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INTRODUCTION

In volume 31 of this Journal, we presented two articles devoted to the biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss (1687-1750). Here follow several more that help to round out the picture of aristocratic patronage of music in Weiss's time.

Weiss spent his entire artistic career in the service of high aristocrats and royals. One cannot understand the life of a court composer without knowledge of those noble or royal individuals in whose households he served, or who engaged him as teacher. Therefore I solicited articles from several Continental researchers who were interested in Weiss, and who were in a position to discover new archival materials or other obscure sources, and thus to present new perspectives on the composer.

Thanks to their efforts, we now know where Weiss lived in Rome, who compiled the London manuscript of Weiss's music, who the dedicatee of Weiss's tombeau for Cajetan Hartig was, and much more. Though much of the text in this issue does not pertain directly to Weiss, or even to music, our image of the social milieu in which he was a salaried employee or honored guest is now much richer.

—Douglas Alton Smith
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Portrait of Alexander Benedykt Sobieski (1677-1714) by unknown painter active in Poland in the last quarter of the 17th century, oil on linen, 59 cm x 52 cm, oval. From Teresa Pochec-Perkowa, Portrety Janna III Sobieskiego i Jego Rodziny [Jan Sobiesky II and his Family Portraits], Katalog wystawy z okazji 300-lecia Wilanowa [An Exhibition catalogue on the occasion of the 300 year centenary of Wilanow], The National Museum in Warsaw, Wilanow Division, 1983.

Present owner: Museum Narodowe we Wroclawiu (Warsaw National Museum), inventory no. VIII-185, transferred in 1946 from the Museum of History of the City of Lvov.
The Sobieskis in Silesia and in Rome: Weiss’s First Royal Patrons

by Jerzy Żak (Warsaw)

Silvius Leopold Weiss spent almost his entire life as a courtier-musician in the service of aristocrats and royals. Some of his patrons were related by marriage, and all were interested in the arts, so it is not difficult to imagine how the young musician came to the attention of many of them. To help us understand the social and political milieu in which he lived and made his music, it may be instructive to consider the House of Sobieski, the Polish royal family during Weiss’s childhood and youth, as well as some of the other royalty and nobility who patronized the great lutenist.

August the Strong, Elector of Saxony, who in 1697 succeeded Jan Sobieski as King of Poland as August II, is an outstanding historical figure and a sophisticated and generous patron of the arts, including music. His activity in this area, both in Dresden and in Warsaw, although not yet fully explored, has been recognized and a sizeable detailed literature on the subject is available in German.¹

Silvius Leopold Weiss appears first in the Saxon capital city in the year 1718² and it is possible to follow the history of his life thereafter as one of the prides of the Wettin court. This is made possible by the rather abundant literature on the subject, and seems quite promising, should we trust the latest publications.

Our picture of the lutenist appears quite different prior to 1718, when for the first time he performed in front of the King in Dresden. For the twelve-year period following 1706, we have precious little scattered evidence, which appears like a mere postcard from a long journey around Europe. Still more obscure seems Silvius Leopold’s youth, which, in

¹ Besides the German literature, among recent Polish publications especially one monograph should be mentioned: Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, Muszka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie [Music at the court of August II in Warsaw] (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1997). The book is in Polish (538 pages) but has an extensive summary in German and all necessary indexes. Unfortunately S.L. Weiss does not appear “in Warsaw.”

² This date, proposed by Frank Legl, is based on the recently discovered entry “Weiss (Silvio Leopold)” in J.Ch. Gottsched’s Handlexikon ... (Leipzig, 1760); see Frank Legl, “Between Grottkau and Neuburg: New information on the Biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss,” this Journal (1998). Therefore, the year “1717,” present in Weiss bibliography since M. Fürstenau’s Beiträge ... (1849), has been called into question.

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all probability, was spent uninterruptedly in Breslau (Wrocław) or in its vicinity. Let us follow the thread of facts familiar to us, the trace of Pfalzgraf Karl Philipp von Neuburg, at the time still resident at Brieg (Brzeg) near Breslau, of his brother, Franz Ludwig, bishop of the Silesian capital, and last but not least, of the Sobieski royal princes, who, after 1697, settled in the castle at Olawa (Ohlau in German), a small town between Brieg and Breslau. The four or five years Weiss spent in Rome at the court of the Queen Dowager, Maria Casimira d'Arquien Sobieska, are a separate and peculiar stage in his youthful peregrinations.

It is not easy to struggle through this jungle of facts and dates. Cultural events in Breslau, as well as the Sobieskis' patronage in Silesia and in Rome, are subjects which have only recently been explored by historiography. Turbulent times engaged our heroes in international political affairs and the matrimonial intrigues of the royal courts are of central interest to chroniclers of the epoch and to modern historians as well. Besides, after losing the crown in 1696 and Maria Casimira's departure for Rome and her sons' for Silesia, the Sobieskis became a nomadic tribe, whereas patronage requires stability and a lasting economic basis to become noticeable. In this respect, the aristocracy of Breslau, at the head of which we find the bishop, Franz Ludwig von Neuburg, were much better off. Research into the subject has only just begun.

Ohlau/Olawa

1691 opens an interesting chapter for us in the royal family's relations with Silesia. In that year Jakub, the eldest son of Marysienka (the diminutive used by her husband, Jan III), married Hedwig Elisabeth von Neuburg of Düsseldorf. Certainly this match was strongly influenced by the Imperial house in Vienna, where one of her three sisters was married to the reigning Emperor, Leopold I. No doubt this involved premeditated political calculations. The young couple received as a dowry the small duchy of Olawa, situated in the region formerly belonging to the old Polish Piast family, and then forming part of the Hapsburg province.
of Silesia. However, the specific form of property agreement, which considerably restricted the new owners, and the fact that Oława was located within the Empire, together gave the Hapsburgs an advantage in several later quarrels over the land. The formulation of the marriage treaty demonstrates that the Polish royal son, and also his parents, were somewhat short-sighted and rather underestimated Vienna's ingenuity. Nevertheless, the Sobieskis' eldest son was all too eager to settle down in Oława. King Jan III Sobieski had died in 1696, and Jakub was an unsuccessful candidate to succeed his father as king. Instead, the Polish nobility elected August the Strong. Following the election, as early as 1697 the castle of Oława became his and Hedwig Elisabeth's court. It remained so until the dramatic 1720s and 1730s, when, after a series of incidents and endless battles between Jakub and the Imperial administration in Breslau and Vienna, he was banished and allegedly forfeited his rights, and in 1734 gave up the struggle for his land. He died in 1737 at Zolkiew, the Sobieski family's old property on the eastern outskirts of Poland, but his grandsons still continued to try to regain the duchy practically annexed by the Emperor Charles VI in 1732.

During this period Oława went through both bad and good times. Naturally it became the home of all three Sobieski brothers. Although Alexander, the middle son, was to spend much time in Rome, and the youngest, Konstanty, could never make up his mind whether to settle in Oława, Breslau or Zolkiew, they still had a common home there, a place with which they were identified by the Silesian aristocracy. In the meantime the young Sobieskis—if for a while we can forget about the great political game—were being socially absorbed into the aristocratic elite of Breslau, and were drawing into closer relations with the Neuburgs, even though neither August nor the Emperor would find this fact to their advantage.

**Rome**

Having lost hope of placing on the throne first her beloved Alexander, then her son-in-law, Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, and finally Jakub, who by virtue of his age most deserved to inherit this honor from his famous father, Jan III's widow decided to spend the rest of her life in

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the Eternal City.' After the inheritance had been divided between herself and her sons, and the crown seized by August, she refused to remain in Poland. An ex-queen's ambition, or possibly the example of Christina of Sweden, may have prompted this decision. Maybe relations with her native France did not guarantee the honors and fame attained for the Polish crown by her much-lamented husband, the defender of Vienna from the Turkish invasion in 1682. The capital of the Papal State was also attractive in all those things that seduced Konstancy and particularly Alexander: balls, feasts, music—not to mention the sunshine and Italian women. After a journey of a few months, in March 1699 La Regina di Polonia arrived in Rome attended by a court consisting of 259 persons, 30 carriages and carts, about 500 horses and even a pair of pack-saddled camels. In her large entourage heading for Rome in 1699 we find also an Italian musician, Giuseppe Lupparini-Becari, who had already made a name for himself in Warsaw.

Maria Casimira wanted to enter Rome as a Queen, and it should be admitted that Rome, too, always liked to welcome a queen. Romans loved grandiosity and gala. Such was the customary requirement and Marysienka was quite eager to meet it. On the other hand, she constantly worried about various matters which an outside observer would not always know about. Yet spiritually she never gave up the land now governed by the Saxon. Her sons were in Oława, while her hopes for the crown for them came and went according to circumstances. The Northern War of Livonia, started by August in 1701, ruined Poland. It hurt the Queen Dowager's feelings and badly complicated the flow of income from her Polish estates. France's war for the succession in Spain also blocked the benefits from her capital invested in Paris. Many were in debt to her, including August himself, who simply ignored his obligations. The interventions of two successive Popes were of no help. In the desire to maintain her position, the Queen became involved in some notorious scandals concerning protocol and ceremonial customs in her contact with the high-ranking clergy. In her opinion, the wife of the hero of Vienna, who in 1683 had defended Christendom by leading an army to lift the Turkish siege of that city, deserved some privileges. This conflict lasted unceasingly until her departure from Rome in 1714. For this reason, neither Konstancy nor Alexander ever met the Pope,

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7 Michał Komaszyski, Piękna królowa Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien-Sobieska [The beautiful Queen Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien-Sobieska] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1995). This is the most recent and extensive biography of Maria Kazimiera, based on Polish as well as Italian, German and French archival sources.
although both Innocent XII and Clement XI remained on friendly terms with the Sobieski family. It was owing to papal tolerance and particular indulgence that so many of the eccentricities of Marysienka and her sons in Rome passed unnoticed.

The Sobieskis’ stay on the Tiber, however, was not entirely a time of conflict with cardinals over the removal of birettas in front of the Queen, quarrels with Alexander’s courtiers, or getting into debt for expensive balls. Since the beginning of her stay Maria Casimira had been a member of the Academy of Arcadians, to which society her son Alexander was also admitted as Armonte Calidio in 1709. As early as 1706 and 1707 we hear about the piccolo teatro in the Palazzo Zuccari, Maria Casimira’s residence since 1702. To his mother’s joy, in 1708 Alexander decided on a longer stay in Rome. Although he did visit Oława again, from 1710 he remained in sunny Italy until the end of his days (that is, until 1714). His incurable rheumatism was too painful for him in the unfavorable Silesian climate.

Oława

At the time, Poland was a country where the West mingled with the East, and the Orient penetrated into Baroque culture. Many national elements contributed to the atmosphere of the court in Oława: Polish, Russian, French and German, as well as Turkish and Jewish. Frequent feasts, the generosity of the royal sons and the opulence of the place attracted the aristocracy of Breslau and Brieg, who were not accustomed to such a lifestyle. Later historians, especially German, were to reproach the Sobieskis for this style of life as a cause of the ruin of the little duchy. However, culture is expensive, whereas thrift is not always a virtue. Perhaps because of this, the young Sobieskis intrigued August, and they might even have impressed him. He hated only Jakub, in whom he found a major rival before his election and until the end of his reign on the Vistula and the Elbe. In fact in 1711 and again in 1716 August tried to have him poisoned. Alexander’s reserve made him aloof and unacceptable even for Karl XII, the King of Sweden. And Oława, although part of the Empire, remained as it were a state within a state, as if the Polish crown along with all its previous attributes now found its seat there.

8 Wanda Roszkowska, “Polacy w Rzymskiej „Arkadii” (1699-1766)” [Poles in Roman “Arcadia” (1699-1766)] Pamiętnik Literacki (1965).
9 Not in 1710 - see Roszkowska, Mecenat..., op. cit., n. 7.
Their court was at its most numerous between 1708 and 1719, but even from the time prior to this period, we can find information about royal court musicians. Marysienka wrote from Rome to Elżbieta Sieniawska née Lubomirsk in Cracow (Kraków), complaining that Alexander always had the musicians with him in Poland. We find a document dated April 7, 1704 signed by Franz Ludwig and addressed to the Italian Kapellmeister, Anastasio Lingua, a Venetian sent to Italy by Alexander who remained in Ohlau/Oława. Lingua was sent on a mission to take care of some family business. We do not know if he returned to Ohlau/Oława, but we meet him again in Rome during Alexander’s stay there. Thus if Ohlau/Oława played host to the Kapellmeister, there must have been other musicians there as well. Documents concerning Jakub contain four names: Jan Ferdynand Kastler (1698-1717), Jerzy Czernohorski (1709) (possibly a relative of Bohuslav Czernohorski), a certain ‘Lorentz’ (1710), and Johann Feder (1710-1723), probably the one who became castle organist in about 1719. This is as much as we know about musical life at Alexander’s court in Ohlau/Oława, that is, until 1708 or 1710.\footnote{Ibid., Roszkowska, \textit{Ohlau} ..., op. cit., pp. 139-40.}

We cannot estimate Alexander’s contribution to the social life of Franz Ludwig’s court in Breslau, nor to that of Countess Esterle, August’s ex-mistress, now commonly regarded as the Prince’s lover, nor to that of Duchess Cieszynska, whom he used to visit in Breslau. Both Konstanty and Alexander maintained familial contacts with their brother-in-law Karl Philipp von Neuburg, who until 1706 resided in Brieg where he kept a Kapelle. From the year 1706 comes the first trace of Weiss, whom Prince Karl sent on a trip to his brother’s court at Düsseldorf. Piekny Parysek—“handsome Paris,” the mythological Paris (not the city), as the Sobieskis used to call the Prince—probably often visited the capital of Silesia, as did Konstanty, who in 1718 established his residence there. The youngest royal son led an exuberant social life, winning friends either by virtue of his fine manners or by his generosity. Known for his relish for collecting art, like his eldest brother, he was permanently busy outfitting his house in Breslau and his family estate in the Ukraine. He and Franz Ludwig were united by a disinterested friendship and their shared artistic predilections. Both their courts emanated a rare atmosphere in the still-provincial milieu.

