

this took place—some of the most beautiful compositions by Silvius Leopold Weiss.

Translated by Peter Stephens

Weiss, the Harrigs and the Prague Music Academy: Research into the “profound silence” left by a “pope of music”

BY VÁCLAV KAŮSA AND CLAIRE MADL

“Hartig scheint damals in Prag die Stelle eines
“Musikpapstes” bekleidet zu haben.”

[Hartig appears to have occupied the function of a “pope
of music” in Prague at that time.]— Paul Nertl¹

The Prague music scene in the early decades of the eighteenth century was relatively varied and extensive, in spite of the fact that the imperial court, with its institutions of the court opera and orchestra, was no longer based there. Sacred music was at that time performed to a high standard in a number of Prague churches (especially those associated with religious orders), and we have some information about this, thanks to musical sources or inventories that have been preserved from church collections. But only a few isolated records exist concerning secular music performed in the circles of the aristocracy or the townspeople of Prague. One of the best-known such records is the report by Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel about what was known as the Music Academy, which was established in 1713 and whose aim was to organize regular concerts.² The request to set up the Academy came from the townspeople, but the higher nobility were also involved in running it. The head of the Academy was the Baron von Hartig, who was himself an excellent harpsichordist and was counted among the leading musical authorities in Prague.³

Hartig

(by ... Stölzel)

In the years 1715, 1716 and 1717, His Excellency Baron von Hartig was the worthy Patron of the Musical Academy in Prague. This is what

¹ Paul Nertl, “Zur Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Prag,” in *Beiträge zur böhmischen und mährischen Musikgeschichte* (Brno, 1927), pp. 1–8.

² Johann Mattheson, *Gründlage einer Eilmen-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740). Reprint ed. Max Schneider, (Berlin, 1910), pp. 102–3.

³ Cf. application for the establishment of the Academy and its statutes, published by Nertl, *op. cit.* This translation of the Stölzel excerpt was made by Douglas Alton Smith.

everybody called—in the Italian manner—the weekly meetings of the best Prague musicians, which were held in a splendid hall of the house called “At the Iron Gate” (*zur eisernen Thüre*), whereby mostly the upper nobility attended.

The beginning [of each event] was made with an overture; then concerti were played, and alternately singing or [instrumental] solos were heard. A strong *Symphonie* concluded. Foreign musicians and those passing through Prague had here the best opportunity not only to be heard, but to become known.

It was through just this academy that I [Stölzel] had the honor of making the acquaintance of Herr von Adlersfeld, and it was through this great lover of music, that I was to spend three years in Prague. However, His Excellency, Herr Baron Hartig himself had an exceedingly agile, skilled, and delicate hand on the *Clavier*, and therein were found the best harpsichords of the finest masters, not only one [instrument] but often more than one, just in one room, not to mention [in] the [whole] house.

He had a large collection of the most beautiful musical scores, for he corresponded with the leading Italian composers. However, he was not content with the mere possession of these for himself, but often had the compositions that pleased him the most performed splendidly in the churches.

I can truthfully say that a high mass by Lotti, which His Excellency had performed in the Jesuit Church in the Old Town, by many monastery musicians as well as some in the service of various high-born nobles in Prague and some virtuosi assembled for this purpose, was the most powerful music that I heard in my whole life. At that performance the Herr Baron sat in the church below, the score in front of him, so that the power of the harmony could not only penetrate his soul through his hearing, but also that his eyes would see its movements in the images of the notes.

I would like to know if this great connoisseur, expert, and patron of music is still alive?⁴

Silvius Leopold Weiss may have first visited Prague in 1715, in the same year as Stölzel, and, also like Stölzel, he did so shortly after returning from a stay in Italy. Weiss returned to Prague on at least three other occasions, in 1717, 1719 and 1723. One of the objects of his visits was the workshop of the lute-maker Thomas Edlinger,⁵ and he is also known to have had contacts with Prince Philipp Hyacinth Lobkowitz⁶

⁴ See Appendix 1 for the original German text.

⁵ Douglas Alton Smith, “A Biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss,” *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 31 (1998): pp. 1–48, here: p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 27–31.

and with the Thun orchestra.⁷ No doubt Weiss must also have been acquainted with the celebrated Prague lutenist Count Johann Anton Losy and likewise with a number of people connected—at least according to Stölzel—with the Music Academy we have mentioned. These included in particular Johann Christian Anthoni von Adlersfeld, who was the owner of one of the most important sources for Weiss’s works,⁸ and undoubtedly also the patron of the Academy himself, Baron von Hartig.

The fact that Weiss had certain connections with members of the Hartig family is attested to by the first of Weiss’s two great *Tombeaux*, dedicated to the memory of Baron Cajetan Hartig: *Tombeau sur la Mort de M. Cajetan Baron d’Hartig arrivée le 25 de Mars 1719. Composée par Silvio Lepold [sic] Weis a Dresden.*⁹ We can, however, assume that Weiss also knew other members of the family. We can only speculate about Weiss’s participation in the concert programs of the Academy, but the Hartigs had close links with Prague lute circles, including the lutenist Count Losy and prominent customers of Edlinger’s workshop, who seem to have included members of the Desfours family, who were allied to the Hartigs.¹⁰

The identity of Cajetan Hartig has been uncertain up till now, and it was the attempts by Douglas Alton Smith to discover who he was that stimulated our research in this field. This study is a summary of our findings to date, raising a number of new questions, but also providing some answers concerning the role of the Hartig family in the Prague music scene in Weiss’s time.

If we look at the Hartig family simply on the basis of the musical activities of its members, it might easily appear to be of greater importance than it actually was in the Bohemian context. The Hartigs

⁷ The bill presented by the “director” of the Thun orchestra, Sebastian Erhard, on 31 December 1717 provides evidence of the purchase of a large number of concerts, including compositions by both Stölzel (“6 Stelzische Hautbois Concerten”) and Weiss (“3 Weisische concerten”), cf. Tomislav Volek, “České zámecké kapely 18. století a evropský hudební kontext,” *Hudební věda* 34, (1997): pp. 404–10, here: p. 407.

⁸ Cf. the study Claire Mádli, “Johann Christian Anthoni von Adlersfeld: The Original Owner of the Weiss London Manuscript,” this *Journal*.

⁹ This piece, number 11* in the Smith-Crawford numbering system, is transmitted in the London manuscript, British Library Add. 30387. See Silvius Leopold Weiss, *Sämtliche Werke für Laute/Complete Works for Lute*, vols. 2 and 4, ed. Douglas Alton Smith (New York and London: C. F. Peters, 1988 and 1990), folios 88v–89r and 22–23.

¹⁰ Cf. André P. Larson, “From a Bohemian Castle... Unraveling the 400-Year Saga of Italian Lutes Built about 1600,” *America’s National Music Museum Newsletter* 29, no. 4 (Nov. 2002). Johann Hubert Hartig was a witness at the probate proceedings for the estate of the Desfours family, cf. “Opis pozůstalostního řízení rodiny hrabata Desfours,” SOA Žitenice RA Hartig [Státní oblastní archiv v Žitenicích, Rodinný archiv Hartigů = District Archives in Žitenice, archives of the Hartig family], box 3, no. 16, copy from 1728, original 1722. The second witness was “Ignatz Humbrecht Bechyňc.”

played quite an important role in the eighteenth-century Prague music scene. Several members of the family were capable musicians, and even in the closing years of the century the Hartigs were accounted one of the foremost Bohemian noble families that patronized music.¹¹ In spite of this, in the overall Bohemian context they were one of the smaller and less influential noble families.

The death of Cajetan von Hartig

Cajetan (1686-1719) was the youngest of five brothers. All that we know of his fate is his tragic death at the age of thirty-three. The story of his death was related in a Viennese journal:¹²

Cajetan Christoph Anton Freyherr von Hartig, Lord at Rückers . . . died unmarried in Prague at his house by the old castle steps on March 23 at 5 o'clock in the morning, in the year 1719, of a fall from his horse that occurred the previous day as he was riding home from the Imperial Game Preserve at Bubenetz. He fell hard on the old castle steps where the wild horse had galloped with him. For several hours until his death he could not speak. He was 33 years of age. He was taken that same evening to the cloister chapel of St. Barbara in the monastery of Saint Thomas . . . *Ubi 24. ejusdem Mensis Cadaver ejus recentem ad buc Sanguinem stillans vidi, et Sacrum in magno concursu hominum audivi, etiam locum, ubi casus hic tragicus contigit, inspexi.*¹³

¹¹ Cf. J. F. von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Wien/Prag, 1796); Facs.-reprint with afterword and index, ed. O. Biba (Mn./Salzburg, 1976), p. 105.

¹² For the circumstances of his death, we used the notes contemporary to the accident collected by the Wunschwitzes. The Latin sentences seem here to have been added by Wunschwitz (Central Archives in Prague = Slatní ústřední archive, hereafter referred to as SÚA inv. no. 349, box 11 – Hartig). Cajetan Christoph Anton Freyherr von Hartig, Herr auf Rückers . . . starb ledig zu Prag in seinen Haus bey der alten Schloßstegen den 23. März umb 5. Uhr frühe A: 1719 von einen Tags vorhero geschehenen Fall vom Pferd, als er aus den Kayserl. Tiergarten Bubenetz nacher Haus geritte, da er also hart auf der alten Schloßstegen, dahin daß wilde Pferd mit ihm gerennet, gefallen, daß er bies in seinen Todt durch etliche Stunden kein Worth mehr reden könne, seines alters 33. Jahr. Er ward abends noch selbigen Tag zu St. Thomas in die Creutzgang Capelle S. Barbara gesetzet, Ubi 24. ejusdem Mensis Cadaver ejus recentem adhuc Sanguinem stillans vidi, et Sacrum in magno concursu hominum audivi, etiam locum, ubi casus hic tragicus contigit, inspexi. Er ward hernach den 26ten ejusdem abends baldt nach 8. Uhren in die Kirchen S. Thoma vor den Althar S. Annæ in die Erden begraben, fui ad funus invitatus, ob catharrum autem non comparui. Coniugem tamen meam cum filolo meo misi. Exequiae fuere ibidem ad S. Thomam 29. März. Von diese Todt vide die Prägerisch. Böhmische Zeitung Num: 15 (...)

¹³ "Here, on the 24th of the same month, I [Wunschwitz] saw his body, from which fresh blood was still dripping, and heard a service attended by a large crowd of people. I also inspected the spot on which this tragic event took place."

Afterwards on the 26th of the same month in the evening soon after 8 o'clock he was buried in the earth in the Church of Saint Thomas in front of the altar of Saint Anne, *fui ad funus invitatus, ob catharrum autem non comparui, Coniugem tamen meam cum filolo meo misi. Exequiae fuere ibidem ad S. Thomam 29 März.*¹⁴ On this death see the *Prägerisch. Böhmische Zeitung* ("Prague-Bohemian Newspaper") no. 15 . . . [Czech text follows with the same content as the German one.]

The original epitaph¹⁵ also emphasized the premature nature of Cajetan's death, which seems to have left a deep impression in the minds of his contemporaries (Figure 1):

*SUB HOC MARMORE IAGET / ILLMVS DD CAJETANVS L.B.
DE HARTIG / QUEM INVIDA MORS / NATURAE DONIS, ET
VIRTVTIBVS DOTATVM / AETATIS SVAE XXXIII AN. / MVNDO
ET AMICIS / PRAEMATURÈ ERIPVIT*¹⁶

This event seems to have crystallized one part—admittedly a very small one—of the relations that were maintained between this young man and his family and artistic and literary circles.

Not only did this tragic event inspire one of Weiss's most beautiful works, but some verses composed by a certain Christoph Beer, Cajetan's close friend, have also come down to us.

Erwäget Sterbliche das Leben meiner Zeiten,
Das ihr nicht thut, wie ich, so nach den Tode reiten.
Doch wann der Stoss den Kopf, die Reiß das Hertze bricht
Entgeheth man durch den Fall, dem ewige Staffgericht.
oder:
Kaumb da ich recht erwog das Leben meiner Zeiten,
Muste ich ungefahr dem Todt entgegen reiten.
Doch da die Reiß und Todt das Hertz zugleich zerbricht,
Entgeh ich durch den Fall dem ewige Straffgericht.¹⁷

[Reflect, mortals, on the life of my times,

¹⁴ "I was invited to the funeral but I did not go because of a cold. However, I sent my wife and son. The funeral took place at the same place in St. Thomas's on 29 March."

¹⁵ Ibid. This epitaph, situated close to the altar of St. Anne, was destroyed in 1729 when both Cajetan's tomb and his mother's (who died a few months after him) were moved to the chapel of St. Dorothy. A common one is to be found there today, with a new and much shorter epitaph.

