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The musical culture of eighteenth-century Bohemia, with special emphasis on the music inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross

Renton, Barbara Ann, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1990

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A

THE MUSICAL CULTURE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOHEMIA, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE MUSIC INVENTORIES OF OSEK AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS

Volume I

by

BARBARA ANN RENTON

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1990

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 24, 1990
Date

George B. Stauffer
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24 April 1990
Date

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PREFACE

Early in my graduate studies in musicology, I heard a lecture by Frank L. Harrison in which he stated his opinion that it is "the function of all musicology to be in fact ethnomusicology, that is, to take its range of research to include material that is termed 'sociological.'" Harrison then proposed that musicology might well conceive its task as one of anthropomusicology, which he defined as "the study of man's musical behavior in the context of his total behavior. Our study, . . . should not be music in and for itself, but man in his capacity as a user of music."[1]

Harrison was not alone in proposing what he called "an anthropomusicological approach." Alan P. Merriam had raised the same issue[2] and Charles Seeger had long been a proponent of a wholistic investigation of music as it functions in human cultures and human societies. Other scholars had begun to propose a "sociology of music," or

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[1]Harrison's lecture, "Music and Cult," was published in Perspectives in Musicology, ed. by Barry S. Brook, Edward O.D. Downes, Sherman Van Solkema (New York: Norton, 1972) 327-28.

[2]The Anthropology of Music (Evanston, Ill.: The University of Illinois Press, 1964).

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"Musiksoziologie."

From this new perspective, the scope of musicological investigation was considerably widened. New questions could be asked and new avenues of inquiry could be pursued. American music, for example, which had been generally neglected because it lacked "great composers" and "masterpieces," suddenly became a viable and even exciting field of research with respect to the origin and function of indigenous music genres and unique multicultural settings in which music was performed.

I had begun graduate research work in the field of American music when a fortuitous extended visit to Czechoslovakia in 1975 brought me in contact with the treasures of the national music archives. Upon examining the music and related documents, I realized that here was a rich source of musical history that was at that time being tapped almost solely for its materials relating either to the "great names" of Western European music (e.g., Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven), or searched for "early examples" and "precursors" of Classical musical genres. This left by far the greatest portion of material relatively unused.

But what if new questions were asked? Anthropo-musicological questions? Sociomusicological questions? Then these archives and collections, instead of being vast haystacks to be combed for precious gems, could themselves be a treasure chest of information about "man in his capacity as a user of music" (Harrison). Indeed, some

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Czech musicologists had been working along such lines in these archives for several decades, but their scholarly work up to this time remains largely unknown in the United States due to limited circulation of publications and to widespread unfamiliarity with the Czech language.

The question which stimulated my research was this: What was the musical culture of Bohemia just preceding and during the formative years of those Bohemian musicians such as Johann Stamitz, Georg Benda and Josef Myslivečeк, who rose to eminent positions and reputation outside of Bohemia?

It quickly became apparent in the initial stages of research that Bohemian musicians in large numbers had occupied key positions in the eighteenth-century European world of music: not only as composers or Kapellmeister or brilliant soloists, but as esteemed ensemble players and teachers of excellent repute. The question of Bohemian musical culture became not just a matter of finding the source of the creative genius of some, but the source of the uniformly high quality of many.

A number of years of research and the wise counsel of colleagues convinced me that nothing less than a monumental work would suffice to address the scope of the political, economic, religious, philosophical, social and cultural factors in answer to my question. What I have attempted here is thus far more modest.

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Proceeding from Georg Knepler's viewpoint that a musician's "life and work will be better understood, the more clearly the fabric of social relationships is spread out and examined . . . ,"[3] I decided to base this study on original documents of music repertory from two different religious institutions in eighteenth-century Bohemia, and to relate the musical material to contemporary social factors. My motives were twofold: 1) to explore and describe a segment of a musical culture whose influence became far-reaching; and 2) to bring to greater attention the work of Czech musicologists and historians.

I am greatly indebted to many people for what I have been able to accomplish. I am grateful to Dr. Barry S. Brook for calling my attention away from the Hussite hymnals of fifteenth-century Bohemia to the vastly more complex musical world of 18th-century Bohemia.

Research in Czechoslovakia was accomplished primarily from 1978 through 1984 through the assistance of the Shirley Farr Endowed Fellowship of the American Association of University Women.

Immense gratitude is extended to scholars and colleagues in Czechoslovakia who gave generous guidance, pointed out materials, supplied copies, and supported this research effort: at the Národní Museum v Praze, Dr. Milada

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[3]"Musical Historiography in Eastern Europe," Perspectives in Musicology, 238.

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Rutová and Dr. Milan Poštolka; at the musicology section of the Ústav teorie a dějiny umění in Prague, Dr. Jaroslav Bužga, Dr. Eva Mikanová, Dr. Zdeňka Pilková; at the hudební oddělení of the Moravské muzeum v Brně, Dr. Jiří Sehnal and Dr. Theodora Straková, at the Státní knihovna ČSR, hudební oddělení (Prague), Dr. Jitřenka Pešková. A special note of gratitude to Dr. Tomislav Volek, who not only contributed greatly to my understanding through discussion of sources and secondary literature, but who also contributed to my understanding of the geography and ethos of the country at first-hand. Dr. Bužga also provided on-site opportunities in North Bohemia. Dr. Jiří Fukač, Professor at the J.E. Purkýně University, Brno, gave me a copy of his dissertation on the Knights of the Cross on extended loan, and Dr. Geoffrey Chew of the Royal Holloway College Department of Music, Surrey, England, gave me a copy of his dissertation on the Czech pastorella.

I am grateful for the help of colleagues in the United States, particularly to Dr. George R. Hill, Dr. Sterling E. Murray and Dr. Bruce C. MacIntyre who offered guidance and suggestions. Dr. Norris Stephens of the University of Pittsburgh was of great assistance in locating and securing books and materials.

Finally, sincere thanks is given to those who moved the work along to its present state: to Bohuslav Stancl, indefatigable translator and pursuer of accuracy, to George Simor, for help with Baroque Latin terminology, Roman

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Catholic liturgics and Jesuit lore, and especially to Joseph A. Renton for seeing it through.

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G. Osek, Tafel-Musik, Inventory of 1720 (522)
H. Osek, Specificatio Instrumentorum Musicalium, Inventory of 1706 (528)
I. Osek, Mantissa/ Instrumenta Musica Specificans, Inventory of 1720 (529)
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A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

The aim has been not to invent new abbreviations but to utilize those already in general use, whether in English, German or Czech publications.

Printed Sources

AKG — Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien, ed. by Augustinus Kurt Huber. Königstein/Taunus: Königsteiner Institut für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte der Sudetenländer e. V., 1967-).

AMW — Archiv für Musikwissenschaft

CAM — Catalogus Artis Musicae in Bohemia et Moravia Cultae; Artis Musicae Antiquioris Catalogorum Series
Vol. I. Domus Lauretana Pragensis, Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae, 2 vols., comp. by Oldřich Pulkert. Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1973.
Vol. II. J.A. Seydl Decani Beronensis Operum Artis Musicae Collectio, comp. by Jaroslav Holeček. Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1976.
Vol. III. Collectio Ecclesiae Březnicensis, Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae, comp. by Jitřenka Pešková. Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983.
Vol. IV. Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis, Catalogus Collectionis Operum Artis Musicae, 2 vols., comp. by Jiří Štefan. Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1985.

ČMM — Časopis Moravského Muzea/ Acta Musei Moraviae, Vědy společěenské/ Scientiae sociales. Brno: Moravian Museum.

ČSHS — Československý hudební slovník, 2 vols., ed. by Gracián Černušák, Bohumír Štědroň, Zdenko Nováček. Prague: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1963.

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DČD Dějiny českého divadla, ed. by František Černý Prague: Academia, 1968-). [History of Czech Theater]. This series of four volumes to date was published under the auspices of the Československà akademie věd, Kabinet pro studium českého divadla [Czech academy of science, Cabinet for the study of Czech theater].

Göhler Karl Albert Göhler. Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1902), facsimile edition. Hilversum: Frits Knuf, 1965.

HRo Hudební rozhledy [Musical Outlook]. Prague: Svaz českých skladatelu a koncertních umelcu [Union of Czech composers and concert artists]. Published monthly.

HV Hudební věda [Musicology]. Prague: Ustav teorie a dějin umění, sekce hudební vědy [Institute of theory and history of music, musicology section]. Published quarterly.

MAB Musica Antiqua Bohemica, 2 ser., ed. by Vladimír Helfert (1934-45), Jan Racek (1946-79). Prague: Editio Artia, 1934-). Series of scholarly editions of music.

MGG Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik, 17 vols., ed. by Friedrich Blume. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-86.

MM Miscellanea Musicologica. Prague: Katedra Dějin Hudby na filosoficko-historické fakultě Karlovy university v Praze. Published annually.

NG The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. by Stanley Sadie. London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980-88.

NOH The New Oxford History of Music, ed. by J.A. Westrup, et al.
Vol. V. Opera and Church Music (1630-1750), ed. by Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.
Vol. VII. The Age of Enlightenment (1745-1790), ed. by Egon Wellesz and Frederick Sternfeld. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

OSN Ottův Slovník Naučný, 28 vols., ed. Fr. J. Studnička, et al. Prague: J. Otto, 1888-1909).

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PHS I Pazdírkův hudební slovník naučný, in two parts, ed.
PHS II by Gracián Černušák and Vladimír Helfert. Brno: Ol. Pazdírek. I. Část věcná (1929); II. Část osobní, Vol. 1, A-K (1937), Vol. 2 in 12 printed fascicles (1937-41), uncompleted.

Pohanka
Jaroslav Pohanka. Dějiny české hudby v příkladech [History of Czech music in examples]. Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1958.

PrůvodceB
Průvodce po pramenech k dějinám hudby. Fondy a sbírky uložené v Čechách. [Guide to sources for music history. Funds and collections deposited in Bohemia], comp. by Jaroslav Bužga, Jan Kouba, Eva Mikanová, Tomislav Volek; ed. by Jan Kouba. Prague: Academia, 1969.

PrůvodceM
Průvodce po archivní fondech ústavu dějin hudby moravského musea v Brně. [Guide to archival funds at the Institute of Music History of the Moravian Museum in Brno], comp. by Theodora Straková, Jiří Sehnal, Svatava Přibánová; ed. by Theodora Straková Brno: Ústav dějin hudby moravského musea v Brně, 1971.

RISM Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (see Bibliography for full contents by volume)

SNKLHU or KLHU Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění [State publisher of belles lettres, music and arts].

Trolda Alexandr Buchner, Hudební sbírka Emiliána Troldy [Music Collection of Emilián Trolda] Special edition of Sborník národního musea v Praze/Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae, A--Historický, VIII/1 (Prague, 1954).

Archival Sources

Libraries and Archives in Czechoslovakia are indicated by the RISM sigla as they appear in the Directory of Music Research Libraries, Volume V, ed. by Lilian Pruett (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985), 27-63.

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Orthography

1. Spelling of Composers' Names.

The practice has been to use the form printed in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians wherever possible. In only a few cases was the Czech form adopted, whenver it seemed likely that the name would generally be encountered in that spelling, e.g., Vaňhal. Czech musicologists almost invariably use the Czech form of all names, e.g., Jan Stamic.

2. Spelling of Place Names.

The Czech spelling is used throughout, to correspond to the majority of the source material. At the first appearance of a name, and on tables, the German equivalent is given, in order to facilitate correspondence with German-language material, e.g., Litoměřice (German: Leitmeritz); Ostrov (German: Schlackenwerth). A bilingual dictionary of place names is in Appendix P.

3. Spelling of Institution Names.

The English form has been used throughout. At the first appearance of a name and on tables as needed, the Czech and German equivalents are given, e.g., Knights of the Cross (Czech: Křížovníci; German: Kreuzherren); St. Vitus [Metropolitan cathedral] (Czech: sv. Vít; German: St. Veit).

4. Spelling of Cities.

The English form has been adopted for the city of Prague, as well as for each of the towns that comprise the city: Old Town, New Town, Little Quarter, Prague Castle District (see Appendix P). In the case of publication information, the form Prague has also been consistently used. For all the other Czech cities, the Czech form has been used, but in its nominative form, rather than in the Czech inflected form, e.g., Brno, not v Brně.

5. Spelling of Aristocratic Family Names.

I have generally adopted the German (Austrian) form of the name as the one most likely to be encountered among the source material, e.g., Lobkowitz rather than the modern Czech Lobkovic; Schwarzenberg rather than the modern Czech Švarcenberk; Waldstein rather than the modern Czech Valdštejn -- although the alternate spelling is indicated as necessary for identification. Occasionally a hybrid spelling appears, generally in connection with the old Bohemian families, e.g., Czernin, rather than the modern Czech Černín; Kinsky, rather than the modern Czech Kinský; Vrtba rather than the German Wrtby.

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The spelling, Habsburg, which is most frequently encountered in German and Czech writings, has been used throughout rather than Hapsburg.

6. A Special Note on Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn.

Although composers' names appear in the New Grove spelling, the name of Prince-Bishop Karl Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn appears there in at least two forms:

Liechtenstein-Kastelcorn	("Kroměříž", Vol. 10)
	("Czechoslovakia," Vol. 5)
Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn	("Biber," Vol. 2)
	(""Vejvanovský," Vol. 19).

I have found four forms in Czech sources:

Lichtenštejn-Castelcorn
Lichtenstein-Kastelkorn
Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn
Liechtenstein-Castelcorn.

In the German sources, only one form appears: Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn.
That being the form common to three languages, it is the form I have chosen to use.

7. The form "Church" refers to the inclusive institution of the Roman Catholic Church; "church" refers to a single institution, as "the village church."

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INTRODUCTION

The study of Western music has taken note of an occasional phenomenon that might be termed a "musical migration," the movement of a significant number of musicians from one geographical area or political entity to other areas. For the music historian one significance of the "migration" lies in the export of an indigenous repertory of music to another geographical area and culture. Another significance lies in the transfer of particular training and abilities well beyond the area in which the training and ability originally functioned. The result over time in the lands which received musical immigrants was a change in the prevailing musical style and all that the term "style" can entail--including instrumental and vocal mediums, orchestration and performance practice.[1]

The strong presence of Bohemian musicians in

---

[1]Currently, this process can be seen in the world-wide export of American popular music, accomplished in the latter part of the twentieth century without necessitating the emigration of composers and performers. As Charles Seeger points out, the exported American music is itself a product of acculturative and enculturative processes. "Traits acknowledged to be peculiarly American characterize only facets of a still developing culture . . . the dominant ingredients [are] the cultures of the conquering and colonizing countries [from Europe] . . . [and] the importation of slaves [from Africa]" ("United States of America, II, 1: Folk music, study," NG 19, 436).

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eighteenth-century foreign posts was noted at the time by contemporaries, who drew attention to the artistic contributions made by a number of them. Charles Burney called attention to the "genius of [Johann] Stamitz" at the Mannheim court and commented favorably on Franz Benda at Berlin as well as of his brother Georg, and "elegant composer" at the court of Gotha.[2] Bohemian musicians are mentioned with approval in the letters of the Mozarts.[3] Johann Nikolaus Forkel lauded F. X. Richter and Joseph Mysliveček,[4] and other observations are not lacking.[5]

---

[2]The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces (London, 1773), ed. by Percy A. Scholes as Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) II, 34, 35, 163, 177.

[3]Wolfgang wrote to his father about Joseph Fiala, 3 October 1777, and about Georg Benda, 12 November 1778. Leopold commented to Wolfgang about Joseph Reicha, 29 January 1778 (The Letters of Mozart and His Family, trans. and ed. by Emily Anderson, 3 vols., 2nd ed., prepared by A. Hyatt King and Monica Carolan, 2 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966) I, 293; II, 631; I, 455.

[4]Musikalischer Almanach auf das Jahr 1784 (Leipzig, 1784), reprinted edition (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974) 111-12, 103.

[5]Gottfried Johann Dlabacž reported in "Versuch eines Verzeichnisses der vorzüglichern Tonkünstler in oder aus Böhmen," in J.A. Riegger's Materialen zur alten und neuen Statistik von Böhmen, XII (Leipzig and Prague, 1794). Dlabacž also published contemporary acccunts about each of the Bohemian composers in his Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon, 3 vols. (Prague 1815) reprinted edition ed. by Paul Bergner (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973). Material is found either under the musician's name or in commentary on other composers. For example, Tůma is found in the articles about Czernohorsky (I, 308) and Seger (III, 104) as well as under his own name (III, 283).

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Although the origin of the term "musical emigration," is uncertain, it appears as a primary concern of Czech musicology in Vladimír Helfert's study, Jiří Benda (Brno, 1929), the full title of which, Příspěvek k problému české hudební emigrace [Contribution to the problem of Bohemian musical emigration], places the issue in high relief.[6] Helfert used the term, "Bohemian musical emigration" to characterize as a single phenomenon the numerous examples of individual Bohemians' service and settlement abroad as musicians from the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century.[7] This musical emigration was described by Helfert in terms of streams (proudy) which ran out of Bohemia in several directions: to North Germany and West Germany, to Italy, to Vienna, and to Paris and London. Each stream was embodied by one or more Bohemian composers: Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745) at the Dresden court, Georg (Jiří) Benda (1722-1795) at Gotha, and Franz (František) Benda (1709-1786) at Berlin, Johann Stamitz (Jan Václav Stamic, 1717-1757) and Franz Xaver Richter (1709-1789) at Mannheim, Josef Mysliveček in the opera houses of Italy, Johann Baptist (Jan Křtitel) Vaňhal

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[6]In the Preface, Helfert stated that "The problem of our musical emigration is one of the most important questions of our musical history. It is a fact in itself that a succession of our composers abandoned our land, in order to devote their energies to art in foreign countries . . . " (Jiří Benda, 5).