After Maria Casimira’s Roman court was disbanded in 1714 and

\footnote{Ibid., pp. 141-42.}
Alexander had died a few months later, Ohlau/Olawa court documents mention the names of three musicians who had accompanied them in Rome, by now in service with Konstanty. From circa 1716, and certainly in 1717, these are Izmael, Claude Allais, and Jean de Vienne (or 'Di Vienne'). In 1723, in deep financial crisis, Konstanty dismissed all his French courtiers, leaving only the latter two. In that year de Vienne took over responsibility for the kitchens too, previously having been a footman, whereas Allais appears in the documents invariably as Hofmusicus and remained in the court with his new principal employer, Jakub Sobieski, until 1734. Compositions by Pan Ale ("Mr. Alé"), or just his manuscripts, are mentioned several times in Konstanty's official correspondence between Zolkiew and Breslau. In all we find seven (mostly French) names of his servants, who may have served in the same way as footmen and butlers as well as musicians. Among them, of particular merit—it is unclear whether for his playing or his singing—was Gabriel Fusière (Fouger, Fuger), honored by Konstanty and Jakub, and even presented with gifts by Franz Ludwig. Previously Fusière had been in service with the Sobieskis in Rome; his presence at Ohlau/Olawa is documented as late as 1735.

Spending practically every carnival season in Breslau, Prince Konstanty was entertained by, and himself entertained, company at his house. Music was an indispensable part of these receptions, about which we are reminded in a fragment of Urbański's letter of March 5, 1723: "Next Tuesday our Good Lord, God willing, will be entertaining the Elector of Trier [i.e. Franz Ludwig] and the Oberamt [Hans Anton Schaffgotsch] and all the Counts, with music and singing of all sorts." This passion finds its culmination in 1725 when the first Italian opera company arrived in Breslau. The prima donna, Anna Maria Giusti, made an especially impressive appearance in a colorful procession of the artists in the streets before the performances began. The scarf she was wearing bore the legend, "Prince Konstanty's virtuosa." Is this not an evocation of Alexander's passion for music a dozen or so years before in Rome, where Maria Giusti was also one of the performers?

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13 See Francesca Vacca, this Journal.
14 Roszkowska, Olawa ..., op. cit., p. 156.
15 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Archiwum Radz. V. T. 414, nr 16798 - Korespondencja A.W. Urbańskiego [A.W. Urbański's correspondence].
Rome

When in 1704 Europe received the startling news that Jakub and Konstanty had been kidnapped by August and imprisoned in the fortress of Pleissenburg near Leipzig, their mother gave up feasting and staging comedies in her Roman residence. In the same year, the Seym (Parliament) in Warsaw dethroned the Saxon. Remaining in Silesia, Alexander refused the Polish crown offered to him by Emperor Charles XII. Was this loyalty towards his elder brother, or an aversion to politics? It is difficult to say which was the reason. This event, inspired by the royal son, was reflected in 1711 in an opera by Carlo Sigismondo Capece, Domenico Scarlatti, and F. Juvarra, Tolomeo et Alessandro overo la Corona Disprezzata, staged for the first time in the Palazzo Zuccari residence. In the autumn of 1706 Charles XII's army set the brothers free. This long-awaited good news was festively celebrated by the Queen.

The Kapellmeister from Ohlau/Oława mentioned above, Anastasio Lingua, appears again in documents of 1708 as composer of the music to Le corone amorose, a serenata by Capece, a poet and secretary to the Polish court in Rome. We do not know whether Lingua then, on July 10, attended the performance in Rome or stayed in Ohlau/Oława. In any case he must still have been Alexander's musician and composer, for in 1711, along with other court musicians, he was living at Porta Pinciana in the gardens of the Villa Torres, and remained there until his death.

Alexander spent most of the time from 1708 in Rome. From that period we hear that Silvius Leopold Weiss accompanied him, although we have little detailed information. However, we know something about Alexander's theatrical enterprises for the Teatro de le Regina di Polonia, created together with Capece (the librettist), Scarlatti (the composer) and Juvarra (the scenographer). The Tolomeo et Alessandro ... by that team of authors, their first opera seria for the Queen and which premiered on January 19, 1711, was in fact a great artistic success in a milieu where similar spectacles were being staged in Roman palaces. Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni was gently competing with similar productions of Prince Ruspoli, and there was also a public theatre Capranica.

But witnesses were most favorable to the Tolomeo: "... it was

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16 See Vacca, this Journal.
generally applauded as superior to all others”;} or “... the music good indeed and the orchestra outstanding.” The “Lieto giorno,” a final chorus from that same opera, we find intabulated or copied in as Aria dell’Opera della Regina di Polonia in S.L. Weiss’s hand into a lute manuscript (f. 41r) now known as Pth II. Moreover, Eliza’s aria in Act 3, scene II, “Voglio Amore,” has sections marked Adagio accompanied by traversiero and Leuto solo (with few strings). The chorus intabulation and the obbligato lute part in the opera are of course only indirect evidence of Weiss’s participation in the performance, but if we accept them as a proof of his presence in Rome in January 1711, then he must have been there some time earlier, that is already in 1710, perhaps settling in Rome together with his patron, Prince Alexander.

Kirkpatrick’s distinguished monograph on Domenico Scarlatti, which he uncritically adopted from the nineteenth-century historian K. Waliszewski, echoes the unfavorable opinion of the Queen Mother. This and its lack of substantial information about her middle son—who, as we have shown above, was actively involved in her artistic enterprises—now require a more balanced assessment. It seems that, having resigned from royal honors, Alexander lodged his ambitions in art, literature, music, and in the organization of artistic life. The writings of G.M. Crescimbeni, a secretary of the Arcadian Academy, tell us that “the foreign princeling attracted Rome’s attention with his intelligence and sophisticated taste for Tuscan things.” This proves his knowledge of Italian literature in its most perfect (Tuscan) incarnation. Another writer noted admiringly Alexander’s sensitivity in particular to the bond between music and poetry. This is not a mere banal remark, like many to be found in contemporary panegyrics and dedications. His selection of artists—Juvarra, Domenico Scarlatti, Weiss and Maria Giusti (who later became famous all over Europe)—also confirms the young Arcadian’s taste and sophistication. His high intellectual qualifications, thoughtful nature and pride, noticed in other situations, betrayed his sense of

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18 Francesco Valesio, Diario di Roma, under “Rome, 24 January 1711.”
19 G.M. Crescimbeni, L’Arcadia (Rome, 1708) 2nd ed. 1711, 326.
20 Confirmed in a personal correspondence with Tim Crawford, London.
21 Paris, BN, Département de la musique, Réés. Vmc. Ms. 61, with an inscription on recto side of the folio preceding f. 1: Venetiis. 7. Zbr. 1712. I should thank Tim Crawford for reminding me of this fact.
22 In addition to Boyd’s article cited above, I have presented some additional observations on the score as a paper, “The score and the performance, the style and the people, the south and the north in Domenico Scarlatti’s Tolemeo et Alessandro (Warsaw, Conference on Opera Subjects and European Relationships, organized by the European Science Foundation, October 19-21, 2001).
23 Ralph Kirkpatrick, Domenico Scarlatti (Princeton, 1953).
superiority over society. Wojciech Chorosinski, the Sobieskis' court poet, in a Latin sentence described Alexander thus: "Special lover of the Muses, greedy for knowledge, serious in speech, admirer of languages and the sciences, zealous erudite." His death was long, painful and silent—he stopped talking to anyone. Yet he did not neglect to order that all his correspondence and personal writings should be burnt. Thus he isolated himself from the past, the present and the future as well.

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At the turn of 1718 and 1719, the time of the endless wedding ceremonies of the future August III and the Emperor's daughter—we remember Weiss's contribution to the musical accompaniment of this event, so resonant throughout Europe—behind the powerful allies' back, there took place another dramatic spectacle, of no less resonance than the former. Maria Klementyna Sobieska, Jakub's daughter, in haste and in an atmosphere of conspiracy, left Ohlau/Oława to marry James Stuart, known as the "Old Pretender" to the English throne. The agony of correspondence between London and Vienna, the arrest of the young Sobieski queen, her kidnapping from the castle in Innsbruck, their clandestine marriage, and finally their triumphant arrival in Rome are fit subjects for another exciting story of fortune and misfortune in this turbulent epoch. The histories of the two families, both on the brink of extinction, seem alike and similarly susceptible to later myth-making.

On January 8, 1741 the Prussian King Frederick II took possession of Ohlau/Oława and the region became part of Prussia. The once exquisite residence of Piast and Sobieskis was plundered, in 1744 converted into a war hospital (partly a bakery) and for the next twenty years the city became a munitions warehouse. The eight chests containing the Sobieski family documents, first taken to Breslau, then in the nineteenth century to Berlin, Königsberg and again back to Berlin, now seem to be untraceable. They would certainly shed new light on the issue of artistic patronage by Jan III's sons. The interesting matter of the Stuarts' patronage in Rome has hardly been broached.

Wanda Roszkowska, in the introduction to her book Olawa of the Sobieski's Sons, mentions some fresh archival documents which have

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24 Clypeus Joannis III Regis Polonorum (Brieg, 1717).
not yet been published. These may lead us to new sources of knowledge about Silesia and Rome which, for much of his early career, were Silvius Leopold Weiss's immediate surroundings.

A CHRONOLOGY OF SOBIESKI/WEISS EVENTS

1676: Eleonore Magdalena von Neuburg marries Emperor Leopold I of Austria.

1683: King Jan III Sobieski leads a pan-European army to drive the Turks from Vienna.


1696: King Jan III Sobieski dies.

1697: In a corrupt election marked by immense bribes, August the Strong of Saxony converts secretly to Catholicism and is elected King of Poland by the Polish nobility.

1697: Jakub and Hedwig Elisabeth von Neuburg settle in Ohlau/Oława.

1699, March: Queen Maria Casimira arrives in Rome.

1702: Queen Maria Casimira takes up residence in Palazzo Zuccari, on the piazza Trinità de' Monti.

1708: Prince Alexander begins to spend most of his time in Rome, but visits Ohlau/Oława occasionally.

1709: Alexander is admitted to the Accademia degli Arcadi.

1710: Alexander settles permanently in Rome. Weiss is with him.

25 Roszkowska, Oława ....
1711, January: premiere of Domenico Scarlatti's opera *Tolomeo*, in which Weiss may have played.

1711, 1712, 1713: Weiss is documented living in Rome near Palazzo Zuccari.

1714, June: Maria Casimira leaves Rome.

1714, November: Prince Alexander Sobieski dies in Rome.

I thank Tim Crawford of London for his kind help in making the first version of this text (after it was read during the Weiss Congress in Freiburg in September 1992) smoother and more idiomatic to English or American eyes. I would also like to thank Douglas Alton Smith for his critical comments, which made the information here more correct and comprehensible.
Weiss in Rome (1712-1713): First Archival Findings

BY FRANCESCA VACCA

In his Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten (1727), Ernst Gottlieb Baron writes regarding Silvius Leopold Weiss's Italian journey:

About 1708 he went with Prince Alexander Sobiesky to Italy, where he spent a long time in Rome and astonished all the Italians. After the prince went the way of all flesh, Monsieur Weiss returned to Breslau.¹

This is the only contemporary biographic evidence of the Roman sojourn, a part of Weiss's life still lacking a thorough examination.² The studies of Hans Volkmann and Hans Neemann, dated 1906/07 and 1939 respectively, yielded no new relevant information on Weiss's Italian stay, basically restating Baron's information.³

More recently, Douglas Alton Smith has given prominence to the Italian journey as a formative experience for Weiss (who in 1708 was only twenty-one years old), reminding us that in the same years Georg Fredrick Handel and Johann David Heinichen were also in Rome. Smith also hypothesized contacts between Weiss and the two Scarlattis between 1708 and 1714, since in 1709, Domenico Scarlatti succeeded his uncle Alessandro as court composer to Prince Sobieski's mother,

¹ Ernst Gottlieb Baron, Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten (Nürnberg: Johann Friederich Rüdiger, 1727), translation by Douglas Alton Smith, Study of the Lute (1727) (Instrumenta Antiqua Publications: Redondo, California, 1976), 71.
³ Written in 1760 by Gottsched's wife Luise (who, according to Legl, was a student of Weiss), the article reports that Weiss settled in Rome in 1710, "after he had previously looked around in Germany and earned general astonishment." (Johann Christoph Gottsched, Lexicon oder Kurzgefaßtes Wörterbuch der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste. Zum Gebrauche der Liebhaber derselben herausgegeben, Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1760, translation by Douglas Smith). This confirms the hypotheses hidden in the following paragraph in which I emphasize that there is no evidence to date Weiss's stay in Rome before 1710.