¹⁶ "Under this marble lies the most illustrious gentleman, Cajetan Baron von Hartig, endowed with all the gifts of nature and virtues, whom jealous death prematurely snatched away from this world and his friends, at the age of 33."

¹⁷ Ibid.

so that you do not do as I did and ride to your death.
 Yet when the blow breaks the head and remorse breaks the heart,
 through the fall one escapes eternal judgement.

Or:
 Hardly had I properly reflected on the life of my times,
 when unexpectedly I rode to my death.
 But since remorse and death together break one's heart,
 I escape eternal judgement through my fall.]

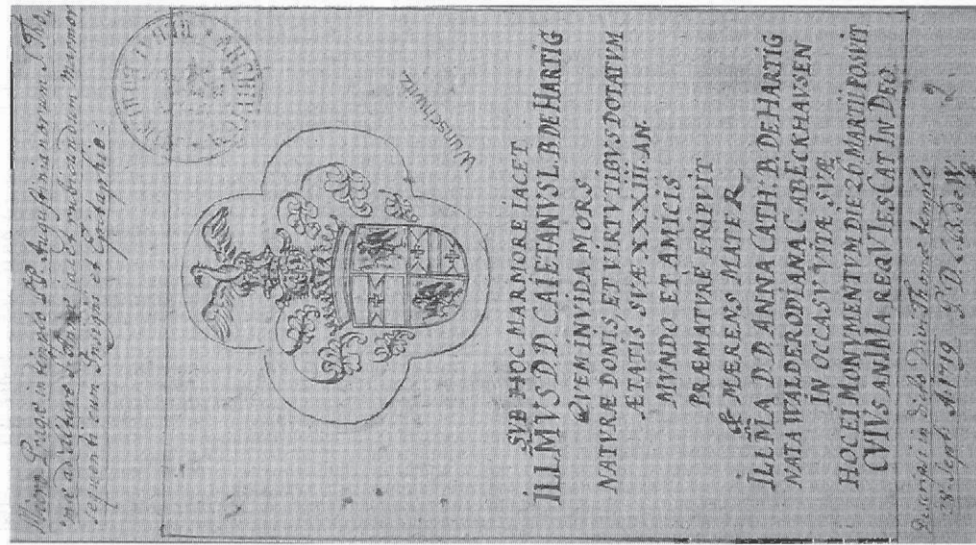


Figure 1 · Cajetan's original epitaph as transcribed by Gottfried Daniel Wünschwitz in 1719, before it was destroyed (Wünschwitz genealogical collection in Prague Central Archives, inv. no. 349, box 11). Photo by V. Kapsa.

Both poems seem to have been inspired by two passages of the Bible, whose quotations are given just after them by the Wünschwitzes. The first one is from Isaiah (L. 18): "Now, let's settle the matter. You are stained red with sin, but I will wash you as clean as snow. Although your stains are deep red, you will be as white as wool." and Matthew (VII. 1-2): "Do not judge others, so that God will not judge you, for God will judge you in the same way as you judge others, and he will apply to you the same rules you apply to others."

These three sources, in their profoundly different natures, bear witness to the manner in which this event was perceived and publicized, which doubtless completes and complements that which we ourselves perceive in the music of Weiss.

The event was sufficiently sensational to necessitate an extensive, precise report of the accident which caused the death of Cajetan in the prime of his life, while devoting himself to activities so innocent as the visit to the Imperial Game Preserve. Despite the undeniably stronger presence of Cajetan's death in the consciousness of this epoch than in ours, it did not leave anyone indifferent.

It is surely the youth of Cajetan that inspired the poet, who drew for us the pathetic figure of a young man going on horseback to encounter his death. This youthful guarantee of innocence was interpreted as the promise of the salvation of the dead man.

This could soften the sorrow, compared here to the abruptness and the force of the blow on the head he received, and which thus forms the central part of these verses. The poem in the end opens hope for the very Christian faith in salvation and remission of sins.

The ancestors and family of Cajetan von Hartig

The Harrigs belonged to what was known as the "nobility of officials" that became established in Bohemia after the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620, when the revolt of the Bohemian estates had been defeated by the armies of the Emperor before the gates of Prague. After this turning point, Bohemia became a place of opportunities waiting to be seized by the European nobility or any ambitious spirit. Cases are known of dazzling rises to high position in the families of officers such as the Sporcks, a family of commoners originally from northern

Germany, or the Des Fours, who came from Lorraine,¹⁸ as are those of more elevated families such as the Losys or the Morzins, without looking beyond the music scene. The case of the Hartigs is more representative of this new group, ennobled due to its services as officials of the Hapsburg monarchy.

The Hartig family¹⁹ originally came from Silesia, a region that has been divided by present-day frontiers so that today it lies partly in Poland, the Czech Republic, and eastern Germany. Their first letters of nobility were issued in Lusatia (in the Zittau region), which at that time was part of the lands of the Bohemian crown, during the succeeding generation. They were doctors and acquired a sufficient reputation in the region for members of the family to sit on the Zittau town council and eventually become Mayor of the town.

Cajetan's grandfather

Three brothers²⁰—Johann Jacob, Christian and Amandus, born in 1603, 1605 and 1609 respectively—present particularly interesting careers. Their father enabled them to acquire a sound education, since they studied medicine in Strasbourg. The two older brothers extended their travels still further, to Geneva, Paris, London, Copenhagen, Padua, where they obtained their doctorate in medicine in 1629, and then Venice, where in the same year they were granted the title of Knight of Saint Mark. While Christian returned to Lusatia, Johann Jacob appears to have quickly established himself in Venice. We are fortunate to possess the vivid testimony of the young heir to one of the great Bohemian noble families, Humprecht Jan Černín z Chudenic, who writes during his

¹⁸ On the Des Fours, see Constant von Würzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, . . . 38 vols. (Vienna: L.C. Zamarski, 1856-1891). On Sporek, see Heinrich Ebenbiller, *Franz Anton Graf von Sporek (1662-1738). Zur Kultur des Barockzeitalters in Böhmen* (Vienna: Manz Verlag, 1923); and Pavel Preis, *Historický Anotován Sporek a barokní kultura v Čechách* (Litomyšl, Paseka, 2003).

¹⁹ In addition to the standard biographical dictionaries, the genealogy of the Hartigs has been derived from the following sources: for the first generations settled in Lusatia, Walter von Boettcher, *Geschichte der Oberlausitzischen Adels und seiner Güter 1635-1815*, II. Bände (Cottitz, selbsterw. der Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1912), pp. 650-57 and the information provided by the first box preserved in the archives of the Hartig family (SOA Zienice RA Hartig, box 1); later, the Wunschitz and Dobřenský genealogical collections preserved at the Central Archives in Prague (SUA, Prague). We would like to thank Petr Matz for providing us with the information he assembled on the family.

²⁰ Boettcher, op. cit., p. 652. Boettcher says that the detailed information on the life of Christian Hartig is drawn from the catalogues that were promulgated at the funeral of Christian (in 1677) by Johann Franze and at that of his son Johann Jacob (died 1718) by Ferber Häntzschel.

grand tour:

Doctor Hartig . . . is here respected like a prince and is the foremost among the doctors in this place, of whom there are 115.

In a later letter he praises the near miraculous talents of Doctor Hartig, who attracts patients from all over Europe:

This doctor was born in Zittau. He is so uncommonly gifted and wise that not much were needed for the local lords and princes to place themselves in his service; whatever he wishes for, he receives. He treats nearly all the potentates by correspondence, whatever is required, such as the kings of France, Spain, and England, and all the Electors; and His Majesty the Emperor has deigned to request him of the Republic at least three times and has expressly deigned to send the Counts Kurtz, Wallenstein, and others here. But he has no desire to go elsewhere, for he is established here as if in Paradise, and this Republic would sooner lose I know not what rather than him.²¹

Černín, convinced that he felt better after a week's treatment, finally asked his mother for her permission to stay in Venice to be purged, and to have his "melancholiophlegmatic" character restored under the care of the good doctor Hartig. The skill of the latter was doubtless in proportion to his reputation, and he knew what he was doing when he treated his young and influential patient conscientiously, and free of charge, since, "as he says, he is already rich enough."

On 15 October 1645, Johann Jacob, his brother Christian and his sister Sybilla were elevated to the rank of Knight of the Empire, and thus moved closer to the sphere of the Hapsburgs.

On the death of Johann Jacob, his wife Veronika Van Nyss (sometimes written Vannys) left Venice and returned to Amsterdam, her native city, together with her children, whose destinies were to be very varied. One of them became Dutch consul in Smyrna, while the other, Johann Esaias (1632-1708), merits our attention because it was he who

²¹ "...k doktoru Hartigovi, [který] zde jak knize vážen jest a nejpřednější mezi všemi zdějším doktory, kterých zde 115 jest" Zdeněk Kalista, *Korespondence Zuzany Černínové z Honořova i jejího synova Humprechta Janem Černínem z Chudenic* [Praha: Melantrich, 1941], Letter dated 3 November 1645, p. 51.

²² "Ten doktor jest [sic] Zittavy rozený, tak vzácný a rozumný jest, že ho zdejší páni a knížata dle ná zloukou nemohou, co jen pomyslí, všedino má, rakmeť všechny vлады potenciony slaz psaní hojí, když co požehá jest, jako kráľe franského, španělského, englického, všechny křesťany, a J. M. císařka na zdejší republice již ho as třikrát žádati ráčila a nashval sem hrabě Kurtze, z Valdšteina a jiný posilati ráčila, on pak nikada chuti neměl, neb zde jako v ráji sedí a zdejší republica by ráči nevíms co ztratila než jeho." Ibid., 59-60. Letter dated 18 November 1645.

settled in Bohemia. He left Amsterdam for his uncle Christian's in Zirtau, leaving there in turn to join his aunt Sybilla, married for a second time in Prague to Esaias Sachse, a doctor from the town of Glatz (Kłodzko, today in Poland).

Cajetan's father

If the career of his father, while certainly dazzling and lucrative, may also appear adventurous and of ephemeral success, that of Johann Esaias, by contrast, was exemplary. Adopted by the Sachses, who had been left without any children, he inherited their estates in Bohemia (Rückersdorf, Friedersdorf and Hartau). He converted to Catholicism and then, probably turning his back on medicine in favor of the law, he became councillor at the Court of Appeals in 1669 and entered the Bohemian Chancery in Vienna in 1687, where he was to be secretary and later to obtain the title of Aulic Councillor. He had the title of *Ritter* (Knight) granted to his father Johann Jacob and his uncle Christian recognized in 1645 for himself, his brothers, his sister and his aunt Sybilla.²⁵ The title was later recognized for the Kingdom of Bohemia. In 1670, in the monastery of St. Thomas in Prague, he married Anna Katharina Walderode von Eckhausen, born in Prague in 1652. He was elevated to the old Bohemian nobility (*alt böhmischer Herrenstand*) on July 30, 1700²⁶, and eventually, one year before his death, he was awarded the title of Baron of the Empire (1707), but he died before he could have his last titles inserted into the Public Records of the Kingdom. Several domains in Bohemia, often admittedly smaller ones, complete the patrimony of Johann Esaias.

Thus, first of all the opportunity provided by a modest estate and an honorable family past, even if it was abroad, was taken advantage of to acquire a first title and to obtain a post in the Chancery, the central institution of the Kingdom. The conversion to Catholicism was obligatory. The marriage alliance with a family that was already well established was opportune. Finally, it was Johann Esaias' service in the Chancery office

²⁵ SOA Žitnice RA Harrigs inv. no. 8, box 1, undated copy of the letters patent (1668?). Unfortunately, we have not been able to find all the letters of nobility for the members of the Harrig family, and the secondary sources differ, without it always being possible to verify them. Our impression was that the Wünschwitz and Dobřenský genealogical collections were the most reliable—which is in any case generally recognized.

²⁶ In the Central Archives, collection of the Bohemian Chancery: SÚA ČDKIV.D.1. inv. no. 752, box 438.

that enabled his career to take off. The interaction between the merit of a traditional good family, loyalty to the royal house, and service rendered in a specific function, provides the dynamic force for the rise in Johann Esaias' social status until he could take his place among the nobility of Bohemia.