[7]Helfert, Jiří Benda, 5.

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(1739-1813), Adalbert Gyrowetz (Vojtěch Jirovec, 1763-1850), and Václav Pichl (1741-1805) in Vienna, Antoine Reicha (Antonín Rejcha, 1770-1836) in Paris, and Jan Ladislav Dussek (Dusík, 1760-1812, in London.[6]

This musical emigration, which was Helfert's second concern and a prime focus of much of Czech musicology, was crucial to the development of Western European music, particularly the Classical style.[9] Jan Racek asserted, "We cannot forget that the composers of the Mannheim School were Bohemian. Hence that school was closely bound up with the development of Bohemian musical thinking . . . [and had its] origin . . . in Bohemian domestic soil."[10] Not only at Mannheim, maintained Racek, but wherever they found themselves, Bohemian musicians have been shown to have exerted an influence on musical life.

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[8]Jiří Benda, 5. The forms of the names are those used in NG, with the exception of Vaňhal for which the Czech spelling is given. For the rest, the Czech spelling, which Helfert used, is in parentheses. Jan Racek later adopted a similar directional schema to describe the phenomenon of Česká hudební emigrace: Western Europe, Southern Europe, Vienna, and Eastern Europe, with an expanded list of names (Česká hudba [Prague: SNKLHU, 1958], 149-50). The American colonies and early United States need to be added as a direction of emigration, with Anthony (Anton) Heinrich (1781-1861) as an example.

[9]John Tyrrell, "Helfert, Vladimír," NG 8, 452.

[10]"Nesmíme zapomenout, že zakladatelé mannheimské školy byli Češi. Odtud byla tata škola těsně svázána s vývojem českého myšlení, nebot' se opírala o výboje, k minž došlo již před vznikem mannheimské školy na české domácí pudě" (Česká hudba, 150).

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Bohemia and Bohemian Musicians

Bohemia, as a geographical and political entity, does not exist today. It came into existence from a nucleus of territory in the tenth century which had been occupied by Slavic tribes since the fourth century B.C. By the fourteenth century it had developed, under the Luxemburg (non-Slavic) dynasty, into a European power with the capital city in Prague. The stature of the city, at that time the third largest in Europe, was enhanced by the founding of the University (1328) which, after Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, was one of the first established in Europe north of Italy. The university continued to be a major center of learning for several centuries.

In 1700, Bohemia consisted of the Bohemian crown lands, comprised of the provinces of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (see Map 1), settled in the main by a fairly homogeneous Slavic population and under the governance of the King of Bohemia. At that time the royal title was held in perpetuity by the reigning monarch of the Habsburg dynasty in Vienna. The territory saw several changes in the eighteenth century, mainly the loss of most of Silesia. In the first half of the twentieth century, the border territory with Germany was referred to as the Sudetenland, a modern political-ethnic designation for an area that had for centuries been occupied largely, but not exclusively,

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by a German-speaking populace.[11] Bohemia and Moravia, including the Sudetenland (which stretches along the northernmost section of each), form the western part of today's Czechoslovakia.

In the 18th century, "Bohemia" was a geographical term for the territory described above (Czech: Čechy; German: Böhmen). A "Bohemian" (Czech: Čech; German: Böhme) would be an inhabitant of Bohemia, regardless of language or ethnic group.[12] In the 18th-century, a "Bohemian musician" would have been understood to be a musically-skilled person born in the Bohemian crown lands or of Bohemian parents. That he or she might have originated from either a Czech or German linguistic circle made no

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[11]Beginning with King Charles IV (1346-1378), German-speaking people had been invited and encouraged to settle and found villages there. Successive waves of immigrants over several centuries had reinforced the Germanic culture and language, which existed, in some areas, side by side with the older Czech culture and language.

[12]Determining the exact meaning of national-linguistic adjectives in the literature is not simple. The term "Czech" (Czech: česky; German: tschechisch) usually describes Czech-speaking inhabitants of the provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia who share a common Czech language. However, a complexity arises in that the Czech word český has also stood to mean "Bohemian." Modern Czech literature in which language groups need to be distinguished sometimes use the combinatorial forms: česko-německý (Czech-German) or "německo-český" (German-Czech). German literature is not always helpful, using the term deutsch to describe a German-speaking person regardless of the place of birth. The patterns of terminology are still under intense debate today, much as the terms "Afro-American," "African-American," and others.

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difference.[13]

The Question of Ethnicity

Although there were two linguistic groups in eighteenth-century Bohemia, the essential unitary historical and geopolitical nature of the land has at times been distorted or denied. As a result of political, social and cultural understandings that emerged during the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century and that were shaped through two World Wars and their aftermath, ethnic distinctions became important. The results have not always been helpful or accurate, particularly when the adjective "German" has been persistently and at times gratuitously applied to the presence and contribution of the group of Bohemian musical emigrants. Writing in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Kurt Stangl states, "The designation 'Bohemian musician' which these artists were commonly given, is an exclusively geographical classification and, employed as a national characteristic,

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[13]I am indebted to John Tyrrell for the clarity of his explanation in Czech Opera (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) xiv. Bohumír Štědroň pointed out that in the records of Johann Stamitz's college, where the distinction was made between the böhmisch and deutsch, the term böhmisch was understood in a territorial, not an ethnic sense ("Die Rolle der slawischen Völker in der Geschichte der europäischen Musik des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts," Kongressbericht der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft Salzburg 1964. Band II, Protokolle von den Symposia und Round Tables, Vorträge und Kongressprogramm, ed. Franz Giegling [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1966] 242).

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has only caused confusion; the 'Mannheimers' were exclusively German."[14]

Friedrich Blume carefully acknowledged the contributions of many individual Bohemian musicians to the development of the instrumental forms and expressions of the Classical style. Nevertheless, while admitting the difficulty of separating the work of the two ethnic Bohemian groups ("it is not yet possible to distinguish between their German and their Czechish contributions") Blume saw the entire group of Bohemian musicians as playing an extensive role in an "epoch of German music, at least in the sense that German musicians provided a standard."[15]

The absorption of the creative work of Bohemian (and other, particularly Slavic) musicians into the German cultural achievement has been a source of frustration for musicologists from central and eastern Europe. Some of their opinions were expressed in the Round Table discussion at the International Musicological Society Conference in Salzburg (1964), "Die Rolle der slawischen Völker in der

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[14]"Die Bezeichnung 'böhmische Musiker,' mit der man in der Mg. [Musikgeschichte] diese Künstler gemeinhin zu belegen pflegte, ist eine ausschliesslich geographische Einordnung und hat, als nationales Merkmal verwendet, nur Verwirrung angerichtet; die 'Mannheimer' waren ausschliesslich Deutsche" ("Böhmen und Mähren," MGG 2, 31).

[15]Friedrich Blume, Classic and Romantic Music, trans. M. D. Herder Norton from the original articles in MGG, "Klassik," VII, 1027-90; "Romantik," XI, 785-845 (New York: Norton, 1970) 23-24.

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Geschichte der europäischen Musik des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts." Jan Racek declared,

> "Investigations of the extensive source materials serve to demonstrate to what extent Slavic and particularly Czech music shared in the formation of the style elements of European Classical music culture . . . In that case we cannot proceed [in our musicological research] . . . from the standpoint of a narrow-minded chauvinism and an exaggerated nationalistic feeling."[16]

Some ethnic investigations, such as that of Karl Michael Komma, have proved fruitful in analyzing and describing the similar and distinctive musical characteristics of each of the two Bohemian ethnic groups.[17] However, Komma's tendency to confine the musical activity of Czech-speaking groups within the sphere and influence of folk music, and his insistence on relating the products of musical creativity from within Bohemian lands to the "general German-Czech contribution to German music," among other similar tendencies, have been challenged by

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[16]"Untersuchungen des umfrangreichen Quellenmaterials beweiskfräftig darzulegen, inwieweit die slawische, insbesondere die tschechische Musikkultur an der Gestaltung der Stilelemente der europäischen Musikklassik beteiligt war . . . Dabei werden wir . . . ausrichten konnen vom Standpunkt eines engbrüstigen Chauvinismus und eines übertriebenen Nationalgefühls" ("Die Rolle," Protokolle II, 240).

[17]Karl Michael Komma, Das böhmische Musikantentum (Kassel: Johann Philipp Hinnenthal, 1960). Komma discusses the question of "Bohemian musicality" by investigating the social and cultural practices of the two language groups in Bohemia and by analyzing the melodic and rhythmic traits of their folk music.

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Czechoslovak musicologist Tomislav Volek.[18]

Bearing in mind the sensitive history of the term "Bohemian musicians" the practice in this study is to apply the term in its eighteenth-century sense, applicable to musicians from the territory of the Bohemian crown lands regardless of point of origin within those lands. Moreover, it is assumed that this point of origin made no difference with respect to the rest of Europe and to the musical developments taking place there.

The Significance of Bohemian Musicians in Eighteenth-Century Europe

Although musicology no longer focuses its efforts on discovering and elucidating a Darwinian-like developmental progression in music, complete with "forerunners," "pioneers," "influences," "early- and late-periods" and "great figures,"[19] there is no question that Bohemian musicians such as Stamitz, Richter, Tůma, Vaňhal and others were significant to their contemporaries for their musical achievements. In the early nineteenth century the Bohemian

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[18]Komma, Musikantentum, 178. Volek's extensive review-essay was published in German in a volume from the Czech Academy of Science, Institute for Theory and History of Art--Musicology Section ("Karl Michael Komma: Das böhmische Musikantentum," De Musica Disputationes Pragenses I [Prague: Academia, 1972] 184-91).

[19]Jens Peter Larsen called into question these "deeply rooted traditional preconceptions" in his article "Zur Bedeutung der 'Mannheimer Schule'" (Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer, ed. Heinrich Hüschen [Regensburg: Bosse, 1962] 309).

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art historian, musician and lexicographer, Gottfried Dlabacž asked, rhetorically but confidently, "To whom is the name of Tuma, Stamitz, Benda, . . . Čžernohorský, Zelenka, Zach, Neruda brothers, . . . Segert, Gläck, Gassmann, Misliwečeck, Gelinek, Brixi, et al. unknown?"[20] Because of the achievements of these musicians and many more, by the end of the eighteenth century, to be a musician from Bohemia was to carry the highest credentials. An example of this can be seen in the application of Leopold Koželuch (1747-1818) for the position of Hofcompositeur at the Imperial Court in Vienna (1792) in which it is stressed, as proof of his musical qualifications, that he is "alsc a Bohemian."[21]

In the twentieth century, Bohemian musicians have been highly valued, as noted above by Blume, for their perceived contribution to the formation of the Classical style. Indeed, Blume was inclined to date the beginning of the Classical period "at around 1740, with the coming into prominence of Bohemian composers in the musical capitals of various countries . . ."[22] Jan Racek agreed: "In the centers of eighteenth-century European music culture, Bohemian composers took key positions. The Bohemian

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[20]Dlabacž, Künstler-Lexikon I, 17-18.

[21]"auch ein Böhm seye," quoted by Tomislav Volek, "Tschechoslowakei IV. Klassik," MGG XIII, 884.

[22]Blume, Classic and Romantic Music, 23-24.

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musical emigration of the eighteenth century was a turning point in the historical development of European music."[23]

Both Racek and Blume were considering the work of composers, of which there were many. Paul Henry Lang's older map of the Bohemian diaspora, designating key geographical centers, shows more than twenty to which Bohemian composers became attached. His list of names, which he admitted was by no means complete, included twenty-four Bohemian composers.[24] Yet more was happening than a simple count of composers might indicate. Lang hints at this in his description of Bohemian composers as "style disseminators."[25]

Bohemian Musicians as Style Disseminators

Although it is axiomatic for the eighteenth century that composers were also performers, it is also true that a

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[23]"In den Zentren der europäischen Musikkultur des 18. Jahrhunderts nahmen tschechische Komponisten Schlüsselstellungen ein. Die tschechische Musikemigration des 18. Jahrhunderts wurde zu einem Wendepunkt in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung der europäischen Musik" ("Die Rolle," Protokolle II, 239).

[24]The map is entitled "The Distribution of Austro-Bohemian Composers, Members of the So-Called Viennese School - c. 1700-1775" (Music in Western Civilization [New York: Norton, 1941] unnumbered pages inserted between 618-19). Although Lang did not classify Bohemian musicians among the Germans, he did, on historical and political grounds, consider them part of the "Slavic provinces . . . which created that specific Austrian tone we associate with the Viennese school" (p. 606).

[25]Lang, Music in Western Civilization, [map, 619].

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number of performers, such as opera singers and wind instrument players, seldom, if ever, turned their hands to composition. Dissemination required knowledgeable performers who understood the requirements of the style.

That such was the case is amply testified to by the number of eighteenth-century printed works which explained how to perform contemporary music according to the requirements of good taste. These manuals or treatises went far beyond simple techniques of playing. Many were concerned with correct interpretation--something that could not be determined simply by an accurate rendition of the notes.[26] Style dissemination needed not only written music by composers but stylish performance -- by singers and by instrumentalists -- a matter that could only be addressed through training and practice.

There is enough documentation to show that Bohemian

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[26]Four great treatises on performance practice were published at mid-century: Johann Joachim Quantz, Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen (Berlin, 1752), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen (Berlin, 1753), Leopold Mozart, Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule (1756), and Johann Friedrich Agricola, Anleitung zur Singkunst (Berlin, 1757). Several other publications set down rules for playing from a figured bass: Johann David Heinichen, Der General-Bass in der Composition, oder: Neue und gründliche Anweisung (Dresden, 1728), Johann Mattheson, Grosse General-Bass-Schule, oder: der exemplarischen Organisten-Probe zweite, verbesserte ind vermehrte Auflage (Hamburg, 1731) and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen ... in welchen die Lehre von dem Accompagnement und der freyen Fantasie abgehandelt wird (Berlin, 1762). (See Bibliography for reprint citations.)

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instrumental performers, even more than composers, were ubiquitous throughout Europe, and that they were sought after because of their performing ability. Sterling Murray has documented the presence of forty-eight Bohemian musicians in South German Hofkapellen during the late eighteenth century.[27] He has also discovered that in 1785, at the court of Oettingen-Wallerstein, for example, approximately one-third of the capella was Bohemian.[28] It was in the capacity of performers that Bohemian musicians were generally hired.[29] However, some became well-known composers, as we have noted above; some wrote music for local consumption, a few pieces of which became disseminated over a narrow area; and some taught extensively and presumably wrote teaching pieces or arranged pieces from the repertory they knew. But many wrote no works, or at least none that have been preserved. Regardless of their compositional ability, all functioned

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[27]Sterling E. Murray, "Bohemian Musicians in South German 'Hofkapellen' During the Late 18th Century," HV XIII/3 (1978) 153-73; also see Sterling E. Murray, "Introduction: Music at the court of Oettingen-Wallerstein," Seven Symphonies from the Court of Oettingen-Wallerstein, 1773-1795, Ser. C, Vol. VI of The Symphony 1720-1840 ed. by Barry S. Brook (New York: Garland, 1981), xi-xiv, xviii-xx.

[28]Sterling E. Murray, "The Czech Population of the Oettingen-Wallerstein Kapelle: Evidence for Cross-Cultural Influence?" Kosmas. Journal of Czechoslovak and Central European Studies VII/1 & 2 (1988) 57.

[29]Johann Stamitz, for example, went to the Mannheim court originally as a virtuoso violinist (Eugene K. Wolf, "Stamitz, Johann (Wenzel Anton)," NG 18, 60).

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as style disseminators.

The Content of the Dissemination

Preceding the Bohemians, the music centers of Europe had experienced a different wave of musical emigrants. From the seventeenth century until the mid-eighteenth, the names of Italian composers, performers and opera impresarios can be found in connection with all the great courts, royal seats, and urban centers of Europe.[30] Contemporary evidence leaves no doubt that Italian music was highly prized and highly paid for during this period.[31] Musicians needed to be able to perform and interpret Italian music in order to secure good positions. This study will demonstrate that Bohemian musicians were thoroughly familiar with Italian musical style, as

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[30]"During the 18th century Italy became the world's greatest musical exporter, intensifying a process already begun in the 17th century" (Viola L. Hagopian, "Italy, I, 5, "18th Century," NG 9, 369).

[31]Abbé Francois Raguenet (c1660-1722) was an impassioned early partisan. "Everything [in a composition] is so exactly beautiful . . . we meet with the like in no other nation whatsoever." ("Parallèle des Italiens et des Francais," trans. by Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History [New York: Norton, 1950] 481). Figures published for the Habsburg and Dresden court capellas indicate that the Italian composers and directors received at least double the salary of others. See Ludwig von Köchel, Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkappelle in Wien von 1543-1867 (1869), reprinted edition Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1976) 58-91; also Moritz Fürstenau, Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen (Dresden: Rudolf Kuntze, 1861) 394-96.