Other authors mention Weiss in their treatises, but they refer to subsequent periods of his life. See for instance: Johann Adam Hiller, Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musiklehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit (Leipzig: Peters, 1975) original edition (Leipzig, 1784), 45, 84, 154, 191, 209, 217; and Johannes Mattheson, Critica musica (Amsterdam, 1964) original edition (Hamburg, 1722), 152, 287.


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Queen Maria Casimira of Poland. Furthermore, Smith speculated that Weiss probably performed thoroughbass in Domenico Scarlatti’s operas written for the queen’s private theater in Palazzo Zuccari. An important intermediary between Weiss and the Roman musical world would have been, in Smith’s opinion, Pietro Ottoboni, the most outstanding musical patron in Rome in those years. He was a patron of Arcangelo Corelli and a member of the Arcadia, as were Maria Casimira and Alexander Sobieski. In Smith’s opinion, Baron’s reference to the astonishment that Weiss provoked in Italian society could be related to a performance of the lutenist in Ottoboni’s palace on Piazza della Cancelleria. Smith further proposes that Weiss must have learned Italian and could have converted to Catholicism during this stay. Finally, Smith hypothesizes that Weiss could also have served as personal secretary of Prince Sobieski.

In this article, I will present evidence concerning some of the above-mentioned hypotheses, with particular regard to the actual years of Weiss’s stay in Rome and to Roman musical life during his stay. For this study I have used different kinds of sources.

1) The so-called *stati d’anime*, the sketchy volumes in which the Roman parish priests recorded the inhabitants of their districts each year at Lent, and other documents from Rome’s Archivio del Vicariato.

2) Diaries, both Valesio and the *Correspondance des directeurs de l’Académie de France a Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments*.

3) Semiweekly newsletters from Rome, including the *Avvisi*

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5 I examined the *stati d’anime* of the following parishes: S. Andrea delle Fratte (1708-1714); SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio a Trevi, S. Maria in via, S. Maria in Trivio, S. Lorenzo in Lucina and Dodici Apostoli (1710-1711 and 1714); S. Nicola in Arcione (1708-1711 and 1714). The following registers of marriages: S. Andrea delle Fratte, S. Nicola in Arcione, S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The marriage license list of the following parishes: Dodici Apostoli, SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio a Trevi, S. Salvatore in Onda, S. Salvatore in Pede Pontis, S. Salvatore in Campo, S. Maria in Campo Carleo, S. Crisogono, S. Susanna, S. Maria del Popolo. The baptismal register (‘Libro dei battesimi’) of S. Andrea delle Fratte (1708-1714).


7 *Correspondance des directeurs de l’Académie de France a Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments*, publiée d’après les manuscrits des Archives Nationales par M. Anatole de Montaiglon, Paris, 1889, vols. II-IV.
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Marescotti, some Avvisi di Roma, and the Foglio di Foligno. The manuscript chronicles of Arcadia meetings.

We now know that Weiss lived in an apartment not far from Palazzo Zuccari, between Lent 1712 (begun on Ash Wednesday, February 10) and Lent 1713 (ended on Easter, April 16). This information comes from my research in the stati d’anime volumes of Sant’Andrea delle Fratte parish church whose territory corresponded approximately to the area defined by Piazza di Spagna, Via Sistina, Via di Porta Pinciana, Via Veneto, Piazza Barberini, Via del Tritone, Via del Nazzareno, Piazza S. Silvestro, Via della Mercede and Via di Propaganda.

In the stati d’anime of 1712 we find the following indication (Figure 1):

149 casa -------------------------------
   o Silvio Leopoldo Veis
   o Maria Angela moglie

and in 1713:

casa 165-----------------------------
   o Leopoldo Veis
   o Maria Angela moglie

As can be seen, age is not indicated and the name is not written in correctly, though clearly enough. But the most surprising discovery is

9 Avvisi di Roma, Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Barb-Lat 6429 (1712) and 6430 (1713-1714).
10 Foglio di Foligno, Campitelli, Foligno (some issues printed in Terni, tipografia Saluzi, some others in Foligno and Bevagna, tipografia Mariotti), years: 1707-1714.
11 Il secondo volume del Racconto de' fatti degli Arcadi scritto nel custodiato di Alfebeo Cario and Il terzo volume..., Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, atti arcadici no. 2 and 3.
12 Rome, Archivio del Vicariato, S. Andrea delle fratte, Stati d’anime 1711-1713, vol. 85, f. 71v [1712], f. 122v [1713]. The different numbers of the buildings are due to the parish priest’s itinerary, which could change: he could visit the houses every year in a different order. For the transcription of these and all the following documents I used the diplomatic standard, except for the abbreviations that have been expanded.
that Weiss appears to be married to a 'Maria Angela' in contradiction to the information previously known about his wife. Hans Neemann reports that she was called Maria Elisabeth and was born around 1700.\(^1\)

It does not seem very likely that we are dealing with the same person because the name is different and Maria Elisabeth would have been at that time about 12 or 13 years old when Weiss was in Rome. We can therefore hypothesize that Weiss was married twice. Nevertheless, my research of the marriage registers of S. Andrea delle Fratte parish church and some other churches near S. Andrea to verify if Weiss was married in Rome was in vain, as was the search for possible children in the baptismal registers. Finally, the small circles near the names indicate that they both had received Holy Communion and support Smith's hypothesis about Weiss's conversion to Catholicism.

\(^1\) Neemann, Weiss, 166 and 173.
Figure 1 – Pages from the Roman *stati d'anime*, parish of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, 1712 and 1713.

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The street, named *Sesa di S. Giuseppe mano manca*, corresponds to that part of Via Capo le Case which goes from the church and the convent of San Giuseppe a Capo le Case (the last is now the site of the Galleria Comunale di Arte Moderna) to Via di Porta Pinciana, first crossing Via Sistina, then called "*Strada Felice*" (Figure 2). The section was renamed Via Francesco Crispi at the end of the nineteenth century. The house was not demolished during the building of the Ludovisi neighborhood, but it has been obviously modified in the course of the last three centuries. So, hypothesizing that the priest was used to indicating in his register the border between two apartment buildings with a longer or even a continuous line (see as evidence the numbering of the *case* in the *stati d'anime*) and with a dotted or even a shorter line the border between two apartments, Weiss's home should be located within the fourth apartment building (*casa*) after San Giuseppe's church, toward Via Sistina, or the third if we count the apartment buildings including the one placed at the corner between Via Crispi and Via Sistina. But the old subdivision among the apartment buildings did not survive and the front doors within the block from the church of S. Giuseppe to Via Sistina are now four, not five, as in the *stati d'anime*, probably because of further joining among the buildings (Figure 3). Nevertheless, a close examination of the whole block has shown that the front door today numbered as 42 was originally the entrance to a now walled-up flight of stairs. On the basis of this reconstruction, Weiss's apartment should have been located within the building whose front door today corresponds to Via Crispi no. 36 (Figure 4).

But limiting Weiss's stay in Rome between Lent 1712 and 1713 based on this evidence alone is not enough because all the historians agree with Baron in determining his stay between 1708 and 1714.

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15 During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the sixteenth-century buildings in the center of Rome were often elevated or even joined together. See Gianfranco Spagnesi, *Il centro storico di Roma. Il rione Campo Marzio* (Rome: Multigrafìca Editrice, 1979).
Figure 2 - Giambattista Nolli’s 1748 map of Rome. The small footprint of the church of San Giuseppe is located at the intersection of Via Capo le Case, the horizontal street at the bottom center of the map (marked with the church of S. Andrea), and the street labeled “385” (now called Via Crispi). Strada Felice is now Via Sistina. The church of S. Andrea is “365” in Nolli’s map.
Figure 3 - Rome, Via Francesco Crispi from the church of San
Giuseppe to Via Sistina. (Photo by Francesca Vacca.)
Figure 4 - The arched doorway of Weiss's home today, Via Francesco Crispi no. 36. (Photo by Francesca Vacca.)
The most difficult attempt is looking for traces of Weiss's stay in Rome before Lent 1712. The fact that in the years 1708-1711 other people are living in his apartment and he does not appear to have been living elsewhere in San Andrea, nor in the neighboring parish areas, does not mean that he was not in Rome at all, but only that we have no evidence. As for Alexander Sobieski, Wanda Roszkowska asserts that he decided to settle in Rome in 1708, but he did not settle there permanently until 1710, because between 1708 and 1710 he is known to have often gone back to Olawa in Silesia. As partial evidence for this thesis is the almost total absence of Prince Alexander from Roman contemporary chronicles between 1701 and 1710. Diaries and periodicals begin reporting his presence in Rome again in the descriptions of the Carnival parade of 1710, in which he was one of the leading characters, and in 1711, when he invited all the Arcadians to a performance of Tolomeo e Alessandro at Palazzo Zuccari. He was accepted into the academy of the Arcadia under the pseudonym Armonte Calidio, on June 19, 1710, and is sometimes mentioned in the chronicles of their meetings after that date. But it is also true that Alexander had had the intention of settling in Rome for a long time, since the end of 1706, when his brothers Konstanty and Jakub were released from captivity by Elector August of Saxony. Even a chronicle in the periodical Foglio di Foligno gives us the impression that in the spring of 1708 he arrived in Rome with the idea of settling there, and there

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18 All the chronicles report the description of the 1710 Carnival cart representing the triumph of beauty. See, for instance, Correspondance, vol. III, 373-74; Foglio di Foligno no. 11 (14 March 1710); and Valesio, Diario di Roma, vol. IV, 389-92.
21 See the 1706 correspondence between Alexander and Maria Casimira, in which she asks him to join her in Rome (Gaetano Platania, Gli ultimi Sobieski e Roma. Fatti e misteri di una famiglia reale polacca tra Sci e Settecenno, Vecchierelli, Manziana [Roma], 1989, 192-94). The two brothers of Alexander, Konstanty and Jakub, were taken prisoner by Elector August from March, 1704 until the end of 1706, after their unsuccessful attempt to depose him from his throne as King of Poland. See Valesio, Diario di Roma, vol. III, 48-49.
22 "Giorni Sabbato sera il Prencipe Alessandro Sobieski Figlio di questa Regina di Polonia, che si è molto consolata della di lui venuta" (Prince Alexander, the son of this Queen of Poland, arrived Saturday night, and she took a great comfort from his arrival), Foglio di Foligno no. 19, 11 May, 1708. It was Saturday April 28, 1708. In the same year on April 29, Valesio reports the same news with regard to Konstanty (Valesio, Diario di Roma, vol. IV, 5). We can make two hypotheses: either Valesio mistakes Konstanty with Alexander, or they both arrived in Rome on the same day. In any case,
is evidence of the sporadic presence in Rome of Alexander Sobieski in July 1708, May 1709 and June 30, 1709, when he was godfather at a baptism.\(^3\)

While this information is not enough to prove that Prince Alexander and/or Silvius Leopold Weiss was in Rome since 1708, it is much easier to confirm Weiss’s departure date from Rome. First of all, it is difficult to imagine that Weiss left Rome before his patron’s death, on November 19, 1714, a few months after Maria Casimira’s departure. Even though Weiss’s apartment was registered in the \textit{stati d’anime} with different occupants between 1708 and 1711, and after 1714 it was shown to be empty, this does not necessarily mean that Weiss did not live there during those periods.\(^4\)

Furthermore, there is testimony reporting that, after the queen’s departure, Prince Alexander remained in Rome surrounded by his servants and courtiers. Maria Casimira then left Rome on Saturday, June 16, 1714, taking with her all her courtiers ("conducendo seco tutta la sua Corte"),\(^5\) but left her palace to her son with some courtiers and servants ("lasciando in Roma guardato, abbigliato, e aperto il suo Palazzo, con Corte e servizio sufficiente per il Serenissimo Principe Alessandro").\(^6\) As a matter of fact, a few months later, after Alexander Sobieski’s death, the courtiers of the queen of Poland took part in his funeral train,\(^7\) while in his last hours Prince Alexander had been tended by some of his servants (\textit{dimestici}).\(^8\) It is thus reasonable to hypothesize that if Weiss effectively was among Prince Alexander’s \textit{dimestici}, he would have not abandoned him on his


\(^{25}\) Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, \textit{Avvisi di Roma}, Barb-Lat 6430, f. 323r.


\(^{27}\) “...per compimento di si pomposa processione seguiva nobilissima cavalcata di tutta la prelatura e ministeri camerali, siccome della Corte, che si trovava in Roma, della regina sua madre...” (...at the end of such a pompous procession there were, on horseback, all the prelates and the Pope’s ministers, and then the queen’s courtiers who had still remained in Rome). (Ibid., 607).

\(^{28}\) “...non volle mai permettere ch'entrassse nella sua Real stanza altri che i quattro o cinque di Lui Dimestici, l'infermiere, i medici...” (...he did not let anybody into his room except his four or five servants, the male nurse and the doctors...). (Lettere scritte dal M. Rev. Pre Giuseppe Ant. da Micigliano ex-Prove e Guardiano dei Minori Cappuccini di Roma alla Sacra Real Maestà della Regina Vedova di Polonia, in \textit{L’Italia francescana}, XII, 1, 1937, 34). I could not consult the original manuscripts of the \textit{Relazioni} quoted above, because it is difficult to find them in the Archivio Provinciale dei Padri Cappuccini in Rome, which is closed to the public. I would like to thank Rinaldo Cordovani, who showed me all the published archival documents.
deathbed and he would have left Rome only after the funeral and the prince's burial in the Chiesa dei Cappuccini."

