

*Journal of the
American Musical
Instrument Society*

VOLUME I • 1975



Copyright by the [American Musical Instrument Society](#).
Content may be used in accordance with the principles of fair
use under [Section 107 of the United States Copyright Act](#).
Content may not be reproduced for commercial purposes.

The Orchestra under Clemens Wenzeslaus: Music at a Late-Eighteenth-Century Court

SHELLEY DAVIS

DURING the closing decades of the eighteenth century court musicians still led a comparatively secure life, and court composers were largely spared the difficulties that arise from open-market competition. We are familiar with benefits that a musician could enjoy serving such rulers as Frederick the Great or Catherine the Great. Fortunately, enlightenment was not limited to figures of such celebrity for, especially in Germany, which was still a relatively loose federation of states, there were many lesser courts that followed their example and emphasized both cultural achievement and social reform. Among the more cultured of the minor rulers were the electors of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier.¹ Within this group, Clemens Wenzeslaus, the last Elector of Trier, appeals to us as a man of exceptional sensitivity who retained a lifelong passion for music.

This article is an expanded version of a paper originally presented before the Nation¹ Convention of the American Musicological Society at Chicago, Illinois, on 10 November 1973.

1. The Electors of Cologne were Maximilian Frederick, Count von Königseck-Rothenfels (Elector from 1761 to 1784); and Maximilian (from 1784 to 1801), son of Emperor Francis I. The Electors of Mainz were Emmerich Joseph, Baron von Breitbach-Büresheim (from 1763 to 1774); and Frederick Charles Joseph, Baron von Erthal (from 1774 to 1802). Both Mainz Electors were also Bishop of Worms.

Wenzeslaus (28 September 1739–27 July 1812) was the youngest son of Frederick Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and later King Frederick Augustus III of Poland. The mother of Wenzeslaus was the Archduchess Josepha of Austria, first cousin of Empress Maria Theresa.² This youthful Prince of Poland and Duke of Saxony grew up at the Dresden Court in musical surroundings which, under the influence of Johann Adolph Hasse, were among the most professional in Europe. He performed well on numerous instruments, including the gamba, violin, viola, 'cello, flute, harpsichord, and organ. As a young prince, Wenzeslaus visited courts that could boast the highest musical attainment, such as those at Mannheim, Vienna, and Paris. In 1766 he made one of many visits to Munich as the guest of his brother-in-law, Maximilian Joseph, the Elector of Bavaria.³ There he met a ten-year-old prodigy from Salzburg who was on his way back with his father from a most successful tour of England, as reported in a letter from Leopold Mozart to his son

2. Thus Wenzeslaus was a second cousin to Emperor Joseph II. Wenzeslaus became Bishop of Freising in 1763, and Bishop of Regensburg in 1764, the same year in which he subsequently became Coadjutor of Augsburg. With the death of Johann Philipp von Walderdorff on 12 January 1768, Maria Theresa decided in favor of Wenzeslaus as the Elector of Trier, and he assumed that office less than a month later (10 February). With the death of Joseph, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, on 20 August of the same year, Wenzeslaus became Bishop of Augsburg and, in so doing, gave up the Freising and Regensburg bishoprics. In 1787, Wenzeslaus became Provost at Ellwangen. Adverse political circumstances forced him to abandon Koblenz permanently on 5 October 1794, and from 1794 to 1803 he was stripped of his offices. The Treaty of Lunéville (1801) apportioned the left bank of the Rhine to France, and the Reichsdeputationshauptschluss (1803) apportioned the Ellwangen office to the Duke of Württemberg, and the Augsburg Principality as well as the right bank of the Rhine to Bavaria. As compensation, Wenzeslaus received a yearly pension of 100,000 guilders and free lodgings in the Bishop's castle at Augsburg. For further information regarding Wenzeslaus, see Franz Xaver Kraus, "Clemens Wenceslaus von Trier," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, IV (Leipzig, 1876), 309–314, and Placidus Ignatius Braun, *Geschichte der Bischöfe von Augsburg*, IV (Augsburg, 1815), 500–502.

3. On 27 February 1771, Wenzeslaus during a visit to Munich performed chamber music (playing second violin) with Maximilian Joseph (playing first violin) and Elector Palatine Karl Theodor, patron of the famous Mannheim orchestra (playing flute). See Gustav Bereths, *Die Musikpflege am kurtrierischen Hofe zu Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein* (Mainz, 1964), p. 16, n. 54, hereafter referred to as *Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein*.

written eleven years later when Leopold was advising Wolfgang about possible service under Wenzeslaus at Koblenz.⁴

Directly after becoming Elector of Trier early in 1768, Wenzeslaus moved first to the traditional electoral residence, a *Schloss* at the foot of the old fortress at Ehrenbreitstein.⁵ However, he was dissatisfied: most of the Court nobility lived in Koblenz, and winter trips across the Rhine were made especially hazardous by ice drifts and floods. Also, the castle was built at the side of a steep mountain, and falling rocks proved a constant danger to the inhabitants. Wenzeslaus therefore moved to the Dikasterialgebäude at Ehrenbreitstein and soon made plans for a new residential palace to be built at Koblenz. This edifice was first planned in 1776 and designed by Michel d'Ixnard, a Classicist from Nîmes, but it was actually built by Antoine-François Peyre who began work in 1779 and completed the project in 1786.⁶ It was in this palace that Wenzeslaus entertained guests with most of the well-documented weekly performances that were given by his excellent orchestra. Except for brief visits to such cities as Augsburg and Ellwangen, and to his summer retreats (the Trier palace, the magnificent Baroque castle "Schönbornslust," or the castle at Kärlich), Wen-

4. The reference appears in Leopold Mozart's letter of 13 November 1777. The full statement of this letter may be found in Otto Erich Deutsch and Wilhelm A. Bauer, eds., *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, II (Kassel, 1962), 116. For an English translation, see Emily Anderson, trans. and ed., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, rev. ed. A. Hyatt King and Monica Carolan (London and New York, 1966), I, 366.

5. Ehrenbreitstein is a small town on the right bank of the Rhine, opposite Koblenz. The ancient Ehrenbreitstein *Festung*, resting on the top of a cliff across from Koblenz at the point where the Rhine and Mosel rivers meet, dated from the eleventh century, but its actual construction was begun in the thirteenth century; it was destroyed in 1801. The Ehrenbreitstein *Schloss*, called "Philippsburg," was built between 1626 and 1629 at the foot of the cliff, during the rule of Philipp Christoph von Sötern (from 1623 to 1652). The *Schloss* was the center of musical activity from the period of Elector Karl Kaspar von der Leyen (from 1652 to 1676) until it was destroyed in 1800.