There may well be an element missing in this sketch in the form of the patronage of a great aristocrat, which perhaps enabled Johann Esaias to take up the post at the Chancery. The well-known support provided, for example, by the Lobkowitz family to the Losys obliges us to keep this crucial factor in mind, but so far we have been unable to discover a similar patron for the Harrigs.²⁷

The five Hartig brothers

All the members of the family, therefore, had to use their abilities in order to progress, for they knew that positions were not very secure.²⁸ In spite of the post held by Johann Esaias at the Bohemian Chancery in Vienna, the family was based in Prague, for the children appear to have been born there, and their mother, on her death, owned a house in the Lesser Side district of the city, close to the imposing Wallenstein palace, right in the heart of this picturesque quarter on the left bank of the River Vltava (Moldau), opposite the Old Town. The links with the Augustinian monastery of St. Thomas would appear to confirm that the family was settled in this part of Prague. Johann Esaias and Katharina Walderode had

²⁷ In the correspondence of the members of the Lobkowitz family, where certain letters from Johann Anton Losy the elder addressed to Wenzel Eusebius von Lobkowitz are to be found, there is nothing from the Harrigs, the Des Fours, or Anthoni von Adlersfeld: Archives of the Lobkowitz family in Roudnice, Nelažovské chateau, and in the District Archives in Žitnice.

²⁸ For the Lobkowitz's patronage towards the Losys, cf. Petra Zelenková and Martin Mádl, "The destruction of Piuvo and the rise of the Losy of Losinthal family on the thesis broadsheet after Johann Frdrich Hess of Hesice from 1667," *Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague* XII-XIII, 2002-2003 (Prague, 2003).

²⁹ On the contraction of, and financial pressure on, the lower groups of the nobility as a result of the political, social and economic changes that took effect following the Battle of the White Mountain and the Thirty Years' War, see Eila Hassenpflug-Elzholz, *Böhmen und die böhmischen Stände in der Zeit des beginnenden Zentralismus. Eine Strukturanalyse der böhmischen Adelskristallisation um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (München/Wien: R. Oldenbourg Verl., 1982).

³⁰ Will dated 31 March 1719: collection of documents from the Registers of the nobility in the Central Archives in Prague (SÚA ÚDZ-listiny): "... near the Sandthor." Cf. Pavel Vlček, Dir., *Linecké panství Prácheň: Mladá strana*, (Praha: Academia, 1999), p. 654. This "Sandthor" (Sand Gate) should not be confused with the present-day "Písecká brána" below the Royal Summer Palace, which at that time was called "Carls Thor." The "Sandthor" in question was at the end of what is today Valdštejnská street and opened onto the square Valdštejnské náměstí. (Neither the street nor the square acquired this name until towards the middle of the eighteenth century.)

five sons: Johann Hubert, born in 1671, Ludwig Joseph Anton (1675),²⁸ Anton Esaias (1681), and Christoph Cajetan Anton (1686). We know very little about a fifth son.²⁹

Johann Hubert, the eldest son, chose the career of an official in Bohemia. He settled in Prague; unfortunately we do not know precisely where, but perhaps originally in the Lesser Side district, because his children were baptized at St. Thomas's church. From 1712 onwards records of the family are found in the register of the Tyn church in Prague Old Town,³⁰ and they seem by this time to have been living on the Old Town Square.³¹ He was married twice, firstly in 1697 to Maria Josepha Eusebia Scheidlern, who bore him eight children, including just one son who did not survive, and secondly to Franciska Ludmila Beneda z Nectin, who bore him four children, of whom only one daughter survived to adulthood. Johann Hubert thus presents a picture of a head of a family afflicted by fate, which refused him a male heir. Through his first wife he obtained two domains and also acquired another one.

Johann Hubert did not follow the career path taken by his father in the Bohemian Chancery, but remained in Prague, where he first obtained a post in the Court of Justice of the Realm (*Gräzerer Landesgericht*, also referred to as *Landrecht*) in 1700. Later, he became one of the members of the Lieutenancy Council, holding the office of Burgrave of Hradec Králové (Königgrätz), a function reserved for knights, from 1708 to 1718. He probably had the *Herrenstand* title recognized by 1718 at the latest,³² and then had to relinquish his responsibilities for reasons of health. In 1725 he requested elevation to the rank of Count, which he obtained. He died in 1741 without leaving any sons.

His refusal in 1709-10 to request for himself and his brothers

²⁸ Sometimes the date 1685 is to be found in the literature. Although we have not searched for the parish at which his baptism was registered and the Dobřenský and Wünschwitz genealogical collections do not give an indication, a document in the latter collection gives Ludwig Joseph's age at his death as thirty.

²⁹ Wünschwitz genealogical collection (SUA) inv. no. 349; box 11 – Harrig; for 1710 it gives a note coming from the Trutár Calendar for Moravia, edited in Beno, in which Anton Wünsch Joseph, Ritter von Harrüg, is indicated as being a canon in Olomouc—'des fürstlichen Stifts zu Olmütze Canonikus.'

³⁰ Dobřenský genealogical collection, SUA.

³¹ Cf. letter from Maria Josepha von Harrüg, dated 27 February 1714 addressed to the Consistory of the Archdiocese of Prague, Prague Castle Archives, collection of the Metropolitan Chapter of St. Vitus, classification mark: CXXVIII 13. And also Johann Hubert's will dated 12 October 1736 as copied 4 January 1742 into the Registers of the nobility (Desky zemské věsti) in the Central Archives in Prague (SUA-DZV book no. 368 E25).

³² It has not been possible to find the letter (or a copy) elevating Johann Hubert to the *Herrenstand* they would allow him to use the title of baron (*Freiherr*). We have inferred the date 1718 on the basis of the fact that it was in this year that Johann Hubert relinquished the office of Burgrave of Hradec

the confirmation (*Intimierung*) of the rank of nobility (*Herrenstand*) obtained by his father would seem to suggest that Johann Hubert did not have a large revenue at his disposal. The will drawn up by his first wife adds support to this hypothesis. Contrary to, and probably in addition to, what had been anticipated in their marriage contract, she left her husband 7000 florins in the hope that he would be content with this and would inherit some property from his parents.³³ But his repeated refusal could especially have revealed a career strategy different from that of his brothers in the circle of the order of knights.

The career, or rather the extension of the patrimony, of his brother Ludwig Joseph is indisputably more dazzling, and denotes an ambition that was applied in practice. Married in 1705 to the baroness Theresia Isabella Ester Purz von Adlersturn (member of another family ennobled through its offices and already well established in Bohemia), he started by having the last title obtained by his father confirmed as a personal title, as his brothers did not want to do it. From this time onwards, Johann Hubert appears to remain in the background by comparison with his younger brother. In 1714 Ludwig Joseph purchased the cornerstone on which his reputation was based: the ancient domain of Vartenberk (Wartenberg or Sváž-pod-Ralskem), sold by the Lichtenstein family. In 1718 his wife inherited a house in Prague³⁴ and a second domain that had been made quite profitable and which became the principal source of revenue of the family thanks to the fact that she made a gift of it to her husband during her lifetime: Mimoň (in German Niemes), which was very close to Stráž. Ludwig Joseph requested the title of count, which was granted in 1719, and then in 1720 he bought the house next to the one inherited by his wife (Figures 2, 3 and 4).³⁵ It is in the delightful gardens of this palace, leaning against the hill on which Prague Castle stands, and adorned by a beautiful oval pavilion, that Ludwig Joseph is said to

Králové, and this office was reserved for knights, see F. Roušák, "Místodržitelství v Čechách v letech 1577–1749," in *Sborník archeologického prací XXVII* (1967): pp. 539–603. In April 1715, when Gottfried Daniel Wünschwitz presented his condolences to Johann Hubert on the death of his wife, he refers to him as knight (Wünschwitz collection SUA). In 1721, when Johann Hubert witnessed Count Losy's will, he signed using the title *Freiherr*, cf. Public Records of the Kingdom (*Ústřední desk zemské*), collection of deeds, hereafter referred to as: SUA ÚDZ-listiny, will dated 1 August 1721.

³³ Will dated 28 September 1703, proved 13 May 1715; SUA ÚDZ-listiny: "Meinem Herr Eusebius (...) abgewoben wir vor unser Vermählung mit einander Ehepacten aufgerichtet, nichts annder zur einer gedachtem verschafft 7000 fl (...) und hoffe, daß derselbe in Ansehung meine Mittel seinen atigen Kindern Zurückkommen, undt daß er ohne des von seinen Lieben Eltern ein zimliches Vermögen zur gewarten hat, hienit vorliebnehmen wirdt."

³⁴ No. 18 in what is today Thunovská street in the Lesser Side district of Prague, cf. Documentation of the administration of the Historic Monuments of Prague, t 183.

³⁵ No. 20 in what is today Thunovská street in the Lesser Side district of Prague, ibid., t 184.

have put on concerts and to have given Jan Dismas Zelenka the chance to make his debut. Unfortunately, no source has so far been found to support this picturesque report, handed down in successive descriptions of the Lesser Side district.

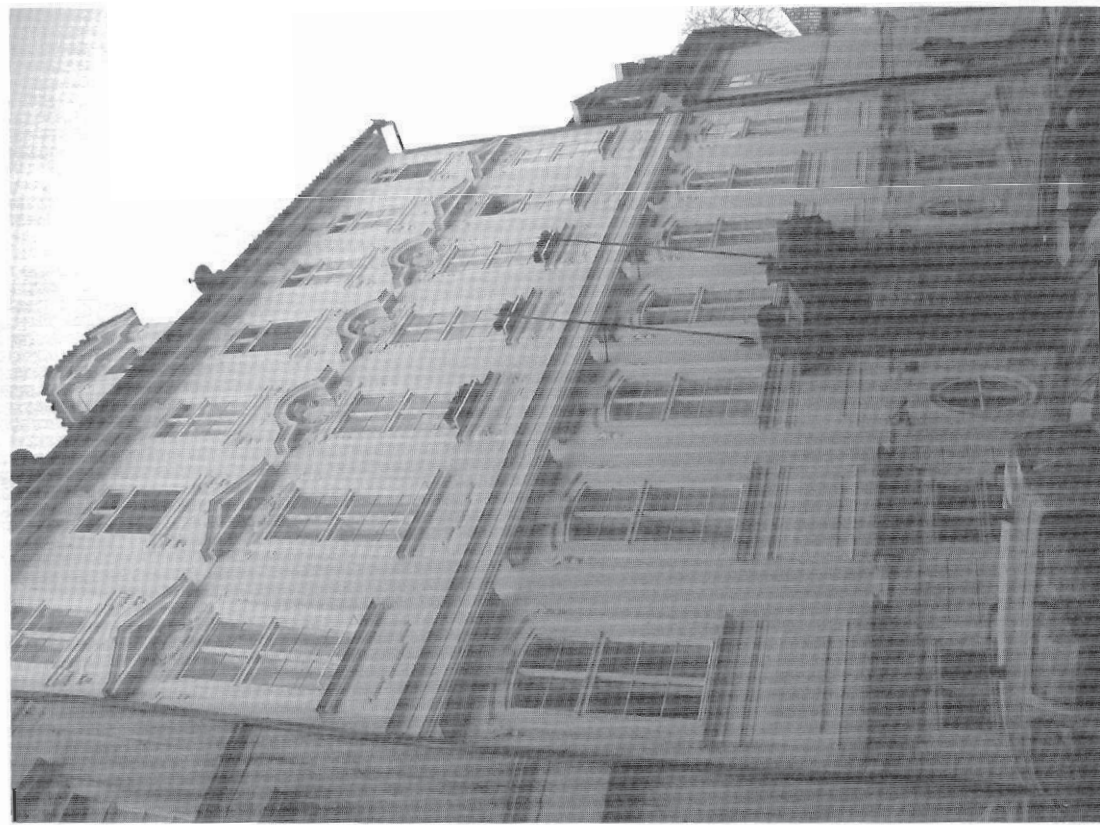


Figure 2 – The Hartigs' palace transformed by Ludwig Joseph (Thunovská street, Prague) Photo by M. Mádl.

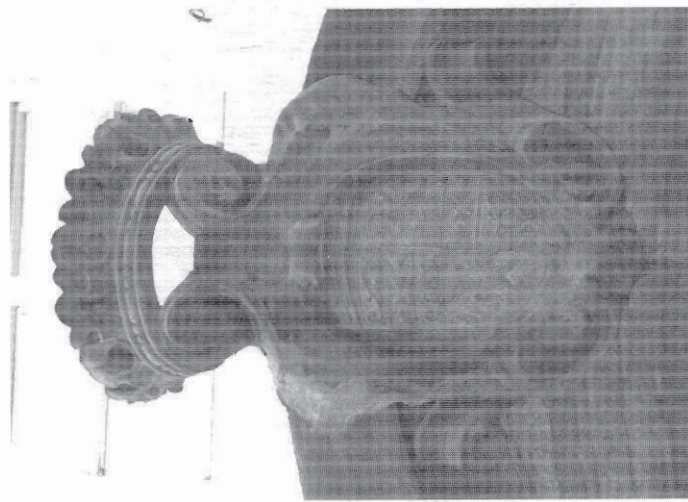


Figure 3 – The Hartigs' coat of arms as sculpted above the portal of the Hartigs' palace transformed by Ludwig Joseph (Thünovská street, Prague). Photo by M. Mádl.