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exemplified in the works of first-rank Italian composers.[32]

But there was another style that had been developing in the eighteenth century under the onslaught of Italy and with reference to France, and that was what Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) called the "mixed taste." Quantz saw this "mixed taste" as a profitable adoption of Italian and French elements by the Germans, who had had their own style (which Quantz pronounced "bad. . . despite the thorough insight of the Germany composers into harmony").[33] He wrote more approvingly that the improvers of the German taste

> have appropriated the style of one as well as the other, and have struck a mixture that has enabled them to compose, and to perform with great applause, not only German, but also Italian, French, and English operas . . . each in its language and style."[34]

Although Quantz expressed a personal opinion, his description of the German "style" of the time, as "a mixture of those of different peoples," and "the very

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[32]The French style, described by Raguenet (above), although prevalent in some aristocratic establishments, was not disseminated in the same manner or to the same extent as the Italian. It is not a major musical influence in eighteenth-century Bohemia.

[33]Johann Joseph Quantz, Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen (Berlin, 1752) trans. with an introduction and notes by Edward R. Reilly as Johann Joachim Quantz. On Playing the Flute (London: Faber and Faber [1966]),338.

[34]Quantz. On Playing the Flute, 541.

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best,"[35] may reflect something of the preferences of the large German courts of Dresden and Berlin, and possibly of the smaller ones as well. Judging by Quantz, a knowledge of German "mixed taste" was regarded as useful for work in German music institutions. This study also will show that the musical culture in Bohemia gave Bohemian musicians a familiarity with the works of well-known composers from Germany. Bohemian musicians also gained familiarity with the works of certain Bohemian composers, many of whom were unknown or little known outside Bohemia, but who, like the Germans, adopted a "mixed taste" of their own.

Based on their high reputation in the courts of Germany, Bohemian musicians excelled not only in the Italian style but also in the German "mixed taste." As style disseminators of both, they brought with them an additional and unique ingredient to the mixture, Bohemian elements, which are most clearly seen (and heard) in the instrumental compositions of Johann Stamitz and Josef Myslivecek.[36]

The familiarity with a wide-ranging repertory, which included local popular music, gave the Bohemian musician a capability and flexibility of performance, interpretation and even composition, that was unique.

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[35] Quantz. On Playing the Flute, 542.

[36] See Peter Gradenwitz, "Stamitz, Johann," MGG XII, 1155; also David DiChiera, "Mysliveček, Josef, NG 13, 7.

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The Musical Training of Eighteenth-Century Bohemian Musicians

The bases for Italian hegemony in music in the 17th and early 18th centuries, and for the seemingly inexhaustible supply of excellent musicians from Italy, lay in three factors: 1) the presence of internationally-renowned composers;[37] 2) a large number of opera theaters, as well as musical salons and eager patrons;[38] and 3) renowned institutions of music training.[39] Moreover, all

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[37]Lang asserted, and has not been essentially contradicted, that the primary impetus (for what he terms the "Neapolitan School") was Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725) and his pupils and colleagues Leonardo Vinci (1690-1730), Nicola Logroscino (c1700-1763), Leonardo Leo (1694-1744), Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736), Francesco Durante (1684-1755), and Antonio Lotti (c1667-1740) (Music in Western Civilization, 454-55).

[38]"Even the small cities had their opera theaters, and toward the seventeen eighties . . . forty opera houses within the boundaries of the Papal State alone. Twelve hundred different operas were performed in Venice alone in the eighteenth century" (Lang, Music in Western Civilization, 451).

[39]Buildings originally built as hospitals or infirmaries, particularly in Venice and Naples, became orphanages and foundling homes "in which singing formed a large part of the instruction: finally they developed into regular colleges of music to which pupils from every part of Europe would be admitted." (W. H. Hadow, The Viennese Period, Vol. V, The Oxford History of Music (Oxford:Clarendon, 1904), 21). In Venice, these were: della Pietà, dei Mendicanti, degli Incurabili, and dell'Ospedaletto (San Giovanni e Paolo) (Denis Arnold, "Venice," NG 19, 618). In Naples, the largest was Santa Maria de Loreto. In addition there were Sant' Onofrio a Capuana, della Pietà dei Turchini, and dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo (Renata di Benedetto, "Naples," NG 13, 25). Lang also pays tribute to these institutions: "Many of the great composers of the eighteenth century were alumni of the Neapolitan conservatories . . ." (Music in Western

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three factors were inter-related, through the teaching by famous opera composers in the conservatories,[40] and in the fact that

> . . . the conservatory made groups of instrumentalists available for performances in Naples and surrounding areas. . . . By tradition, Naples conservatories gave their advanced students the opportunity to make their public debuts as composers; they were commissioned to compose drammi sacri, 3-act religious operas with buffo scenes."[41]

In contrast to Italy, up to the present time no equally clear and comparable factors have been found for the apparent success of Bohemian musicians. There have been no discoveries of internationally renowned Bohemian composers who drew pupils to Bohemia from all over Europe or who even founded schools.[42] There have been no studies

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Civilization, 454).

[40]Francesco Durante was master in three conservatories, Nicola Porpora (1686-1768) and Leonardo Vinci each in one, Francesco Feo and Leonardo Leo each in two, to mention only a few examples.

[41]Helmut Hucke, "Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista," NG 14, 394.

[42]For some years, scholars referred to a "school" formed around the Prague organist-composer, Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský (1684-1742) who spent some years in Italy, where he was apparently favorably known as "il divino Boemo." However direct documentation is lacking regarding his work within Bohemia and with respect to his pupils. See Emil Trolda, "Bohuslav Černohorský," Cyril LX/1-2 (Prague, 1934) 1-6, and Zdeněk Culka, "Černohorský, Bohuslav Matěj," NG 4, 77). One of Černohorský's known pupils, Josef Seger (1716-1782), also an organist-composer in Prague, was a very influential teacher (Milan Poštolka, "Seger, Josef," NG 17, 104). With respect to each, no students other than Bohemian residents can be documented. (In the case of Černohorský, this includes Christoph Willibald Gluck, who at that time was resident in Bohemia.)

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of comparable Bohemian teaching institutions of music, such that drew students from abroad.[43] There were no continuous public opera theaters, nor was there a lively, continuous, connected musical life in courts and salons.[44]

Given the seeming lack of schools, teachers, and performing opportunities in comparison with Italy, we may wonder then how Bohemian musicians managed to be so successful. We may wonder how they learned their art and what factors existed in eighteenth-century Bohemia that contributed to the musical knowledge and artistry which became so prized and even influential, specifically in the development of the Classical style.

It is the basic thesis of this study that Bohemian musicians learned their art and their craft within Bohemia. Those who went abroad to study music, Josef Myslivečeк (1737-1781), Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729-1774) and Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745) among the most notable, such examples are few and scarcely account for the great number of proficient and creative Bohemian musicians employed in

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[43]That there were schools has been amply proven. But these schools were not exclusively or even partially schools of music and it is questionable whether these same schools were known throughout Europe, or even outside of Bohemia. A fuller discussion will be found in Chapter I.

[44]This is not to say that there were no opera performances, as will be seen in Chapter II. Nor is it to assert that some musical life and culture did not exist, simply that it was not as strong or as clearly interconnected as in Italy.

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above such as Johann Stamitz and the Benda family plus others come to mind: Johann Josef Reicha (1746-1795) at Bonn, František Antonín Rösler-Rosetti (c1746-1792) at the Oettingen-Wallerstein court, Josef Kohout (1736-1793) at Paris, Josef Antonín Štěpán (Steffan) (1726-1797) and Leopold Koželuch (1747-1818) at Vienna. All of these last-mentioned musicians were fully trained in Bohemia, and even those who travelled to Italy or Vienna for study went there as finished musicians, having received their basic music education in their native land. These observations undergird the thesis that musical training and the experience of music in Bohemia was such that it produced musicians of high calibre, conversant with current European trends.

A second thesis is that Bohemian musicians gained their knowledge from foreign models, primarily Italian and German, but not without the presence of local influence as well. Without intimate acquaintance with the various styles, Bohemian musicians could scarcely have won places in the varied court capellas. Without an advance intimate knowledge of Italian style, Mysliveček could not have won his reputation in Italy within the first year of his

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arrival.[45] Jan Zach could not have obtained a living in several German courts (despite what seem to have been personal problems) without solid grounding in the German style.[46]

Yet along with Italian and German music, there was an indigenous music, a Bohemian style, kept alive in popular traditions, both sacred and secular. Numerous eighteenth-century sacred works are based on or quote the Christmas folk tunes, "Narodil se Kristus pán," and "Veselé zpívejme."[47] The incorporation of these popular tunes into finished compositions indicates their familiarity to trained Bohemian composers, hence, a stylistic familiarity; and also the intrinsic and associative value of this style for Bohemian composers. Other style elements of rhythm, metric patterns, melodic patterns and pentatonicism, that can be traced back to at least the fourteenth century, can be shown at times to have been root material for Bohemian composers in the eighteenth century, particularly with

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[45]David Di Chiera reports that Mysliveček's first opera was performed with exceptional success in Parma in 1764, the year his arrival in Italy ("Mysliveček, Josef," NG 13, 7).

[46]Zach served as Kapellmeister at the court of the Prince-Elector of Mainz. He travelled to a number of courts, among them Koblenz, Cologne, Darmstadt, Dillingen, Würzburg, Oettingen-Wallerstein and Werhammer, as well as several German monasteries (Milan Poštolka, "Zach, Jan," NG 20, 612).

[47]Two composers who used these tunes within larger works are Bohemian composers who never left Bohemia: Šimon Brixi (1693-1735) and his son František Brixi (1732-1771).

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respect to instrumental music.[48]

Musicians learn from what they play and what they hear played by others. Bohemian musicians learned music as a functional art, and so the very presence of and familiarity with Italian, German and indigenous music, helped to form a lively, creative milieu, within which a mixing and synthesis was possible and perhaps inevitable for a creative musician.

It is a third thesis that economic, political, religious and social conditions combined to produce a great number of musically-trained people. Even more, that these same conditions contributed to the artistic diaspora of musicians steeped in all three traditions.

The Purpose and Scope of This Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the nature of musical culture in Bohemia during the eighteenth century, particularly with respect to the conditions that affected it as well as its connections with Italy, Germany and the musical repertory of Bohemia.

The time period has been chosen to emphasize the training and study periods just before the departure of several key Bohemian musicians: Zelenka and Černohorský

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[48]Komma offers a detailed analysis of these elements as they appear in folk songs and dances (Das böhmische Musikantentum, 18-54).

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(about 1700), as well as the peak of the musical emigration (increasing around 1740 and lasting beyond 1770).[49] Many changes were wrought in Bohemian musical culture by the dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773 and the reforms of Emperor Joseph II beginning in 1781. These changes were of such magnitude as to require an entirely separate study.[50]

One of the aims of this study is to demonstrate that Bohemian musicians received special training and practice in both the style and the repertory that was highly valued among the influential secular and religious patrons of music in the eighteenth century and that they received this training and practice within the geographical boundaries of Bohemia. Yet, in composition Bohemian training was not complete in every case. The limited contact of the church institutions with opera does not permit a full examination of the possibilities for Bohemian musicians' training in this courtly entertainment. On the basis of composers' biographies, it appears that additional training may have

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[49]By 1710, Jan Dismas Zelenka was engaged at Dresden. Mauritius Vogt (1669-1730) was visiting Italy and Germany, and Bohuslav Černohorský was spending time in Italy. Tomislav Volek testifies that the emigration increased beginning in the 1740s ("stupnované od čtřicátých let," "K problému české hudební emigrace v 18. století," MM VI [1958] 112).

[50]"Joseph put into effect many laws and decrees . . . measure that, though for the most part short-lived, produced some changes in ritual, including music, that are felt in Austria today." Reinhard G. Pauly, "The Reforms of Church Music Under Joseph II," The Musical Quarterly XLIII/3 (1957), 372.

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been required for full fruition as a composer in the European musical scene--training that required travel outside of Bohemia.

A complete study of Bohemia's musical culture would require an investigation of all the various social institutions where music functioned in order to discover what music was actually performed. In the case of Bohemia, music served four types of social institutions: the church, the schools, the courts of the nobility, and the general public.[51] Of these four, the first three played the largest role in Bohemia[52]

Although a complete study of all these social institutions which supported music would be of inestimable value, this study will concentrate on the church, with a consideration of its relationship to the other institutions. Studies of music in the courts, the schools and the world of the general public are possible avenues for future research, and some have already been undertaken by Czech musicologists.[53]

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[51]Jaroslav Bužga outlines the various functions of music in "Musiker und musikalische Institutionen im Zeitalter des Barocks in den böhmischen Ländern," Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Osteuropas, Elmar Arro, ed. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977) 334-68.

[52]Tomislav Volek, "Czech Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis I (Bydgoszcz, 1966) 81.

[53]Chapter II will contain full references to these studies.

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The importance of the church as a musical center and training institution for Bohemian musicians needs to be demonstrated. Then the cultivation of music within the church institutions will be related to the major musical centers of the eighteenth century: Italy, Austria (particularly the Imperial Court), and to the various courts of the secular and religious nobility. At the same time, the connection with Bohemian popular culture and with general local customs and usage will be considered.

The study will demonstrate that in one social institution, Bohemia functioned as a continuing repository of foreign music from several centers whose relative contribution changed in size and significance during the eighteenth century. Further, the study will explore the contribution of indigenous Bohemian composers to the local repertories, demonstrating the links to Prague and, in the case of the countryside, to local musicians as well. Finally, based on the evidence shown by existing repertories, the study will make a case for treating the country of Bohemia as a large school of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music study and performance, far larger and more complex than that testified to by Charles Burney when he visited in 1772, by Johann Friedrich Reichardt

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shortly thereafter, and by others.[54]

The Method of This Study

The foundation for this study is in the inventories of music that was actually played in Bohemia during the time period from about 1700 to 1775. It was decided not to rely fully on the evidence of the preserved manuscript collections for examining the musical repertory of any single institution. The principal difficulty with all of the collections is their fragmentary nature and their complex history, generally one of mixed provenience.[55] Instead, the study centers on preserved inventories or catalogues of music, using collections for corroboration or verification.

Among the church-based institutions from which music inventories or catalogues are available, one institution stands outwith respect to source material; this institution is the Cistercian monastery at Osek, located in Northwest Bohemia (see Map 2). Two complete inventories, 1706 and 1720 with dated additions, plus a thematic catalogue of 1753/54 with dated additions, offer a panorama of Osek's

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[54] Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe II, 131-36; Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: 1774, 1776), II, 111, 123-33.

[55] A discussion and brief list of the major collections will be found in Chapter II.

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repertory from before 1706 until after 1775.[56] The inventory of the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, dating from 1737 with some documented additions to 1759 was selected for comparison for several reasons. First, the Knights were situated in an entirely different region and social setting from that of Osek, providing a balance to the overall picture. Second, the Knights were in the center of Prague, the capital city and a center of culture. Third, the Knights' inventory is the largest known inventory of music from eighteenth-century Bohemia; and finally, the Knights' church of St. Francis Serafin was famous for the level and quality of its music.[57]

It was essential to examine the musical repertories of each institution for the musical genres represented as well as the composers that appeared. One of the drawbacks encountered was the lack of the music itself and the consequent need to rely solely on written inventory descriptions, which varied in quantity and quality of information. The names of composers provided more concrete evidence with respect to the direction and flow of musical styles and to the proportion of representation among the

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[56]A list of inventories and pertinent information about each will be given in Chapter II. Information about those of Osek in particular, will be given in Chapter III.

[57]An initial study was made of the Knights of the Cross inventory by Jiří Fukač in 1959. Fuller information will be given about the inventory of the Knights of the Cross in Chapter IV.

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various sources: Italy, Vienna, Germany, Bohemian crown lands (in the larger sense) or the local area. Printed editions also provided clues to the nature of the musical contents, as well as to the sources of supply.

In addition to considering the contents of each inventory on its own merits, the underlying purpose was to evaluate these contents with respect to the European musical scene in order to determine whether Bohemian musicians acquainted with this repertory would be abreast of current developments. In other words, how much congruence did each inventory have with current trends, particularly with respect to composers?

Another task was to relate the individual inventories to the total picture within Bohemian crown lands. Insofar as it was possible to determine, were these inventories unique, or were they similar to others in Bohemia or Moravia?

A fourth task was to compare the contents of the inventories with those of contemporary European courts for common features, and especially common composers. The assumption was that if Bohemian musicians were valuable assets in European courts, they would already have been cognizant of some of the current musical material.

Finally, with respect to the Osek inventories, there was an opportunity for noting changes in repertory over a period of time--changes that might well reflect cultural developments in either Europe or in Bohemian crown lands.

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A secondary study opportunity was afforded with respect to instruments at Osek. The changes in the contents of Osek's collection from 1706 to 1802 offered additional evidence about the practice of music in Bohemia at different times.

The music repertories of two German courts were selected for comparison and reference. The principal one was that of Count Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn (1677-1754).[58] Count Rudolf, his uncle and his six brothers all maintained magnificent courts and were exceptional patrons of music. In addition, Count Rudolph visited Prague over extended periods of time.[59] His music collection consists of 149 printed works which date from 1676 to 1738 and 500 manuscript copies which date from about 1694 to 1745.[60] The period covered by Schönborn's collection parallels that of Osek and the early collecting period of the Knights of the Cross. Also, part of the collection consisted of church music.