6. For further references to d'Ixnard and Peyre, see John Fleming, Hugh Honour, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Bungay, Suffolk, 1972), p. 155 (d'Ixnard); and Russell Sturgis et al., *A Dictionary of Architecture and Building* (London and New York, 1902; republished Detroit, 1966), III, cols. 125-126 (Peyre).

zeslaus remained at Koblenz up until 1794, when the advance of French Republican troops forced his permanent departure.⁷ He spent most of his twilight years in the Bishop's palace at Augsburg. It was there that he was host for the Weber family in 1794: the Elector playing flute or viola, Edmund von Weber playing the violin, Franz Anton von Weber playing 'cello or double bass, and Carl Maria, all of eight years, playing piano.⁸

When Wenzeslaus became Bishop of Augsburg late in 1768, he transferred some members of the orchestra at that bishopric to Ehrenbreitstein, including kapellmeister Pietro Pompeo Sales and concertmaster Johann Georg Lang. This influx of new members helped increase the size of the already existing electoral orchestra from twenty-eight to forty-nine members, including an *Intendant*, two kapellmeisters, one concertmaster, four clarinet players (clarinets had been in the electoral orchestra as early as 1760),⁹ four horn players, and one calcant (a bellows-pumper for the organ). The *Intendant*, usually a nobleman, was the general overseer of the orchestra as well as liaison-man between the personnel and the ruling patron. Concertmaster Lang, besides his usual duties of leading the orchestra in nonvocal compositions, performed administrative tasks together with the kapellmeisters, such as making recommendations regarding the hiring of new personnel, the purchase of instruments, and matters concerning the orchestral budget. The calcant, Johann Michael Meder, besides his official duty as bellows-pumper, was a general handyman: he did some music-

7. In 1791, the brothers of Louis XVI set up a Regency at Koblenz, and the city became the center of the Counter-Revolution. Wenzeslaus had family ties with the French Court: his sister Maria Josepha was married to the *dauphin* Louis (son of Louis XV) and was the mother of Louis XVI.

8. For an account of the Weber family's visit with Wenzeslaus at Augsburg, see Ernst Fritz Schmid, "Augsburg," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (hereafter referred to as *MGG*), 1 (Kassel, 1949-1951), col. 837. See also the reference to Bereths, *Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein*, in note 3, above.

9. Two clarinets are listed in the kurtrierischer Hof- und Staatskalender of 1760, p. 67. Two more were purchased on 18 July 1761, according to the Koblenz Court records; the reference may be found in the Staatsarchiv Koblenz, Abteilung 1C, Nummer 5159, fol. 88. Hereafter, references to material in the Staatsarchiv Koblenz will be shortened so that the above citation would read *D-brd* KBa, 1C/5159, fol. 88.

copying, he was a secretary for the *Intendant*, he was a substitute performer on the bassoon and oboe, and he was often responsible for carting instruments—including kettle drums—to and from performances.¹⁰

One of the most significant appointments made at the electoral Court was that of Joseph Heinrich von Thünnefeld to the post of *Intendant* on 7 October 1782.¹¹ Baron von Thünnefeld was an active and energetic man who managed Court music as an independent entity, with separate administrative files. These files are a treasure trove of information; they include tables of the orchestra's personnel and their salaries, inventories of instruments, recommendations by the kapellmeisters and concertmaster, letters from various persons connected with Court music, and specifications of copying done by the calcant. The documents include detailed material for nine years: 1783–1784 and 1787–1793. Located in the State Archive at Koblenz, they form part of the *Hof-Musik-Intendantz-Protokoll* files, which bring together the records of the *Intendant* with those of the Electoral Chamber. These files, hereafter referred to as "Protokoll," represent one of the most fascinating surviving sources of information regarding the day-to-day activities of a late-eighteenth-century court orchestra.¹²

Leafing through these volumes, we are initially drawn to the lists of orchestral personnel, both by their impressive size and by their revealing contents. These lists appear for the years 1783, 1787, and 1790–1792. In the records for 1783, two lists exist: one shows

10. From 12 March 1787 on, Meder was assisted as calcant by 22-year-old Johann Wendelin Schiffner, a violist who came from a family of musicians in the service of the Electoral Court at least as early as 1727. For further information regarding Schiffner, see Bereths, *Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein*, pp. 54–55.

11. When Wenzeslaus first became Elector, the *Intendant* was Baron Anselm Carl von Warsberg, Master at Warsberg on the Wartelstein, Privy Councillor to His Highness, the Elector of Trier, Superior Magistrate of Saarbürg; Baron von Warsberg was dismissed in 1770 when he married the Countess of Nesselrode. Although the Court records do not officially indicate a successor till Baron von Thünnefeld became *Intendant*, Baron von Zech was listed in 1783 as *Intendant* in *D-brd* KBa, 1C/945, fol. 58. The post is referred to as vacant in Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland*, 1 (Leipzig, 1782), 151, hereafter referred to as *Musikalischer Almanach*.

12. The Protokoll records are contained in *D-brd* KBa, mostly in 1C/945–951.

only the member's rank, name, salary, and, in some instances, whether this member had free lodgings; the other is more structured and channels the information into four main columns. The first column lists the active members; the second identifies the inactive members, the so-called *Invaliden*; the third indicates positions which were yet to be filled, those of the *Accessisten*; and the fourth specifies the salaries of the members. By 1787, a more sophisticated format had evolved; in columns, reading from left to right, the following data appear: the member's rank, his name, instrument, age, number of years in service, the number of years he has been married, whether or not he is a widower, how many children he has, how many Klafter of wood, Malter of grain, and Fuder and Ohm of new wine he has earned,¹³ how much wine he had earned previously, his base salary, and his total salary. The base salary is itself presented in three separate columns, each of which indicates its source—Trier, Augsburg, or the Cabinettskasse (the private funds of Wenzeslaus). Each of these lists appears at the beginning of its respective volume and is dated no later than 23 January. We thus get an accurate profile of the orchestra at the beginning of each new year. The membership of the orchestra for the year 1787 appears in List I.

These lists also show that the apparent size of the orchestra did not vary significantly between 1783 and 1792. Between 1783 and 1787 the total membership was reduced from sixty to fifty-five, the same number to be found in the list for 1790, but the number apparently increased to fifty-six by early 1791 and to fifty-seven by the first of the following year. The above figures, by themselves, may (all too easily) be deceiving: the records tell us that not all the members listed on the payrolls were active. The designation *Invalid* was used to indicate disability due mainly to old age or injury. We discover that twenty-two members were inactive in 1783, at least six in 1787, and eleven in each of the years 1790–1792. Thus the active complement over these years was approximately thirty-eight,

13. A Klafter = ca. $3\frac{1}{3}$ cubic meters (= a cord or line of wood); a Malter = $2\frac{2}{7}$ Imperial Quarters (a quarter = ca. 8 bushels); a Fuder = ca. 252 gallons (= a fermenting vat or one tun); and an Ohm = ca. 35 gallons (or 10 Stützen).

forty-nine, forty-four, forty-five, and forty-six. The changes in overall size of the orchestra from 1783 to 1792 appear in Table I.