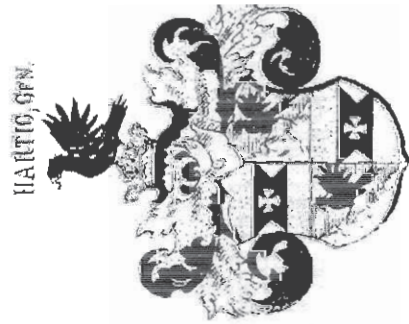


Figure 4 – The Hartigs' coat of arms from Rudolf Johann von Metaviglia-Grivelli, *Der Böhmisches Adel*. (Nürnberg, 1886), in J. Siebmacher's *Grosses und* Mádl.

allgemeines Wappenbuch. IV. Bd. 9. Abth., p. 30, tab. 24. Photo by M. Mádl.

Ludwig Joseph appears to have devoted himself to managing his domains and to his function in the Fiscal Commission, where he was in charge of a particular circuit.³⁷ Among the few personal papers that have come down to us, there are incidentally some lengthy treatises defending the right of the *corvée*, and orders given to his steward about the searches and modifications to be carried out in the Public Records of the Kingdom.³⁷ This intensification in the exploitation of his domain—and his subjects—seems to fit in well with the widespread movement known as the “absolutism of the nobility.”³⁸

The stimuli underlying the social ascent of the two oldest brothers differed. Ludwig Joseph relied more on the network of social contacts and on his revenues, which enabled him to provide the representation expected of a count.³⁹ Johann Hubert, on the other hand, relied more on the service he rendered in his official functions.⁴⁰ We may note that posterity, in particular the genealogical literature, remembered the name of Ludwig Joseph more for a very natural reason: it was from him that the branch of the family that was to become established in Bohemia was descended, his older brother having died without leaving any sons.

The third brother, Anton Esaias, was destined for a career in the Church. However, he quickly abandoned it and left for Vienna to try his luck in the Imperial Chancery,⁴¹ like his father. After acquiring domains in Austria, he established a new branch of the family there.

The dissimilarities in the career paths of the two oldest brothers, Johann Hubert and Ludwig Joseph, seem to have been clearly perceived by their contemporaries. Cajetan Hartig, first of all, did not even mention

³⁷ SÚA, Wünschwitz collection inv. no. 349, box 11 – Hartig: “SCRM Generalis Visitationis Commissarius Districtus Chrudimensis in Regno Bohemiae” in German “bey der Rectificationen Commission Commissarius”

³⁸ SOA Zienice RA Hartig, no. 20, box 3.

³⁹ “*Adeliger Absolutismus*” of Thomas Winkelbauer: “Herren und Höflein. Die niederösterreichischen Adeligen und ihre Untertanen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Adel im Wandel. Politik, Kultur, Konfession. 1500-1700* (Wien: Amt der N.Ö. Landesregierung, 1990), Katalog des NÖ Landesmuseums, Neue Folge Nr. 251, pp. 73-9.

⁴⁰ Collection of the Bohemian Chancery: SÚA ČDK IV.D.1. inv. no. 752, box 438. Concerns the elevation of Ludwig Joseph to the rank of count. In the note from the Chancery, on the basis of which the final letters patent are to be drawn up, we read: “...und daß er dem Grafenstande gemäß sich aufführen zu können grugsame [sic] Mittel besitzen thuet.”

⁴¹ *Ibid.* and also SOA Zienice RA Hartig, inv. no. 9, box 1.

⁴² Oswald v. Geschlösser, *Der Reichhofrat. Bedeutung und Verfassung. Schicksal und Beseitigung einer obersten Reichsbehörde von 1559 bis 1806* (Neudorf/L. Lechnenstein: Kraus, 1970) (reprint of the edition published in Vienna, 1942), p. 370.

⁴³ Will dated 4 May 1715, proved 30 March 1723: collection of documents from the Registers of the nobility: SÚA UDZ-Isctny.

Ludwig Joseph in his will drawn up in 1715.⁴⁷ Their mother Katharina, too, appears to have clearly distinguished the case of each of her sons and notably have disadvantaged Ludwig Joseph in her will⁴⁸ (drawn up on Cajetan's death at the end of March 1719). While two of his brothers received more than 40 percent of the total value of her estate, Ludwig Joseph was left with less than 20 percent. Incidentally, in Ludwig's papers we find accounts relating to his claims against this distribution.

Nevertheless, the two oldest brothers seem to have moved in the same circles, and as we go through the sources we come across names that are also to be found in the world of music.

In August 1721 we find Johann Hubert among the people closest to the lutenist Count Johann Anton Losy von Losimthal, in whose will⁴⁹ he appears as a witness, alongside Count Carl von Breda and Johann Franz Low von Erlsfeldt, one of Losy's doctors. In 1722⁵⁰ Johann Hubert is once again a witness in the settlement of the inheritance of the Des Fours family, apparently the principal branch known as the *maloskalská* branch (who were to become Des Fours-Walderode at the end of the eighteenth century). It is quite possible that one of these Des Fours was the owner of the lutes adapted in 1723 and 1728 by Edlinger in Prague to meet the requirements of Weiss's innovations. Johann Hubert's fellow-witness on this occasion was Ignaz Humprecht Bechyně.

Another name to recur in this milieu is that of the Scheidlern family. Johann Hubert's first wife, Maria Josepha Scheidlern, was no other than Losy's niece, her mother being a Losy von Losimthal. Her sister married a Count Sporck.⁵¹

As for Ludwig Joseph, Losy was one of the witnesses who signed his marriage contract in 1705.⁵²

However, the few sources testifying to "cultural activity" are all connected with Johann Hubert. It is to him, for example, that an

⁴⁷ Ibid. Will dated 31 March 1713 proved 15 August 1713.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Will dated 1 August 1721 (codicil dated 8 August).

⁴⁹ RA Hartig, SOA Žitnice, no. 146, box 3.

⁵⁰ Dobřenský genealogical collection, SOA.

⁵¹ SOA Žitnice RA Hartig, inv. no. 19, box 3.

⁵² Dobřenský genealogical collection, SOA inv. 349, box 11 – Hartig, *Theses et philologiae nationalis quae sub auspiciis illustrissimorum domini Desiderii Joannis Huberti J. Baronis De Daring ... praeside A. R. P. Veremundo Procház Ord. S. Benedicti in Regio Monasterio ad Beatissimum Virginiem Mariam de Monte Serrato Nove-Prage vulgo in Ennaus professio... pro exercitio scholasticis proposita a F. Benedictino Schöber, Ord. S. Benedicti eiusdem Caesarei professoris in Basilica B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Serrato Nove-Prage Anno 1722. Die 1. Septembris ? Per munditum consensit Marcus Müller sr Prage. The engraving represents the Virgin of Mountserat surrounded, in the background, by what are probably the three houses of the order: the mother house in Mountserat (on the right), the house in Besedka (above on the left) and finally the Ennaus monastery in Prague (below on the left).*

academic thesis, defended in Prague in 1722 is dedicated.⁵³ It was perhaps he, too, who had the announcement of the birth of his great-nephew Ludwig Johann printed, the verses for which were composed by Anton Messler. In them, Messler celebrates in particular the house of Hartig, whose future is now more assured after the almost miraculous birth of its most recent member, born eight months after the death of his father.⁵⁴

The Hartigs and the Prague music scene

At the time of Weiss's visits, there were three Hartig brothers residing in the Czech lands—Johann Hubert, Ludwig Joseph and Christoph Cajetan. The one who played the most important role in the Prague music circles of the day was evidently the one that Stölzel informs us about. He was the patron of the Music Academy and seems to be identical with both the Hartig whom Quantz met in Prague in 1723, and with "the widely known Herr Baron Hartig of Prague, famed in music,"⁵⁵ whom Jan Dismas Zelenka tells us that he consulted about his compositions. However, the Christian name of the Hartig in question is not mentioned in any of the sources referred to. Quite certainly it could not have been Christoph Cajetan Hartig, who was already dead at the time Quantz visited Prague, and who only figures in direct connection with music as the addressee of Weiss's *Tombeau*. However, the question of which of the two remaining brothers was our Baron Hartig remains an open one.

Ludwig Joseph Hartig was identified as patron of the Music Academy by Paul Nettl,⁵⁶ and under the influence of his study it was Ludwig Joseph who for a long time was regarded as the "musical Hartig," and who was in musical connections often mistakenly identified with both Christoph Cajetan and Johann Hubert. However, in the quotations from the sources presented by Nettl, Hartig's Christian name is not mentioned; and from Nettl's text it is not entirely clear whether the

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ "...in der Music handtverehme und überall bestan me Hr. Baron von Hartig zu Prage..." quoted in and translated by Jozsef B. Seckelgér, *Jan Dismas Zelenka. A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 6 and 307.

⁵⁵ Paul Nettl, "Zur Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Prag," in: *Beiträge zur böhmischen und mährischen Musikgeschichte* (Brno, 1927), pp. 1–8.

⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. Willy Kahl, *Selbstbiographien deutscher Musiker des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen* (Köln, 1948), note 342, p. 262; Anselmin Podlaha, *Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae quae in bibliotheca capituli metropolitani pragensis asservantur* (Praha, 1926), p. 11.

identification of the musical Hartig with Ludwig Joseph is a deduction by the author or it is based on some document that he has not quoted.⁵³ Unfortunately the sources that Nertl drew on are not at our disposal, so we have to restrict ourselves to mere speculation. If the identification with Ludwig Joseph was based on particulars (which Nertl, however, did not quote) from these sources, then if they are found the situation will become clear. If, however, it was a deduction by the author, then it has to be said that, on the basis of the sources he referred to, Nertl could hardly have reached any other conclusion.

Ludwig Joseph Hartig was, as it seems, the richer and more influential of the two brothers, and above all he left a male heir, thus ensuring the continuity of the Hartig line in Bohemia. From the genealogical point of view it was Ludwig Joseph who was by far the most important Hartig of his generation, and his is the only name one can rely on finding mentioned in the encyclopaedic literature, which could have been a significant factor for Nertl. And if Nertl did indeed choose between the two brothers, he might also have inclined towards Ludwig Joseph on the basis of his title of *Freiherr* (Baron), which is mentioned by Stölzel. Stölzel was writing about the years 1715-1717, but as was noted earlier, the title of *Freiherr* was probably not granted to Johann Hubert until 1718.⁵⁴ However, the question of titles is less conclusive than it might seem. Jana Vojtěšková has already pointed out that Jan Dismas Zelenka dedicated several of his compositions to "Count Hartig" as early as 1709, 1712 and 1716, at a time when none of the Hartigs had been made a count.⁵⁵ Furthermore, in the documents quoted by Nertl relating to the foundation of the Academy, it is simply a "Herr Hartig" who is mentioned, which further reduces any hope that it might be possible to distinguish the two brothers on the basis of the titles accorded to them.⁵⁶

⁵³ Nertl says that he found the records from which he quoted, and which related to the establishment of the Academy (the application by four burghers for the Academy to be established, its statutes, and communications between the *Statthalterei* [Lieutenancy Council], the mayor of Prague New Town, and Hartig—and in these last documents, from which Nertl quotes on p. 2 of his study, we might perhaps expect to find more details about Hartig) "bei der Durchsicht alter Akten des Prager Statthalterienarchivs" [when looking through old records in the Prague Lieutenancy Council archives]. In the collection of the *Staré české místopisné listiny* [Old Czech Lieutenancy Council] (SCM) of the State Central Archives (SÚA), which at present has no inventory and for the time being is arranged chronologically, we have so far been unable to find these documents in the records for March-May 1713.

⁵⁴ See above, note 29.

⁵⁵ Jana Vojtěšková, "Die Zelenka-Überlieferung in der Tschechoslowakei," in *Zelenka Studien I. (Musik des Ostens 14)*, ed. Th. Kollhase (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1993), pp. 85-108, here, p. 86.

⁵⁶ P. Nertl, *Zur Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Prag*, p. 2.