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[58]Die Musikalien der Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, Thematisch-bibliographischer Katalog, ed. by Fritz Zobeley. Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte (Tutzing: Hans Schneider) Theil I, Das Repertoire des Grafen Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn, Band 1: Drucke aus den Jahren 1676 bis 1738 (1967); Band 2: Handschriften (1982).

[59]The Schönborn palace occupies a prominent place just below the Prague castle. Today it houses the United States Embassy.

[60]Zobeley, Die Musikalien, I and II.

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The second German court collection for comparison was planned to be that of the Oettingen-Wallerstein family which employed many Bohemians.[61] The musicians might be expected to have come to the court prepared to perform the court and chapel repertory. Unfortunately, the court collection dates from about the mid-eighteenth century, and its contents in the main are of a later date than those of Osek and the Knights of the Cross. However, along with it are several inventories that are partially useful for the purpose of this investigation because of the number of congruencies.[62] One is a list of printed music from the choir of the Wallerstein Pfarrkirche dated 1745, another is a thematic catalog of music from the Wallerstein Chorregent Franz Ignaz Schreiber, dated 1765, and in addition, an estate inventory of a court musician, Franz Xaver Fürall (d. 1780).[63]

The Organization of this Study

An overview of the larger sociological and musical

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[61]Murray, "Introduction,"xii; also "The Czech Population."

[62]Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften der Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'schen Bibliothek Schloss Harburg, comp. by Gertraut Haberkamp, Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen (Munich: G. Henle, 1976).

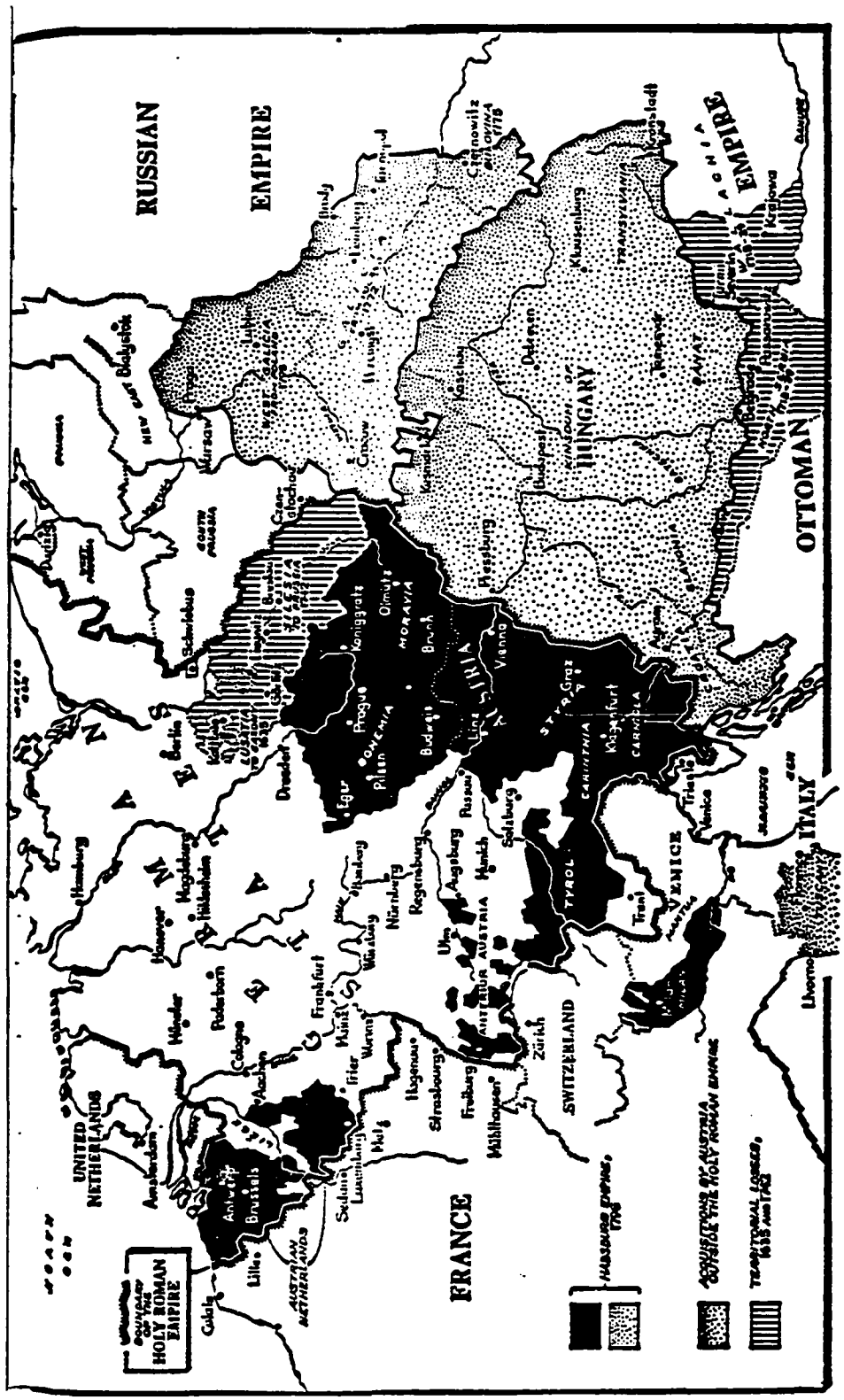
[63]These are presented in the prefatory material to the Thematischer Katalog Oettingen-Wallerstein'schen Bibliothek, "Geschichte des Musikalienbestandes," by Volker von Volckamer, ix-xxv.

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contexts will be given in Chapter I. An overview of the available sources, as well as a summary of previous and current research, particularly in Czechoslovakia, forms the basis of Chapter II. Chapter III presents material concerning the Cistercian Monastery of Osek and a description and analysis of its two inventories and thematic catalogue. The Knights of the Cross and its inventory form the subject matter of Chapter IV. The conclusions of this study are in Chapter V. A complete listing of the contents of the principal inventories and catalogs, including corrections to previous published reports and a summary list of printed works will be found in the appendices, together with annotated lists of other Bohemian inventories and collections. A bilingual Czech-German dictionary of Bohemian place names used in the course of the discussion forms the last appendix.

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Map 1.--The Bohemian Crown Lands Within Eighteenth-Century Europe



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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT

In eighteenth-century Bohemia, as in any society, music was written, practiced, performed and taught contextually. "Contextually," simply refers to the entire context of human life that was shaped by a number of forces, political, religious, social, economic and cultural. In Bohemia, abrupt and radical changes in the first two of these forces in the seventeenth century had a profound effect on all the others. These changes, effects and continuous interactions among all of the factors had a direct bearing on the development of music and of musicians not only in that century, but through the eighteenth century as well. An understanding of the forces that shaped Bohemian musical culture is necessary in order to assess the uniqueness of the Bohemian musical experience. Without such understanding, it is difficult to fully comprehend how the cultivation of music came to be a preeminent part of life in Bohemia, how and why so many fine musicians developed in one geographical area within a seemingly short historical span, and why they emigrated from that area in large numbers at a particular point in time. But more immediate to the purpose of this study, an

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understanding of the sociological context with respect to politics, economics, religion, society and education contributes toward a fuller understanding of Bohemian musical culture in the eighteenth century.

As stated above, the political and religious forces were primary factors in effecting a change analogous to that of a revolution in Bohemian crown lands. The consequences were similar to that of revolutionary reform, generating the economic, social and educational changes--all of which interacted to produce a unique musical culture. Each of these factors will be examined, with an attempt to relate their movements and conequences to the development of music and musicians in Bohemia, bearing in mind that some factors had more direct influence than others.

Politics

Political events of the seventeenth century, particularly the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) radically changed the political map, religious affiliations, economic conditions, and the social situation in Europe.[1] The

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[1]George Clark gives a good short short summary (The Seventeenth Century, 2nd ed. (London: Clarendon, 1947) reprinted ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961, 1970) 159-62). Hajo Holborn offers a fuller discussion with particular emphasis on Germany and the Austrian Empire (A History of Modern Germany 1648-1840 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), Chapters 1,2,3,4 and 6). See also Geoffrey Parker, The Thirty Years' War, rev. ed. (New York: Military Heritage Press, 1988).

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results in the Bohemian crown lands (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia) were particularly unfortunate for the inhabitants, to such an extent that the next 150 years are referred to in Czech history and culture as doba temna, "age of darkness."[2] The impact of political change affected all areas of human life.

1620 is a year in Czech history comparable to 1066 in England,[3] or the time of the Spanish conquest in Latin America. It was in that year, as a result of the defeat of the Bohemian nobility by the Habsburg army at the Battle of the White Mountain (Czech: Bílá Hora), that Bohemia lost its political independence.[4] The victor, Ferdinand II (1618-1637),[5] Holy Roman Emperor as well as King of Austria and its possessions, set aside the Bohemian constitution and made the throne a hereditary possession of the

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[2]Josef Kočí, "České země po třicetileté válce (1648-1680)," Československá vlastivěda, Díl II, Dějiny svazek 1 (Prague: Orbis, 1963) 456. Some writers simply use the word temno (darkness).

[3]To my knowledge, John Tyrrell first used this helpful comparison (Czech Opera, 1).

[4]The date marks such an abrupt and deep-seated change that historical research in every discipline has adopted without exception a "pre-Bílá Hora" and "post-Bílá Hora" division.

[5]It will be the practice in this study to refer to rulers by the dates of their reign rather than their biographical dates.

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Habsburgs, i.e., an integral part of the Austrian Empire.[6] Although the Habsburgs continued to enact the ceremony of Bohemian coronation through that of Maria Theresa in 1743, its significance was only for ceremonial display of Habsburg power.[7]

Bohemian affairs were part of a larger European scene of religious warfare and of military invasions to further political ambition. The Battle of White Mountain was the beginning of the Thirty Years' War upheaval, which would see the Bohemian crown lands invaded first by the Saxon army (which for a time occupied Prague, the capital city), followed by the Swedish army. The Peace of Westphalia, which was concluded in 1648, began what was to be a two-year process of withdrawal of Swedish troops from the war-torn, economically devastated Bohemian lands. Meanwhile, Ferdinand II had set about securing absolute

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[6]Several good texts cover the mass of material on the political and social aspects of the Habsburg victory in Bohemia. Particularly helpful is Robert A. Kann, A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918, 2nd printing with corrections (Berkeley: University of California, 1977); also Francis Dvornik, The Slavs in European History and Civilization (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University, 1962); and Robert Joseph Kerner, Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century (1932; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1969). Earlier texts which still have value are: Ernest Denis, La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanche, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1903); Anton Gindely, Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen (Leipzig: Duncker und Humbolt, 1894); and Tomáš V. Bílek, Dějiny konfiskací v Čechách po r. 1618 (Prague: František Řivnáč, 1882).

[7]Musically, however, the significance of these occasions was very great, providing opportunities to hear and perform new music of high quality (see Chapter II).

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power in his domain. His policies were continued by his successors, Ferdinand III (1637-1657), Leopold I (1656-1705),[8] Joseph I (1705-1711), Charles VI (1711-1740), and Maria Theresa (1740-1780), changing only under Joseph II (co-regent 1765; 1780-1790).

As religion was fundamentally inseparable from politics during this time, the Habsburg victory dictated a religious change with far-reaching internal political consequences.[9] The Habsburg dynasty, noted for its strong Roman Catholic piety and equally strong implacability toward Protestantism, now imposed their belief on Bohemia, a largely Protestant country. The measures were harsh.[10] Forty-five Protestant members of the Bohemian Estates were executed in 1621, and a Renewed Land Ordinance (1627) proclaimed the Catholic religion as the only one to be tolerated in Bohemia. This drastic law, maintained by extreme penalties of torture and executions, remained in effect until the Toleration Patent of 1781.

The Ordinance caused a mass emigration of nobility and burghers who refused to convert to Catholicism. Their lands were confiscated by the Habsburg crown, which badly

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[8]Leopold became King of Bohemia in 1656 and succeeded his father as emperor in 1658.

[9]Other aspects of religion will be more fully discussed in a separate section.

[10]By and large, the forcible measures were considered legitimate even in the thinking of the Protestant princes.

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needed assets to pay its war bills. The properties which were not kept by the new monarchs were either given or sold cheaply to Habsburg loyalists and mercenaries, leaving Bohemia largely in the hands of an alien nobility,[11] and without a substantial middle class. The population exodus in Bohemia is estimated by one scholar to have lowered the number of inhabitants from 1,700,000 to 930,000 and in Moravia from 800,000 to 600,000.[12] Dvornik says that "over 550 of [the towns] had disappeared, and the once flourishing cities were depopulated and their houses in ruins."[13] According to Bílek, out of a total of 926 estates, 491 were totally confiscated, portions of 253 were seized, and only 182 remained entirely within the hands of their owners.[14]

As a further result of the Renewed Land Ordinance, the seat of government was moved from Prague to Vienna,

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[11]Denis, Bohéme I, 107-10; Kočí, "České země," 436-40. Among the new nobility were Wallis (England), MacNeven and O'Kelley (Ireland), Buquoy (France), Trautmannsdorf (Austria), Sternegg (Styria), Piccolomini and Colloredo (Italy), Clary de Riva (Spain), Sporck (Netherland), Fürstenberg, Schwarzenberg, and Götz (Germany).

[12]Kočí, "České země," 457. Other estimates go as high as a two-thirds emigration.

[13]The Slavs, 456.

[14]Dějiny konfiskací, cxlvii. Kann estimates that "possibly as many as 40,000 families, including many of the high nobility and substantial strata of the well-educated burghers in the towns" were forced to emigrate (A History, 113).

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thus effectively removing from the country all significant legislative power as well as the daily presence and activity of the highest ruling circles. Meetings of the Diet brought political (hence social and cultural) leaders only sporadically to the capital cities. The only continuing "ruling" presence was that of the Archbishop of Prague and corresponding bishops in Olomouc (Moravia) and Breslau (Silesia). This "ruling" presence corresponded to the newly-elevated role of the Roman Catholic church, which, under the Habsburg Renewed Land Ordinance, became not only one of the Estates, but the highest of them, having precedence over the others.[15] The four Estates were, in order of rank: clergy, nobility, knights, townspeople (with the right of freemen). A fifth, totally disenfranchised Estate, consisted of peasants, rural artisans and other country people, who did not hold the Inkolat or right of citizenship, and who did not own registered land (land inscribed in the Landtafel, or tax register).[16]

Another consequence of the political disruption was a decline of urban centers. Although a number of towns in Bohemia had held royal privileges which carried with them a measure of self-government, these were now in abeyance.

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[15]Wright, Serf, Seigneur, 13; Kann, A History, 127, 129-31.

[16]Kerner, Bohemia, 19-22.

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The lack of local power combined with the decline in the burgher population seriously weakened town life for more than a century.[17]

Politically speaking, in 1620 Bohemia became a province, with all that the term "provincial" connotes economically, socially and culturally. Its leading citizens, the upper Estates, spent the greater part of their time elsewhere, either on family domains in foreign lands or in Vienna, the Habsburg capital. The leaders of the ecclesiastical Estate, all of whom were from the noble class,[18] led similar lives, also centered around Vienna, for the Habsburgs, despite their fervent Catholic faith, reserved to themselves matters concerning church governance within their lands.[19]

After 1620, Austria's political affairs directly contributed to the factors that shaped Bohemian life and culture. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, it was the threat of the Turkish invasion, which brought

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[17]Wright, Serf, Seigneur, 30; Kočí, "České země," 462.

[18]The archbishops of Prague in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were from the highest noble families: Harrach, Kolovrat, Waldstein, Khuenberg, Manderscheid, et al. (Anton Frind, Die Geschichte der Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Prag [Prague: printed by the author, 1873]). The bishops of Olomouc and the heads of the wealthier monasteries were generally from among the same circle of families.

[19]Kann, A History," 133-34; also see Dvornik, The Slavs, 452.

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the Ottoman army almost to the walls of Vienna. The decisive victory for the Habsburgs was in 1683, finally confirmed by the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699. Other wars followed throughout the eighteenth century: the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14) which resulted in Austria's loss of the Kingdom of Naples; the War of the Polish Succession (1733-35). The most immediate for Bohemia was the War of the Austrian Succession (1741-48) and the Silesian Wars (1740-42, 1744-45) in which Bohemia was again invaded by foreign troops, Bavarian, French and Prussian, and in which Silesia was lost to Prussia. Finally, there was the Seven Years' War (or Third Silesian War, 1756-63) which brought yet another Prussian invasian.

The political scene affected the arts by removing former patrons and creating new ones, and concomitantly with them the social occasions, the cultural values, and the opportunities and vehicles for artistic expression. The political events interacted with the economic factors as well (see below). It is noteworthy that the periods of peace coincided exactly with lavish expenditure in the arts, including music: 1680-1700, about 1720 to 1740, and to a lesser degree after 1760.[20] However, in each

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[20]Although there are exceptions, these periods can be marked by architectural achievements. The first palaces of note to be built after the Thirty Years' War were those of Prince Lobkowitz at Roudnice (Raudnitz, 1652-97) and Count Czernin in Prague (1668-77). At Kroměříž in Moravia, the Archbishop's palace was built in 1679. The French

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of these periods objectives and taste differed. In music, this is seen clearly in the music inventories.