LIST I

The Personnel of the Electoral Orchestra at Koblenz, as of 22 January 1787

(D-brd KBa, 1C/946, fols. 54'-56)

Kapellmeisters: Pietro Pompeo Sales; *Invalid*: Konrad Starck
Concertmaster: Johann Georg Lang

Vocalists

Sopranos: Mme Reisinger (Maria Katharina Urspringer), Mme Foelix (Eva Margaretha Anschuez), Mme Hergen (Clara Capuzzi)

Altos: Mme Sales (Franziska Blümer), Mlle Katharina Kaltenborn, Mlle Franziska Judith Lanius

Tenors: Jakob Lindpaintner, Jakob Zuccarini [*Invalid?*], Balthasar Buchwieser

Basses: Johann Baptist Zwing, Balthasar Gern

Instrumentalists

Organists: Franz Caspar Anschuez, Daniel Hüntten

Violinists: Johann Baptist Schuster, Jean Danzi, Johann Lorenz and Valentin Johann Skotsoffsky, Johann Christoph Himmer, Nikolaus and Wilhelm Maring, Joseph Beckau, Johann Peter Baum, Peter Josef Griwes, Philipp Berlang; *Invalid*: Johannes Altfuld, Johann Andreas Schotzniowsky

Violists: Johann Jakob and Franz Urban Baltus; *Invalid*: Joseph Anton Ries

Flutists: Joseph Anton Schuster, Franz Carl Hergen; *Invalid*: Johann Jakob Spitz

Oboists: Ernst Antoine Crux, Franz Georg Engel, Johann Martin Dahlhofer

'Cellist: Caspar Ignaz Eder

Bass Players: Stanislaus Joseph Gitter, Valentin Meder, Johann Georg Seitz

Horn Players: Christoph (father), Johann Peter and Philipp Dornaus; *Invalid*: Joseph Joseph

Clarinetists: Johann Baptist Clee, Peter Dominicus Spitz

- Bassoonists: Severin Breymeyer, Johann Michael Engel
 *Trumpeters: Johann Ludwig Schöngin (Schöningen), Johann Jubelius Hastenteufel
 *Timpanist: Peter Maring
 Calcants: Johann Michael Meder, Johann Wendelin Schiffner
 * From the Office of the Guard.

TABLE I
 The Sizes of the Electoral Orchestra for the Years
 1783, 1787, 1790, 1791, and 1792

(The number of inactive members is indicated by parentheses.)

<i>Position or Instrument</i>	1783	1787	1790	1791	1792
Kapellmeister	2(1)	2(1)	1	1	1
Concertmaster	1	1	1	1	1
Female singer	8(1)	6	5	5	5
Male singer	5(1)	5	5	5	5
Organ	2(1)	2	2(1)	2(1)	2(1)
Violin	10(4)	13(2)	12(3)	13(3)	13(3)
Viola	5(3)	3	3(1)	3(1)	3(1)
Flute	3(1)	3(1)	2	2	2
Oboe	3(1)	3(1)	3	3	2
'Cello	2	1	2	2	2
Violone	3(1)	3	3(1)	3(1)	3(1)
Horn	6(4)	4(1)	4(2)	4(2)	4(2)
Clarinet	2	2	2	2	2
Bassoon	3(1)	2	2	2	3
Trumpet	2(2)	2	4(2)	4(2)	4(2)
Timpani	2(1)	1	2(1)	2(1)	2(1)
Calcant	1	2	2	2	2
TOTALS	60(22)	55(6)	55(11)	56(11)	57(11)

This situation reminds us that caution in determining the size of an orchestra had best be exercised even when we consult a standard eighteenth-century source: in 1782, Johann Nikolaus Forkel described this orchestra as comprising fifty-nine members; however,

he made no distinction with regard to inactive players, the *Invaliden*, of whom there may well have been about twenty.¹⁴

The section totals for instruments appear in Table II.

TABLE II
The Active Members of the Electoral Orchestra for
the Years 1783, 1787, 1790, 1791, and 1792
(Excluding singers, organists, calcants, and *Invaliden*)

	1783	1787	1790	1791	1792
Kapellmeister	1	1	1	1	1
Concertmaster	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	2	2	2	2	2
Violin	6	11	9	10	10
Viola	2	3	2	2	2
'Cello	2	1	2	2	2
Violone	2	3	2	2	2
TOTAL	12	18	15	16	16
Flute	2	2	2	2	2
Oboe	2	2	3	3	2
Clarinet	2	2	2	2	2
Bassoon	2	2	2	2	3
TOTAL	8	8	9	9	9
Trumpet	0	2	2	2	2
Horn	2	3	2	2	2
TOTAL	2	5	4	4	4
Timpani	1	1	1	1	1
TOTALS	25	34	31	32	32

14. *Musikalischer Almanach*, 1, 151-154. Even more confusing is the fact that Forkel sometimes does refer to the *Invaliden* or "Pensionnaires"; this lack of consistency makes his figures especially troublesome when an attempt is made to compare the true numbers of active players from among the late-eighteenth-century orchestras. Forkel doubtless got his information from official calendars that were made available by the various courts, usually on a yearly basis. He apparently reproduced the lists as he received them, and each court, in the listing of orchestra personnel, followed its own policy regarding format. Most courts did not indicate which members were inactive. However, some apparently did, as is indicated by the reference to "Pensionnaires" in the account of the court orchestra at Ansbach; see Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach*, 1, 138.

The figures show an apparent favoring of woodwinds and brass-winds. Although the average size of the string section—ten violins, two each violas, 'cellos, and basses—was certainly respectable for the time (excluding such monster orchestras as those of the Milano Opera or the San Carlo Opera at Naples), the presence of clarinets and the use of three oboes or bassoons from 1790 on tipped the scales heavily towards the winds, often making the string-woodwind ratios slightly less than two to one (in general, this seems to have been a minimum standard ratio for German court orchestras at the time, though some maintained a ratio of about three to one, as opposed to a ratio of about four to one found in many of today's orchestras). Furthermore, there were never fewer than two active horn players in Wenzeslaus' orchestra, and after 1783 two trumpeters and a timpanist were always listed. That the numerical weighting of winds was favored by the leaders of the orchestra is attested by the response of the kapellmeisters and concertmaster to a question posed by Baron von Thünnefeld early in 1783. When asked how many persons are necessary for the Court music, Sales, Starck, and Lang responded as follows: a total of thirty-nine musicians—one kapellmeister, one concertmaster, two each soprano-alto-tenor-bass singers, one organist, strings eight-two-two-two, woodwinds two each (creating a string-woodwind ratio of fifteen to eight), two Waldhorn players, two trumpeters, one timpanist, and the ever-present calcant. For this group, a total salary of 14,000 reichstaler was recommended, a figure proposed as reasonable were the musicians also employed in other capacities at Court; in reality, the entire fund averaged about 9,500 reichstaler.¹⁵ The numerical emphasis of violins over the total of lower strings tends to support Thurston Dart's assertion that the string sections of modern orchestras are bottom-heavy when compared to those of

15. In 1783, two currencies were employed at Koblenz: the currency of Northern Germany (1 reichstaler = 54 albus or 30 groschen), and that of Southern Germany and Austria (1 florin [or gulden] = 50 kreuzer). At that time in Koblenz, a reichstaler was equivalent to 1½ florins. For a general discussion of European currencies in the eighteenth century and later, see James J. Fuld, *The Book of World-Famous Music: Classical, Popular, and Folk*, rev. and enl. ed. (New York, 1971), pp. 10-14.