Finally, we also have evidence that other musicians in service with Maria Casimira of Poland remained in Rome at least until Lent 1714. According to Wanda Roszkowska, Anastasio Lingua would have lived, between 1711 and 1714, in an apartment inside the garden of Villa Torres. This was the building between Via Sistina and Via di Porta Pinciana joined by a wooden bridge with Palazzo Zuccari. Lingua lived together with the Italians Giuseppe Lupparini-Becari, Floriano Flori, Giovanni Francesco Fritelli and Giovanni Maria Fritelli and the Frenchmen Ismael, Claude Allais, Jean de Vienne, and M. Langlois. A letter by the queen also testifies that in 1708 all these musicians were still in Olawa, except for Anastasio Lingua, sent by Alexander to Italy since 1704."

As a matter of fact, the stati d'anime show that most of these musicians were in the service of the Sobieski family in Rome between Lent 1709 and 1714. To be more precise, in the apartment located in the 'Giardino di Sua Maestà' on Via di Porta Pinciana, in 1709 we find:

- Signor Giuseppe Luparini Musico
- Floriano Musico
- Virginia Serva vedova
- Servitore"

In 1710:

- Signor Giuseppe Luparini Becari Musico
- Signor Floriano Flori
  Giovanni Francesco Fritelli 10.

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29 The church of Santa Maria della Concezione, on Via Veneto near the Piazza Barberini, where the tombstone of Alexander Sobieski has been placed.
31 Roszkowska, Olsawa królówiców Sobieskich, 139-141.
32 Rome, Archivio del Vicariato, S. Andrea delle fratte, Stati d'anime 1708-1710, vol. 84, ff. 58v-59r.
Giovanni Maria Fritelli 6.
° Virginia Serva
° Pietro Servitore

° Monsù l’Angloè
° Monsù Smael
° Monsù di Vienna
° Monsù Alè

In 1711:
° Signor Giuseppe Luperini Becari musico
° Signor Floriano Flori
° Virginia Serva vedova
° Domenico Servitore
° Simone Servitore

° Monsù L’Angloè
° Monsù Smael
° Monsù di Vienna
° Monsù Alè
° Anastasio Lingua
* Signor Don Carlo Tretto
° Leonardo Rade Servitore

In 1712:
° Signor Giuseppe Luperini Becari Musico
° Virginia Serva vedova
° Francesco Frittelli
° Pietro Servitori

° Monsù L’Angloè
° Monsù di Vienna
° Monsù Alè
° Anastasio Lingua Servitore

In 1713:
° Signor Giuseppe Luparini
° Cattarina d’Ascenso Serva
° Francesco Frittelli
° Matteo Servitore

33 Ibid., f. 105r.
34 Ibid., 1711-1713, vol. 85, ff. 14v-15r. The asterisk by the name of the penultimate person shows that he is a priest or a cleric.
35 Ibid., f. 63r.
It is noteworthy that Giovanni Francesco and Giovanni Maria Fritelli in 1709 would have been respectively 10 and 6 years old, so it is rather doubtful that we are dealing with experienced musicians. It is also noteworthy that in 1713 a new person, Bartolomeo Moglia, joins the group, but unfortunately I could not find any information about him. As previously mentioned, Domenico Scarlatti was in the service of Maria Casimira of Poland in those same years, but he lived, at least during Lent 1710, with his brother Pietro.⁵⁸

In conclusion, I would like to return to Smith's opinion concerning the formative value of Weiss's Italian stay. As a matter of fact, if we look at all the most important places in which music was performed in Rome in the years between 1708 and 1714, we have the impression that Weiss had been exposed to many different musical experiences and had the opportunity to have a knowledge of works from the two Scarlattis, Handel, Caldara, Gasparini and many others,⁵⁹ to listen to Corelli's orchestra, which took part in many public performances,⁶⁰ and to go with Sobieski to the meetings of the Arcadia. The Academy included among its members Alessandro Scarlatti, Arcangelo Corelli and Bernardo

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⁵⁸ Ibid., f.114r.
⁵⁹ Ibid., 1714-1716, vol. 86, f. 15v.
⁶² Corelli was the organizer of musical performances for the concorsi clementini, the yearly competitions of fine arts organized by the Accademia del Disegno di S. Luca, between 1702 and 1709. He was also supervisor of these performances between 1710 and 1713, when their organization was given to his pupil Matteo Fornari. See Franco Piperno, "Anfione in Campidoglio"; presenza corelliana alle feste per i concorsi dell'Accademia del Disegno di San luca in Nuovissimi studi corelliani, acts of the third international congress (Fusignano, September 4-7, 1980), edited by Sergio Durante and Pierluigi Petrobelli, (Florence: Olschki, 1982), 151-208.
Pasquini since 1706 and, since 1711, Andrea Adami da Bolsena.41

As for Maria Casimira of Poland, she had supported musical and theatrical performances since the beginning of her stay in Rome. While she lived in the palace of Duke Livio Odescalchi on Piazza Dodici Apostoli, in 1701 she had organized the performance of the French pastoral Aminte at Palazzo Zuccari,42 as she had in her service eight singer-actors ("otto recitanti"). At the beginning of 1704 she finally obtained from the Pope the permission of giving theatrical plays in her own house, and she organized for Carnival the performance of the cantata Il tebro fatidico43 in the recently built theater inside Palazzo Zuccari (Figure 5). The first performance before invited ladies and their escorts (con invito di dame e cavalieri) took place on February 13, 1707, probably with L'amicizia d'Hercole e Theseo,44 while the first public opera season in Rome, after the reiterated papal prohibitions of the previous years, was inaugurated in Carnival 1709 at none other than the Palazzo Zuccari, on January 17, with Il figlio delle Selve by Carlo Sigismondo Capeci and Alessandro Scarlatti.45

Contemporary chronicles also testify to the refinement and the large number of musical performances at Palazzo Zuccari in the years after 1709. The periodical Foglio di Foligno, for instance, on August 17, 1709, reports that the queen of Poland continued to present concerts and serenatas on her wooden bridge twice a week (continua a far cantare due volte la settimana nel suo Ponte) in the presence of an always numerous audience,46 while in 1710, with regard to the performance of La Silvia by Capeci and Domenico Scarlatti at Palazzo Zuccari, the same periodical reports that the beautiful pastoralre ("bellissima Pastorale") was performed three times a week in the presence of a numerous audience and earned immeasurable applause for the good quality of the voices and the orchestra, for the good taste of the scenery and for the small but beautiful stage machinery and special effects.47

41 In 1718 the Arcadia accepted also Francesco Gasparini. See Fabrizio Della Seta, La musica in Arcadia al tempo di Corelli, in Nuovissimi studi corelliani, 123-48 and Anna Maria Giorgetti Vichi, Gli archi dal 1690 al 1800. Onomasticon, Rome, 1977.
42 Staffieri, Colligite, 147-48, no. 255; Franchi, Drammaturgia romana II, 3 and 7n.
43 Staffieri, Colligite, 155 no. 278; Franchi, Drammaturgia romana II, 19 and 26n.
44 Valesio, Diario di Roma, vol. III, 768; Franchi, Drammaturgia romana II, 46n and 51n.
45 Saverio Franchi reports also that in the spring-summer season 1709 at palazzo Zuccari the 'componimento per musica' La gloria immannata by Giacomo Buonaccorsi and Quirino Colombani was performed to celebrate Alexander Sobieski's birthday, but the author does not quote the source of this information. See Franchi, Drammaturgia romana II, 67.
46 Foglio di Foligno, no. 33, 23 agosto 1709. The 'bridge' was a wooden bridge joining Palazzo Zuccari to villa Torres, still visible in Nolli's 1748 map. See Re, La dimora romana, 165.
47 Ibid., no. 7, 14 febbraio 1710. "con grandissimo concorso, riportando infinito aplauso tanto per le
In 1711, on the occasion of the performance of *Il Tolomeo e Alessandro*, with scenery by Filippo Juvarra and the famous singers Maria Giusti and Paola Alari among the interpreters,⁴⁸ a book of poems was published by the Arcadians dedicated to the queen, her son Alexander, Carlo Sigismondo Capeci, the two singers and the other interpreters.⁴⁹ The chronicle of a performance given exclusively for the Arcadians, reported in the well-known volume by Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, reports that all the music of the opera was performed by musicians from the Sobieskis' court. This could be evidence to support the thesis that Weiss, if he actually was in Rome in 1710, could have been involved playing thoroughbass in Domenico Scarlatti's operas:

By invitation of Armonte, the guests went into the next rooms, where they enjoyed sumptuous refreshments, and then they also refreshed their ears and their eyes by attending a musical play which the prince had prearranged just for this purpose, and which had been entirely staged by the members of his household.⁵⁰

The second opera performed at Palazzo Zuccari in 1711 was *Orlando, ovvero la gelosa pazzia*, also by Capeci and Domenico Scarlatti with scenery by Juvarra. In the libretto, for the first time, Capeci and Domenico Scarlatti are respectively mentioned as secretary (segretario) and maestro di cappella of the queen of Poland, titles which are assigned to them in all the following operas performed at the Polish court in Rome.⁵¹ In the same year (1711) the Sobieskis also supported, by means of the *Cavalieri Uniti* society, the reopening of Teatro Capranica. As a matter of fact, both of the operas performed there, *Engleberta* and *Dorisbe*, are

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⁴⁹ *Rime di diversi autori per lo nobilissimo dramma del Tolomeo et Alessandro*, Roma, Antonio de’ Rossi, 1711.
⁵⁰ Crescimbeni, L’Arcadia, 324. “Pussì adunque, così piacendo ad Armonde, la brigata tutta nelle vicine stanze, ove dopo averla fatto godere di sontuoso rinfresco, inviolata a ricrear l’udito, e la vista col’intrattenimento d’un Dramma Musicale, che appunto a questo fine, da lui ben preveduto, aveva fatto apparendire d’aisui stessi Famigliati”
⁵¹ See the libretto at the Biblioteca del Conservatorio ‘Santa Cecilia’ of Rome (XII 50). See moreover the libretto of the operas: *Tetide in Sciro*, *Ifigenia in Austide*, *Ifigenia in Tauride* (XII 48, 55 and 56), and the libretto *Amor d’un ombra e gelosa d’un’aura* at the Biblioteca Nazionale ‘Vittorio Emanuele II’ in Rome (40.9 D.6.1). See also Valesio, who, already in 1710, mentions Capeci as secretary of the queen (*Diario di Roma*, vol. IV, 400).
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dedicated to the queen's grand-daughter, Princess Sobieska.  


Figure 5 - Palazzo Zuccari today. (Photo by Francesca Vacca)

In 1712 the opera performed at Palazzo Zuccari, *Tetide in Sciro*, by Capeci and Domenico Scarlatti and with scenery by Juvarra, competed even with *Il Ciro* by Alessandro Scarlatti, performed at Palazzo Ottoboni:

The theaters of Cardinal Ottoboni and Capranica continue to present
their operas, which compete in obtaining the praise of the public, but
since this queen of Poland has presented a new opera in her private
theater, it has attracted all the attention of the public and has obtained
the universal approval thanks to the harmony and the good taste of all
its details.\(^5\)

Finally, other remarks from the *Foglio di Foligno* aimed at confirming
the queen's supremacy in musical good taste deal with the second of
the two operas of 1713, *Ifigenia in Aulide* and *Ifigenia in Tauride*, both
by Capeci and D. Scarlatti with scenery by Juvarra,\(^6\) and with the only
opera performed in 1714, *Amor d'un ombra e gelosia d'un'aura*, by Capeci
and D. Scarlatti, which had created great expectation among the Roman
audience.

...as it will surely be perfectly executed thanks to her Majesty's good
taste in presenting such a noble entertainment, as we have come to
know in the last years, when [her operas] have always obtained the
general approval over any other opera in this city.\(^7\)

We can also reasonably assert that Maria Casimira was, together
with Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, among the main patrons of opera seasons
in Rome during the years between 1709 and 1714.\(^8\) Moreover, there is
no doubt that the relationship between the two had been close enough
to make it possible for Weiss to frequent Palazzo della Cancelleria. As
proof of this we can recall that on February 21, 1710, Ottoboni invited

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\(^5\) *Foglio di Foligno*, no. 4 (22 January, 1712). In that year there were not performed other operas at
Palazzo Zuccari, but only the cantata by Capeci and D. Scarlatti, *Applauso devoto al nome di Maria
Santissima*. Continuano ad andare in Scena l'Opere che si rappresentano nel Teatro del Cardinal
Ottoboni, ed in quello di Capranica, che fanno a gara per riportare l'applauso, ma essendo comparsa quella che
fà rappresentare questa Regina di Polonia nel suo Teatro Domestico hà tirato a se tutta l'attenzione,
mentre per la consonanza, & esquisitenza di tutte le cose, che la compongono hà riportato Universale
sodiscizione.

\(^6\) *Foglio di Foligno*, no. 8 (24 Feb., 1713).

\(^7\) *Foglio di Foligno*, no. 3 (19 Jan., 1714). We must not forget that in those two years the activity of
Ottoboni's theater had been interrupted. See Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana II*, 90n; Valesio, *Diario

...poiché non potrà riuscire che di tutta perfezione per il buon gusto che hà la Maestà Sua in si nobile
trattenimento, come l'ha fatto conoscere negl'alti anni, che hà sempre riportato un generale applauso sopra
ogn'altra Opera in questa città.