Finally, a further factor might have been a not particularly likely but still possible confusion between Ludwig Joseph and his grandson Ludwig Johann Hartig (1737-1813), who was a musician (said to have played on the clarinet) and maintained an orchestra whose leader was for a time the composer and violinist Václav Pichl.⁵⁷ In the lexicographical literature of the time we can, it seems, detect a certain contamination between the details of this Ludwig Johann and Stölzel's and Quantz's description of the older Hartig as an excellent harpsichordist. Thus in his *Jahrbuch*, Schönfeld, at the end of the entry on Ludwig Johann, adds that he was also an excellent player of the *Fortepiano*. Later Dlabac evidently corrects this information when, in addition to his entry on Ludwig (Johann), he adds a further entry on that Count Hartig known to Dlabac from Stölzel and Quantz.⁵⁸ All three factors mentioned here may have led Nertl to identify Ludwig Joseph as the "musical Hartig." On the other hand it is clear that Nertl did not have available any of the pieces of evidence of the musical inclinations of Ludwig's older brother Johann Hubert that will be discussed below.

As far as we know, the first person to question Nertl's identification of Ludwig Joseph as the patron of the Music Academy was Emil Vogl. On the basis of Johann Hubert Hartig's signature as witness to the will of the lutenist Count Johann Anton Losy, he believed that Johann Hubert was more likely to have been the patron of the Academy than Ludwig Joseph.⁵⁹ However, this assumption by Vogl, having no other basis than the presumed close relationship between Johann Hubert and Count Losy, does not pass muster, because a similar document exists testifying that Losy also had close relations with Ludwig Joseph.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the issue of Ludwig Joseph having perhaps been confused with Johann Hubert was later re-opened, this time by Jana Vojtěšková in her research

⁵⁷ Cf. J. G. Dlabac, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlessen* (Praha, 1815), column 458.

⁵⁸ J. F. von Schönfeld, *sb. der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Wien/Prag, 1796) Faks.-Nachdr. mit Nachw. und Register; hrg. von O. Biba, (Mn./Salzburg, 1776), 117; "Hartig, Hr. Graf Ludwig, k. k. Kämmerer, ein bekannter Freund der Tonkunst, besonders der blasenden Instrumente, schlägt auch das Fortepiano vorrefflich." Cf. also the entry on Hartig (*Grif oder Pfeyher von*) in Ernst Ludwig Gerbet, *Historisch Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, Bd. 1 (Leipzig, 1790), column 587, which however Gerbet leaves out of the second edition of his lexicon and refers only to Ludwig Johann in the entry Hartig (*Graf Franz*), Ernst Ludwig Gerbet, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, Bd. 1 (Leipzig, 1812), column 509-510.

⁵⁹ Vogl incorrectly gives the name Josef (!) Hubert, see: Emil Vogl, "Johann Anton Losy: Lutenist of Prague," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 13 (1980): pp. 58-86, here p. 83.

⁶⁰ See above, note 43.

⁶¹ Jana Vojtěšková, *Die Zelenka-Überlieferung*, 86. Cf. also Thomas Kollhase, "Der Dresdener Hofkirchenkomponist Jan Dismas Zelenka. Ein Forschungsbericht" [The Dresden Hofkirche composer Jan Dismas Zelenka. A research report], in *Musik des Ostens 12*, ed. Hubert Unverricht, (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1992), pp. 115-212.

on the composer Jan Dismas Zelenka that we have referred to above." The discrepancy between the fact that Zelenka dedicated a number of his works to the older Hartig brother Johann Hubert or composed them at Johann Hubert's instigation, and the fact that Zelenka elsewhere refers to his consultations with the "musical Hartig," who has been assumed to be Ludwig Joseph, even led Zelenka's biographer Janice Stockigt to the hypothesis that Ludwig Joseph was Zelenka's teacher and Johann Hubert was his patron.⁶² But this theory is far from providing a satisfactory explanation of the disconcerting fact, already pointed out by Vojtěšková, that no source exists that clearly indicates any contact between Zelenka and Ludwig Joseph, while there is a whole series of sources documenting contacts between Zelenka and Johann Hubert. And the same disproportion exists when we look at the extant sources referring to the relationship between the two Hartigs and music in general. As we shall now try to show, over against a whole series of concrete pieces of evidence indicating Johann Hubert's musical interests, there is on the other hand only Nettl's basic—but potentially problematic—identification of Ludwig Joseph as the patron of the Academy.

A great deal has already been written about Zelenka's relations with the Hartig family in the works by Vojtěšková and Stockigt that we have mentioned, so here we will briefly summarize this issue. As is well known, in 1709 Zelenka composed his *sepolcro Immissit Dominus Pestilentiam*, ZWV 58, for the Jesuit college in the Prague Clementinum, and, according to the title page of the extant autograph, at the time he was employed by a "Count Hartig" who is not identified in any greater detail. In 1712, in addition to the reference to Zelenka's consultation with "Baron Hartig" that we have already mentioned, there is a further *sepolcro* for the Jesuits in the Clementinum (*Attendite et Videte*, ZWV 59), this time quite clearly composed at the instigation of Johann Hubert; and the same applies to a third *sepolcro* dating from 1716 (*Deus Dux Fortissimus*, ZWV 60). It is true that Johann Hubert Hartig is not referred to on the title pages by his Christian names, but it is clear that the reference is to him because his function in the office of the Lieutenancy Council is mentioned.⁶³ In 1723, probably during his stay in Prague, Zelenka dedicated to Johann Hubert a copy of his *Responsoria pro Hebdomada Sancta*, ZWV 55, and in 1738 Johann Hubert (there is

⁶² Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, p. 6.

⁶³ Jana Vojtěšková, *Die Zelenka-Überlieferung*, 86. The texts of dedication have been published in *Zelenka-Dokumentation* (Wien/Südboden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), and also together with English translations in *Stockigt, Jan, Dismas Zelenka*, p. 307ff.

no Christian name in the records, but Ludwig Joseph was already dead at this stage) had Zelenka's oratorio *I Penitenti al Sepolcro del Redentore*, ZWV 63 performed at the monastery of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star in Prague.⁶⁴ And finally, in 1743 the composer dedicated to the same Hartig a copy of his Loretto litanies *Salus Infirmorum*, ZWV 152. It is thus clear that it was primarily Johann Hubert with whom Zelenka maintained contacts throughout his life.

In connection with the three *sepolcra* composed by Zelenka for the Jesuits at the Clementinum, let us return here to Stölzel's biographical sketch of Hartig given above. In it, Stölzel describes Hartig not only as the patron of the Music Academy and an excellent *Clavier* player, but also as a collector of Italian music (from the context, it would appear primarily sacred music). According to Stölzel, he corresponded with the composers of these pieces, and had his favorite compositions from his select collection of musical scores performed in Prague churches. Stölzel describes in emotive terms his own experience of one of these performances, of a mass by Lotri, in the Jesuit church in Prague Old Town—in other words in the Clementinum. The similarity to the approach of Johann Hubert is obvious—he, too, acquired sacred compositions from Zelenka, and had two of them performed at the Jesuit Clementinum, and an oratorio at the church of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, which was another famous center where sacred music was cultivated in Prague.

Johann Hubert was also an admirer of Antonio Lotri, to judge from the fact that he possessed a number of his compositions. In the collection of musical scores in the library of the Prague Chapter (CZ Pak), several scores are to be found that were donated to the Chapter by Jan Hubert Hartig.⁶⁵ Details of the donation are not known, nor is it clear when the compositions were donated and whether they were all donated together. The origin of the compositions can only be determined by means of notes on the covers, only one of which contains the donor's

⁶⁴ "Anno 1738 Oratorium productum Auth: Domini Zelenka / ab (titl:) Illustrst DD Comite Hartik gratiosè concessum et productum," cited in Jiří Fukáč, "Die Oratorienaufführungen bei den Prager Kreuzherren mit dem roten Stern als Typ lokaler Musikfeste," in *Šlovník pražské filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, Nr. H 29, vol. 1994 (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1996), pp. 69–89, esp. 83. The fact that of Zelenka's three oratorios it was ZWV 63 that was performed on this occasion was established from excerpts from the annals of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star by Ota Kar Kamper, *Hudební Praha v 18. věku* (Praha, 1936), p. 160.

⁶⁵ See J. Štefan, *Ecclēsia metropolitana praagensis collectionis operum artis musicae* (Praha, 1983), Vol. 1, No. 204, Vol. 2, No. 899, 900, 902 (= Catalogus artis musicae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae 4).

⁶⁶ This is the note on the cover of Lotri's *Kyrie*, shelf mark 856: "Ex Liberalitate Ill[ustriss]imi D[omin]i Huberti Comitis de Hartig choro S[anc]ti Viti donatum."

of the Cross with the Red Star, which are to be found in what is known as the inventory of the Knights of the Cross.⁷⁰ Although these records do not give Hartig's Christian name, in at least some cases it is clear that it was Johann Hubert. This applies to the performance of Zelenka's oratorio mentioned above, which took place after the death of Ludwig Joseph Hartig, and in the same way we can ascribe to Johann Hubert the performance of Gonelli's *Miserere* and *Stabat Mater* in 1741, and likewise, after his death, the performance of Lotti's oratorio *Il Ritorno di Tobia*,⁷¹ which appears to have been performed on the instructions of Johann Hubert's daughter Theresie Anna von der Goltz, having been left in his estate. Lotti's oratorio had already been performed in Prague in 1734, but not a great deal is known about the circumstances.⁷² Which of the Hartigs sponsored three earlier oratorios that were performed in the church of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star cannot be ascertained from the brief notes in the inventory.⁷³

Other minor pieces of evidence testifying to Johann Hubert Hartig's musical interests include his contacts with the Italian Opera Society in Prague. Not only was he most probably one of their season-ticket holders, but he supported the heavily indebted impresario Antonio Denzio in his request to Count Franz Anton Sporck for financial support.⁷⁴ It was also probably Johann Hubert Hartig, and not Count Johann Karl von Hardegg—as Vladimír Helfert believed—who

(Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1996), pp. 69–89, esp. p. 84.

⁷¹ Cf. note 60.

⁷² "Anno 1741 Misereere novum, et Stabat Mater, ab Illmi DD Hartik productum Authore / Gonelli; Anno 1742 Oratorium Italicum de Thobia / Sine libellis ex Hereditate Ill DD / Comitis Hartik ab Ill Comitissima Kolt / productum Authore Lotti ad S. Annaam / cum libellis Anno 1732", cited in Jiří Fukáč, "Die Oratorienaufführungen," pp. 69–89, esp. 84.

⁷³ J. G. Dlabáč, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, column 253.

⁷⁴ "Oratorium La Costanza del Cristiano patente per il Suo Redentore paragonato nel Matino di San Lorenzo dono à Comite Hartig productum Anno 1734 Contini," "Oratorium Italicum, Il Davide (!) persopitato, la Figura del Salvatore Nostro liberalita re Comitis Hartig donatum, 1730 productum Contini," "Oratorium Italicum Passione d Abele innocente prima figura die Giesu Christo à Dno Comite Hartig donat: 1729 product: Bigaglia," cited in Fukáč, *Die Oratorienaufführungen bei den Prager Kreuzherren*, pp. 81–2.

⁷⁵ Cf. Heinrich Benedikt, *Franz Anton Graf von Sporck (1662–1738). Zur Kultur der Barockzeit in Böhmen* (Wien: Manz-Verlag, 1923), p. 141 and Daniel E. Freeman, *The Opera Theater of Count Franz Anton von Sporck in Prague*, Studies in Czech Music 2 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1992), pp. 41, 59. Here it is clear that Johann Hubert was involved from a draft letter by Spock dated 10 July 1731, addressed "An den Herrn Graf Job: Hubert v. Hartig," see Spock copybooks, Státní ústřední archiv, shelf mark A 491, p. 293 or A 492, p. 310. In the list of season-ticket holders the name given is simply "Comte Hartig," see SUA, SCM 1724/XII/d/7.

⁷⁶ Cf. Vladimír Helfert, *Hudební barok na českých zámcích. Jaroměřice za hraběte Jana Adama z Questenbergu* (Praha, 1916), pp. 170, 190–91, 200. From the sources cited by Helfert we learn that Count Questenberg lent Hartig an oratorio on St. Jan Nepomuk, about which no details are given.