Inventario
 In dem Pöflichafft Quieriffen Musicaliffen Instrumenten
 Pro Anno 1789.

14

	Zahl
den Violinen	24.
den Violin Bögen	40.
den Alt Violon fumbt Bögen	4.
den Violon fumbt Bögen	2.
den Fagotten	2.
den Violoncell	3.
den Quart flautabech	2.
den flautravers	2.
den B. Clarinetten	2.
den C. Clarinetten	3.
den Horn zu gorn mit der gantz Octav golben Bögen in 2. Stücken	4.
den Horn zu gorn golben mit gantz Octav golben Bögen in 2. Stücken	4.
den D. Trompeten	2.
den D. Trompeten	2.
den Invention Trompeten zu gorn mit alt Horn golben Bögen mit einem Stück	2.
den Posaunen	3.
den Pauken	4.
den Clavier fliegel forte piano	2.
den Guqen	1.
den Pulten von Holz zu Ceterlich fünd	28.
den auf gefundten gulten mit geförige Lichter	30.
den Clavier geförige fünd der Licht	1.
den Capation geförige Later nen	2.
den gaderblüster	38.
den Clavier Lichter von Holz zu Ceterlich fünd	21.
den Clavier Lichter von Messing	4.
den Violin fudralen	3.
den Stücken der Violinen	2.
den Stücken der Violoncell	1.

Eoblenz den 19^{ten} Januarij 1790.
 J. A. C. Johann Michael Meier Calcar

FIGURE I. One of the three inventories of the instruments at the Court of Clemens Wenzeslaus for the year 1789 (dated 19 January 1790); from the Hof-Musik-Intendanz-Protokoll files. Staatsarchiv Koblenz.

the eighteenth century.¹⁶ Regarding the woodwinds, even though the sounds they produced were considerably sweeter and less brilliant than those of today, a satisfactory balance was apparently attained by the numbers shown in the Court records.

A particularly intriguing group of records found in the Protokoll series are the inventories of musical instruments for the years 1783 and 1789. The 1783 inventories have been published in Gustav Bereths' comparatively recent study regarding the cultivation of music at the Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein Court;¹⁷ those, and the 1789 inventories (see Figure 1), appear in Lists IIA and IIB.

LIST IIA

Inventories of Musical Instruments at Court in 1783

(According to Gustav Bereths, *Die Musikpflege am kurtrierischen Hofe zu Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein* [Mainz, 1964], pp. 154-55)

I. Churfürstl. Trierische Musikinstrumente:

- 21 Violinen
- 4 Altviolen
- 3 Violoncellen
- 2 Violons
- 2 Oboen, wovon die eine verbrochen, die andere unbrauchbar
- 2 Fagotten
- *2 Bassonetten, so brauchbar seyndt
- 1 Flaut à Beck so unbrauchbar
- 3 Quart Flautabeck, wovon eine nicht zum Gebrauch ist
- *2 Thallien so unbrauchbar seyndt
- *2 Quart Flaut travers
- *4 Klarinetten F und B, die F seyndt nicht brauchbar
- *12 Corni 6 Paar als B, C, D, Dis, F, G. Die C Horn seyndt nicht brauchbar
- 4 2 Paar Horn, wo man alle Thon machen kann
- 3 Posaunen so nicht brauchbar seyndt
- 4 Bauken
- *3 Clavi Cembalo
- *1 Clavier mit Hemmerlein
- 1 Gugu
- *1 Positivorgel

16. *The Interpretation of Music* (New York and Evanston, 1963; original ed., London, 1954), pp. 55-56.

17. *Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein*, pp. 154-156.

II. Privatinstrumente (des Kurfürsten):

- *3 Fagotten, nur mit einem Es, wovon zwei unbrauchbar
- 1 Violoncell
- *2 Oboe mit Mittelstück
- 2 Quart Flautravers
- 2 Klarinetten A mit B-Stück
- *2 Clavier von Nuzbaumholz und 1 vergoldet
- 2 Tromen
- 2 Triangel
- 1 Tambourin
- 4 Türkische Deckel so ganz verbrauchen
- 1 Gugu

III. Instrumente von Augsburg:

- 3 Violons
 - *1 Flauti Piccoli
 - 2 Oboe
 - *1 Quart Flautravers
 - 2 Clavier so Fourniert
- * Entry not in 1789 inventories.

LIST IIB

Inventories, Dated 19 January 1790, of the
Musical Instruments at Court

(D-brd KBa, 1C/948, fols. 14-16)

Inventario

deren Kurfürstliche Triersche Musicalische Instrumenten
Pro Anno 1789

	<i>Stück</i>
an Violinen	24
*an Violinbögen	46
an Altviolen sambt Bögen	4
an Violen sambt Bögen	1
an Fagotten	2
an Violoncell	3
an Quart Flautabeck	2
*an Flautravers	2
an B. Clarinetten	2
*an C. Clarinetten	3

an Horn 2 paar mit der gantze octav grum Bögen in 2 Kasten	4
an Horn 2 paar zu ausziehen mit der gantze octav grumbögen in 2 Kasten	4
*an Dis Trompeten	2
*an D. Trompeten	2
*an Inventions Trompeten i paar mit alle Thön grum Bögen mit einen Kasten	2
an Possaunen	3
an Baucken	4
*an Clavier fliegel forte piano	2
an Gugu	1
*an Pulten wovon 6 zu Cärlich seyndt	28
*an ausgeschnittene pulten mit gehörige leuchter	30
*zur Clavier gehörige seyden ist	1
*zur Cassation gehörige Lanternen	2
*an gelderbleuchter	38
*an blechene leuchter wovon 8 zu Cärlich seyndt	21
*an Clavier leuchter von Messing	4
*an Violin fuderalen	3
*an Kisten vor Violinen	2
*an Kisten vor Violoncell	1

Inventario

deren Kurfürstliche Musicalische Privat-Instrumenten
Pro Anno 1789 [fol. 16]

	<i>Stück</i>
*an Fagotten	1
an Violoncell	1
*an Quart Flautravers	3
an D Clarinetten mit A. Stück und silberne Klappen	2
an Clavier Fliegel vergoldet	1
an Thromen	2
an Triangel	2
an Tamporin oder [sic]	1
an Gugu	1
an Türkische Deckel so gantz verbrochen	4

Inventario
 deren Hochfürstliche Augsbourgische Musicalische Instrumenten
 Pro Anno 1789 [fol. 15]

	<i>Stück</i>
an Violonen	2
*an Quart Flautabeck	2
an Oboe	2
*an Flautravers	2
an Clavierfliegel	2

*Entry not in 1783 inventories.