\(^8\) With regard to Ottoboni's patronage see Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal
Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli*, *Analecta Musicologica V* (1968), 104-21, translated into Italian
all the queen’s courtiers to a performance of *Il Costantino pio,* or even that the famous architect and scene-designer Filippo Juvarra was ‘loaned’ by Ottoboni to Maria Casimira of Poland to create some opera scenery for Palazzo Zuccari, scenery which he mostly carried out by adapting old stagings made for Ottoboni’s Palazzo della Cancelleria.\(^\text{58}\)

All the information reported above represents only the first step for anyone wishing to continue this research, but it confirms the impression that the years in which we are sure that Weiss was in Rome, 1712-1713, are situated in a period of renewed public musical performances. Moreover, it coincided with the golden period of arts patronage in Rome by the Sobieskis, whose court maintained a privileged view of the city’s musical life.

The author is grateful to Terrell Stone and Douglas Alton Smith for their kind assistance with my English translation of this article.

\(^{57}\) *Foglio di Foligno* no. 9, 28 February, 1710.

Johann Christian Anthoni von Adlersfeld: The Original Owner of the Weiss London Manuscript

by Claire Madl

One of the most important documents on which our knowledge of the music of Silvius Leopold Weiss is based is a manuscript which is today preserved in the British Library in London. On the upper cover of the original white vellum binding of this manuscript there is a coat of arms that previous research has been unable to identify (Figure 1). This insignia is painted, not printed, which leads us to suppose that the owner did not possess a large library that would necessitate the investment in a relatively expensive stamp for marking all its contents with his arms. And indeed, so far it has not been possible to trace this insignia in any library or musical collection, particularly in the Czech Republic. It is true that only a few libraries have been able to index their ex-libris and supralibros.

Figure 1 – Adlersfeld’s painted supralibros as from the original binding of the Weiss London Manuscript (British Library, Department of Manuscripts Additional MS 30387). Photo by Tim Crawford. Used by permission of the British Library Board.

2 Our thanks are due to Václav Kapsa for his research in this area and for the information on musical matters that he has kindly provided (cf. notes 10 and 11).

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In view of the links that Weiss maintained with the aristocrats and nobles of Bohemia, and of indications contained in the manuscript itself, Tim Crawford, together with Douglas Alton Smith, initiated a search for the owner of the manuscript in the Czech milieu. The hypothesis that the manuscript might have belonged to a member of the Czech nobility was shown to be well founded. The volume dedicated to the Bohemian nobility in the famous heraldic collection edited by Siebmacher contains a coat of arms identical to the one on the manuscript (Figure 2). The insignia belonged to the family of Anthoni von Adlersfeld, later called Anthony von Adlersfeld und Siegenfeld. The text from Siebmacher reads:

Above [in the shield] in silver [field] a black eagle; below in red a golden beam inclined to the right, containing a red rose. Ornament (crest): on the coronet of the helm, a black eagle in front of a horn divided into silver and black [part] and red and gold [part]; mantling: black-silvery and red-golden.  

This information is corroborated by the testimony of Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690-1749), published by Matheson. For when Stölzel arrived in Prague in 1715, he met, at the Music Academy there, a gentleman named Adlersfeld, with whom he was to stay during the three years he spent in Prague:

And it was through this Academy that I had the honour of making the acquaintance of the Herr von Adlersfeld, and through this great lover of music that I was to spend three years in Prague.  

There can therefore be no doubt that the manuscript was put together in a milieu close to that of the Prague Music Academy.

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5 Especially the fact that certain pieces were composed in Prague, and that the manuscript contains two tombeaux composed in honor of Bohemian aristocrats: Cajetan Hartig (died 1719) and Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal the Younger (died 1721).


5 Meraviglia-Crivelli, 30. "oben in Silber ein schwarzer Adler; unten in Roth goldener mit einer roten Rose belegeter, schrägrechter Balken. Kleinod: auf der Helmkrone vor einem Silber und Schwarz und einem Roth und Gold getheilten Horn ein schwarzer Adler; Decken: schwarz-silbern und roth-golden."


7 Cf. Tim Crawford, this Journal, forthcoming.
The usual sources for the Bohemian nobility, especially Roman Procházka,⁶ have provided lines of research to be followed up on the personality of that very enlightened lover of lute music, Johann Christian Anthoni von Adlersfeld (the patronymic can also be found as Antoni). However, we have been unable to discover many traces of his activity as collector or musician in the varied sources that have provided us with information about him. On this point, the historian of music in Bohemia Paul Netti refers explicitly to Stölzel and does not add any new information.⁷

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⁶ We would like to thank Petr Mašek from the Library of the National Museum in Prague for providing us with the information he assembled on the family of Anthoni v. Adlersfeld u. Siegenfeld from the usual genealogical sources, such as, to quote the most complete ones: Abraham Fischer, *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis des höhern Böhmischen Adels* (1729), attached to the almanac for the same year, edited by Rosenmüller, the *Genealogisches Taschenbuch der Ritter- und Adels-Geschlechter. 1877, zweiter Jahrgang* (Druck und Verlag von Busch a. Irgang). Also Roman Procházka, *Rodopisná encyklopedie československá* (Praha: zemědělská knihkupečoví A. Neubert, 1931), pp. 49-50; in addition to the work by Metavigia referred to above.

The links that Stölzel established with Adlersfeld during his stay with him were doubtless sustained by their common interest in music. Indeed, in 1724 Adlersfeld had one of Stölzel’s oratorios played at the monastery of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star in Prague, and in 1726 he had another one—Die Büssende Magdalena—played at the same venue. In both cases he provided the score for the piece. In spite of this, the London manuscript remains the sole testimony—but of what importance!—to the interest that Adlersfeld had in lute music and in Weiss in particular.

All that we know about the ancestors of Johann Christian Anthoni von Adlersfeld is what we learn from his request for ennoblement, which is drawn up under the name of Anthoni, which he used up until 1724 (Figure 3).

Figure 3 – Example of Anthoni’s signature before he was granted the designation “von Adlersfeld.” Central State Archives in Prague “Stará manipulace” section (Cf. SÚA S.M. A 13/11-2 box 21). Photo by V. Kapsa

Prague, who was raised to the knighthood in 1724.] 10 JIří Fukač, “Die Oratoriensäufürungen bei den Prager Kreuzherren mit dem roten Stern als Typ lokaler musikfestse,” in Sbornik práce filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity [Collection of dissertations from the Arts Faculty of Brno University] Nr. H29, vol. 1994. (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1996), pp. 69-89, here: p. 82. "Oratorium Primus productum sine libello Sequenti Anno ad petitionem Dni de Adlersfeldt Anno 1724 reproductum praebuit JESUM patientem libelli cum fructu Auditorij et honore DEI Liberaliter distributâ Stölzel" and "Oratorium Germanicum die Büs- sende Magdalenâ Concessum ad produc: a Domino Adlersfeldt 1726 Stölzel." We are grateful to Václav Kapsa for providing us with these two references.  

11 In the substantial dossier submitted by Anthoni in 1723 and again in 1724 to request his elevation to the rank of Knight of Bohemia, he provides a copy of the diploma dated 9 November 1716, in which Charles VI bestows on him the rank of Knight of the Empire, and which, in a suitably epic style, presents Johann Christian’s ancestors: SUA [Státní ústřední archiv = Central State Archives, Prague] ČDK [Česká devítská kancelář = Bohemian Chancery] IV.D.1, inv. no. 752, box 41; and from which the information given in the Dobfensky Genealogical Collection (Prague, SUA) is probably taken.
According to this source, Nicolaus Anthoni, born in 1488, was a ship's captain who fought the Tunisian corsairs under Charles the Fifth and then remained in the service of the Spanish Hapsburgs. His son followed in his footsteps and served for thirty-four years as a captain before dying in 1588 during the famous destruction of the "invincible" Spanish Armada by the English navy of Elizabeth I, whose commanders included Francis Drake. The next generation left the sea to join the imperial army and took part in the battles of the Thirty Years' War, in particular against the Swedes. Johann Christian's grandfather, who married a Czech (Anna Maria Dlouhovská z Dlouhé Vsi), thus died in Dillingen in Bavaria. His son was already active in Bohemia or in Vienna, where he married the widow of a certain Schreyvogel.

We do not know the date on which Johann Christian Anthoni was born. However, due to his enterprising spirit and his taste for intrigue, we have been left with detailed dossiers on his affairs and his person compiled during two drawn-out court cases. His perceptive and dynamic nature make him stand out even more clearly in the collections of documents of the institution where he held office: the Commerzcollegium of the Lieutenancy Council in Prague.

We first come across Anthoni in Paris around the year 1700, in the service of a merchant named Högger. He appears to have come there following a disagreement with his half-brother Johann Gottfried Schreyvogel, a merchant or banker based in Vienna, for which he seems to have been mainly responsible. Surprised by the War of the Spanish Succession, he asked his half-brother to send him funds so that he could leave France, which was now a hostile country, and promised to mend his ways and to serve Schreyvogel's interests faithfully and obediently. Schreyvogel sent him the means to travel and instructed him to go to

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12 The cases in question are his disputes with his half-brother Christian Gottlieb Schreyvogel, a Viennese merchant, which started in 1709 and lasted for some three years, and then with the widow of the Count of Guttenstein in the years 1716 to 1731. These dossiers are to be found among the range of very varied documents that form the collection of the Central State Archives in Prague (Státní ústřední archiv, referred to by the Czech acronym of SÚA) in the "Stará manipulace" section (referred to as S.M.). Cf. SÚA S.M. A 13/11-2 boxes 21 and 22.

13 Cf. Alfred Fr. Pribram [sometimes referred to as Pfibram], *Das böhmische Commerzcollegium und seine Thätigkeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des böhmischen Handels und der böhmischen Industrie im Jahrhunderte nach dem Westfälischen Frieden*, (Prag: Verl. des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, 1898). In the Central State Archives, the collection of documents of this institution is to be found in that of the Gubernium, but there are also some documents, which Pribram does not appear to have seen, in the "Stará manipulace" collection mentioned above: SÚA S.M. C65/9-15, inv. no. 542, box no. 303.

14 SÚA S.M. A 13/11-2 box 2: "[Anthoni] darinnen seinen begangenem Fähler bekannt, undt bereue, undt sein Leben zu bessern versprochen." [Anthoni had therein admitted to and regretted the mistake he had made, and promised to mend his ways.]
Amsterdam and then to return to southern Germany (Augsburg and Nuremberg), and finally to go to Cheb (or Eger, the border town in western Bohemia). Here he received, on behalf of Schreyvogel, the sum of 1500 florins before making for Prague, where he handed over the sum to the Viennese merchant's cashier. At Easter 1702 Schreyvogel and Anthoni entered into a contract stipulating the terms of their cooperation with regard to the settlement of the affairs of the late Herr von Glauchova on behalf of his heirs (who were certainly members of the family of Prague bankers of the same name).

After he settled in Prague, Anthoni's affairs seem to have gone well. This is how the magistrates responsible for his case described him in 1709: “Well-connected in the city, the aforementioned Antoni led a brilliant and sumptuous life, became a Catholic and contracted a Catholic marriage, and in addition carried out various transactions which caused Schreyvogel to hold a grudge against him…” “Antoni also became involved in many intrigues and illegal enterprises and contracted debts.”

Anthoni in fact married (in 1705?) Veronica Clara von Turba, the daughter of the respected doctor of law and Dean of the Faculty of Law Johann Heinrich von Turba, who was also one of thelay members of the Consistory and held a post in the fiscal administration of the Lieutenancy Council.” No doubt Anthoni lived in one of the Turba family's houses, perhaps in what is today Maltese Square, for in 1709 he came under the jurisdiction of the order of Malta that was established not far from there (Figure 4).

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16 SÚA S.M. A 13/11-2 box 2: “... wie Stadtkündig, hat vielgesagter Antoni sich allhier prächtig und sumptuos gehalten, Catholisch worden, und also geheürathet, benebenst unterschiedliche Passus gethan, welche der H. von Schreyvogl Ihm nachtheilig zu eyne vermeinet...” “Dieser Antoni Inglichen in vielen Intriguen, contrariten Schulden, und Unrechtigkeiten gestecket.”
17 In addition to the genealogical manuals, we have found Turba in the Neuer Titular Kalender... zu Ehren S. Wenzel... Peter Grynwald, edited in Prague by Labaun, which also exists in Czech under the title Nový titulární Kalendář... ke cti svatého Václava... od Petra a Grynwaldu ... Copies prior to 1704 have a different title: Nový hospodářský a kancelářský Kalendář. Here we cite the year 1704. In 1706, J.H. Turba is no longer mentioned.
18 No. 479, Maltešské náměstí, which had been purchased by Anthoni's father-in-law in 1694. Anthoni's son Ignátz seems to have been the owner of the house in 1758. Or perhaps in the house adjacent to this one, no. 380, facing on to Karmelitská street? The Turba family also owned a house in Mostecká street, the continuation of Charles Bridge, known as the house “at the sign of the three red hearts” (pp. 278). Cf. Pavel Vlček (dir.) Umělecké památky Prahy. Malá strana [Artistic Monuments in Prague. The Lesser Side] (Praha: Academia, 1999), especially p. 552.
Figure 4 – Turba’s house, where Adlersfeld was probably living, as it looks today (Maltezské square, Prague). Photo by M. Mádl.
When Schreyvogel came to Prague in May 1709, another disagreement flared up with his half-brother and Anthoni decided it would be wise to retire to the monastery of St. Thomas. However, the Lesser Side authorities still came there looking for him and imprisoned him in the Town Hall on August 13, 1709.