Economy

The changing economic situation in Bohemia, due in large part to decisions made by the Habsburg Court and the new Bohemian Diet, played a part in determining who made music, how they made it and why. The immediate impact of absolute Habsburg sovereignty, was the right of direct taxation. Wars, especially extended ones, are expensive. The Habsburgs found an ideal war treasury in the Bohemian crown lands, in a subjugated people who were forced to provide an exorbitant share of Imperial revenues.[21]

In essence, the sum of the taxes of Bohemia requested by the Imperial Crown, was levied on the land of Bohemia, that is, the various estates, parcels and towns. The owners of those lands, at least two-thirds of them new owners and "absentee landlords" simply passed the costs on to the inhabitants of those lands, to be collected by their

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architect, Jean Baptist Mathey was active in the building of churches and palaces in and around Prague, 1679-94 (Eberhard Hempel, Baroque Art and Architecture in Central Europe, The Pelican History of Art, Nikolaus Pevsner, ed. [Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965], 64-67).

[21]"Down to 1748, Bohemia alone was paying 32.6 per cent of the total tax quota of all the Bohemian and Austrian Lands. . . . It is an undoubted fact that Bohemia, in spite of the neglect and shabby treatment it received during this period, was the richest and most steady source of revenue which the Habsburgs had in the first century after the Thirty Years' War" (Kerner, Bohemia, 26).

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local salaried supervisor-manager (Czech: hejtman; German: Hauptmann).[22]

As a feudal system of sorts had been kept in place throughout all the turmoil, the vast majority of the inhabitants who had not been uprooted, killed or had not emigrated were technically serfs, bound to the land.[23] It was their toil and their products that paid the exorbitant taxes of the Habsburgs, and provided as well for the needs of the landowners.[24]

It must be said that landowners included not only the nobility and "landed gentry," but also the churches, cathedrals and monasteries. Soon after 1620, Ferdinand II had bestowed land on the various orders to ensure their continued survival and support. Wealthy landowners

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[22]"Each estate's share of the tax burden . . . that the estate must contribute toward the toal sum granted to the king . . . was parceled out to the individual taxable serf by the lord" (Wright, Serf, Seigneur, 14).

[23]Wright offers the clearest explanation of the status of the serf in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, as well as illuminating the subject with respect to Germany and Austria (Serf, Seigneur, 15-21).

[24]In a document (1652, in Czech) reprinted by Vincent Paulus, the various obligations of the market towns and villages located near Chrudim were assessed. The various parcels of land, in the area of Central Bohemia where Johann Stamitz was born, belonged to the Schwanberg (Czech: Švamberk) family. Not only the amount of produce and a sum of money was assessed for each village, town and parcel, but also the number of days' work on the landlord's own fields and orchards, as well as food and labor for the local churches was enumerated ("Dějiny města Chrasti," Z pamětí města Chrasti v Chrudimsku [Chrudim: Pospíšil, 1894] 72ff). There is no evidence that such practice was altered before 1775.

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followed suit, granting legacies of land in return for perpetual Masses on behalf of the souls of the dead. By 1714, one-sixteenth of the land of Bohemia was in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church.[25]

Because the wealth of the landowners depended on the work of the agricultural laborers, those same landowners, both secular and ecclesiastical nobility, required a steady supply of cheap labor. However, emigration and wartime conditions in the seventeenth century had resulted in a labor drain. Some scholars have seen in this combination of forces the basis for the severe legal restrictions on the serf population and for the increasingly heavy work requirements (called robota in Czech).[26]

> Whatever he was called, the serf was bound to the land. Only with the lord's permission -- seldom granted -- could a serf transfer his domicile. The serf had to have the lord's permission to marry, to learn a trade, to sell in the open market, or to travel outside the confines of the lord's jurisdiction. For permission to do any of these the serf had to pay a fee or fees. The serf's children had to perform Waisendienst, that is, service in the lord's household, usually between the ages of about fourteen and eighteen.[27]

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[25]"The church was perhaps more visible in the countryside as landowner and tithe-gatherer than as a dispenser of spiritual comfort" (William J. Callahan and David Higgs, "Introduction," Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979] 5).

[26]Kann, A History, 119-21; Kerner, Bohemia, 25-27, 39; Wright, Serf, Seigneur, 12-15.

[27]Wright, Serf, Seigneur, 17.

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Such testimony affirms the incredible difficulties of life for the majority of the population in Bohemia, beginning in the seventeenth century and continuing into the eighteenth century.[28] In the eighteenth century, the drop in population was reversed, but this did not alleviate conditions for the serfs. There was simply not enough food or access to land which produced food. Too much land had been steadily appropriated over a century by aristocratic and ecclesiastical landlords; what was left to peasant cultivation for individual and family needs simply did not suffice.[29] An Imperial investigation, launched in 1768, found the worst conditions on the estate of Count Mansfeld: conditions which prefigured the "company store" of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century industrial and mining towns:[30]

> Serfs were forced to buy both goods and services from the lord and his overseers at inflated prices.

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[28]"Presently, Czech historians unanimously agree that most of the Bohemian peasants were serfs before 1781" (George J. Svoboda, "Recent Trends in Historical Research on Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Bohemia," Journal of East Central Europe VII/1 [1980] 94).

[29]The population increase began about 1750, having the strongest negative effect on the tenant farmers and day laborers and anyone living by manual work (B.H. Slicher van Bath, "Social Stratification, Prices and Population," The Economic Organization of Early Modern Europe, ed. by E.E. Rich and C.H. Wilson, as Vol. V of Cambridge Economic History of Europe [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977] 113-33).

[30]Kamil Krofta, Dějiny selského stavu, 2nd rev. ed. (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1949) 314-15; summarized by Wright (Serf, Seigneur, 42).

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> The lord held a prior right to buy the serf's land at depressed prices. Serfs were subjected to sharp dealings in the purchase of their fire and building wood. Damages done to the serfs' crops by the lord's game went uncompensated, pasture rights were refused. . . Serfs had to submit to forced, disadvantageous land exchanges, or even to outright confiscations of land. They had to perform robota not only in the fields, but also in the mines and foundries of the estate. . . . Inhuman punishment was dealt the serf who offered the least complaint or provocation.

Economically, the serf was in an unenviable position. Music was a means of improving his or her lot--at least for some. Artisans and tradespeople, who were not necessarily bound to the land, also were the lord's tax-paying subjects (Czech: poddany; German: Untertanen) and as such were also required to obtain permission for education, training and movement. For these as well, music was a key element in furthering economic and social ambition.

An example of the nature of the system is offered by the letter of petition from cantor Antonín Svoboda of Sobotka (North Bohemia) to the ruling lord of the manor, Count Franz Josef Czernin, requesting that the cantor's twelve-year old son (also Antonín), be given permission to attend the Jesuit college at Jičín. The letter, dated May 11, 1722, states that the son has already passed the entrance examination.[31] Cantor Svoboda was a freeman and a landholder, nevertheless, as one of the

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[31]Eva Mikanová, "Literátské bratrstvo v Sobotce (hudební život v Sobotce v 17. a 18. století)," Sborník Sobotka (Sobotka: Osvětová beseda v Sobotce, 1968) 21.

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Count's subjects, he was required to ask for permission. The son apparently received it. Later, it appears that this same Antonín Svoboda (Swoboda) became a Jesuit priest and earned a reputation as a composer.[32]

One more point relating to economics needs to be made: the income of the nobility (and hence the amount thatcould be spent on music) was directly related to the taxation policies of the Habsburgs and to the fortunes of the Empire in war. Estates held in the Bohemian crown lands produced a handsome income which, however, was severely reduced by taxation.[33] The costly and disastrous wars entered into by Charles VI brought the fortunes of a number of Bohemian nobility almost to the brink of ruin. By 1725, many of them began to devote less time to the Imperial Court in Vienna and more time on their estates in

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[32]This is probably the same Antonín Svoboda whose music appears in Osek's inventories of 1720 and 1753-54 (see Appendices D and E).

[33]"The family of Lichtenstein [sic] may be esteemed one of the wealthiest in Vienna. Prince Francis, who is the head of that house, possesses, I am assured, an annual income of at least seventy thousand pounds sterling. It is nevertheless thought that Prince Esterhazi [sic], with a receipt of only fifty thousand pounds a-year, is a richer man. The reason is, that the Lichtenstein estates lie principally in Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, where the taxes are very heavy and oppressive;. . ." (N.W. Wraxall, Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna in the years 1777, 1778, and 1779, 2 vols. [London, 1799] II, 254-55).

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Bohemia, caring for their own economic interests.[34] After this time, as a direct result of the War of Succession and the Silesian Wars, the ancient river trade routes from Bohemia into German lands and thus to the sea were closed. The merchant economy, never very strong, began to stagnate.[35] "Heretofore Bohemia had been on the highway of commerce and trade, thereafter it was farthest from the port of export. Economic depression . . . was Bohemia's lot in the second half of the Eighteenth Century."[36]

This curtailment of income, combined with other social and cultural factors, led to measures, which, in effect, made the whole country into a "conservatory of Europe."[37]

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[34]J. F. N. Bradley, Czechoslovakia, A Short History (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971) 103.

[35]The "downfall of commerce in Bohemia" began with the loss of Silesia to Prussia in 1740, and included other economic measures. "In short, the second half of the Eighteenth Century brought with it an economic revolution" (Kerner, Bohemia, 202-03).

[36]Kerner, Bohemia, 30-31.

[37]In addition to the Imperial Court and the courts of its nobility, "Ja fast alle Höfe Europens wurden mit böhmischen berühmten Tonkünstlern versehen, woraus wieder diess erfolgte, dass man allgemein das Böhmen für eine wahre Schule der Tonkunst hielt" (Gottfried Johann Dlabacž, "Abhandlung von den Schicksalen der Künste in Böhmen," Neuere Abhandlungen der Königlichen Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, III (Prague, 1797), reprinted as part of Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon, 3 vols., by Dlabacž [Prague, 1815], reprinted ed. [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973] I, 17).

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Religion

As stated above, the Bohemian crown lands were declared to be exclusively Roman Catholic from 1620 until 1781. In a land that had been predominantly Protestant, this meant a total change, not only in the liturgy performed in the churches, not only in the matter of education, which became focused (some would say narrowed) on matters concerning the purity of the faith and the preservation of church dogma, but a change that pervaded every aspect of life.[38] The full strength of the Counter-

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[38]It is doubtful that an objective history has been written of the period from 1620 to 1775. The non-Catholic writers accent the negative aspects (Robert J. Kerner, Robert Kann, for the American scholars; Vladimír Helfert, Otakar Kamper, Tomislav Volek for the Czech scholars). The Marxist scholars have an opinion that is in line with the Protestants, but which has another dogma to endorse. These scholars include most of the modern Czech musicologists, including Zdeněk Nejedlý (after 1948) and Jan Racek. Marxist bias underlies all of the works of postwar collective scholarship, but does not necessarily negate the scholarship. However, it is necessary to read these works with a knowledge of the prevailing assumptions. The collective efforts include: Musica Antiqua Bohemica, Musica Viva Historica, Hudba v českých dějinách, and the four volumes of Dějiny českého divadla, as well as the volumes of Československá vlastivěda and the post World-War II music journals Hudební věda, Hudební rozhledy, Hudební nástroje (all from Prague), Opus musicum (from Brno) and the university and museum journals, Časopis Moravského Muzea, Sborník Národního Musea v Praze, including the various Czechoslovak musicological conference reports. The introductory essays in the series Catalogus Artis Musicae in Bohemia et Moravia Cultae (Prague: Supraphon, 1963-) are fairly evenhanded, but careful not to express opinions that might be construed as politically sensitive. A moderate viewpoint is that of Jiří Sehnal, himself a Catholic, especially as expressed in "Pobělohorská doba (1620-1740)," Hudba v českých dějinách, ed. by Jaromír Černý, et al. (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983) 145-209.

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Reformation was brought to bear on the Bohemian crown lands, in order to convert the rebel populace, who, in the eyes of the Habsburgs, were seen to be traitors in both the secular and religious senses. Those who were so inclined and were able, fled; some were executed. The remainder were required to profess a different faith and to perform the duties required of that faith.[39]

The Jesuit Society was placed in charge of converting, teaching and maintaining the piety of the population. Religious duties began with official enforced insistence on attendance at Mass and at other devotional observances which proliferated in number.

> . . . emphasis was placed on gesture and ritual in order to impress and convince simple souls as well as to transmit essential truths. . . . The accent was placed on the cult of the saints and hyperdulia. Jesuits and Capuchins favoured the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, confraternities, processions, general communions and a eucharistic piety to which the Habsburgs were attached by family tradition.[40]

A way of life developed in which the Church

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[39]The historical record is mixed. It seems that some Protestants remained because they were given the protection of sympathetic lords or because appeals were made on their behalf by Saxony or Prussia, the most successful being in 1735 (Robert J. Kerner, Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century [New York: Macmillan, 1932] 309-13). It has been surmised that the departure of the Benda family to Prussia in 1742 was due at least in part to a fresh round of persecution (John C. Drake, "Benda, (1) Jan Jiří," NG 2, 462).

[40]Jean Bérenger, "The Austrian Church," Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century, ed. by William J. Callahan and David Higgs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 100-01.

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continually impinged through liturgy and cult -- always with the medium of music. The Jesuit order early in its Counter-Reformation effort recognized the Bohemian love of music and the tradition of congregational singing that had been fostered in Protestant Bohemia. In accordance with its missionary goals, the order quickly emphasized music in its teaching and devotional practices.[41]

The Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, had become widely influential in Europe among all levels of society through their graded system of schools with free tuition for all qualified boys.[42] Their German College in Rome, established specifically to educate the upper classes of the German-speaking Europeans, proved to have a long-lasting effect on the musical culture of Europe through its influence on

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[41]The Jesuits incorporated music into its Bohemian schools at an early date. Vladimír Helfert described some of Jesuit practice in Jiří Benda, Příspěvek k Problému České hudební emigrace I (Brno: Filosofická fakulta, 1929) 73-76. For an overview of Jesuit history and practice with respect to music and the arts, see Heinrich Hüschen, "Jesuiten," MGG 7, 17-41. A more general but nevertheless useful overview is given in J.R. Broderick's article "Jesuits" (New Catholic Encyclopedia [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967] VII, 899-909).

[42]"Students were drawn from all classes, from royalty to the sons of the poor. Tuition was not charged" (J.R. Broderick, "Jesuits," 900). In the words of Ignatius Loyola, "the classes are open to all, free of charge, with no remuneration either direct or indirect. No distinction is made between rich and poor scholars, account being taken only of their willingness to advance in learning and piety . . ." Quoted by Allan P. Farrell in The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938) 137.

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musicians and aristocratic patrons.[43] Its graduates, even as early as 1579, were desired as directors of music, and the College was called upon during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to train musicians who were already in the service of nobles and prelates.[44]

In Bohemia, where they were given free rein and ample funds to become firmly established, the Jesuits founded, strengthened, or rebuilt at least thirty boarding-type schools or "colleges" (Czech: kolej), fifteen gymnasia, thirteen seminaries, twenty-eight smaller residences, and three academies for the nobility, not to mention some smaller schools. They controlled the Charles University in Prague, and the universities in Olomouc and Breslau; the former Protestant seminary of St. Wenceslas in Prague was given to them and they built a Jesuit training school in Prague as well. Every school, college, residence and university had its own church where music, imitating the practice of the German College, was highly emphasized.[45]

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[43]Thomas D. Culley has published a detailed study of the early history of the German College, Jesuits and Music: Vol. I, A Study of the Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe (St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1970).

[44]Culley, Jesuits and Music, 89, 222.

[45]General statistics for the Jesuits and all orders are given in Ottův Slovník Naučný, Vol VI, "Církevní dějiny," 269-70. More detailed descriptions with some corrections to the former tabulations are given by Josef Svátek in Organizace řeholních institucí v českých zemích a péče o jejich archivy, which was published as a special

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A second monastic order that became influential through its primary and secondary schools was the Piarist Order, which entered Bohemia after 1620. Piarists opened more than thirty-one colleges and residences, as well as upper and lower levels of gymnasia, and were the founders of technical training schools (Czech: reální gymnasium or reálka) in Bohemia.[46] Piarists, following the lead of the Jesuits, also cultivated music in their schools and churches, to an equal if not greater extent. They never had the powerful position and public prestige of the Jesuits, instead they concentrated on the smaller towns and, in general, their students were among the poorer classes[47] (see below).

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supplement to Sborník archivních prací XX/2 (Prague, 1970). This book contains invaluable information on the history of each order in Bohemia, on their internal organization and practice, the founding dates of each of their institutions, the location and description of the archival material for each and a concise bibliography. Material on the Jesuits is found on pages 565-72. For the work of the Jesuit colleges in Prague and Olomouc see Jaroslav Bužga, "Prag," MGG X, 1578, and "Olmütz," MGG IX, 1929. The clearest explanation of the distinctions between the various types of schools, colleges and seminaries in the Jesuit system is given by Philippe Ariès in Centuries of Childhood, a Social History of Family Life, transl. by Robert Baldick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962) 208ff. Robert A. Kann also offers explanation and commentary (A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918 [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974] 136-38).