A remarkable feature of the 1783 inventories is that they contain several references to some old and relatively obscure instruments. The two "Bassonetten" (higher-pitched bassoons) and the two "Thallien" (=Tailles, doubtless *tailles de hautbois*) were, of course, antiques at the time (all being listed as unusable).¹⁸ The F clarinets, the three bassoons each with the special "S" connecting piece, and the two oboes each with a removable or interchangeable middle joint, seem also to have been vestiges, but possibly from a more immediate past. Probably more contemporary were the twelve horns (six pairs, pitched in B-flat, C, D, D-sharp, F, and G) that appeared in the Trier Electorate inventory of 1783, but not in that of 1789.

The 1789 inventories display a significantly higher number of newer instrumental types, indicating that Wenzeslaus desired to keep his orchestra up-to-date, especially after 1783. Particularly

18. The two "Bassonetten" were treble bassoons. The *bassonetto* was also known by the designation "fagottino." In the seventeenth century, the term "fagottino" was applied to curtals. See Sibyl Marcuse, *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary* (New York, 1964), p. 178, hereafter referred to as *Musical Instruments*. "Taille" indicates an instrument of the tenor range; it could refer to various instruments, such as the *taille de violon* (a tenor violin from the mid-sixteenth century) and the *taille de viole* (a tenor viola da gamba). Bereths, in *Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein*, p. 154, considers the entry "Thallien" to be a type of old violin. However, its appearance among the woodwinds suggests that the type of instrument represented is the *taille de hautbois*, an oboe of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries similar to the ordinary oboe but pitched a fifth lower and thus not unlike the English horn. See Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, p. 505.

noteworthy is the increased popularity of trumpets, flutes, and pianos. Six new trumpets appear: two each in D and D-sharp, and two *Inventionstrompeten*. The D-sharp trumpets were doubtless early models of the E-flat instruments that were destined later to achieve considerable fame. The *Inventionstrompete* at the time was new and modelled after the *Inventionshorn*, which reportedly as early as 1753 had been created by Anton Joseph Hampel and built by Johann Werner, both of Dresden. New crooks, U-shaped, were given a special fitting lower down the tubing of the horn, helping pitch quality and control; these crooks were probably also employed as early versions of tuning slides. The *Inventionstrompete* was evidently the joint creation of Michael Wöggel of Carlsruhe and the famous piano-builder Johann Andreas Stein of Augsburg, and it dates from 1780.¹⁹ It was always a relatively rare instrument, never achieving the more widespread acceptance of the older *Inventionshorn*. Its appearance at least as early as 1789 suggests a comparatively progressive attitude at Court regarding new instruments. The (transverse) flutes clearly gained in popularity at Court from 1783 to 1789, since five more of them are listed at the later date.

Regarding the keyboard instruments, the lists reveal some significant facts, despite the lack of clarity that occurs in calcant Meder's descriptions. At least eight keyboard instruments, not including the "Positivorgel" (old choir organ), were among the orchestral instruments inventoried in 1783; by 1789, however, the number recorded had diminished to five. Three of the four keyboard instruments listed in 1783 as belonging to the Trier Elec-

19. For further information regarding the *Inventionstrompete*, see Curt Sachs, *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente* (1913; reprinted New York, 1964), p. 197, hereafter referred to as *Real-Lexikon*; and Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, p. 260. References to the *Inventionshorn* in the standard horn literature are comparatively frequent; included among these are Kathleen Schlesinger, "Horn," *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XIII (Cambridge, England, and New York, 1910), 705; R. Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of Its Technique* (London, 1960), pp. 21-23; and Horace Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680 to 1830* (London, 1970), p. 110, and "Some Historical Notes on the Horn in Germany and Austria," *The Galpin Society Journal*, XVI (1963), 35-36.

torate were doubtless harpsichords; one of them, the "Clavier mit Hemmerlein," may have been an early piano.²⁰ Since the gold-ornamented "Clavier" that was the Elector's own instrument was almost certainly a harpsichord, five and possibly seven of the eight or more keyboard instruments furnished by the Court in 1783 were still probably harpsichords. Of the five keyboard instruments appearing in 1789 (the lower number may show an attempt on the part of Wenzeslaus to economize), two were definitely pianos.

The rise in popularity of pianos at Koblenz in the late 1780's and early 1790's resulted mainly from the activity of the Senft brothers, Peter Johann and Ignaz Joseph, both of whom attained considerable renown as builders of keyboard instruments. Back in 1775, Peter Johann rose to the official position of *Hoforgelmacher*.²¹ That Peter Johann was fascinated by the piano is indicated by his having built one that he offered to sell at a public auction, in which sixty tickets were issued at the price of one kronenthaler each.²² Ignaz Joseph Senft, of greater fame nationally than his brother, acquired a reputation as organ and keyboard builder in Augsburg before he moved temporarily to Koblenz late in 1792 or early in 1793.²³ Purportedly a student of the great Johann Andreas Stein, Ignaz Joseph ran an advertisement in a local newspaper shortly after arriving in Koblenz, doubtless to help establish his reputation in town as a builder of pianos.²⁴ In the announcement, there was a

20. A possible interpretation of "Hemmerlein" is "small hammers" or, conceivably, "light action." There may also be an association with Franz Joseph Hemmerlein, the Court organist from 1778 to 1784, among whose duties was the maintenance of the keyboard instruments.

21. Senft became *Hoforgelmacher* on 21 July, as stated in *D-brd* KBa, 1C/945, fols. 64-65.

22. The auction was advertised in a Koblenz newspaper, the *Allgemeines Churtrierisches Intelligenzblatt auf höchste Anordnung*, Jahrg. 1790, Nr. 20.

23. Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440 to 1840* (London, 1956), p. 104, refers to Ignaz Joseph Senft as an "18th century maker of organs, pianofortes, and harpsichords at Augsburg."