Anthoni made a request from his prison in December 1709 that a crate of French books and musical scores coming from Amsterdam and destined for Vienna be returned to him. Among the many kinds of business Anthoni dabbled in, he must therefore also have been involved in trading in books and music. Although we know the names of the financiers he was in contact with in Amsterdam, I have been unable to identify the Amsterdam merchant who sent him the books.

In November of the following year, Anthoni managed to get himself placed under house arrest and so was able to return home.

Schreyvogel accused him of owing him 22,048 florins, which was a very considerable sum, and of having acted on his behalf without paying him out any dividends, in contravention of what had been stipulated in their agreement. The affair was sufficiently confused for the authorities to call on two Prague financiers as “experts” and to ask several mercantile corporations, in particular German ones, for their opinions and regulations. Anthoni spared no effort in his attempts to vindicate himself, which he achieved through the testimony of thirteen of his colleagues, thus giving us some idea of the extent of his business connections: three of the bankers were from Prague, three from Amsterdam, two from Leipzig, two from Hamburg, one from Frankfurt, one from Augsburg, and one from Wroclaw (Breslau). Each of them declared the volume of his transactions with Anthoni (proving that he had indeed acted under his own name) and testified to his honesty. The Bohemian Chancery in Vienna, where the case was dealt with, gave judgement in favor of Anthoni. Schreyvogel went on the attack again in December 1710, prolonging the whole procedure for another year, but again it seems to have ended in a success for Anthoni.

According to the accounts that Anthoni submitted to the authorities, he seems to have been both tax-collector for the salt tax and for other taxes that are difficult to identify, and also probably responsible for

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19 The signatures are Johann Barhol Rietmann, Johann Hoekbeek, and Carol Meinertzhogen.
20 None of the names figure in either J.A. Gruys and C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1472-1800. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers. Met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid*, Bibliotheca bibliographica Neerlandica, 28 (Nieuwkoop, 1989), or in the work by I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680-1725* (Amsterdam, 1960-1978), 5 vol. On this point I would like to thank Otto Lankhorst from the University Library in Nijmegen for his helpful cooperation.
provisioning the Danish army. In addition, he had financial connections with aristocrats of the first rank, such as the Countess Kinsky, a member of the Wratislav family, and one of the Černins.

Probably helped by his connections with the Prague authorities, Anthoni became a member, when it was established in 1714, of the Commission responsible for trade attached to the Lieutenancy Council (Mercantil Commission). The Commission was set up in order to codify the law relating to money changing and to monitor the regulation of the markets, the customs, and the commerce carried out by the Jews. This initiative reflected the wish, admittedly still somewhat vague, to improve the manufacturing economy in Bohemia, at a time when the first mercantilist theories were starting to appear. However, it did not produce too much in the way of results, coming up against a particular problem in glaring conflicts over jurisdiction with the Chamber of Bohemia.

If the initiative of the new commission did not seem very satisfactory in its initial stages, Anthoni was meanwhile busy setting up a new manufactory for producing sheets, using completely new techniques that were described as being Dutch. In order to do this, he requested a royal privilege that would guarantee the investors both the possibility to counter opposition by the corporations of cloth manufacturers, and also outlets for their products and thus a return on their investment. He obtained this privilege, granted for twenty years, very quickly. The enterprise was indeed established in Rumburg in the north of Bohemia, and run by a certain Robert Allanson (also to be found under the names of Allason or Alson). Seven years later, Adlersfeld made good use of the success of this enterprise to obtain the title of Knight of Bohemia. This manufactory is in fact well known to historians. However, the connection never seems to have been made between Adlersfeld—who is moreover known because of his activity in the Mercantile Commission—and the important enterprise of Allanson, acknowledged for its significant regional influence.

On November 9, 1716 Anthoni was granted the title of Knight of Bohemia.

21 Apart from his connections with the Turba family, we know of the patronage given him by Count Johann Arnost Schaffgotsch (1675-1747), cf. note 33.
23 A body that administered the property of the Crown of Bohemia.
24 SÚA S.M. C 65/9-17, no. 542 box 303. The request is dated 10 November 1716 and the response from the Chancery is dated 16 November 1716, sent on 23 November.
of the Empire with the designation "von Adlersfeld" and permission to use the arms that we are familiar with (Figure 5). However, this title was not recognized in Bohemia and he does not appear to have used it. Nevertheless, the fact that Stölzel only refers to Anthoni by the name of Adlersfeld is logical enough since, living with him, he must have known about the ennoblement as soon as it was conferred. Furthermore, we know that the use of titles was not quite so strict as one might think.

Figure 5 – Adlersfeld's coat of arms as from Wunschitz genealogical collection in Prague Central Archives (inv. no. 10, box 1). Photo by V. Kapsa.

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26 SUA ČDK IV.D.1 no. 752 box 411. See too the Wunschitz genealogical collection (SUA-Wunschitz inv. no. 10, box 1) where the copy reproduces the colors of the coat-of-arms that has been granted.

27 At any rate, it is under the name of Anthoni that he became involved at the end of November 1716 in a court case concerning a debt of 46,000 florins, in which his opponent was the Countess of Guttenstein. SUA S.M. A 132/1-2 no. 94 box 22.

28 Cf. Claire Madl and Václav Kapsa, "Weiss, the Hartigs and the Prague Music Academy - Research into the 'profound silence' left by a 'pope of music,'" this Journal, note 46.
His activity as a member of the Mercantile Commission earned him the congratulations of the Chancery in 1718 and caused him to be chosen as a member once more in 1724, when, following the coronation of Charles VI in Prague, the institution was re-established as the “Commercien Collegium.” According to Pribram, the historiographer of this institution, Adlersfeld’s reports demonstrate the perceptiveness and progressive nature of his advice. In 1722 Anthoni also became a member of the Customs Rectification Commission, and it was he who was sent by Kinský, Grand Chancellor of the Bohemian Chancery, to Trieste and Fiume in 1728, together with a counsellor from the Chancery especially charged with commercial matters.  

Flushed with this success, he requested, firstly in May 1723 and then in January 1724, that the inkolát for the Bohemian lands should be conferred on him, and that his title of knight be confirmed in such a way that he might use it in Bohemia. While this may seem to us to be a mere formality, the efforts expended by Adlersfeld are far greater than those of other nobles, whose requests took the form of a simple letter.

The substantial dossiers that make up these applications by Adlersfeld (some thirty folios on each occasion) provide us with valuable information on the motives and the personal or institutional issues that he made use of in order to obtain his title. His applications are well structured, in paragraphs that follow on from each other, with supporting documentation, and develop systematic, “professional,” lines of argument. The first one refers to the creation of a professional body of commercial counsellors, “Commercien Ráthen,” which therefore requires an appropriate rank for its members. This “institutional” argument is backed up by that of the inferior position in which Anthoni finds himself during his negotiations, which are apparently made difficult because of his rank, with the Chamber of Bohemia. Anthoni’s elevation would therefore certainly benefit the Collegium and thus also its initiator the Emperor. This attachment to his post is underlined at the conclusion of the petition by his commitment to serve his institution faithfully.

The other arguments are more classical in nature, are not developed at such great length, and are concerned with Anthoni’s personal

30 SUA ČDK IV.D.1 no. 752 box 411 P1-64
31 The inkolát was a sort of right of abode for the nobility, which allowed them, in particular, to acquire real estate that was registered in the public records of the kingdom, and to be represented or to sit in the Diet, depending on their rank.
merits, in particular his ability. He recalls his interest from a young age in "mercantile and economic" sciences and theories, and his numerous formative journeys carried out without any financial assistance, the benefit of which will accrue entirely to the Mercantile Commission, to which from now on he dedicates all his work. He then goes on to describe the success of the manufacturing enterprise established in Rumburg, which will certainly be of benefit not only to the neighboring areas but also for the enrichment of the entire kingdom. He also recalls the praise that was directed to him by the Chancery in 1718.

At the end of the petition comes the social argument, as he mentions briefly the loyalty of his ancestors to the house of Hapsburg and the fact that he mixes with members of the knightly order through his office and through his wife's family.

The Chancery, in its recommendation, does not even consider the arguments of an effectively political nature that Anthoni develops at such length. They are reduced to the social context of the future knight, whose connections with various people with the rank of knight are stressed ("mit verschiedenen Personen von dem Ritterstand unterwandt"). His wife's family, the Turbas, are mentioned specifically. On the other hand, the letter of ennoblement mentions explicitly that the title, the coat of arms and the inkolá will be bestowed free of charge. It is here that gratitude for the "merit" acquired in the imperial service can be inferred, since it was normal to pay the authorities on accession to a title.

The last documents written by Adlersfeld for the Commission are dated 1737. In 1741, when Albert of Bavaria entered Prague thanks to the War of the Austrian Succession and demanded that the nobles take an oath of loyalty to him individually, Adlersfeld was not on the list.32 He must therefore presumably have died between these two dates.33 The success of Adlersfeld appears to have been the springboard to his family's future prosperity, although it did not remain in Bohemia. The model of a career based on financial and commercial success is unusual, though not unique, for the Bohemian nobility, and we can understand why Anthoni wanted to become established and to maintain himself in an office which, even if he was not paid, would help him to obtain his first noble title. Apart from his personal taste for music which his activity as a collector

33 Although my systematic research in sources such as that reported in Dobřensky's Genealogical Collection (SÚA, Prague) has been unable to establish the place of death.
indicates, his involvement in the Prague music scene could have played its part in this effort to expand his social base (demonstrated in particular in his conversion and his marriage) and to display the lifestyle of the social group to which he aspired to belong.

We also possess a second piece of evidence witnessing to this strategy. When Anthoni’s son, Franz Wenzel, defended his philosophy thesis in 1736, his father approached one of the best-known artists in Bohemia, Václav Vavrinec Reiner (1683-1743), to design the announcement of this event, according to tradition. “The engraving is admittedly only of average quality, but this did not detract from the value to Anthoni of the name of the designer being passed down to posterity together with his own name. The involvement of people from the banking milieu in cultural life was, in fact, a phenomenon of some importance. A member of the Glauchova family mentioned earlier was responsible for the purchase of the carillon in the Prague Loretto, ordered from Amsterdam at the end of the seventeenth century. Later on, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the bankers Ballabene and Kleinwächter were to maintain close links with musical circles.”

The chronology provided by the testimony of Stölzel, who was in Prague from 1715 to 1717, and by the conferment of the rank of Knight of Bohemia and the authorization to use his coat of arms in Bohemia in 1724, fits in well with the chronology for putting together the London manuscript as given by Tim Crawford. 54

Only one of Adlersfeld’s children remained in Prague, where he entered the order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star. Two others became officers in the imperial army and one of them, Matthias Joseph (who died in 1774), obtained for his services, in 1766, the ennoblement for Austria, österreichischer Adelstand, and the designation von Siegenfeld, which was used by the family from this time on. The designation Adlersfeld and the coat of arms belonging to it were thus only used for a period of barely fifty years. However, it is this name that will be remembered by all those who are indebted to him for having passed down to us—though it still remains to be clarified exactly how

56 Weiss’s known visits to Prague took place in 1717, 1719 and 1723. The final modifications to the manuscript are estimated to have been made in 1725. Cf. Tim Crawford, this Journal, forthcoming.
this took place—some of the most beautiful compositions by Silvius Leopold Weiss.

*Translated by Peter Stephens*
Weiss, the Hartigs and the Prague Music Academy:
Research into the "profound silence"
left by a "pope of music"

BY VACLAV KAPSA 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 Nettl

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. 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.

1 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 Nettl, "Zur Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Prag," in Beiträge zur böhmischen und mährischen
Musikgeschichte (Brno, 1927), pp. 1–8.
2 Johann Mattheson, Grundlage einer Ehren-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 Nettl, op. cit.
This translation of the Stölzel excerpt was made by Douglas Alton Smith.

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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?¹

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,² and he is also
known to have had contacts with Prince Philipp Hyacinth Lobkowicz³

¹ See Appendix 1 for the original German text.
³ Ibid., pp. 27–31.
and with the Thun orchestra.' 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, 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. 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.

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

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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 požárlastněho řízení rodiny hrabat Desfours," SOA Žitenice RA Hartig [Státní oblastní archiv v Žítenicích, Rodinný archiv Hartigů = District Archives in Žítenice, archives of the Hartig family], box 3, no. 16, copy from 1728, original 1722. The second witness was "Ignatz Humbrecht Bechyně."
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.\textsuperscript{11} In spite of this, in the overall Bohemian context they were one of the smaller and less influential noble families.

\textbf{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:\textsuperscript{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 . . . \textit{Ubi 24. ejusdem Mensis Cadaver ejus recentem ad hoc Sanguinem stillans vidi, et Sacrum in magno concursu hominum audivi, etiam locum, ubi casus hic tragicus contigis, inspexi.}\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{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 = Státní ústřední archive, hereafter referred to as SÚA inv. no. 349, box 11 - Hartig).
\textsuperscript{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. Conjugem tamen meam cum filiolo meo misi. Exequiae fuere ibidem ad S. Thomam 29 Marty.* On this death see the *Prägerisch. Böhaimbische Zeitung* ("Prague-Bohemian Newspaper") no. 15 . . . [Czech text follows with the same content as the German one.]