[46]Svátek, Organizace, 572. The most important Piarist colleges were at Prague, Litomyšl, Kroměříž and Mikulov. See also Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 167-68, which includes material on Jesuit colleges as well.

[47]Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 157; Jaroslav Bužga, "Musiker und musikalische Institutionen im Zeitalter

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Other orders cultivated music in their liturgies to a high degree; these included the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Benedictines and Minorites, all of which had immense wealth at their disposal from the middle of the seventeenth century through the eighteenth centuries.[48] Individual monastic houses, such as the Knights of the Cross in Prague became famous for their musical liturgies and oratorio productions.[49]

The work of the Counter-Reformation in Bohemia was thorough, affecting all aspects of daily life. The basic aim was the deepening of popular piety, a piety which was cultivated and expressed in many forms. Primary was attendance at Mass, which the Habsburgs and the Court carried out daily,[50] and which the Jesuits insisted should

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Barocks in den böhmischen Ländern," Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Osteuropas, ed. by Elmar Arro (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977) 351-55.

[48]Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 158. It was precisely the immense wealth of the religious orders and the financial needs of the Austrian Empire, which, in combination with Enlightenment views about the Church, caused Emperor Joseph II to suppress many of the orders in 1782 and to confiscate their holdings (Kerner, Bohemia, 42-43). See also Reinhard G. Pauly, "The Reforms of the Church under Joseph II," Musical Quarterly XLIII/3 (1957) 372-74.

[49]Bužga, "Musiker," 355; Tomislav Volek, "Czech Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis I (Bydgoszcz, 1966) 82; Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 166-67.

[50]Bérenger, "Austrian Church," 101. Friedrich W. Riedel gives a full description of the types of Masses and liturgies at the Habsburg Court in Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711-1740) (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1977), especially p. 61-66.

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be frequent. Pilgrimages were also an important component, in particular to Marian pilgrimage churches.

> In Bohemia, the Marian cult developed after White Mountain and was supported by the dynasty, . . . which favoured at the same time devotions to the image of mother and child and to Our Lady of Sorrows. All social classes . . . took part in these devotions, which corresponded to a need for consolation after the horrors of war, . . . In 1655, Bohemia counted two shrines to the Virgin; in 1672, twenty-six and by the eighteenth century, forty-four.[51]

The cult of the Eucharist, traditionally a part of Habsburg piety, took a number of forms in addition to receipt of the Blessed Sacrament at Mass. There were festival celebrations including glittering processions on the Feast of Corpus Christi, and the Blessed Sacrament was exhibited in costly monstrances for public adoration. Music was used for all these occasions as well as in the setting of poems that were written for them.[52]

Processions, for significant feast days and commemorations were especially important. Religious feast days as well as Sundays were strictly observed, as they were at the Habsburg court. "A precise count of ceremonies

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[51]Bérenger, "Austrian Church," 102. The principal pilgrimage places were at Svatá Hora (Holy Mountain) in Příbram, owned by the Jesuits who had a residence there, and Panny Marie Vítězné (Church of Our Lady Victorious), built originally by the Lutherans as the first Baroque building in Prague (in the Little Quarter) and then given to the Carmelites in 1624. It contains the still-famous "Infant of Prague." Sehnal mentions the use of music in connection with these shrines ("Pobělohorská doba," 158).

[52]Bérenger, "Austrian Church," 103.

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and processions is difficult to establish. The Italian Gazette mentioned those involving the court, and they numbered sixty between April and November of each year."[53]

The cult of the saints, strongly supported by the Habsburgs, found an indigenous expression in Bohemia. To the earlier national saints Václav (Wenceslas), and Ludmilla there was was added a newer one, more representative of the victorious Counter-Reformation: Jan Nepomucký (John of Nepomuk, John Nepomucene). His legend was cultivated especially at the metropolitan Cathedral of St. Vitus (Czech: Sv. Vít; German: St. Veit; English: St. Guy) in Prague. It was taken into the countryside, growing over the course of a century into a popular cult, officially recognized in the saint's beatification in 1721 (at the request of Emperor Charles VI) and canonization in 1729.[54] The unique St. John of Nepomuk observances took place in Prague, beginning in 1715, at the Charles Bridge, from which it was said he was thrown to his death in the Vltava (German: Moldau) River. Decorated barges were floated on the river with singers and instrumentalists

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[53]Bérenger, "Austrian Church," 103. The description of the Imperial Court observances is elaborated by Riedel, Kirchenmusik, 33-57. For the observances in Bohemian lands, see Chapter II.

[54]Information about St. John of Nepomuk and his cult is fragmented and often conflicting. The most recent contribution to the discussion, and probably the most reliable, is "Der heilige Johannes von Nepomuk," by Emil Valasek, AKG IV (1976) 177ff.

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performing special music commissioned each year for the occasion and known as musica navalis (a Bohemian form of "Water Music"). Some of the best composers in Bohemia received commissions for this music.[55]

In Prague, pilgrimages to the tombs of both saints, St. John of Nepomuk and St. Wenceslas, both in the cathedral of St. Vitus, took place often, and were accompanied by the singing of popular psalms.[56] Other types of celebrations and observances were fostered, particularly with respect to votive columns, statues, calvaries and niches. Processions were often scheduled on the appropriate feast day.

> All urban and rural space (especially in Bohemia) thus had a sacred character. . . . In Bohemia, the church allowed pagan customs to survive: coloured Easter eggs were blessed, masks were tolerated at Advent, female masks of St. Lucy, demon masks (Krampus) at Christmas and of course the carnival masks. At Candlemas, tapers were blessed which would be burned during storms to protect houses from lightning. . . . At Pentecost, the Bohemian clergy solemnly blessed the flocks. . . . Baroque piety, corresponded, moreover, to the deep needs of the rural masses. . . . The church prayed for good weather and harvest and against hail. The liturgical year accommodated its rhythm to the needs of the seasons. Summer had

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[55]Among the composers were František Poppe, Jan Zach, Šimon Brixi and František X. Brixi (see Chapter II). Most of the literature on musica navalis is by Vladimír Novák. Immediately accessible are his articles, "Šimon Brixi," and "František X. Brixi" in NG 3, 309, 310. A more extensive discussion is in his article "Šimon a František Brixi v souvislosti s hudebním životem pražských křižovníku s červeným srdcem," Zprávy Bertramky (Prague, 1967) 68-88.

[56]Bérenger, "Austrian Church," 105.

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> to be devoted to the heaviest agricultural tasks and was scarcely broken up by feast days until the Assumption (August 15), while the autumn multiplied celebrations when granaries and cellars were full.[57]

Although the primary intent for the proliferation of cultic observances and their mandatory aspect for all strata of society was the promotion of religious piety, there was a concomitant effect that was to have immediate implications and far-reaching consequences. This effect was the involvement of an entire population in the hearing and performing of music at these same events, literally filling their lives with music, the nature of which will be explored more fully in Chapter II.

Society

Bohemia, at the early part of the eighteenth century, was a fairly static land in that most of its population was limited in movement, both physical and social. It was also a rigidly stratified land. While this social situation prevailed to a certain extent throughout Europe, in Bohemia conditions were especially stringent and restrictive on the Fourth Estate, the city and town citizens, and intolerable, even by the standards of the day, for the bonded peasant in the market towns and

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[57]Bérenger, "Austrian Church," 103ff.

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Der Höhere Adel-Stand.

in drey Classes abgetheilet; von diesen Stand nun gehören in die

Erste Class: Die Fürstliche Individuen, dann diejenige Gräfliche, Freyherrn, und Ritter Standes Personen, welche Kayser. Königliche Geheime Räthe, und Obriste Landes-Officierer seynd. In die

Andere aber die sonstig notorie vermöglichere Herren- und Ritter Standes Personen, sie mögen sich in einem Königl. Officium befinden, oder auch kein derley Officium besitzen, und endlichen in die

Dritte: Diejenige Herren und Ritter-Standes Personen, welche entweder notorie ein geringeres Vermögen haben, oder auch nur pur von ihren verwaltenden Officiis, und daher genüssenden Salarius leben, oder darvon sich unterhalten.

Der Burger-Stand aber und andere gemeine Stadt-Inwohnere.

kommen folgender massen zu classificiren. Als nämlich in die

Erste Class: Gehören die Kayser- oder Königl. Räthe, und Secretarii, dann Nobilitati, wie auch Kayser- oder Königliche Richtere, Primatores, und all andere ansäßig- oder unansäßige bemittelte Honoratiores, Herrschaftliche Oker-Beamte, Wechsel Negotianten, Kauf- und notorie vermöglichere Burgers Leute. In die

Andere: Die mindere Königl. Officianten, Raths-Verwandte so nicht Königliche Räthe seynd, als welche ad primam Classem gehöreten dann bey anderen Stadt-Aemtern befindliche Assessores, Herrschaftliche-Haus- und Wirthschafts-Officierer, Burgerliche Krämer, und sonst wohl bemittelte Burgere oder Ansassen. In die

Dritte: Die sowohl ansäßig- als unansäßige Stadt-Bediente, als Gerichts Schreiberey, Servi Curiæ, und dergleichen, dann Künstlere, Handwerks Meistere, Müller und Bräuer (sie mögen in Städten oder Dörfern wohnhaft seyn) nicht minder sonst weniger bemittelte Burgers Leute oder Ansassen. In die

Vierte: Herrschaftliche Lacqee Bediente, und andere derley Dienst Bothen, und Handwerks Gesellen. In die

Fünfte: Die Lehrjungen deren Künstleren sowohl, als Handwerkern, dann gemeine Taglöhner und Handlanger. Und endlich seynd

Illust. 1. Tax Ordinance, Maria Theresa, 1750 (third page)

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villages.[58]

A tax ordinance applicable to all of Bohemia outside of Prague, issued in 1750 by Empress Maria Theresa, helps to clarify the welter of levels and ranks among the various Estates[59] (see Illustration 1).

The Higher Nobility

> 1st class: All princes, Counts, Barons and knightly persons which belong to the Imperial or Royal Privy Council, and are the highest State officials.
>
> 2nd class: The other remaining propertied persons, the lordly and knightly persons who may be found in a royal office or who may possess no such office.
>
> 3rd class: Those lordly and knightly persons who either acknowledge a modest estate [Vermögen] or also live solely from their administrative office and its salary . . .

The Burgher Class and other General Town Dwellers

> 1st Class: Belonging to the Imperial or Royal Council, and secretaries to the nobility, as well

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[58]The legal obligations of the peasants in Southern and Western Germany was similar to Bohemia; the children had also to serve in a menial capacity in the lord's manor house (Holborn, Modern Germany, 25). In the first half of the eighteenth century it is estimated that the State, the landlord, and the Church took about 73% of the serf's income (Kerner, Bohemia, 45). Throughout the period after 1700 descriptions of the peasants' miserable lot abound (Bertold Bretholz, Geschichte Böhmens und Mährens Band III, Dreissigjährer Krieg und Wiederaufbau bis 1792 [Reichenberg: Paul Sollors' Nachf., 1924] 138-43).

[59]"Taxa Stolae die solche in dem ganzen Königreich Böheim (ausser der Königl. Haupt-Stadt Prag) beobachtet werden solle," issued under the name of Maria Theresia, together with the seal of Friedrich Wilh. Graf v. Haugwitz, 1750. Deposited in the town administration archive of Bělа pod Bezdězem. My thanks to Dr. Eva Mikanová who gave me a photocopy of the original.

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as Imperial or Royal knights, city mayors (Primatores), and all other resident or non-resident wealthy people of rank [Honoratiores], lordly high officials, financial brokers [Wechsel-Negotianten] and people known to be substantially well-to-do.

2nd Class: Middle-echelon royal officials, assessors, other city officers [Stadt-Aemtern], tradesmen [Burgerliche Kramer] and those of middle-level wealth.

3rd Class: City or town employees, court clerks, Servi Curiae, and the artistic professions such as craftsmen (masters), also millers and brewers . . .

4th Class: Liveried servants aof the nobility and other noble domestic servants and artisans.

5th Class: Apprentices, contract laborers . . .

The Villagers or Farmers

1st Class: "Full" farmers, sheep owners . . .

2nd Class: The so-called "half" farmers.

3rd Class: The "quarter" farmers and farmhands.

4th Class: The cottagers.

5th Class: The workers in cottage industries, hired hands.

Although a number of Bohemian musicians were bound serfs, it is impossible, given the lack of studies and precise information, to ascertain their class in the above table. It is known that Giovanni Punto (Johann Wenzel Stich) was the son of a coachman in the service of Count Johann Joseph Thun, (Burgher 4th Class in the above table)

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yet his legal status was that of a bound serf.[60] Johann Went (Jan Vent) was the son of a šumař (an itinerant musician; probably Burgher 5th Class) and also a bound serf on Count Karl Pachta's estate of Citoliby.[61] It is noteworthy that each was sent in childhood by his patron for instruction in virtuoso instrumental technique: Punto on the horn and Went on the oboe (see below).

Examples of outstanding composers and musicians from the classes of "Villagers or Farmers" have not come to light. One reason for this may have been the factor of constant labor or robot. However, it cannot be categorically stated that there were no musicians in this group, for contemporary evidence speaks to the contrary. Witnesses have written about itinerant Bohemian musicians, particularly in north Germany, who were known as Prager Studenten and who emanated from the mountain districts on the border of Bohemia and Germany. They were beggar musicians, no doubt from the lower strata of society, whose roots remained in Bohemia.[62] It is certain that Bohemia had

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[60]Neither of the biographical articles in MGG or NG mentions the father's position, which is given in "Stich, Václav," ČSHS II, 615.

[61]The information is given in "Vent, Jan," ČSHS, II, 862.

[62]Dieter Krickeberg, "The Folk Musician in the 17th and 18th Centuries," The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century, ed. Walter Salmen, annotated and translated from the original edition (Kassel, 1971) by Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983) 103-04.

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its equivalent of the peasant musicians of Germany who played at weddings and formed part of the ad hoc instrumental ensembles.[63] Tomislav Volek has written about the traveling "schumatores" (Czech: Šumaři) whose basic repertory consisted of Czech folk songs and dances.[64] Their precise legal status is unknown. Exactly what part they played in conjunction with other Bohemian musicians remains to be investigated.

From presently-available records, it appears that musicians employed by the church and by the courts were from the middle or burgher class.[65] It is known, for

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[63]Krickeberg, "The Folk Musician," 104-06. František Benda mentions in his autobiography that he learned from a wandering musician-fiddler named Löbel. Löbel, as a Jew, who had no class standing in the eyes of the law, represents a larger group of unlicensed Jewish musicians who themselves formed a part of a musicians' class called "Bierfiedler" (another word for "schumatores"). This unique reminiscence testifies to the possible cross-influences among types of musicians ("Franz Benda's Autobiography," Forgotten Musicians by Paul Nettl [1951], reprinted edition [New York: Greenwood Press, 1969] 212). On the subject of Jewish musicians, see Paul Nettl, "The Unknown Jewish Minstrel," Forgotten Musicians, 33-37. A list of musicians from the estate (Herrschaft) of Dobrovice (German: Dobrowitz) in 1761 describes a bass singer and a clarino player as itinerants (na vandru) (Eva Mikanová, "Hudební instituce na Mladoboleslavsku v 17.-18. století," Příspěvky k dějinám české hudby, III [Praha: Academia, 1976] 81-82).

[64]Volek, "K problému," 112-13.

[65]This situation corresponds to the situation in the German courts described by Christoph-Hellmut Mahling ("The Orchestral Musician in German Courts," The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century, 226-31).

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example, that Jan Stamitz' father was a merchant, that Georg Benda's father was a weaver and that the fathers of Josef Brentner (1689-1742) and František Vincenz Krommer-Kramář (1759-1831) were mayors. By far the greater number of well-known Bohemian musicians in the eighteenth century whose family history is known had fathers who were professional musicians. František Míča, Jan Dismas Zelenka, František Tuma, František X. Brixi--all had fathers who were organists. The fathers of Česlav Vaňura (1694-1736), Jiří Ignác Linek (1725-1791) and Václav Mašek (1755-1831) were town cantors.[66] Although the matter needs more research, it seems that organists and cantors were on a high social level, probably in the 2nd Class of Burghers in the table shown above.[67]

Among musicians, there was a hierarchy of status with respect to positions. Jiří Sehnal has attempted to construct a general outline, which in itself has many exceptions and special categories depending on the original status of the person, whether bound or free.[68] Beginning

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[66]The biographical information is given in the individual composers' articles in NG and ČSHS.

[67]Records from the Tábor District Archive for the town of Soběslav show that the organist was on a higher level than "officiales scholae." (Jaroslav Bužga, "Hudebníci a hudební instituce v období baroku v českých zemich," Příspěvky III, 9).

[68]Sehnal's list, "Hierarchie hudebnických povolání," is found in "Pobělohorská doba," 201-02. For additional discussion about positions and duties see Hans Engel, "Musiker. C. Der Musiker von 1600 bis zur Gegenwart," MGG

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with the highest, the general social status levels are:

1. Those in the employ of a church directly connected with the higher ecclesiastical levels: bishops' cathedrals, cathedral chapters, monastic churches, and those who were in tenured positions.