24. The advertisement appeared in the *Allgemeines Churtrierisches Intelligenzblatt auf höchste Anordnung*, Jahrg. 1793, Nr. 38. When the Elector abandoned Koblenz in the face of oncoming French troops in 1794, Ignaz Joseph returned to Augsburg, evidently for the remainder of his life. For further information in this regard, see Franz Feldens, *Musik und Musiker in der Stadt Essen: Die Geschichte der Musik in der Stadt Essen seit ihrer Gründung im 9. Jahrhundert* (Essen, 1936),

p. 37.

description of Senft's "vis-à-vis Flügel," a special double piano that permitted the two performers to face each other.²⁵

Some of the instruments found in both the 1783 and 1789 inventories reveal further significant data regarding music at Wenzeslaus' Court. Included in this group are a family of clarinets that achieved some popularity in the later decades of the eighteenth century and a battery of percussion instruments that reflects the extension to Koblenz of the overwhelming fascination for Turkish janissary music that spread throughout Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁶ In both sets of inventories, reference is made to what have been called "combination clarinets." These are instruments that could be fitted with joints of varying lengths, called *pièces de rechange*. Thus, depending on the requirements of the particular occasion, a B-flat clarinet could be changed into an A instrument by the substitution of a longer middle joint. Conversely, the substitution of a shorter middle joint could be applied to raise the overall pitch level.²⁷ These clarinets were

25. Curt Sachs, in his *Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente bei der Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1922), p. 81, describes a square piano by Senft in which the following inscription is found: "Ignace Joseph Senft / faiseur d'Orgues de Clavecins Vis à Vis / à Augsburg." According to Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, p. 582, the vis-à-vis piano was designed by Johann Andreas Stein by 1777, but the vis-à-vis concept itself goes back considerably further: a harpsichord by Philippe Denis was exhibited at Paris in 1712, and this instrument had four manuals, with two at each end; it was intended for two performers, one playing a solo part and the other an accompaniment. According to Sachs, *Real-Lexikon*, p. 416, the vis-à-vis piano was first produced by Stein at Augsburg in 1758. Senft's instrument had three keyboards, of which two were pianos, the third a harpsichord with leather quills. Each piano keyboard had its own strings and sounding board, the two piano wings were placed against each other to form a rectangle, and the performers faced each other. Each keyboard could produce a tone without sympathetic vibrations from other strings, since Senft supplied closed back-damping. The leather quills could be used with one set of piano strings by means of a coupling device, thus adding a new tone color to the softer sounds. All three keyboards, joined by angle hooks, could be used simultaneously. The advertisement also stated that this instrument, capable of creating a full fortissimo, could also provide a diminuendo to a faint piano that could in turn die away—through a fleeting touch of the leather quill—to silence.

26. For a helpful article on the popularity of Turkish janissary music in the period of Viennese Classicism, see Karl Signell, "Mozart and the Mehter," *The Consort*, No. 24 (1967), 310-322.

27. *Pièces de rechange* for other ranges, such as for C clarinets, were also avail-

included among the Elector's collection of private instruments. The programs at Koblenz suggest that the B-flat attachments would more often be called upon by soloists for concertos, such as those by Bär, Hoffmeister, Rosetti, and Stamitz (Carl),²⁸ and that A joints were preferred for more general orchestral use, such as in D-major symphonies, where the clarinets then could blend more effectively with the strings.²⁹

Also among the Elector's private instruments in both the 1783 and 1789 inventories are the drums, triangles, tambourine, and other instruments for the performance of exotic music. The Turkish influence is directly indicated by the references to the four "türkische Deckel so gantz verbrochen," which were doubtless two pairs of cymbals. Here, Meder's terminology seems equivocal,

able. For a further discussion of combination clarinets, see Francis Geoffrey Rendall, "Clarinet," *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed., Eric Blom, ed. (New York, 1955), II, 320, and also Rendall's *The Clarinet: Some Notes upon Its History and Construction*, 2nd ed., rev. (London, 1957), p. 72.

28. Most of the clarinet concertos listed in the *Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue* are by composers whose names were familiar to those attending academy programs at Koblenz; these concertos were all in flat keys. In Supplement XIV (1781), p. 31, there are three concertos by (Carl) Stamitz, all in B-flat; in Supplement XV (1782-1784), p. 41, concertos by seven different composers are listed, among them works by Rosetti (E-flat), Hoffmeister (B-flat), and Michl (B-flat; this is doubtless Michel); in Supplement XVI (1785-1787), p. 20, five concertos are listed, among them two by (Josef) Bär (E-flat and B-flat), and one each by Rosetti (B-flat) and Hoffmeister (E-flat). See Barry S. Brook, ed., *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue: The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements 1762-1787*, facs. ed. (New York, 1966), pp. 731, 799, and 860, respectively. For further references to clarinet concertos by Rosetti, see Horace Fitzpatrick, "Rösler, Franz Anton," *MGG*, XI (Kassel, 1963), col. 622 (five are listed, in B-flat); for further information on concertos and other works for clarinet by Carl Stamitz that appear in published form, see Fritz Kaiser, "Stamitz, Carl," *MGG*, XII (Kassel, 1965), cols. 1160-1161 (of these works, the overwhelming majority are also in flat keys: B-flat, E-flat, and F).

29. For example, concertmaster Lang's symphonies were especially popular in both the academies and church concerts given at Koblenz from 1783 to 1793. Two of the symphonies (Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1201; Regensburg, Fürstlich Thurn-und-Taxische Hofbibliothek, Mus. Ms. Lang 13), both in D major, have clarinet parts for an A instrument; of his keyboard concertos, the D-major *Concerto da caccia* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. Ms. 12510/7, and Regensburg, Fürstlich Thurn-und-Taxische Hofbibliothek, Mus. Ms. Lang 17) has clarinet parts, also for an A instrument.

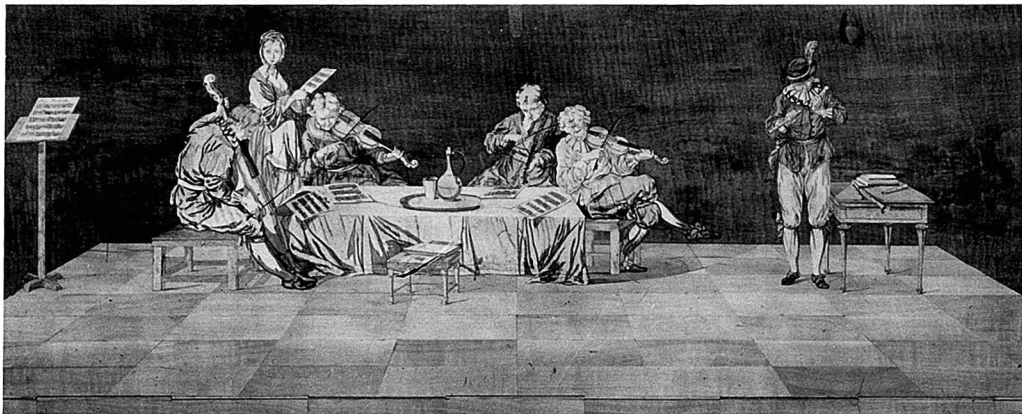


FIGURE 2. *Hauskonzert* with the Orchestra of the Elector; marquetry by Januarius Zick, ca. 1790, on the top of David Roentgen's Center Table with Secret Drawers. National Gallery, Washington.