The original epitaph 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):

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SUB HOC MARMORE IAGET / ILLMVS DD CAIETANVS L.B.
DE HARTIG / QUEM INVIDA MORS / NATURAE DONIS, ET
VIRTVTIVS DOTAVM / AETATIS SVAE XXXIII AN. / MVNDO
ET AMICIS / PRAEMATURE ERIPVIT
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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 Reü das Hertze bricht
Entgehet man durch den Fall, dem ewige Staffgericht.
oder:
Kaumb da ich recht erwog das Leben meiner Zeiten,
Muste ich ungefähr dem Todt entgegen reiten.
Doch da die Reü und Todt das Hertz zugleich zerbricht,
Entgeh ich durch den Fall dem ewige Staffgericht. 17

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

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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 Wunschitz in 1719, before it was destroyed (Wunschitz 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 Wunschzwitzes. The first one is from Isaiah (I. 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 Catejan'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 Hartigs 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 family\(^{19}\) 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 1524. They arrived 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 brothers\(^{20}\)—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

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\(^{19}\) 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 Boetticher, *Geschichte des Oberlausitzischen Adels und seiner Güter 1635-1815. II. Bände* (Görlitz: selbstverl. 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 Žitenice RA Hartig, box 1); later, the Wünschitz and Dobřenský genealogical collections preserved at the Central Archives in Prague (SÚA, Prague). We would like to thank Petr Mata for providing us with the information he assembled on the family.

\(^{20}\)Boetticher, op. cit., p. 652. Boetticher says that the detailed information on the life of Christian Hartig is drawn from the eulogies that were pronounced at the funeral of Christian (in 1677) by Johann Frantze and at that of his son Johann Jacob (died 1718) by Father Häntschel.
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.\(^{21}\)

In a later letter he praises the near miraculous talents of Doctor Hartigio, 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 Kurz, 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.\(^{22}\)

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, bled, 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


\(^{22}\) "Ten doktor jest [ze] Žitavy rozený, tak vzácný a rozumný jest, že ho zdejší pání a knížata div na rukou nesou, co jen pomyslí, všechno má, takměř všechny všudy potentáty skrze psaní hoji, když co potřeba jest, jako krále francského, španělského, anglického, všechny kurfiřty, a J. M. císařská na zdejší republice již ho as tříkrát žádati ráčila a naschvál sem hradé Kurzeze, z Valdšteina a jiný posílati ráčila, on pak nikda chuti neměl, než jako v ráji sedí a zdejší republica by radši nevim co ztratila než jeho." Ibid., 59-60. Letter dated 18 November 1645.
settled in Bohemia. He left Amsterdam for his uncle Christian’s in Zittau, 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 (Klodzko, 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. 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, 1700", 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.

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23 SOA Žitenice RA Hartig, 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 Hartig family, and the secondary sources differ, without it always being possible to verify them. Our impression was that the Wunschwitz and Dobřenský genealogical collections were the most reliable—which is in any case generally recognized.

24 In the Central Archives, collection of the Bohemian Chancery: SÚA ČDK IV.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 Lobkowicz 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 Hartigs.25

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.26 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 house27 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

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


26 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 Adelsnation um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (München/Wien: R. Oldenbourg Verl., 1982).

27 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., Umělecké památky Prahy: Malá 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 “Cársch 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 Scheidler, 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 (Grösserer 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

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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 Doběnský and Wunschwitz genealogical collections do not give an indication, a document in the latter collection gives Ludwig Joseph’s age at his death as sixty.
²⁹ Wunschwitz genealogical collection (SÚA) inv. no. 349, box 11 – Hartig: for 1710 it gives a note coming from the Titular Calendar for Moravia, edited in Brno, in which Anton Wenzel Joseph, Ritter von Hartig, is indicated as being a canon in Olomouc—“des fürstlichen Stift zu Olimütz Canonicus.”
³⁰ Doběnský genealogical collection, SÚA.
³¹ Cf. letter from Maria Joseph von Hartig 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 věst) in the Central Archives in Prague (SÚA-DZV book no. 368 E25).
³² It has not been possible to find the letter (or a copy) elevating Johann Hubert to the Herrenstand that 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. 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 Putz 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 Stráz-pod-Ralskem), sold by the Lichtenstein family. In 1718 his wife inherited a house in Prague 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 Stráz. 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). 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. Roubík, "Místodržitelství v Čechách v letech 1577–1749," in Škorník archivních prací XVII (1967): pp. 539–603. In April 1715, when Gottfried Daniel Wunschtwitz presented his condolences to Johann Hubert on the death of his wife, he refers to him as knight (Wunschtwitz collection SUA). In 1721, when Johann Hubert witnessed Count Losy's will, he signed using the title Freiherr, cf. Public Records of the Kingdom [Úrad desk zemských], collection of deeds, hereafter referred to as: SUA ÚDZ-listiny, will dated 1 August 1721.

Will dated 28 September 1703, proved 13 May 1715: SUA ÚDZ-listiny: "Meinem Herr Ehegemuâl (...) obwohlen wir vor unser Vermehlung mit einander Ehepaaten aufgerichtet, nichts minder zur einer gedachtus verschaffe 7000 fl (...) und hoffe, daß derselbe in Ansehung meine Mittel seinen eigenen Kindern Zurkommen, undt daß er ohne dies von seinen Lieben Eltern ein zimbliches Vermögen zur gewarten hat, hiemit vorliebenehmen würdt."

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, č 183.

No. 20 in what is today Thunovská street in the Lesser Side district of Prague, ibid., č 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 (Thunovská street, Prague). Photo by M.

Figure 4 – The Hartigs’ coat of arms from Rudolf Johann von Meraviglia-Crivelli, Der Böhmische Adel. (Nürnberg, 1886), in J. Siebmacher’s Grosses und

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. Among the few personal papers that have come down to us, there are incidentally some lengthy treatises defending the right of the cortée, and orders given to him steward about the researches and modifications to be carried out in the Public Records of the Kingdom. 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."*

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. Johann Hubert, on the other hand, relied more on the service he rendered in his official functions. 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, 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

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*SÜA, Wunschswitz collection inv. no. 349, box 11 – Hartig: "SCRM Generallis Visitaciónis Commissarivs Districtus Chrudimensis in Regno Bohemiae" in German "bey der Rectifications Commission Commissarivs"

**SvA Žitnica RA Hartig, no. 20, box 3.


**Collection of the Bohemian Chancery: SUA CDK 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 Graffensande gemäß sich aufführen zu können gnusgsame [sic] Mittel besitzen thuet."

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


**Will dated 4 May 1715, proved 30 March 1723: collection of documents from the Registers of the nobility: SÜA UDZ-listiny.*
Ludwig Joseph in his will drawn up in 1715." Their mother Katharina, too, appears to have clearly distinguished the case of each of her sons and notably have disadvantaged Ludwig Joseph in her will" (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 will" he appears as a witness, alongside Count Carl von Breda and Johann Franz Low von Erlsfeldt, one of Losy's doctors. In 1722" 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 Humphrecht 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.

As for Ludwig Joseph, Losy was one of the witnesses who signed his marriage contract in 1705."7

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

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43 Ibid. Will dated 31 March 1713 proved 15 August 1713.
44 Ibid. Will dated 1 August 1721 (codicil dated 8 August).
45 RA Hartig SOA Žitenice, no. 16, box 3.
46 Dobřenský genealogical collection, SUA.
47 SOA Žitenice RA Hartig, inv. no. 19, box 3.
48 Dobřenský genealogical collection, SUA inv. 349, box 11 – Hartig Theses ex philosophia rationali qua sub auspiciis illustriissimi domini Domini Ioannis Huberti L. Baronis De Dartig ... preside A.R.P. Veremundo Proche Ord. S. Benedicti in Regio Monasterio ad Beatissimam Virginem Marian de Monte Serrato Neo-Prage vulgo in Emaus praffeso... pro exercitio scholastico proposita a F. Benedicto Schiller, Ord. S. Benedicti ejudem Canubii praffeso in Basilica B. Maria Virginis de Monte Serrato Neo-Praga Anno 1722. Die 1. Septembris ? Post meridiem canesus Marcus Müller se Prage. The engraving represents the Virgin of Montserrat surrounded, in the background, by what are probably the three houses of the order: the mother house in Montserrat (on the right), the house in Bzděz (above on the left) and finally the Emmalís monastery in Prague (below on the left).
academic thesis defended in Prague in 1722 is dedicated.49 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."

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,"50 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,51 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.52 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

49 Ibid.
52 Cf. e.g. Willy Kahl, Selbstitographien deutscher Musiker des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen (Köln 1948), note 342, p. 262; Antonín Podlaha, Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae quae in bibliotheca capituli metropolitani pragensis asservatur (Praga, 1926), p. III.
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 Nettl 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 Nettl, 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, Nettl 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 Nettl. And if Nettl 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 a count. 55 Furthermore, in the documents quoted by Nettl 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 Nettl 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 Statthaltierei [Lieutenancy Council], the mayor of Prague New Town, and Hartig—and in these last documents, from which Nettl quotes on p. 2 of his study, we might perhaps expect to find more details about Hartig) “bei der Durchsicht alter Akten des Prager Statthaltiereiarchivs” [when looking through old records in the Prague Lieutenancy Council archives]. In the collection of the Staré české místodržitelské [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.


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. 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 elder 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. All three factors mentioned here may have led Nettl to identify Ludwig Joseph as the "musical Hartig." On the other hand it is clear that Nettl 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 Nettl'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. 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. 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.

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60 See above, note 43.
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. But this theory is far from providing a satisfactory explanation of the disconcerting fact, already pointed out by Vojtíšková, 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 Vojtíšková and Stockigt that we have mentioned, so here we will briefly summarize this issue. As is well known, in 1709 Zelenka composed his sepolcro Immisit 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. 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 Vojtíšková, Die Zelenka-Überlieferung, 86. The texts of dedication have been published in Zelenka-Dokumentation (Wiesbaden: 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.⁴ And finally, in 1743 the composer dedicated to the same Hartig a copy of his Loretto litanies *Salus Infirorum*, 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 Lotti, 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 Lotti, 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.⁵ 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

⁴ “Anno 1738 Oratorium productum Auth: Domini Zelenka / ab (stich) Illustrst DD Comite Hartik gratiosé concessum et productum,” cited in Jiří Fukač, “Die Oratoriumaufführungen bei den Prager Kreuzherren mit dem roten Stern als Typ lokaler Musikfeste,” in *Sborník prací 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 Otakar Kampeť, *Hudební Praha v 18. století* (Praha, 1936), p. 160.


⁶ This is the note on the cover of Lotti’s *Kyrie*, shelf mark 856: “Ex Liberalitate III[ustriss]mi D[ominij] Huberti Comitis de Hartig choro S[anc]ti Viti donatum.”
Christian name. 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. 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). 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 Pkřiž, 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. 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, Bach, Zelenka a hrabě 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.


69 See Vojtěšková, Bach, Zelenka a hrabě Hartig, 146.


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. 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,* which appears to have been performed on the instructions of Johann Hubert's daughter Theresia 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. 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.

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. It was also probably Johann Hubert Hartig, and not Count Johann Karl von Hardegg—as Vladimír Helfert believed—who

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

71 Cf. note 60.


was from time to time in contact on musical matters with Count Jan Adam Questenberg, 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.  

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 Grundlagen, added the note "altum silentium" — "a profound silence."

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

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Helfert however believed that the person in question was Count Johann Karl von Hardegg, who, like Questenberg, was a member of the orchestra of aristocrats that performed the opera Euristea in Vienna in 1724 (cf. Ludwig Köchel, Johann Joseph Fux, 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."


[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 Jaromeriz...] [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 Johann Mattheson, Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte (Hamburg, 1740), Vollständiger, originalgetreuten Neudruck mit gelegentlichen bibliographischen Hinweisen und Matthesons Nachträgen 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. 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

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.\footnote{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.} 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

HARTIG"

(ex liter. Stölzel.)

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

Der Anfang wurde mit einer Ouvertüre gemacht; hierauf wurden Concerte gespielet, und auch wechselsweise darunter gesungen, oder Solo gehörer. 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.


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 verschiedenen hohen Herrschaften zu Prage in Diensten stehende, und zu dem Ende versammlete Virtuosen aufführen liessen, die stärkste Musik

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 Krafft der Harmonie nicht allein durchs Gehör ins Gemüthe dringen konnte, sondern auch die Augen derselben Bewegungen im Bilde der Noten sahen.

Ich möchte wohl wissen, ob dieser grosse Kenner, Könner 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, Rome, 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, Lilienthal, and von Schweinigin in singing and playing [the harpsichord]. 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] work, 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 pastorale, *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 front 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'incurabilie, 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 Elenonora 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 Erdlaute) and her teacher Herr Balafuti 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 Stölzel] appeared with something of his work. Otherwise he composed and performed various dramatic works, for instance Venus und Adonis, Acis 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, Jesum 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.