2. Those in the employ of town and parish churches as well as the choirmasters of smaller towns.

3. Those in the employ of village churches as well as local teachers who often were the village organists.

4. Those in the employ of the court capellas. Here a distinction was made between those who were subjects of the lord and those who were free employees (including Italians).

5. Musicians employed by religious orders. This level was primarily for students and novices. Free laypersons were in level 1.

6. Town musicians and Tower musicians (Czech: věžní trubači; German: Türmer).

7. Field and Land trumpeters and drummers; later pipers and drummers of infantry regiments.

8. Local musicians (Sehnal: "only one step above beggars").

Although the social conditions were far more complex than can be explored here, there are a number of general observations which have a significant bearing on the

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IX, 1092-98.

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musical culture of Bohemia in the eighteenth century. First is that political conditions had eliminated in Bohemia a social and cultural center which could function as did Vienna, Paris and London. Prague, the ancient capital, which had once served the purpose as political, social and cultural center, by the early 1700s was not an inspiring place to visit, according to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the wife of a British diplomat, who traveled there in 1716.[69]

> The kingdom of Bohemia is the most desert of any I have seen in Germany; [sic] the villages are so poor, and the post houses so miserable, . . . [Prague] was once the royal seat of the Bohemian kings and is still the capital of the kingdom. There are yet some remains of its former splendour, being one of the largest towns in Germany, [sic] but, for the most part old built and thinly inhabited, which makes the houses very cheap; and those people of quality who cannot easily bear the expense of Vienna choose to reside here, where they have assemblies, music, and all other diversions (those of a court excepted) at very moderate rates . . .

The aristocracy of major means did not, in general, found a lively social life in Bohemia until one or more generations had passed. There were several reasons for this. From the catastrophic changes set in motion in 1620, stability had begun only after 1648, when the new aristocracy was finally able to effectively take over

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[69]"To the Countess --- [of Mar], Prague, Nov. 17, O.S. [1716]," Letters from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Introd. by R. Brinley Johnson, Everyman's Library, ed. by Ernest Rhys (London: J.M.Dent, n.d.) 79.

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ownership of its Bohemian estates.[70] Of the remaining Bohemian aristocracy who were in the highest ranks of nobility, the families of Schwarzenberg, Lobkowitz, Harrach, Czernin, Kolovrat and Kinsky, these tended to accept high positions in the Habsburg administration, and thus were drawn more into social life centering in Vienna.[71] Also, wide holdings had been acquired by several powerful Austrian noble houses such as Liechtenstein and Dietrichstein, who "never came to feel a real identity of interests with Bohemia, and least of all the the Czechs as such."[72] Finally there was a third group, largely foreign mercenaries, whose interests were taken up by continuing warfare and continuing acquisitions until late in the seventeenth century.[73]

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[70]The Peace of Westphalia, signed in 1648, confirmed that there would be no restitution of the estates that had been confiscated by the Habsburg crown. The Swedish army, however, besieged and occupied part of Prague, including the royal palace. Withdrawal was not until 1650, leaving an exhausted territory (Parker, The Thirty Years' War, 186-89).

[71]Wenceslas Eusebius Lobkowitz was advisor to Leopold I and became Chancellor; Johann Adolf Schwarzenberg was President of the Imperial Aulic Council, Count Hermann Czernin was "an early and most successful example of an army contractor on a considerable scale" (Seton-Watson, A History, 131-32).

[72]Seton-Watson, A History, 130, 131.

[73]An example of one of these nobles is Count Johann von Sporck (1595-1679), who became one of the richest landholders in Bohemia (Heinrich Benedikt, Franz Anton Graf von Sporck, 14-18). Johann's son, Franz Anton (1662-1738) was to exert great influence on musical life in Bohemia (see Chapter II).

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It was the second generation that, in general, began ambitious building programs on their Bohemian estates and a major recruitment of clerical and domestic personnel to service their growing bureaucratic needs (due to their bureaucratic posts in the Habsburg Empire), their business affairs and their personal requirements.[74] And by the third generation, after 1720, a far larger and richer cultural scene began to emerge (see Chapter II).

The clerical personnel, secretaries, overseers, and managers increasingly needed by the aristocracy came from the ranks of the middle class: burghers, tradespeople and landed peasants. Just after 1648, various reckonings show that their numbers had been drastically diminished in Bohemia.[75] From occasional accounts, it seems that during the second half of the seventeenth century and into the beginning of the eighteenth century, the nobility found some of their top employees among the ranks of educated priests, monks, and friars--who themselves originated from

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[74]Vladimír Helfert's exhaustive research on the economic, political, social, and cultural affairs of the Questenberg family in Moravia illustrates the practice of employment. See Hudební barok, 29-34 about organists and cantors; on agents and "Haus-Hofmeister" 71ff.

[75]"In 1618 the number of landed peasant families in Bohemia was reckoned at 150,000; in 1645 the Estates reported to the Crown that their number was only 30,000. It has also been calculated that before the war there were 782 towns and 36,000 villages and manors and that by 1648 these had fallen to 230 and 6,000 respectively" (Seton-Watson, A History, 130).

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the middle class or lower order of aristocracy.[76]

From such accounts, which have received no systematic study as yet, we can draw a tentative picture of the changing means for good employment and advancement. During and immediately following the period of economic, social and political dissolution and destruction and religious upheaval involving mass conversions, the Catholic Church provided a major means for personal and economic survival. When other possibilities increased, in part due to a long period of economic and social stability (from about 1650 to 1740), and in part due to increased educational opportunities (see Education, below), the middle class increasingly relied on secular education for ensuring their children's future.[77] With respect to music, it is striking to note that at least half of the well-known Bohemian and Moravian musicians born between 1620 and 1700 were in orders, compared to about ten per cent of those born between 1700 and 1760.[78]

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[76]Although comprehensive studies have not been made, the names of clerics appear in the papers of various Bohemian and Moravian estates: Jaroměřice, Kuks, Manětín. More documentation is available with respect to the employment of clerics in conjunction with music, such as Mauritius Vogt at Manětín (see Chapter II).

[77]The Habsburgs, beginning with Empress Maria Theresa, increasingly became interested in schools as a means of providing able employees for the bureaucracy (Kerner, Bohemia, 347-49).

[78]Among the orders represented: Augustinians, Jesuits, Premonstratensians, Dominicans, Minorites, Benedictines and Piarists, no one order predominates. Most

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The Church itself presented a graded complex of social strata, from the aristocratic abbots, bishops and archbishops, to the middle-class priests and finally to the peasant lay brothers and servants. The Cathedral Chapters as well as the richer monasteries alsc employed estate managers and managerial staff and had as well a group of serfs, bound to the land and owing robot.[79]

Regardless of social level or of educational achievement, music was the significant cultural factor that connected all levels and classes. Music was deliberately mandated and cultivated, and facility in music was required for advancement in education as well as for occupational possibilities (see below).

Music had specific functions in all levels of society in Bohemia and in all social institutions: court, church, school, town and city (see Chapter II). Yet, in the eighteenth century, few musicians were employed in a single establishment solely in a musical capacity. Either they carried additional non-musical duties within one establishment or they worked as musicians in several establishments.[80] As an example of the former we can cite

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of the post-1700 composers in orders are clustered in the first 15 years of the century.

[79]Bérenger, "Austrian Church," 96.

[80]Not until the end of the eighteenth century could it be said that "Musicians and composers became professionals and music was not just a supplement to their own, completely different employment, as had been the case

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František Antonín Míča (1694-1744) who was valet (Kammerdiener) to Count Questenberg in Jaroměřice (Moravia) as well as Kapellmeister of the Count's orchestra.[81] A contemporary of Míča's, Josef Antonín Sehling (1710-1756) provides an example of the latter. He was choirmaster (regens chori) in Prague at the Barnabite church of St. Benedict (beginning in 1739), at the Maltese Order church of Our Lady "Below the Chain" (Czech: Panny Marie pod řetězem u maltézu, beginning 1740), second violinist at the metropolitan Cathedral of St. Vitus (from 1737), as well as violinist and composer in the Prague capella of Count Wenzel (Václav) Morzin (beginning 1737).[82]

No invariable rules of employment can be deduced from available information with respect to the positions of secular musicians vs. those in religious orders. However, from a listing of choirmasters and organists in the Prague churches during the period 1700 - 1775, it appears that

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with conductors Wentzeli [Mikuláš František Xaver Wentzely], Gayer [Johann Christoph (Karl) Gayer], Görbig [Johann Anton Görbig] and a number of others" (Marie Kostílková, "An Outline of the History of St. Vitus' Music Choir," Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis, Catalogus Collectionis Operum Artis Musicae, 2 vols, ed. Jiří Štefan, CAM IV, I, 99). All three held municipal posts as well as choirmaster positions in major Prague churches.

[81]Milan Poštolka, "Míčá, František Antonín (Václav)," NG 12, 260; Jaroslav Bužga, "Míča, František Václav," MGG IX, 262-64; and Vladimír Helfert, Hudební barok, 86 (with respect to social and official position).

[82]Milan Poštolka, "Sehling, Josef Antonín," NG 17, 109; and "Sehling, Josef Antonín," in ČSHS II, 476.

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organists, in general, were not in religious orders.[83] The notable exceptions are Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský (1684-1742) who was a Minorite priest, active as an organist, composer, teacher and reknowned contrapuntist not only in Bohemia but in Italy; and Franz Joseph (Lohelius) Oehlschlägel (1724-1788), Premonstratensian priest, composer, choirmaster, organist and organ builder, primarily at Strahov monastery in Prague.[84]

In general, secular musicians were employed as choirmasters in all of the major Prague churches, including the metropolitan Cathedral of St. Vitus, Our Lady of Loreto, St. Francis Serafin (Knights of the Cross with the Red Star), Our Lady of Týn (Czech: Panny Marie před Týnem; German: Teinkirche), and St. Martin. The exceptions are the Premonstratensian churches (St. Benedict at the St. Norbert college and Our Lady of Strahov), the Jesuit churches (St. Igatius - which also had a Praefectus musicus or Director of Music; St. Michael in the Little Quarter, St. Salvator, and St. Wenceslas at the Jesuit seminary).[85]

It is apparent that members of religious orders

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[83]Vladimír Němec, Pražské varhany (Prague: František Novák, 1944) 133-50.

[84]Zdeněk Culka, Černohorský, Bohuslav Matěj," NG 4, 77-78; and Emilián Trolda, "Bohuslav Černohorský," Cyril LX/1-2 (Prague, 1934) 1-6. See also "Oehlschlägel, Franz Joseph," by Milan Poštolka, NG 13, 505-06; and Němec, Pražské varhany, 139, 144, 155-56.

[85]Němec, Pražské varhany, 133-50.

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worked in only one place at a time, their clerical status itself providing full employment, while secular musicians occupied a number of positions simultaneously, as in the case of Josef Sehling (above). Even the choirmasters of the metropolitan Cathedral had additional posts. The practice of holding multiple positions was not always without difficulties, as the example of the church of Our Lady of Loreto (belonging to the Capuchin Order, Prague) shows.[86]

> In 1726 a dispute began between the Capuchins and the musicians. It seems that the main cause of the dispute was that the musicians were for the majority of their time employed elsewhere and had only a small link with the Loreta [sic]. That, therefore, they were not prepared to accede to greater demands for services was manifestly the main cause of friction. The dispute was ended by dismissal of all the former musicians and the bringing in of new ones, . . .

This dispute is illuminating in that it shows that all of the musicians (including singers, which the text later makes clear), had more than one church position. The basic cause was that of income; the churches simply did not pay well enough for secular musicians to rely solely on one job.

Information on musicians' pay scales in Bohemia has become more available due to recent archival research on

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[86]Josef Křivka, "The Prague Loreta," Domus Lauretana Pragensis, 2 vols., ed. Oldřich Pulkert, CAM I, I, 36.

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contracts.[87] It is difficult to make neat comparisons due to the various combinations of annual salary, Naturalien (in kind food, firewood, housing, etc.) and Akzidentien (special fees for official functions. However, the general evidence is clear: secular musicians in the employ of the church strove to combine several positions, whether in Prague or in smaller towns. The practice of non-exclusive musical posts still holds good with respect to the court positions, as in the case of Míča. Although it seems that church positions did not, in general, pay well, nevertheless they were sought after because of their security, as were the municipal town positions.[88]

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, musicians in increasing numbers were combining church positions with places in theater orchestras. In fact, available statistics show that within Bohemia and Moravia in the second half of the eighteenth century, the greatest

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[87]Sehnal gives a table of annual salaries for choirmasters and organists in ten Moravian churches plus Olomouc cathedral in the latter half of the seventeenth century ("Pobělohorská doba," 165). Figures for St. Vitus cathedral in Prague from the 1690s to the mid-19th century are given by Marie Kostilková, Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis I, 83-100. Comparative salaries for several musicians' positions in both Bohemia and Moravia, 1760-1777 are given by Zdeňka Pilková, "Doba osvícenského absolutismu (1740-1810)," Hudba v českých dějinách ed. by Jaromír Černý et al. (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983) 276-77.

[88]For the church as a secure source of jobs, see Otto Biba, "Der Sozial-Status des Musikers," Joseph Haydn in seiner Zeit, ed. Gerda Mraz, Gottfried Mraz and Gerald Schlag (Eisenstadt: Kulturabteilung des Amtes der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 1982) 107.

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amount of work was to be found in combinations of church work, teaching, and playing in theater orchestras. Although the greatest number of Bohemians occupied court positions, more than half of these were outside the country.[89]

In the second half of the eighteenth century it was the possibility of court positions that drew many people, among them many accomplished musicians, off the land to the city of Prague, where there were opportunities to be heard and where there were a number of music agents who recruited musicians for aristocratic service.[90]

> Musical talent assured in that time a better livelihood than artisanry or agriculture. Musicians from the whole of Bohemia departed for Prague, where nobles' palaces and dozens of churches brought the most possibility. In the course of time, too many musicians accumulated there: in 1770 the Old and New Towns [two of the five districts of Prague] alone had over 400 professional musicians and their numbers continued to grow. Various agents displayed an interest in the best of these. They came to engage them for foreign capellas . . .[91]

It appears that Bohemian musicians, even "the best of these," had acquired their ability in various parts of

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[89]Pilková, "Doba osvícenského absolutismu," 277. Using the entries in Dlabacž's Künstler-Lexikon, Pilková counts 220 musicians in the service of the courts, of which 185 were outside the country. 176 positions were as choirmasters and organists with the various orders. Of the 58 in theater orchestras, only 19 were outside the country; of the 79 in church choirs (singers and instrumentalists), only 3 were outside the country.

[90]Volek, "Musikalische Zentren," 283.

[91]Volek, "K problému," 112.

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the country. A glance at the table of emigrant Bohemian musicians (Appendix B) confirms the inpression. With evidence of such widespread musical talent and training, we may well be curious about Bohemian musical education.

Schools and Music Education

> I had frequently been told, that the Bohemians were the most musical people of Germany, [sic] or, perhaps, of all Europe; and an eminent German composer, now in London, had declared to me, that if they enjoyed the same advantages as the Italians, they would excel them. I never could suppose effects without a cause; nature, though often partial to individuals, in her distribution of genius and talents, is never so to a whole people. . . .
>
> I crossed the whole kingdom of Bohemia, from south to north; and being very assiduous in my enquiries, how the common people learned music, I found out at length, that, not only in every large town, but in all villages, where there is a reading and writing school, children of both sexes are taught music.

This is the testimony of Charles Burney, from his celebrated tour in 1772.[92] From Burney's findings, we see that music was a part of basic education in 1772 even in remote and rural areas. The results of this training, Burney was quick to note.[93]

> Now, the Bohemians are never tranquil [without war] long together; and even in the short intervals of peace, their first nobility are attached to the

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[92] The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces, 2 vols. (London, 1773, 1775), ed. by Percy Scholes as Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) II, 131-32.

[93] Dr. Burney's Musical Tours, II, 133-34.

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> court of Vienna, and seldom reside in their own capital; so that those among the poorer sort, who are taught music in their infancy, have no encouragement to pursue it in their riper years, and seldom advance further than to qualify themselves for the street, or for servitude.
>
> Indeed many of those who learn music at school go afterwards to the plough, and to other laborious employments; and then their knowledge of music turns to no other account, than to enable them to sing in their parish-church, and as an innocent domestic recreation. . .
>
> It has been said by travellers; that the Bohemian nobility keep musicians in their houses; but in keeping servants, it is impossible to be otherwise, as all the children of the peasants and trades-people, in every town and village throughout the kingdom of Bohemia are taught music at the common reading schools . . .

What Burney observed was the result of over a hundred years of educational development in response to political, religious, economic and social forces. He observed a system of schooling which was, at the time of his visit, about to disintegrate, but which for more than a century had shaped the musical abilities and perceptions of an entire region, in every social class, from the poorest to the wealthiest. This system of music education was indissolubly connected with general education and with religion.

Politically, it has been noted above that Bohemia (together with Moravia and Silesia) was parcelled out, beginning in 1620, to new lordly owners, whose prerequisites were any or all of three: 1) they were Roman Catholic, or willing to support the Roman Catholic Church; 2) they were mercenaries or satellites of the Habsburg Imperial Court in Vienna; 3) they had the money to purchase the confiscated Protestant manors and estates. In line

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with their allegiance to the Habsburgs, and as a visible sign of that allegiance, they quickly moved to assist in the conversion of the largely Protestant populace, by means of education of the young. A large component of education was to be catechetical, particularly liturgical. The aim was to promote attendance at and participation in the Mass and the varied religious observances so favored by the Habsburgs. "Through the aristocracy eucharistic piety was extended to the peoples of Austria and Bohemia."[94] Because music was an integral part of the liturgy, as observed in Vienna, and because it was an integral part of aristocratic society (see Chapter II), it became an integral part of the educational system in Bohemia.