This work dates from about the time Zick resided at Koblenz. Note the manner in which the violins are being held, on their right side and without a chin rest, and how the violoncello (the "basso" instrument), lacking a tail pin, is supported between the knees of the player. To our right, the flute player is changing the joints of what appears to be a transverse flute. The instruments represented by the joints on the small table next to him are of uncertain identity. The ruffs worn by some of the players suggest that the scene is that of a special party or that Zick was freely portraying a scene from earlier times.

since a literal musical translation of "Deckel," i.e., the top part of a flue pipe for an organ, makes little sense. If "Deckel" is given its more general meaning—lid or cover—it is more than likely that the references were to the cymbal; indeed, the Turkish cymbal, or *zil*, was the most popular of the janissary instruments.³⁰ Thus, the Turkish influence is patent; furthermore, there are many references throughout the Protokoll documents to performances of "türkische Musik." The "Gugu" in these inventories was doubtless a cuckoo whistle such as appears in the Toy Symphony now attributed to Leopold Mozart.³¹

A large portion of each volume of the Protokoll series contains the programs of semi-private academies (that is, secular concerts at Court) as well as of church concerts given by the Court musicians. The academies, which were usually presented on Thursdays, are grouped together in chronological order, as are the church concerts, which took place on Sundays and holy days. Before the completion of the Koblenz palace in 1786, the academies were given in the Hall of Knights at the old Ehrenbreitstein *Schloss*; after 1786, they were performed in the large hall of the new electoral residence. Each academy program indicates soloist, title of work, and composer. Special payments given to soloists sometimes appear at the bottom. In these concerts, there was an alternation of instrumental works with groups of arias, and the programs typically ended with a symphony. While the academies of 1783 often consisted of as many as thirteen or more numbers, those of later years averaged about only nine. A typical program after 1783 would consist of an opening symphony, two or three arias, a central concerto, a group of from two to four arias that generally closed with a vocal ensemble, and a concluding symphony or, less often, a concerto. A typical program appears in List III.

30. The writer wishes to thank Professor Kurt Reinhard of the Freieuniversität Berlin for clarifying the meaning of Meder's reference and Professor L. E. R. Picken of Jesus College, Cambridge, for further corroboration.

31. Meder's use of "G" in place of "C" or "K" occurs with his reference "grum Bögen" in place of "Krummbögen" (crooks), as well as with "Gugu" in place of "Kuckuck." Meder's spelling suggests that his family came from Saxony.

LIST III

A typical program of an Academy at the
Court of Clemens Wenzeslaus

(Academy of 2 February 1790)

Accademie di 2. Februarj 1790

[D-brd KBa, 1C/948, fol. 154]

[Spelling as in original]

		[Authores] ³²
1.	Sinfonie	Rossetti
2. Carnoli	Giusti dei in sen mi sento	Righini
3. Lindpaint.	Guarda il figlio e stringe al petto	Cimarosa
4. Eder	Concert	Dibort [=Duport]
5. Carnoli	Frena oh Dio quei mesti	Tritto
6. Lindpaint.	Io ti lascio o mia speranza	Tarchi
7. Gern	Serberò fra ceppi ancora	Righini
8. Carnoli } Lindpaint. }	Duett Non temer non sono	Caruso
9.	Sinfonie	Caruso

With the emphasis on vocal music, there was a consistently strong preponderance of Italian composers on these programs, and from 1787 on, the symphonies that completed the programs were often by Italian composers as well: Albertini, Bertoni, Bianchi, Caruso, Cimarosa, Niccolini, Pugnani, Righini, Sacchini, and Zingarelli—in most cases, opera-symphonies. The preferred composers of symphonies appear in Table III.

32. The composers represented in this as well as most of the other academies at Wenzeslaus' Court provide additional evidence that music in these concerts was kept up-to-date. Among the more established, although still comparatively young, composers are the Bohemian string-bass player and composer Francesco Antonio Rosetti (Franz Anton Rösler; ca. 1750–1792); the renowned Domenico Cimarosa (1749–1801; successor to Paisiello at St. Petersburg in 1787 and to Salieri at Vienna in 1791 under Leopold II); and Giacomo Tritto (1733–1824; *maestro di cappella* at the Royal Chapel at Naples). Also featured are stars of an even younger generation: the Bolognese singer and composer Vincenzo Righini (1756–1812; Director of Italian Opera at Vienna under Joseph II and Director of Music in the Electoral Court at Mainz); and the youthful Neapolitans Angelo Tarchi (ca. 1760–1814; Tarchi's brilliance as an opera composer was established after 1786) and Luigi Caruso (1754–1822; *maestro di cappella* at the Perugia cathedral from 1790 on). The concerto by "Dibort" is doubtless a 'cello concerto by a member of the Parisian

We find that programs were kept up-to-date, that opening symphonies of Ignaz von Beecke and Austrian-born Ignaz Joseph Pleyel were popular, as were closing symphonies by Giuseppe Niccolini, and that the symphonies of Mozart found increasing favor after 1786. Regarding the concertos, although most of them were for violin, other instruments were also represented, including (in order of preference) keyboard, oboe, 'cello, Waldhorn, flute, clarinet, and bassoon. Violin concertos by Fiorillo (probably Federigo), Winter, and Giornovich were favored, as were keyboard concertos by Koželuch (probably Leopold Anton) and Sterkel; oboe concertos by Lebrun (probably Ludwig August), Winter, and Stamitz (these all doubtless refer to Carl Stamitz); 'cello concertos by Eder, Tricklir, and Wotschitka (a virtuoso 'cellist from the Stuttgart orchestra who moved to Koblenz in 1769); double horn concertos by Johann Braun, Rosetti, Stamitz, and Johann Christoph Vogel; flute concertos by Hergen (who was in charge of the *Tafelmusik* for the Elector) and Stamitz; clarinet concertos by Michel (probably Michel Yost), Müller (probably August Eberhard),³³ Rosetti, and Stamitz; and bassoon concertos by Ritter (probably Georg Wenzel), Rosetti, and Stamitz. Concerto soloists were chosen mainly from the Koblenz orchestra, and guest soloists were generally from Mannheim, among these violinist Christian Danner, oboist Friedrich Ramm (Mozart's close friend), and clarinetist Franz Wilhelm Tausch. Soloists in the keyboard concertos included many of the local nobility (both male and female), and foreign virtuosi, such as the blind female artist Maria

Duport family. It is probable that the Duport in question is Jean Louis, the younger of two brothers ("Duport le cadet"; 1749-1819). According to Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 1 (Leipzig, 1812), cols. 955-957, it was Jean Louis Duport, rather than older brother Jean Pierre (1741-1818), who was composing and publishing 'cello concertos in 1788 and 1790 (the three Jean Pierre Duport concertos referred to in Gerber date from 1792). In any event, the concerto, performed by a local virtuoso, was doubtless quite new at the time.

33. Bereths, in *Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein*, p. 214, suggests that the Müller referred to is Wenzel Müller. However, the many clarinet works found in the instrumental music of August Eberhard Müller, and not in Wenzel Müller's music (which is mainly vocal), strongly indicate that the "Müller" in question is indeed August Eberhard.

TABLE III
Preferred Composers of Symphonies Performed at the Court of Clemens Wenzeslaus
in the Years 1783, 1784, 1787, 1788, 1790, and 1791

(The numbers of separate programs on which a symphony by a given composer is performed follow the names of the composers; I=opening symphonies, II=closing symphonies.)