Christian name.⁶⁶ The works in question are the separately preserved sections of a mass by Antonio Lotti, the *Kyrie* (CZ, Pak shelf mark 856) and the *Gloria* (shelf mark 854, 855), elsewhere preserved together as the *Missa Sapientiae*.⁶⁷ Both sections are preserved both in the form of scores written on paper of Italian origin and as a set of parts copied by several different writers. A *Credo* by Lotti (shelf mark 853), whose origin has so far not been identified, is preserved in exactly the same way. The score for this work is however written in the same hand as that of the *Gloria* (shelf mark 854), so we can assume that this composition, too, originally belonged to Hartig. The original cover, that would have had a note on it indicating the donor, was probably replaced by a more recent cover of a different appearance, which is today in very bad condition. The last composition donated to the Chapter by Hartig is a mass by Antonio Caldara, which is however preserved only as a copy by the leader of the cathedral orchestra Jan František Novák (shelf mark 204).⁶⁸ We cannot say for certain that these scores of Lotti's works that have come down to us, and which were originally the property of Johann Hubert Hartig, are the same music whose performance made such an impression on Stölzel. Unfortunately the scores cannot be dated precisely (the fact that one of the two parts for second violin for the *Gloria* is dated 1738 is immaterial at this point), but by comparing them with the score and set of parts preserved in the collection of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (CZ, Pkříž, shelf mark XXXVI A 114), which are dated 1721, Jana Vojtěšková came to the conclusion that the two full scores must have been written before then.⁶⁹ If we add that it is in all probability in fact a case of the two scores having appeared in Prague before that date, then we come very close to the time of Stölzel's stay in Prague.

Another source that closely corresponds to Stölzel's description of Hartig's activities is the records of the oratorios performed at Hartig's instigation in the church of St. Francis at the monastery of the Knights

⁶⁶ See Antonio Lotti, *Missa Sapientiae (Kyrie in g, Gloria in G)*, ed. Wolfgang Horn (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1991); Jana Vojtěšková, *Bech, Zelenka a hnabé Hartig*, in *Hudební věda XXXI* (1994): 145–48. In her study, Vojtěšková showed that the copy of Lotti's *Missa Sapientiae* owned by Zelenka had been copied from the sources preserved in the CZ, Pak that we are discussing here.

⁶⁷ [Jan František Novák:] *Messa | à Cinque Voci obligate | con Clarini, Trombe, | e Timpano | ed Istrom[en]ti. | Del Sig[no]te Antonio Caldara | Vice-Maestro di Cappella | di S. M. e C. Car | Ab Ill[ustrissim]o Domino Comite Hartig Choro S. Viti donata*

⁶⁸ See Vojtěšková, *Bech, Zelenka a hnabé Hartig*, 146.⁶⁹ See Jiří Fukáč, "Die Oratorienaufführungen bei den Prager Kreuzherren mit dem roten Stern als Typ lokaler Musikfeste," in *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, No. H 29, vol. 1994 (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1996), pp. 69–89, esp. p. 84.

⁷⁰ See Jiří Fukáč, "Die Oratorienaufführungen bei den Prager Kreuzherren mit dem roten Stern als Typ lokaler Musikfeste," in *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, No. H 29, vol. 1994 (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1996), pp. 69–89, esp. p. 84.

was from time to time in contact on musical matters with Count Jan Adam Questenberg,⁷⁵ and whom the composer Nicola Porpora tried unsuccessfully to meet in 1736. Porpora's intention is known thanks to the account by Questenberg's steward Jiří Adam Hofmann of Porpora's planned visit to Count Questenberg in Jaroměřice on his way to meet Hartig in Prague. However, the meeting had to be postponed due to the fact that Hartig was not in Prague at the time, and whether it took place later we do not know.⁷⁷

There are thus a number of indications pointing to the possibility that our "musical Hartig" could have been Johann Hubert Hartig. However, a definitive answer to the question of which of the two brothers might have fitted the description Stölzel and Quantz were actually referring to cannot be given on the basis of what we know at present. Indeed, it seems that there was already a lack of clarity on this matter in the second half of the eighteenth century. The first references in the encyclopaedic literature depend entirely on Stölzel and Quantz, and Matheson himself, after the entry on Hartig in his own copy of his *Gewandlagen*, added the note "*album silentium*"—"a profound silence."⁷⁸

If at this point we conclude our survey by looking back at what we have said and summing up, it has to be said that we have come some distance from Silvius Leopold Weiss's *Tombeau*. We now know who Cajetan Hartig was, but through examining this question we have moved on to other members of the Hartig family and issues relating to the Prague Music Academy. Although a number of questions concerning

Helfert however believed that the person in question was Count Johann Karl von Handegg, who, like Questenberg, was a member of the orchestra of aristocrats that performed the opera *Eurisico* in Vienna in 1724 (cf. Ludwig Köchel, *Johann Joseph Fas*, Wien 1872, p. 150–51). Reasons for thinking that it was more likely to have been Jan Hubert Hartig, whom Helfert does not mention at all, are Hartig's involvement in staging oratorios in Prague, described above, and the fact that in the accounts cited by Helfert the name of the count in question is given as "Hardig."

⁷⁷ Cf. Hoffmann's reports to Count Questenberg on 21 November 1736—"H. Porpora aber, welcher ohne das eine Reiss nach Prag zum gr. Hardig machen solle (wann aber? noch ungewiss ist), will diese Reis über Jaromertiz nahmen..." and 23 November 1736: "Herr Porpora hat heut von H. gr. von Hardig aus Prag ein schreiben erhalten, noch auf fernere ordre hier zu verbleiben, weilten er 8 meyl wegl von Prag verreise müsste, folglich selber nicht weiss, wann diese seine reiss von Sich gehen wird, hoffet noch hier Ewer Excellente seine aufwartung machen zu können," cited in V. Helfert, *Hubert's herok*, 190, notes 4 and 5.

[Herr Porpora, who in any case plans to travel to Prague to visit Count Hardig (but it is not yet certain when), would like to travel via Jaromertiz...] [Today Herr Porpora received a letter from Prague from Herr Count von Hardig, telling him to wait here for further instructions, because he has had to travel 8 miles out of Prague, and so he himself does not know when his journey will take place, but hopes to be able to visit Your Excellency here.]

⁷⁸ Johana Matheson, *Gewandlage einer Eberw-Pfevert* (Hamburg, 1740), Vollständiger, originalgetreuten Neudruck mit gelegentlichen bibliographischen Hinweisen und Mathesons Nachrichten (Hrsg. von Max Schneider (Berlin, 1910), Anhang, 6.

the facts still remain unanswered, we would like to raise two issues of a more general nature. Firstly, what could have led one of the Hartigs to assume the patronage over the Prague Music Academy in the second decade of the eighteenth century? The reason he was approached was more likely to have been his familiarity with musical matters and his ability and authority in this field than the financial resources with which he might have supported the Academy. It would seem that the "pope of music" in Prague was able to give expression to his love for music through personal contacts with composers and his own harpsichord playing rather than by maintaining an orchestra at considerable cost, as was the case with members of the "higher" aristocracy. However, his talent and passion for music could not remain a private matter. If one of the crucial characteristics of being an aristocrat was the ability to represent one's noble status—and after all one of the arguments for promoting Ludwig Joseph to the status of count was the fact that he was capable of acting as a count should do—then this representation at the same time became a means of climbing the rungs of the social ladder. Public engagements outside the circles of the aristocratic courts, in a situation when it was no longer possible to establish one's own court, was evidently part of the strategy for upward social mobility.

The significance of the Prague Music Academy has so far not been assessed, mainly because of the almost total lack of sources relating to its activities and their evidently episodic nature.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the attempt in Prague to establish an institution of this type is a remarkable piece of evidence, telling us not only about an almost unknown segment of public musical life in Prague outside the churches, but also about the townspeople, among whose ranks the establishment of the Academy was initiated. Such an institution, providing for musical performances open to the public, was undoubtedly a relatively modern social phenomenon, anticipating to some extent the Enlightenment types of societies (such as musical or literary salons, and educational, scientific or museum societies). Although the Prague Music Academy does not appear to have lasted long, its function in holding musical performances open to the public was in some ways taken over ten years later (from 1724) by the regular operatic

⁷⁹ Cf. for instance "Akademie und Musik: Erscheinungsweise und Wirkungen des Akademieständens in Kultur- und Musikgeschichte: Institutionen, Veranstaltungen, Schriften," in *Festschrift für Werner Braun zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von Wolf Probenius... (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Dr. und Verl., 1993), and in particular Nicole Schwandt-Gross, "Bibliographie zum Akademieständens in der Musikgeschichte," *ibid.*, pp. 317–426, where Nertl's study and the Prague Music Academy are not mentioned.

productions of Denzio's society. Both of them were very early examples in the Central European context of the emergence of public institutions of this kind.⁸⁰ The significance of this early establishment of the Music Academy is highlighted by the fact that for many decades afterwards public concerts had to be held in Prague without any support from an institution of this kind.

Translated by Peter Stephens

Appendix 1

HARTIG⁸¹

(ex libris, Stölzel.)

Des Fröhern von Hartigs Excellenz waren in den Jahren 1715, 1716, und 1717. würdiger Protector der musikalischen Academie zu Prage; also hiessen bey jedermann, nach welscher Manier, die wöchentlichen Zusammenkünfte der besten pragerischen Musikorum, welche in einem prächtigen Saale des Hauses, zur eisernen Thüre genennet, gehalten wurden: wobey sich mehrentheils der hohe Adel einfand.

Der Anfang wurde mit einer Ouvertüre gemacht; hierauf wurden Concerte gespielt, und auch wechselseitig darunter gesungen, oder Solo gehört. Den Schluß aber machte eine Starcke Symphonie. Fremde und durchreisende Musici hatten hier die beste Gelegenheit, sich nicht nur hören zu lassen; sondern auch bekannt zu machen.

Eben diese Academie gab Anlaß, daß ich (Stölzel) die Ehre der Bekanntschaft des Herrn von Adlersfeld erlangte, und dieser grosse Liebhaber der musik, daß ich drey Jahr in Prag verbliebe. S. Excellenz, der Herr Baron Hartig aber selbst hatten eine überaus fertige, künstliche und delicate Hand auf dem Claviere, und man traf der besten Clavecins von dem berühmtesten Meistern nicht nur eines, sondern oft mehr als eines, nur in einem Zimmer, geschweige in dero Hause, an.

Sie hatten einen großen Vorrath von den schönsten Musikalien: denn sie correspondirten mit den vornehmsten italienischen Componisten. Doch waren sie mit dem blossen Besitz derselben für sich allein nicht zufrieden; sondern liessen öfters diejenigen Compositiones, so ihnen am besten gefielen, in den Kirchen prächtig aufführen.

Wie ich den mit Grunde der Wahrheit sagen kann, daß eine Lottische große Messe, welche S. Excellenz in der Jesuiten-Kirche auf der Altstadt, durch viele Kloster-Musikos so wohl, als auch durch die bey verschiedlichen hohen Herrschafften zu Prage in Diensten stehende, und zu dem Ende versammelte Virtuosen aufführen liessen, die stärkste Musik

⁸⁰ See for instance Heinrich W. Schwab, *Konzert. Öffentliche Darbietung vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Musikgeschichte in Bildern IV/2 (Leipzig 1971)), pp. 197–210, also Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995), pp. 101–02.

⁸¹ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, pp. 102–03.

gewesen, die ich Zeit lebens gehört. Bey derselben aber befanden sich der Herr Baron unten in der Kirche, und hatten die Partitur vor sich liegen, daß also die Kraft der Harmonie nicht allein durchs Gehör ins Gemüthe dringen konnte, sondern, auch die Augen derselben Bewegungen im Bilde der Noten sahen.

Ich mögte wohl wissen, ob dieser grosse Kenner, Könnner und Gönner der Musik noch am Leben wäre?

Appendix 2

Excerpt from the necrology of Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690-1749) by Lorenz Mizler, 1754.

BY DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH

Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, who grew up and was educated in Saxony and Silesia, served from 1719 until his death as Capellmeister at the court of Gotha in Saxony. Though there is no current documentary evidence to associate him directly with Weiss, he moved in aristocratic and musical circles in Breslau, Roane, Innsbruck and Prague, where Weiss was very well known. Stölzel must surely have been very familiar with the great lutenist's reputation at least from his youth in Breslau, and likely came into direct contact with him.

The biographical excerpt below, from the necrology published by Lorenz Mizler a few years after Stölzel's death, came to the attention of the editors shortly before this *Journal* went to press.⁸² Mizler was the head of Leipzig's Society of Musical Sciences, of which J. S. Bach was a member, as was Stölzel. Since many of the same noble and musical personalities are mentioned as appear in this *Journal's* articles on the Hartig family and Adlersfeld, and the necrology gives some more details pertinent to these individuals and to the lute, it seemed appropriate to include it here to supplement the historical information presented in the larger studies.

The obituary appears to be based upon the autobiography of Stölzel published by Johann Mattheson in his *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* in 1740. Since Stölzel had been a member of his society for ten years, Mizler may have learned the new details in his necrology from Stölzel himself.

⁸² The editors are grateful to Markus Lutz for calling this source to our attention.

⁸³ In his autobiography published by Mattheson, Stölzel specifies "Clavier" as the instrument he taught the noble ladies in Breslau.