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 Gräfinnen Neidharde, Burkhauß, Nimsh, Leczyński, Colowrat, die Baronessen Haak, Lilenthal, von Schweinigin im Singen und Spielen zu unterrichten die Ehre gehabt. Unter vielen Ouvertüren, Concerten und andern musikalischen Stücken, welche er in dem dasigen musikal.
Collegio öffentlich aufgeführt, erschien auch eine Serenade von seiner poetisch und harmonischen Arbeit, auf das Krönungsfest des Kaysers Carls 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 Anmutigkeiten Italiens, die Gedanken in den Kopf, eine Reise dahin zu thun. Er bediente sich daher seines Glückes zu Breslau die hierzu nöthige Reisekosten auf eine anständige Art zu erwerben, und ging, um sich von den Seinigen zu beurlauben, vorher 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 geschehen, folgeten 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 Pastorale, 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 Zeitz Dienste als Capellmeister angetragen wurden. 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. Jahres wirklich die Reise dahin an, und ginge von Gera über Hof, Bayreuth, Nürnberg auf Augspurg zu, woselbst eben der Reichstag gehalten wurde, und er das Glück hatte, durch die Musik sich viele vornehmen Gönner zu erwerben.


Von dort ging er nach Venedig, und fandte den nachherigen Königl. Polnischen Capellmeister Herrn Heinichen daselbst, dessen Anleitung er sich bedient, so lange er sich zu Venedig aufgehalten, welches sich biß in

Von Venedig kam er nach Florenz, wo er Gelegenheit hatte in des Herzogs Salviati 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 Vermittlung des Herzogs Salviati bey Ihro Durchlaucht der Princeßin Eleonora von Guastalla Audienz zu bekommen, und die ganze Zeit seines Aufenthalts bis zu seiner Abreise nach Rom vom Hofe ausgelöst zu werden. Hier hatte er Gelegenheit mit allen Virtuosen in Florenz umzugehen, und sich zur Gnüge in seiner Wissenschaft zu üben. Er war fast alle Tage bey Ihro Durchlaucht mit der Musik beschäftigt, wobey die Princeßin jedesmal die Arciliuto (d.i. eine Laute, oder Erzlaute) und ihr Lehrmeister Hr. Balafuti die Theorbe spielten, Hr. Prete Gambarucci aber den Tenor sang.

Auser den Cantaten welche er hier verfertiget in ziemlicher Anzahl, hat er nicht mehr denn ein grosses Duett, welches Hr. Tempesti in Contra Alt und Signora Goslar in Diskant abgesungen in einem Garten in Gegenwart des meisten 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 Septembertrate sein Reisenach Rommit 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 Kaysers Josephs in Wien als Capellmeister gelebt, er fände auch unterschiedene hörenswürdige Sänger und Sängerinnen, worunter der Hr. Gegeho am meisten im Ruffe 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 Opern 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.


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 fande er abermals einen grossen Musikfreund an dem Hrn. Anton von Adlersfeld, welcher ihn bis zu seiner Abreise in seinem Hause auf das beste bewirther, 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 blühte, 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, Jesum patientem*, und *Caino, overo il primo figlio malvaggio*, von seiner Composition, auch etliche Missen, nebst vielen Instrumentalsachen verfertiget und aufgeführt.

GENEALOGY OF THE HARTIG FAMILY
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. A few graphics from these collections are reproduced below.

Music played a large part in the festivities, and Silvius


The most important of the collections is entitled Recueil des dessins et gravures représentant les solemnités du mariage de L.L.A.A.R.R.Mgr. le prince Frédéric Auguste, Prince royal de Pologne Elect. de Saxe, et de Mod. 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 Prince 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 FLS unique à present Roy de Pologne / AUGUSTE III. / avec la Serenissime Archiduchesse / MARIA JOSEPHA / a present Reine de Pologne Fille de L’Empeur / JOSEPH I. / de glorieuse memoire / sous le Nom de 7. Planetes / 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 compiled by the Oberhofmarschallamt (Lord High Marshall’s Office) to document the artistic and organizational preparations for the events. It was entitled Heimführung der Solennität . . . nebens den demen vorgefallenen 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.


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Leopold Weiss was involved in many performances either as chamber musician or as accompanist in the orchestra's continuo group. On the basis of the contemporary illustrations and documents, a fairly clear image of the festival can be created. Day by day the celebration took place as follows, focusing on the performances in which Weiss either explicitly or almost certainly participated.

**September 2, 1719: The royal couple arrive**

Travelling from Vienna, the couple and their retinue were met by a grand procession in Pirna, a town upstream on the Elbe about twenty kilometers southeast of Dresden. In the procession were the "Musicus Pantalon [Hebenstreit] with his instruments, the lutenist Weisse with his instruments, and the Musicus Buffardin with the transverse flute, or whatever he plays," as well as six oboists and two horn players. More horns and trumpets met the wedding party as they proceeded into the city. The contribution of Weiss, Buffardin and Hebenstreit would likely have been quiet chamber music in the immediate presence of the royal couple, while the brass and woodwind instruments would have been more ceremonial. The original document clearly mentions more than one instrument each for Hebenstreit and Weiss. All three musicians may have been riding in a carriage where they could have had extra instruments.

After a greeting ceremony in Pirna the royal party boarded a barge, on which they floated down the Elbe to Dresden. It seems likely that Weiss and his two colleagues were among the attendants on the barge.

**September 3, 1719: Inauguration of the Opera House**

On the next evening the just-completed opera house was inaugurated with a performance of *Giove in Argo* by court composer Antonio Lotti. Four days later the musicians performed another Lotti opera, *Ascanio*, which had previously been presented in 1718. Weiss would have served as theorist or lutenist in the continuo section of the orchestra.

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September 10, 1719: Festival of the Planets

Not until a week after the new couple arrived, on Sunday, September 10, did the theme celebration begin. The concept was a festival of the planets, each of the seven then-known heavenly bodies being represented by a god who smiled upon the happy House of Wettin, the electoral Saxon family. The planetary gods were Mercury, the Sun, Diana (the moon), Mars, Venus, Jupiter, and Saturn.

The patron god of the first day, September 10, was Sol, the sun god. On that day the royal party strolled through the Dutch Palace (today known as the Japanisches Palais) with its rich Meissen porcelain collection and newly designed gardens. Precisely at 3:00 in the afternoon there began in the garden a performance of Kapellmeister Heinichen’s new composition La gara degli Dei (“competition of the gods”) or Serenata nel Giardino Chinese, a “Serenade of the Seven Planets, since each invites the high sovereigns to a special festival to introduce himself.”

The thirteenth number, “I rapidi,” a solo aria by Saturn, is accompanied by corno da caccia and obbligato theorbo. There is little doubt that the theorbo part was written specifically with Weiss’s ability in mind. The day ended with a banquet in the Dutch Palais followed by a fireworks display introduced by 64 (!) trumpets and eight timpanists.

On the 12th of September, Mars, the god of war, reigned over an equestrian tournament and foot races. Mars was incarnate in the person of August the Strong, who participated in the parade preceding the day’s events.

September 13: Lotti’s Teofane

Perhaps the most musically significant event of the entire festivities was the premiere performance on September 13 of Lotti’s opera Teofane, written especially for the nuptial celebration (Figures 2, 3). It included an aria, “Lascia che nel suo viso,” sung by the castrato Matteo Berselli (Figure 1). Weiss later wrote in a letter to Johann Mattheson:

But to accompany with the lute in an orchestra would be too weak and inconspicuous, although at the nuptial celebration here I had an aria con

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3 Cited in Becker-Glauch, p. 102. Weber, p. 44, indicates that the performance of the music began at 5:00 p.m.
"liuto solo" in the opera with the well-known Bercelli, and it is supposed to have had a good effect. First, I had a splendid lute. Second, the aria showed off the instrument brilliantly. Third, nothing else accompanied, except harpsichord and contrabass, and these played only the main notes in the bass.

The obbligato part to the aria of the character Adelberto, the opening aria of Act II, which specifies accompaniment of "Mandolino, ó Arcileuto," has been shown to be for German baroque lute (notated an octave high).

Figure 1 – Beginning of "Lascia che nel suo viso" from Lotti's Teofane. Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek, SLUB Mus.2159-F-7.


6 Burris, pp. 75-79. See also the facsimile of the aria in Burris 1997, Appendix IV.
Figure 2 – Opera house, Dresden, 1719. *Vie latente du grand Théâtre royal, avec les Loges et le Parterre*, Heinrich Christoph Fehling. From Jean Louis Sponsel, *Der Zwinger, die Hoffeste und die Schloßbaupläne zu Dresden* (Dresden: Stengle, 1901-1924), plate 54/2.
Figure 3 – Detail of Fig. 2, orchestra musicians performing Antonio Lotti's Teofane. From Jean Louis Sponsel, Der Zwinger, die Hoffeste und die Schlosbaupläne zu Dresden (Dresden: Stengle, 1901-1924), plate 545/1.
Figure 4 — Elevation du grand Theatre royal, pris de face, Heinrich Christoph Fehling.
September 18: Heinichen’s Serenade on the Elbe

On September 18 Diana-Luna was goddess of the day. In her honor an aquatic hunt was staged on the Elbe. The court was seated under a large canopy on the right bank of the Elbe. Then:

... the gilded and silvered ship, built to resemble Diana’s chariot drawn by four water horses, came down the Elbe. On it were the Goddess Diana with her nymphs Climene, Dafne, Niese and Aleippe, together with the Royal Capelle Musique, all clad in green Daffne [taffeta?] clothing. When they passed the royal hunting tent they sang an Italian cantata, entitled Diana sur l’Elbe, accompanied by all kinds of instruments. When this was over, Diana and her nymphs as well as the entire Capelle Musique disembarked on land ... where they watched the hunt [with the court].

This piece was another Heinichen composition, which survives in autograph manuscript in the Saxon State Library: Serenata fatta sulla Elba. A lutenist is clearly visible in the illustration (Figure 4), though the hunting horns must have made a far greater impression on the onshore audience.

September 20: Festival of Mercury

September 20 was dedicated to the Festival of Mercury, held in the Zwinger. The king and queen dressed as a publican and his wife, and the nobility clad themselves as tradespeople such as bakers, cooks and waiters. The city folk set up sixty boutiques in which they presented carnival acts such as tightrope walking, a cockfight, a marionette theater, and a wax museum. Afterwards the Royal Capell Musique, together with singers and dancers, performed a ballet with music by the Kapellmeister Schmidt. The leading roles represented Mercury and the Arts—Music, Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture.

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7 Cited in Becker-Glauch, p. 106. My translation, here and below.
8 Ibid., p. 107.
Figure 4 – Detail of barge with Musicians Performing Heinichen's *Diana sur l'Elbe*. Unknown artist. Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett.
September 23: Venus and the Ladies' Festival

September 23 was celebrated under the patronage of Venus. The goddess of Love invited the guests to a Ladies' Festival representing the competition of the Four Seasons. After the ladies' chariot race there was a grand procession to the Grand Garden's natural theater,

... which was incomparably beautifully laid out in open air. In it a French divertissement entitled Les quatre Saisons was performed, intermingled with ballets in the French language, in which the actors as well as the male and female dancers consisted of members of the nobility. The orchestra was made up of the full Royal Capelle in its proper regalia. The vocal musicians and the orchestra consisted of more than 100 persons from the royal salaried personnel, so that this festival must be considered one of the rarest and most delicat amusements that the world has ever seen.9

A contemporary document, the Kurtze doch ausführliche Beschreibung des sogenannten Venus-Fests ("Brief but complete description of the so-called Venus Festival") is the source of much of the above information, but also of the plot of the Divertissement. This description is representative of the tone of the entire weeks-long extravaganza in its mixture of ancient myth and allegory with glorification and praise of the royal couple.

Venus, for whom, according to the plan of the amusements, Friday was destined, tried hard to assemble all joy and diversions. Minerva, Goddess of Wisdom, who in the company of Mercury accompanied His Highness the Royal and Electoral Prince on his journeys, and in the form of the Elbe brought the Princess to Saxony, intervened in the festival. Apollo, however, sided with Venus and ordered each of the four seasons to put on a special entertainment, which they did in four acts after the prologue.

In the fifth and last act, Venus called the four seasons together and bade them confer their blessings on this region. Finally this entertainment was closed with a blessing in which the Saxon subjects thanked heaven for their blessed prosperity and expressed their wishes for the newly wedded royal couple.10

This particular performance, held in the open-air theater of the Grand Garden, featured a large number of noble members of the Saxon

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9 Ibid., p. 107.
10 Ibid., pp. 107ff.
courtly entourage as chorus members, dancers, comedians and even musicians. The participation of so many amateurs entailed extensive rehearsals, but a contemporary reported that "everything was very lovely and orderly and not a mistake was made, which is admirable."

**September 26: Conclusion**

The Festival of the Planets concluded on September 26 with the Saturn Festival. After a hunt and the performance of an Italian comedy in a forest theater, a banquet was held, accompanied by music. At the very beginning Saturnsanaria from the cupola above theseateddinner guests. The subsequent Tafelmusik was offered alternately by two groups located in two adjoining rooms. Folksingers from among the miners provided the musical finale for the evening, and a grand illumination closed the festival.

Weiss and/or his colleagues may have played not only in the above performances for the royalty and the court, but also at subsequent performances to which the Saxon commoners were presumably admitted. All three Lotti operas were played again, seven evenings altogether.

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The Author Douglas Alton Smith received his Ph.D. in music from Stanford University in 1977 with a dissertation on music of the Baroque lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss. From 1974 to 1982 he served as associate editor of the Journal of the Lute Society of America, and is currently guest editor of three issues of JLSA that will be devoted to the life and music of Weiss. Since 1973 he has published many academic studies on the lute and its music, including the article "Lute" in The New Harvard Dictionary of Music.