	1783	1784	1787	1788	1790	1791
I	Rosetti (6)	Beecke (3)	Pleyel (6)	Pleyel (9)	Pleyel (3)	Pleyel (3)
	Lang (5)	Pleyel } (2)	Beecke } (4)	Rosetti (4)	Mozart } (2)	Beecke (2)
	J. C. Bach (3)	Rosetti } (2)	Rosetti } (4)	Beecke } (3)	Rosetti } (2)	[Mozart=1]
	[Mozart=0]	[Mozart=0]	Mozart (3)	Cimarosa } (3)		
				[Mozart=1]		
II	Lang } (2)	No favoring	Niccolini (4)	Niccolini (5)	Bianchi } (2)	Caruso (3)
	Rosetti } (2)		Albertini } (2)	Albertini } (2)	Caruso } (2)	
			Bianchi } (2)	Caruso } (2)		
			Caruso } (2)	Cimarosa } (2)		
			Gluck } (2)	Seydelmann } (2)		
			Pugnani } (2)	Zingarelli } (2)		

Theresia Paradies.³⁴ With the multiplicity of soloists from the orchestra's own membership, we can sense here a high level of performance in all sections of the orchestra. The preferred composers, soloists, and instruments in concerto performances are indicated in Table IV.

The church concerts from 1783 to 1792 were given mainly in the Carmeliterkirche at Koblenz. After 1792, the services were more private and were held at the Palace. Each program generally consisted of two services, one in the morning, the other in the evening. In the morning, the Mass was typically preceded by a "Benediction Contrapunct" by Hasse and included the Offertory and a concluding symphony. The evening concerts consisted of programs for Vespers or of other programs headed "Abends." The Vespers programs included contemporary settings of five psalms for the particular day of the Church Year, the Magnificat, and one of the four Marian antiphons. The "Abends" program consisted of a Litany followed by a Marian antiphon. Except for the symphonies, these sacred concerts reflect a strong Dresden legacy; composers favored were kapellmeister Johann Gottlieb Naumann and official Dresden *Kirchen-Compositeurs* Joseph Schuster, Johann Georg Schürer, and Franz Seydelmann.³⁵ The symphonies that found particular favor were by Lang and Koželuch; other composers re-

34. Both Paradies and Danner appeared in the academy of 30 October 1783, Paradies performing a sonata and concerto by Koželuch, Danner playing two of his own concertos. Ramm was featured in the academy of 23 January 1783, presenting one of his own concertos and one by Lebrun. Tausch played two of his own works in the academy of 22 April 1784. Other foreign virtuosi included the spectacular Waldhorn team of Johann Palsa and Karl Türschmidt, subsequently in Reichardt's orchestra at Berlin, who performed in the academy of 4 November 1784, playing two concertos and a duet by Rosetti. Paradies received thirty carolins "et [sic] una tabattiera [tabacchiera?] d'oro"; Danner was given twelve ducats; Ramm was paid "10 pistole di S[ua] A[ltezza] S[erenissima] E[lettore]"; Palsa and Türschmidt were rewarded with twenty-four carolins. Tausch's remuneration was not specified on the program.

35. Forkel, in his *Musikalischer Almanach*, 1, 143, refers to Schürer, Schuster, and Seydelmann as "Kirchen-Compositeurs" in the service of the (Electoral) orchestra at Dresden. For a sociological overview of various concerts and programs in Germany during the Classical period, see Eberhard Preussner, *Die bürgerliche Musikkultur; ein Beitrag zur deutschen Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (ca. 1935; reprinted Kassel, 1950), especially pp. 62-88.

TABLE IV

Performances of Concertos at the Court of Clemens Wenzeslaus:
Preferred Composers, Preferred Local Soloists, Instruments

(A=Composers, B=Soloists, C=Instruments)

	1783	1784	1787	1788	1790	1791	
III	A	Stamitz (4) Rosetti (3) Maring (2)	Hergen (2)	Sterckel (3) Koželuch } Stamitz } (2) Fodor }	Rosetti } Winter } (3) Lebrun } (2) Stamitz }	Rosetti } Winter } (2)	Rosetti (2)
	B	2 Dornaus } Maring } (2) Danzi } Brey Meyer }	Danzi } Hergen } (2)	Crux (4) Danzi } Ploedterl } (3) Eder } Hergen } (2)	Crux (4) Danzi } Ploedterl } (3) Clee (2)	Danzi (3) Clee } (2) Eder }	Crux (3) Ploedterl (2)
	C	Violin (8) Keyboard (4) 2 Horn } (3) 'Cello } Bassoon } Horn } (2) Flute } Oboe (1)	Violin } Flute } (2) Clarinet } 'Cello } (1) Keyboard }	Violin (7) Keyboard (6) Oboe (4) 'Cello } Flute } (2) 2 Horn } Bassoon } (1) Clarinet }	Violin (6) Oboe (4) Keyboard (3) 'Cello } Clarinet } (2) 2 Horn } Bassoon (1)	Violin (4) 'Cello } Clarinet } (2) Bassoon } Flute } 2 Horn } (1) Keyboard } Oboe }	Oboe (3) 2 Horn } (2) Violin } Bassoon } 'Cello } (1) Flute } Keyboard }

corded include Anfossi, Cimarosa, Gossec, Haydn, Mozart, Naumann, Paisiello, Sterkel, and Traëtta.

* * *

A general survey of musical activity at a relatively small eighteenth-century German court serves mainly to whet our appetites for additional information. Answers to inquiries often remain tantalizingly elusive, especially with regard to questions of orchestral balance and level of finish. Moreover, a general standard among the various court orchestras is difficult to establish, since we may safely assume a wide range of competence, particularly among the orchestras patronized by minor rulers such as Wenzeslaus. Although some problems may never be settled in a manner that would be totally satisfying, it may be helpful to regard each factual link as part of a broader, cumulative chain connecting us with an only partially-attainable goal.³⁶ The more we learn about Classical orchestras, the closer we come to reconstructing the actual sounds heard by Haydn and Mozart and their contemporaries—an ultimate that provides its own rewards at every step along the way.

University of Maryland

36. The most rewarding and readily available studies of orchestral development in the eighteenth century are Adam Carse's *The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century* (1940; reprinted New York, 1969) for an extensive background; and Alan Yorke-Long's *Music at Court: Four Eighteenth Century Studies* (London, 1954) for insight into the musical events under the Dukes of Parma, Charles Eugene of Württemberg, Maria Antonia of Saxony, and Frederick the Great of Prussia. A helpful and compendious history of orchestral development to the present may be found in Heinz Becker, "Das neuere Orchester," *MGG*, x (Kassel, 1962), cols. 172-194. For a helpful study of a more limited nature, see Denis Arnold, "Orchestras in Eighteenth-Century Venice," *The Galpin Society Journal*, xix (1966), 3-19. Let us hope that future studies will continue on the paths already begun and will serve to bring us ever closer to the Golden Age of the symphony.