Giovanni Hus il veridico* (1913), written by the young Benito Mussolini, and the monograph *La nazione czecca* by Giani Stuparich (1915), reprinted in 1922, when the political framework of Europe was completely changed.³⁴ The future Duce of fascism glorified the spirit of freedom of the great reformer Jan Hus within a national framework, neither religious nor philosophical. For this essay, in 1926 he was awarded the Czechoslovakian White Lion.³⁵ Giani Stuparich, an Italian author of novels from Trieste, studied at the German University of Prague, but he was

³² Nataša LEVERIĆ, 'Josip Mandić (1883–1959): tragovi' [Josip Mandić (1883–1959): Traces], *Arti musices* 30/1 (1999), pp. 3–46.

³³ KLABJAN, 'Puzzling (Out) Citizenship and Nationality: Czechs in Trieste', pp. 273–274.

³⁴ Benito MUSSOLINI, *Giovanni Huss: il veridico*, Rome: Podrecca and Galantara, 1913; Giani STUPARICH, *La nazione czecca*, Catania: Battiato, 1915; enlarged edition: Napoli: Ricciardi, 1922, and Milan: Longanesi, 1969.

³⁵ Pavel HELAN, 'Mussolini Looks at Jan Hus and the Bohemian Reformation', in: *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. vol. 4. Papers from the IV. International Symposium on the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, eds. Zdeněk V. David, David R. Holeton, Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2002, pp. 309–316.

intrigued by Czech patriotism. His book on *The Czech Nation* is the first essay explaining the thought of the great Bohemian thinkers, such as the politician František Palacký, the Catholic priest Karel Havlíček, the Lutheran Slovak Kollár and the philosopher Masaryk, whose works have been deeply analysed. Stuparich emphasizes the neo-Hussite perspective, which is the most important case study in the effort to understand modern Czech and Slovak cultures. Further, he clarifies why Jan Hus became a national hero for linguistic reasons, after two centuries under the dominant power of the German minority. The large-scale deployment of the Czech language between 1850 and 1870, as the writer argues, is related to the achievement of social independence. Finally, in connection with the rebirth of the Czech middle class which replaced the economy of the German citizens, even the Slovak scholars accepted this language as *Verkehrssprache* instead of German.

In conclusion, I think we are still suffering the consequences of the stagnant situation at the time of the Iron Curtain, given that the relationship between Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Croats of Trieste can only today be analysed as a concrete topic without the prejudices inflicted by a dangerous nationalism. National and cosmopolitan trends coexisted in Central Europe, including Trieste. On the contrary, Fascist, Nazi, and Communist policies were the main agents that killed or hid its multicultural identity as stressed by two antithetical slogans ‘Trieste città italianissima’ and ‘Trst je naš’.

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