Translation

After he had spent almost three years in Leipzig, he went to Silesia, and stayed the same amount of time in Breslau [beginning in 1710], where he had the honor of instructing the Countesses Neidhardt, Burkhauss, Nimsh, Leczynski, and Collowrat, and the Baronesses Haak, Lillenthal, and von Schweinigin in singing and playing [the harpsichord].⁸³ Among many overtures, concertos and other musical pieces, which he publicly performed in the collegium musicum there, there appeared a serenade of his poetic and harmonic [i.e., compositional] works, on the coronation festival for Emperor Charles VI [in 1711], in addition to a dramatic poem named *Narcissus*, which was dedicated to the Countess von Neidhardt and performed in the above-mentioned collegium.

An Italian language teacher, who was a good friend of his in Breslau, put the idea in his head—telling him many flattering stories of the charms of Italy—of taking a trip there. He thus made use of his luck in Breslau to raise the necessary travel expenses in a decent way, and first went, in order to take leave of his family, back to Saxony, where the Capellmeister Theile, who was then living in Halle, commissioned him to write the opera *Valeria*, which would be premiered at the Princely Theater in Naumburg during the next trade fair. After this happened, there followed two more operas at the next trade fair, *Artemisia* and *Orion*, also with text and music by him.

He also visited the court at Gera, where shortly thereafter he performed a pastorelle, *Die Rosen und Dornen der Liebe* ("Roses and thorns of love"), in addition to many pieces of church music and Tafelmusik. He had the good fortune that at the same time at the Count's court in Gera and at the Princely court of Zeitz he was offered the position of Capellmeister. His refusal of these offers because of his firm intent to go to Italy brought about a considerable increase in his travel funds. Thus at the end of 1713 he actually began the trip, and went from Gera to Hof, Bayreuth, Nuremberg, and to Augsburg, where just at that time the Reichstag was being held, and he had the good fortune to acquire many noble patrons with his music.

The plague that was raging in Bohemia, Vienna and Regensburg hindered him by quarantine from attaining the desired entry into the garden of the world, or merry Italy, since he had to spend first eight days alone at the Venetian border in the *Lazaret* [military hospital] in Premolano,

and then—because Herr Simonetti, who was arriving at the *Lazaret* from Berlin, tossed him his glove as a joke—had to remain another seven weeks together with him.

From there he went to Venice, and found there the subsequent Royal Polish Capellmeister Heinichen, whose guidance he used as long as he stayed in Venice, which lasted until July of the following year [1714]. He visited in his [Heinichen's] company weekly the Venetian ospedali alla pieta, all'incurabile, alli mendicanti, and all'hospitaletto, where the best music in Venice was heard, aside from the Carneval season at the theaters and the usual church and monastery music. At that time the following composers were at these ospedali: alla pieta, Herr Gasparini, Concertmaster Herr Vivaldi; all'incurabili, Herr Carlo Antonio Pallaroli; alli mendicanti, Herr Antonio Biffi; all'hospitaletto, the Cavaliere Vinaccesi, of whom he had the honor of meeting, especially the three first-mentioned. Through the good graces of the famous Alessandro Marcello, he often attended the music of the Venetian nobility in the palace alli fondamenti novi.

From Venice he went to Florence, where he had the opportunity to visit the palace of the Duke Salviati, and to become acquainted with Herr Ludewig, a German from Berlin and his wife Signora Maddalena, a great Venetian virtuoso on the theorbo. He had the fortune on the following day, thanks to Duke Salviati, to have an audience with Her Highness the Princess Eleonora di Guastalla, and to be released from the court for the entire time of his stay until his departure for Rome. Here he had the chance to associate with all the virtuosi in Florence, and to practice his science to his contentment. He was at Her Highness's almost every day making music, whereby the princess each time played the Arciliuto (that is, a lute, or *Erzlaute*) and her teacher Herr Balafuri the theorbo, but the priest Herr Gambarucci sang the tenor [part].

Aside from the cantatas that he composed here in quite some numbers, he performed no more than a large duet, in which Herr Tempesti sang the contralto and Signora Goslar the descant part in a garden in the presence of most of the aristocracy, whereby all the Florentine virtuosi with their instruments were present and were heard. He could with no difficulty have found his temporal happiness in this place had not religion, about which people cajoled him quite often with much flattery, stood in his way.

In September he commenced his journey to Rome with a letter of recommendation, where he not only saw the antiquities of this city but also made himself acquainted as far as possible with the musical experts. Herr Krehbeckel, the then Imperial Legation Secretary, gave him the opportunity to meet Herr Bononcini, who had lived in Vienna as Kapellmeister at the time of Emperor Joseph I [r. 1705-1711]. He also found some male and female singers worthy of hearing, among whom Herr Gegho had the greatest reputation.

After he had stayed in Rome for a month and somewhat more, he returned to Florence, where at the time of the Carneval he heard various well-composed operas by Casparini Orlandini and other good masters. At the expense of the Florentine Court he made a journey to Pisa and Livorno and came, after he had seen everything remarkable, back to Florence where Herr Simonetti, who in the meantime had taken a trip from Venice to Lisbon, was again in the city, and with whom he traveled through Bologna, Venice, and Trento to Innsbruck, and stayed there a long time.

Here he got to know the entire Court Chapel of His Highness Prince Carl Philipp von der Pfalz, and at the princely dinner on His Highness' name day, he had the honor of performing a duet sung by Signora Eleonora de Scio and Signora Eleonora Barosini, but an Italian abbot played the violoncello and he himself accompanied. After the dinner he received an audience [with Carl Philipp] and many favors. In the house of Herr Concertmaster Wieland, where he lived with his fellow travelers, there assembled daily all the court musicians, the splendid violinist Herr Forstmeyer and Herr Hofer from Vienna.

From Innsbruck they took a most pleasant journey through Bavaria on the Inn and Danube Rivers to Linz, where they stayed only a few days, but spent the whole time surrounded by music, because they met there the greatest music connoisseurs in the world, but from Linz they made their way through Budweis on the Moldau to Prague, where he stayed for three whole years.

Here he again found a great musical connoisseur in Herr Anton von Adlersfeld, who housed and entertained him in the finest manner in his house, not to mention other noble patrons of music, who are to be found there in large numbers. He spent, so to speak, whole days and nights doing nothing but making music with Count Logi and Herr von

Adlersfeld, whereby the extremely adept Herr Baron von Hartig was often in attendance, under whose supervision the Prague Musical Academy of that time flowered, where almost weekly the blessed [deceased Herr Stözel] appeared with something of his work. Otherwise he composed and performed various dramatic works, for instance *Venus und Adonis*, *Actis und Galathea*, *Das durch die Liebe besiegte Glück* ["Fortune conquered by Love"] etc, on his own poetic texts, as well as several German, Latin, and Italian church oratorios, for instance *Die büßende Sünderin Maria Magdalena*, *Jesus patientum*, and *Caino*, *overo il primo figlio malvaggio*, also some masses, in addition to many instrumental pieces.

A serenade that he performed at the wedding of Count Trautmannsdorf in the home of Herr von Adlersfeld, in the company of the entire high nobility, had the good fortune to please everybody so much that he was sought out by the whole society to compose more such works, and the City Commandant Count von Guttenberg proposed to him in front of all the guests that in future he offer tickets to his musical performances, to which end he would at any time receive a team of soldiers [to sell the tickets at the door]. The success of this was so great that he never had to compose even the slightest musical piece without some reward, and also had no lack of virtuosos, but rather received [at his disposal] the best people, both from the Capellen of the nobility as well as the monasteries.

Source: Lorenz Mizler, *Denkmal dreyer verstorbenen Mitglieder der Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaften*, in: Lorenz Mizlers [...] *musikalische Bibliothek*, [...] vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1754/Reprint Amsterdam, 1966), pp. 143-57.

Translated by Douglas Alton Smith

Original German text

Nachdem er bey nahe drey Jahr in Leipzig zugebracht, ging er nach Schlesien, und hielt sich eben so viel Jahre zu Breslau auf, wo er die Gräffinnen Neidhardt, Burkhauff, Nimsh, Leczynski, Collowrat, die Baronessen Haak, Lilienthal, von Schweinigin im Singen und Spielen zu unterrichten die Ehre gehabt. Unter vielen Ouverturen, Concerten und andern musikalischen Stücken, welche er in dem dasigen musikal.

Collegio öffentlich aufgeführt, erschiene auch eine Serenate von seiner poetisch und harmonischen Arbeit, auf das Krönungsfest des Kayser Carlis des VI, nebst einem dramatischen Gedichte, Narcissus genannt, welches der Gräfin von Neidhardt zugeschrieben und im obengedachten Collegio aufgeführt wurde.

Ein Italienischer Sprachmeister, welchen er zu Breslau zum guten Freund hatte, setzte ihm durch viele schmeichelhafte Erzählungen von den Annehmlichkeiten Italiens, die Gedanken in den Kopf, eine Reise dahin zu thun. Er bediente sich dabey seines Glückes zu Breslau die hierzu nöthige Reisekosten auf eine anständige Art zu erwerben, und ging, um sich von den Seinigen zu beurlauben, vorhero nach Sachsen zurücke, wo ihm der damals in Halle sich aufhaltende Capellmeister **Theile**, die Composition der Oper **Valeria** auftrug, um in der nächsten Naumburger Messe auf dem dasigen Hochfürstl. Theatro vorgestellet zu werden. Als dieses geschähe, folgten noch zwey Opern, die **Artemisia**, und der **Orion**, in der folgenden Messe, gleichfalls von seiner Musik und Poesie.

Er besuchte auch den Hof zu Gera, wo er in kurzen darauf, ein Pastoral, die **Rosen und Dornen der Liebe**, nebst vielen sowohl Kirchen als Tafelmusiken aufführte. Er hatte damals das Glück, daß ihm zu gleicher Zeit am Gräfl. Hof zu Gera und am Fürstl. Hof zu Zeit Dienst als Capellmeister angetragen würden. Der Ausschlag dieser angebotenen Dienste wegen der fest vorgesetzten Reise nach Italien brachten ihm einen beträchtlichen Zuwachs zu seinen Reisekosten zu wege. Er trat daher zu Ende des 1713. Jahrs wirklich die Reise dahin an, und gieng von Gera über Hof, Bayreuth, Nürnberg auf Augspürg zu, woselbst eben der Reichstag gehalten wurde, und er das Glück hatte, durch die Musik sich viele vornehme Gönner zu erwerben.

Die in Böhmen, Wien und zu Regensburg wüthende Pest versperrte ihm durch die Quarantaine [sic] den sehnlichen Eingang in den Gärten der Welt, oder das lustige Italien, als welche er an den Venetianischen Grenzen in dem Lazaret zu Premolano erstlich acht Tage allein, und hernach, weil der von Berlin ankommende Hr. **Simonetti** bey seinem Eintritt ins Lazaret ihm aus Spaß den Handschuh zugeworfen, noch andere sieben Wochen mit ihm aushalten muste.

Von dort gieng er nach Venedig, und fand den nachherigen Königl. Polnischen Capellmeister Herrn Heinichen daselbst, dessen Anleitung er sich bediente, so lange er sich zu Venedig aufhalten, welches sich biß in

den Julium des folgenden Jahrs verzog. Er besuchte in dessen Gesellschaft wöchentlich die Venetianischen Hospitäler *alla pieta, all'incurabili, alli mendicanti*, und *all'hospitaleto*, allwo die beste Musik, auser [sic] der Carnevalszeit auf den Schauplätzen, und der gewöhnlichen Kirchen- und Klostermusik, in Venedig zu hören ist. Zur selbigen Zeit waren in gedachten Hospitälern folgende Tonkünstler, *alla pieta*: Hr. **Casparini**, Concertmeister Hr. **Vivaldi**, *all'incurabili*: Hr. **Carlo Antonio Pallaroli**, *alli mendicanti*: Hr. **Antonio Biffi**, *all'hospitaleto*: il **Cavaliere Vinacceti**, wovon er sonderlich die drey ersten zu kennen die Ehre gehabt. Durch Vermittelung des berühmten **Alessandro Marcello**, hat er vielmal der Musik der Venetianischen Edelleute in dem *Pallast alli fondamenti novi* beygewohnt.

Von Venedig kam er nach Florenz, wo er Gelegenheit hatte in des Herzogs *Sabotati* Pallast geführt zu werden, und mit Hr. Ludewigs, einem Deutschen von Berlin und dessen Frauen *Signora Maddalena*, einer grossen Venetianischen Virtuosen auf der Theorbe, bekannt zu werden. Er hatte das Glück den folgenden Tag durch Vermittelung des Herzogs *Salviati* beythro Durchlaucht der Princeßin **Eleonora** von *Giustalla* Audiency zu bekommen, und die ganze Zeit seines Aufenthalts biß zu seiner Abreise nach Rom vom Hofe ausgelöset zu werden. Hier hatte er Gelegenheit mit allen Virtuosen in Florenz umzugehen, und sich zur Gügig in seiner Wissenschaft zu üben. Er war fast alle Tage beythro Durchlaucht mit der Musik beschäftiget, wobey die Princeßin jedesmal die *Arclituro* (d. i. eine Laute, oder Erclaute) und ihr Lehrmeister Hr. **Balafui** die Theorbe spielten, Hr. *Prete Gambarucci* aber den Tenor sang.

Auser den Cantaren welche er hier verfertiget in ziemlicher Anzahl, hat er nicht mehr denn ein grosses Duett, welches Hr. *Tempesti* in *Contra Alto* und *Signora Goslar* in Diskant abgesungen in einem Garten in Gegenwart des meistens Adels aufgeführt, wobey die sämtlichen Florentinischen Virtuosen mit ihren Instrumenten zugegen waren und sich hören liessen. Er hätte an diesem Orte sein zeitliches Glück ohne Schwürigkeit finden können, wenn ihm die Religion, wozu man ihn gar öfters mit vielen Schmeicheleyen bereden wollte, nicht im Wege gestanden.

Im September trat er seine Reisenach Rom mit einem Empfehlungsschreiben an, wo er nicht nur die Alterthümer dieser Stadt in Augenschein nahm, sondern auch so viel möglich mit den Musikverständigen sich bekannt machte. Herr **Krehbeckel** damaliger Kayserl. Legations-Secretarius gab ihm Gelegenheit den Hrn. **Bononcini** kennen zu lernen, der zu Zeiten

des Kayzers Josephs in Wien als Capellmeister gelebet, er fandte auch unterschiedene hörenswürdige Sänger und Sängerinnen, worunter der Hr. *Geghe* am meisten im Ruiffe war.

Nachdem er in Rom einen Monat und etwas drüber sich aufgehalten ging er nach Florenz zurück, wo er zur Zeit des Carnevals unterschiedliche wohl ausgearbeitete Opetn von *Casparini Orlandini* und andern guten Meistern hörte. Auf Kosten des Florentinischen Hofes that er eine Reise nach *Pisa* und *Livorno*, und kam, nachdem er alles Merkwürdige gesehen, nach Florenz zurück, wo Hr. *Simonetti*, so unterdessen von Venedig eine Reise nach Lissabon gethan, wieder angekommen, und mit welchem er über Bologna, Venedig und Trient nach Inspruck gereiset, und daselbst eine geraume Zeit stille gelegen.

Hier kam er in Bekantschaft der sämtlichen Hoicapelle Sr. Durchlaucht des Prinzen Carl Phillips von Pfalz, und hatte die Gnade an dessen Nahmenstag bey der Hochfürstl. Tafel mit einem Duett aufzuwarten, welches *Signora Eleonora de Scio* und *Signora Eleonora Barosini* absangen, ein Italienischer Abt aber spielte den Violoncell dazu, und er selber accompagnirte. Nach der Tafel erhielt er Audienz und viele Gnadenbezeugungen. In dem Hause des Herrn Concertmeisters **Wielands**, wo er mit seinem Reisegefährden wohnte, war täglich die ganze Music beysammen, der treffliche Violinist Hr. Forstmeyer und Herr Hofer aus Wien.

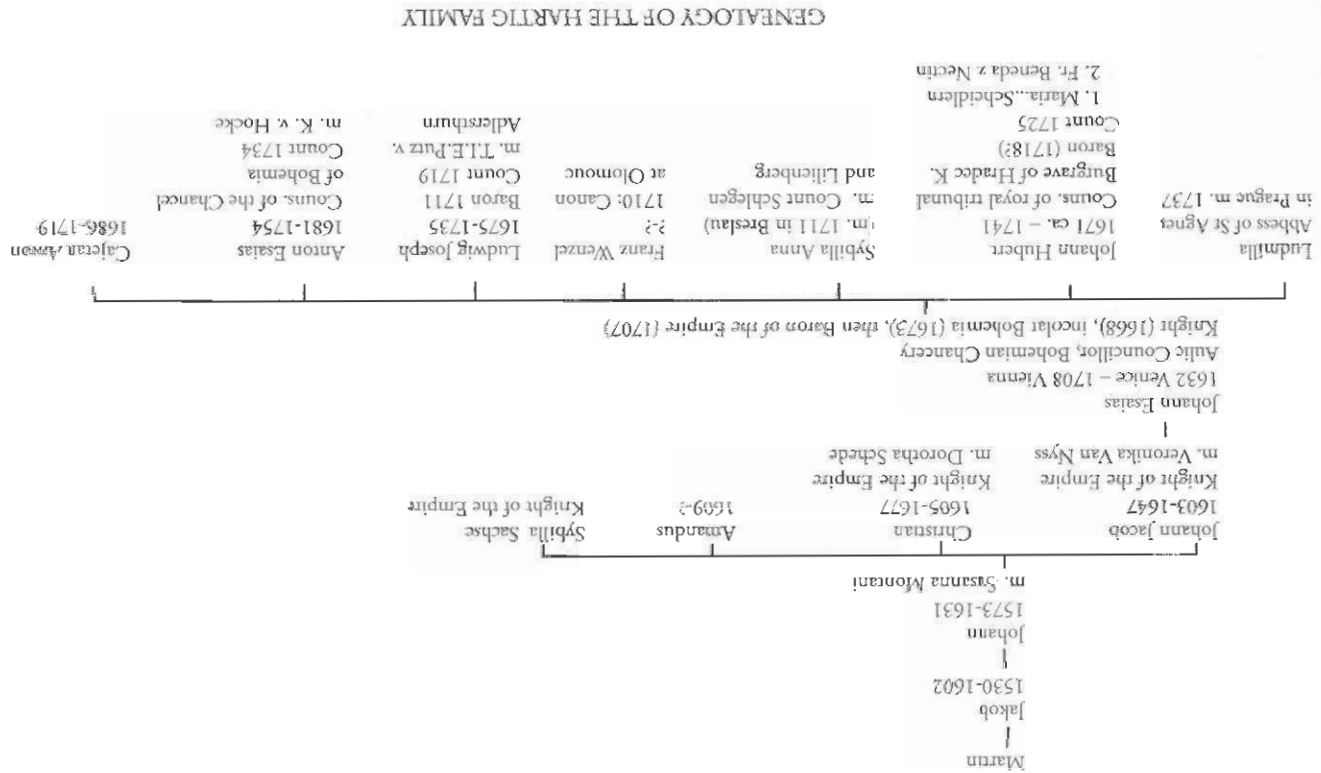
Von Inspruck thaten sie durch Bayern auf dem Inn- und Donaustrom die angenehmste Reise von der Welt nach Lintz, wo sie sich nur einige Tage aufhielten, solche Zeit aber unter lauter Musik zubrachten, weil sie daselbst die größten Musikliebhaber von der Welt antrafen, von Lintz aber ging er über Budweiß auf der Mulda nach Prag, woselbst er sich drey ganzer Jahre aufgehalten.

Hier fand er abermals einen grossen Musikfreund an dem Hrn. **Anton von Adlersfeld**, welcher ihn biß zu seiner Abreise in seinem Hause auf das beste bewirthet, anderer vornehmer Musikpatronen, welche daselbst in Menge anzutreffen, zu geschweigen. Mit dem Grafen **Logi** und Hrn. von Adlersfeld, brachte er so zu sagen ganze Tage und Nächte in lauter Music zu, wobey der überaus geschickte Herr **Baron von Hartig** öfters zugegen war, unter dessen Aufsicht die damalige musikalische Pragerische Academie blühere, bey welcher der seel. fast wöchentlich mit etwas von seiner Arbeit erschienen. Sonst hat er in Prag unterschiedene dramatische

Dinge, als **Venus und Adonis**, **Acis und Galathea**, das durch die Liebe besiegte Glück, etc. von seiner Poesie, ingl. [sic] etliche Deutsche, Lateinische und Italienische Kirchenoratorien, als **die büsende Sünderin Maria Magdalena**, *Jesusm patientem* und *Caino, ovvero il primo figlio mabaggio*, von seiner Composition, auch etliche Misser: nebst vielen Instrumentalsachen verfertigt und aufgeführt.

Eine Serenate, welche bey Vermählung des Hrn. Grafens Trautmannsdorf in dem Hause des Hrn. von Adlersfeld aufführte, in Gegenwart des sämtlichen hohen Adels, hatte das Glück allen so zu gefallen, daß er von der ganzen Gesellschaft ersuchet wurde dergleichen noch mehr zu verfertigen, und der Stadlcommendant [sic] Graf von Cuttenberg that ihm in Gegenwart aller den Vorschlag ins künftige bey seinen Musiken Billette zu gebrauchen, zu welchem Ende er jederzeit eine Mannschafft Soldaten erhalten sollte. Der Erfolg dieses wirkte so viel, daß er auch den geringsten, so er in solchen Musiken gebraucht, niemals ohne einige Beschenkung weggehen lassen durfte, auch keinen Mangel an Virtuosen hatte, sondern die besten Leute so wohl aus den Gräfflichen Capellen als Klöstern bekam.

Appendix 3



Weiss and the 1719 Saxon-Hapsburg Wedding Festival in Dresden

BY DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH

ON AUGUST 20, 1719, Prince Elector Friedrich August II of Saxony married the Austrian Archduchess Maria Josepha in Vienna. The event had monumental significance for Saxony, and particularly for the ambitious Elector Friedrich August I ("The Strong"), for it meant a closer alliance with the court of the Holy Roman Empire. The personal and political union became the occasion for the most extravagant series of cultural events in Saxon history.

Since the Saxon court regarded the event as so significant, several large collections of illustrations and documentation of the celebration were later compiled.¹ A few graphics from these collections are reproduced below.

Music played a large part in the festivities, and Silvius

¹ See Michael Walter, "Italienische Musik als Repräsentationskunst der Dresdener Fürstenhochzeit von 1719," in *Elbflörenz. Italienische Präsenz in Dresden vom 16.-19. Jahrhundert*, ed. B. Marx (München: Beck, 2000); and Irmgard Becker-Glauch, *Die Bedeutung der Musik für die Dresdner Hofseite bis in die Zeit Augusts des Starken* (Kassel, 1951).

The most important of the collections is entitled *Recueil des dessins et gravures représentant les solemnités du mariage de LL.AA.RR.Mgr. le prince Frédéric Auguste, Prince royal de Pologne Elect. de Saxe, et de Mad. presse Marie Josephe Archi-duchesse d'Autriche, en 1719* [Collection of the drawings and engravings representing the solemnities of the marriage of Their Royal Majesties Prince Frederick August, Royal Princes of Poland and Prince Elector of Saxony, and Madame Marie Josephe, Archduchess of Austria, in 1719] preserved in the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden under the call number Sax. Top. Ca 200. The collection was intended by the king and the court to represent the festivities to posterity, but was never completed.

The second is a manuscript collection of color illustrations in Berlin (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), call number Ms. germ., fol. 304: *RELATION / DES FESTES DE SAXE / que le Roy de Pologne / AUGUSTE II. / de glorieuse memoire / a donné à l'occasion du mariage du Pr. Roy. / FREDERIC AUGUST / son FILS unique à present Roy de Pologne / AUGUSTE III. / avec la Serenissime Archiduchesse / MARIA JOSEPHA / à present Reine de Pologne Fille de L'Empereur / JOSEPH I. / de glorieuse memoire / sous le Nom de 7. Planètes / à Dresde l'Année 1719*. According to Michael Walter (op. cit.), this collection could not have been assembled before 1733 (after August II inherited the throne from his father) and may have been a draft for a planned publication.

A third source is the collection of documentation compiled by the Oberhofmarschallamt (Lord High Marshall's Office) to document the artistic and organizational preparations for the events. It was entitled *Hauptführungs Solennität . . . nebenst denen dabey vorgelassenen Festivitäten 1719* [Solemnity of Leading the Bride Home, together with the attendant Festivities 1719]. The Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv [Saxon Main State Archive] in Dresden preserves it under the call number Vol. B, Nr. 20, Bd. I-IV.

Michael Walter (op. cit.) points out that all three collections were compiled well after the actual events, by some artists who were not present at the events themselves. Thus we must be cautious about drawing inferences from the illustrations.

A more recent source on the 1719 wedding festival contains considerable detail, but relatively little about the court music. See Ingrid S. Weber, *Planetenfeste Augusts des Starken: Zur Hochzeit des Kronprinzen 1719* (München: Battenberg, 1985).