Bearing in mind that the lord of the estate regulated his subjects according to the strictest feudal custom, we have, among other examples, the decree of Count Arnošt Josef von Waldstein to his subjects in Bakov (North Bohemia) in 1689, to the effect that: "In every village parish, children must receive instruction in the literary arts and in music." He cited as the reason, that they "thus better will revere God and know how to worship" and that "through music in the church the honor and praise of God is improved." To ensure compliance, Count Waldstein further announced that he would allow "no son of the parish

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[94]Bérenger, "Austrian Church," 103.

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to be taught any kind of trade until he at least has been made aware of the music of the liturgy and can supply some contribution to the church choir . . . and therefore whoever wishes permission to learn a trade, shall and must, every single person, take pains in the musical arts." [95]

The requirement of musical knowledge for advancement, including the playing of instruments was still in effect in 1745. Maria Anna, Princess von Fürstenberg, responded to a petition of one of her subjects in Dobrovice that his son be allowed to learn a trade, that although the boy does not know music, permission would be granted because "the son who wishes to learn a trade is too old to learn music which is required for employment in this manor. But in the future there shall be no exceptions."[96]

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the lords of the manor provided for teachers, instruments, music, and paid for music to be performed at special services at the small parish churches on their estates. All of this was arranged through the local village school.[97]

At this primary school, the teaching was normally

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[95]The document is reproduced in its entirety by Mikanová in "Hudební instituce na Mladoboleslavsku," 85-86.

[96]The document is reproduced in its entirety by Mikanová in "Hudební instituce na Mladoboleslavsku," 101.

[97]A good overview of the entire subject that is not in Czech but in German is by Eva Mikanová, "Musik an den Tschechischen Landschulen im 18. Jahrhundert," Musica Antiqua, Acta Scientifica 3 (Bydgoszcz, 1972) 87-92. Mikanová has done the most systematic work on the subject.

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done by a "cantor" who also was in charge of the parish church music. The combination of teacher and church music arranger was so prevalent that the eighteenth-century Czech word, Kantor means "teacher," rather than choirmaster.[98] A school ordinance issued by Count Philip Clam-Gallas for his estate of Frýdlant (German: Friedland) in 1743 prescribes the daily routine in the local school. In a morning session lasting from 6 to 12 in summer, 7 to 12 in winter, the period from 9 to 11 was reserved for music instruction. The cantor "sie Kinder im Singen, Geigen aufn [sic] Clavier und anderen Instrumenten bestens zu informieren befleissen sein solle." The children were to sing on Sundays and holidays, under the cantor's direction in the church choir. For a feast day when a Litany (figural music) was needed, the cantor, during the music instruction period the day before was to teach it to the children.[99]

On paper, the requirements for a cantor's position do not seem to stress a high level of musical knowledge. The Bohemian organist-composer Jiří Ignác Linka (1725-1791) when applying in 1747 for the cantor's position which had been held by his father, was informed:[100]

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[98]Bužga, "Musiker," 337.

[99]Josef Bennesch, Ortsgeschichte von Haindorf (Friedland in Böhmen: Stadtgemeinde Haindorf, 1924) 203-04.

[100]Mikanová, "Hudební instituce na Mladoboleslavsku," 89.

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> The applicant's request will be graciously heard if all requirements needed by a cantor are met, that is: the knowledge of Catholic catechism, the ability to read written documents, to write well, to understand the fundamentals of music and singing and of arithmetic and [if he] is of good morals.

Notwithstanding the seemingly simple musical requirements, it is noteworthy that many fine musicians occupied cantor's positions in Bohemia, among them Jiřì Linka himself, whose music appears in innumerable collections and inventories throughout Bohemia. Other cantors whose music was widely disseminated were Viktorin Brixi (1716-1803) and Václav Jan Kopřiva (1708-1789). A number of Bohemian musicians, as mentioned above, also had fathers who were cantors.

The cantor might, in most places also be the church organist,[101] but in any case, he copied or purchased music for use in the parish and he was often involved with training the parish music society, the Literáti (see Chapter II). Some parts of these village church inventories and collections still exist, (although consisting mainly of instruments), testifying to the high level of musical knowledge and contemporary taste of these men who, even in their time, were certainly not widely

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[101]"In diesen konservativen Ländern [Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia] blieb die Personalunion Lehrer=Kantor=Organist viel länger bestehen als etwa in deutschen Nachbarlandschaften" (Karl Michael Komma, Das böhmische Musikantentum [Kassel: Johann Philipp Hinnenthal, 1960] 100).

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known.[102] According to a payment document of 1745:[103]

> [The cantor] who is also organist . . . has diligently instructed the children in the sole true Catholic faith, in reading, writing, arithmetic and the talented in all kinds of music.

One of the cantor's secondary duties, alluded to in the above statement, was to discover children with musical talent. For example:[104]

> The Dobravice cantor should separate gifted children in early youth [childhood] in order to continue their musical education. If the parents should try to prevent this, the office of the estate should be notified to put strong pressure on them.

It is difficult to believe that any parent would object to their children receiving special training in music, inasmuch as a child who progressed well was more likely to receive special privileges and position, as seen above (Section IV), or at the very least be granted permission to study further, either in a school or at a trade.

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[102]Several from the first half of the eighteenth century are reprinted by Mikanová ("Hudební instituce na Mladoboleslavku," 93, 94, 96-101). Printed music by Rathgeber, Tschortsch, Kirchbauer, Habermann and Kayser appear more than once. One lists a set of Vespers by the gifted Piarist Václav Kalous (p. 94). In the main, manuscripts were not listed, except for a terse entry, "Musicalia copiosa." (p. 101) The town cantor at Mělník, Jan Josef Brixi (?1712-1762) "left a large collection of music [now in Cs ME], much of it copied in his own hand, containing works by the most prominent composers of his time" (Novák, "Brixi, (3) Jan Josef Brixi," NG 3, 310).

[103]Mikanová, "Hudební instituce na Mladoboleslavku," 102, Dekret of 1745.

[104]Mikanová, "Hudební instituce na Mladoboleslavku," 102, Dekret of 1732.

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Moreover, proficiency in music was expected of every student who wished to enter a Jesuit school - a stipulation worth meeting because, as stated above (section B), tuition at the Jesuit schools was free. The child needed to demonstrate ability to sing and to play at least one instrument.[105] Should schooling extend to the university, students found their musical ability invaluable in providing a source of income while pursuing their studies.[106]

By the second half of the seventeenth century, the system of education in Bohemia had been organized into three separate types of institutions but with no clear line of demarcation between them, either in subject matter or in ages of the students. At the apex of the system was the University at Prague with its attendant St. Wenceslas School of Theology, all under Jesuit supervision (see

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[105]Trolda, "Jesuité a Hudba," II, 3. In the record books of every Jesuit gymnasium almost every schoolboy has registered next to his name whether he was a singer or an instrumentalist and his respective voice part and instrument.

[106]The churches in Prague drew a number of their music personnel from students at the university and seminaries. In practice, both professional musician and non-professional musician followed the same scholastic path. The composer-organist Seger graduated in philosophy from the Prague (Charles) University. In the archives of St. Vitus, we find that in 1711 a philosophy student, Jiří Giehl was hired as an alto and in 1712 the second bass singer, Josef Melichar Welsch, "magister filosofie," was a candidate in law (Antonín Podlaha, Catalogus Collectionis Operum Artis Musicae Quae in Bibliotheca Capituli Metropolitani Pragensis Asservantur [Prague: S.F. Metropolitani Capituli Pragensis, 1926] xiv-xv). In 1710 among the musicians at St. Vitus was the head of the Royal Castle Guard. (Kostílková, "An Outline," I, 92).

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above). The primary schools were a function of the parish churches and monasteries as were the secondary schools (gymnasia).[107] As described above, most of the schooling had been placed under Jesuit supervision. But as the Jesuits preferred older, experienced students, the Piarist Order undertook the supervision of most of the primary schools. For the most part, instruction in the upper schools was in Latin, and in the lower schools, Czech.[108]

The basic curriculum in the primary school was Catholic catechism, reading, writing and practical arithmetic. In the secondary schools there were several levels or "classes" which might or might not constitute a year's work. Students entered and left schools at varying ages, and widely-differing age groups could be found in the same classroom. Therefore, without information about precise dates, it is impossible to know the age at which a

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[107]The term "gymnasium" was not used in eighteenth-century Bohemia. Often the Czech terms "college" (kolej) and "seminary" (seminář) were used, with no consistent distinction made. Both terms refer to a secondary school. For a more detailed study of the Piarist schools, see Augustin Alois Neuman, Piaristé a český barok (Přerov: Společenská knihtiskárna v Přerově, 1933), especially the Preface and Chapter V, "Školství," 64-81. Eva Mikanová describes the development of the local schools in North Bohemia through the second half of the seventeenth century in "Hudební kultura v České Lípě a okolí," Sborník příspěvku k době poddanského povstání roku 1680 v severních čechách (Prague: Special printing by a consortium of local archives, 1980) 203-09.

[108]Kerner, Bohemia, 345.

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student entered or left a school.[109] Philippe Ariès offers an explanation for the late entrance of some students: because "the living conditions of the time made it impossible for artisans and labourers to send their children to college early in life: they had to wait until the boy was old enough to manage by himself in the town, away from the family."[110]

Consideration of the living conditions at schools helps in understanding the choice of schools and the timing of the schooling. It was better for young boys to be sent where there was a close family tie or trusted friend. A number of Bohemian musicians were sent at an early age to another town where a relative was the schoolmaster.[111]

The school subjects included grammar, syntax, poetry and rhetoric. Those planning a career in religious orders continued with philosophy.[112] Music, in the Jesuit schools as well as in others, although not an official curriculum

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[109]Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, 225-26.

[110]Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, 225.

[111]One example was Viktorin Brixi, a talented organist and composer who began his studies with his uncle Viktorin Zádolský, the parish priest at Skalsko, only later entering the Piarist gymnasium at Kosmonosy (Vladimír Novák, "Brixi, (5) Viktorin (Ignác) Brixi," NG 3, 310). Felix Benda (1708-1768) another talented member of the Benda family, who was born in Skalsko, also was a nephew of Zádolský and began his studies with him ("Benda, Felix," ČSHS I, 75).

[112]The curriculum is outlined by Allan P. Farrell in The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education; Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938) 342-45.

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subject, was a constant and daily occupation in every institution including the University.[113] The records of each of the Jesuit schools, for example, almost invariably record a praeses musicae and a praefectus chori.[114]

In addition to the regular chapel worship, one of the vehicles for intensive music cultivation was the activity of the pious societies (sometimes called sodalities) and Marian congregations, formed out of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The early Jesuits were very active in fostering such Marian congregations, both in their schools and among the laity; and their importance for the history of music should not be overlooked. At such meetings, not only were all types of liturgical music performed, but also that which was non-liturgical, such as music for the performance of spiritual plays, for songs in the vernacular language and for accompanying meditations.[115]

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[113]The internal struggle about the place of music in the liturgy of the Jesuits is summarized in "Jesuiten," by Heinrich Hüschen (MGG VII, 20-21). Nevertheless, music had a function in some of the Jesuit colleges from their early days in the sixteenth century, and definitely so in the Jesuit college in Prague (Bužga, "Prag," MGG X, 1578).

[114]Emilián Trolda, "Jesuité a hudba," II, 3.

[115]Culley, Jesuits and Music, 20. For further discussion see also Max Wittwer, (Die Musikpflege im Jesuitenorden unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Länder deutscher Zunge [Greifswald, 1934], especially 112-19). For Bohemia in particular, see Trolda, ("Jesuité a hudba"). Farrell discusses the development and encouragement of what were originally called "academies," as extra-curricular yet mandated activities. Originally, they did not include

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From the above observation, we can see the beginnings of two particular musical forms that were cultivated to an extraordinarily high degree by the Jesuits: sacred song (Czech: duchovní zpěv; German: Kirchenlied) and the school play. Both forms were adopted by the Piarists in their schools and also by other orders in Bohemia, as a means to promote Catholic piety. Musically speaking, such cultivation promoted familiarity with certain musical genres: the metric monodic song with its roots in dance music and the dramma per musica, whose most common form was opera (see Chapter II). It could be expected that everyone educated in a Jesuit school had some practical acquaintance with both these forms as well as with the Catholic liturgy.

Returning again to the primary schools, which existed in every parish in town or country, we find that they served two purposes: 1) to make good Catholics above all;[116] and, 2) to develop good employees and servants for the religious and secular establishments.

Innumerable examples exist of young musicians whose further musical training was paid for by the lord of the manor, with the expectation that he would return to the

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music performance but did involve the performance of plays (The Jesuit Code, 321ff).

[116]See the "payment document" of 1745, above, in which the first assessment of the cantor's work is that he "has diligently instructed the children in the sole true Catholic faith."

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lord's personal service (both as servant and as member of the lord's capella). These "scholarships" appear to have been given both to sons of "bound" subjects as well as to "free" subjects. Primarily they were connected with mastery of an instrument. Here we can mention some famous examples already alluded to above: that of a bound subject, Giovanni Punto (Johann Wenzel or Jan Václav Stich, 1746-1803), whose lord, Count Thun sent him to study the horn under Joseph Matiegka at Prague, Johann Schindelarž at Munich and Anton Joseph Hampel (c1710-1771) at Dresden (all of whom were Bohemian musicians).[117] Johann Went (1745-1801), an oboist and English horn player, was sent by his lord Count Pachta for additional study.[118] Franz Benda, as subject (but not a bound serf) of Count Kleinau (Czech: Klenov) was sent to study violin in Prague, and then recommended into Count von Ostein's service for training as a valet.[119] Some were sent later for study in counterpoint or composition, as František Tůma was sent by his employer, Count Franz Ferdinand Kinsky (High Chancellor of Bohemia) to study with Fux.[120]

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[117]Reginald Morley-Pegge and Horace Fitzpatrick, "Punto, Giovanni," NG 15, 455.

[118]"Wend, Johann," Dlabacž Künstler-Lexikon III, 352. Information is lacking as to whom he studied with.

[119]Nettl, "Franz Benda's Autobiography," 211-12.

[120]Poštolka, "Tůma, František Ignác Antonín," NG 19, 252.

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Another source of schooling in the primary and secondary grades was through a choirboy (Czech: fundatist; Latin: bonifant; German: Singknabe) post. Boys who were identified as having excellent singing voices were offered endowed positions in Cathedral, Chapter and monastery churches, where they provided the soprano and occasionally the alto parts in the choir. The endowment, usually given by a noble patron, was intended to cover the boy's full living expenses while he trained and sang for all the church's public liturgies.[121] In addition to an education in music, the boy was expected to be taught a basic education, as he would have obtained in a primary school. Such may not always have been the case.[122] Nevertheless, a number of boys (but not bound serfs) found an upward mobility through the choirboy route, among them Franz Benda.

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[121]For example, an endowment (Czech: nadání) of 4200 gulden was given to the Jesuit church of St. Michael in Prague by Baron Adam Jiří z Kokořova in 1621, which was further enriched by Count Trautmannsdorf's gift of 9000 gulden in 1668 ("Čechy: dějiny hudby," OSN VI, 367). For a description of a choirboy's schooling in Germanic lands, which was probably not too different from conditions in Bohemia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Jan Chiapusso, Bach's World (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968) 40-41.

[122]Joseph Haydn records that his own education as a choirboy at St. Stephen's in Vienna, left much to be desired in letters as well as in music (H. C. Robbins Landon, Haydn, Chronicle and Works, Vol. I, Haydn: The Early Years 1732-1765 [Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980] 60-66).

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There is no evidence to assume that all or even most choirboys developed into professional musicians.[123] Apparently, the tremendous amount of musical training given in the choirboy positions, in the local primary schools and in the order-sponsored secondary schools, seems, on the basis of the music found in inventories and collections, to have produced a high number of virtuoso-level performers, but not to have encouraged creative compositional development.[124] The general route of artistic and creative musical development appears to have been from the village schools to a Piarist gymnasium and/or Jesuit college, plus private study with a recognized composer. Although early records are spotty, the route is first discerned with Jan

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[123]Of the hundreds of known endowed positions throughout Bohemia and Moravia, few are directly connected with recognized composers and instrumental virtuosos. One of the last to benefit from this system was Leoš Janáček (1854-1928) who was a choirboy at the Augustinian Monastery in Brno and under the tutelage of a premier talent, Pavel Křížkovský (John Tyrrell, "Janáček, Leoš," NG 9, 474).

[124]See "Čechy: dějiny hudby," OSN VI, 368. A fairly typical route for a performer of excellent reputation is detailed by Dlabacž in his biography of Franz Anton Ernst (b. 1745), Künstler-Lexikon I, 369-71. Ernst began study with his grandfather, then went to a village primary, or "Latin" school, then went to a nearby town for private study with a cantor and organist, then obtained a choirboy scholarship at a Cistercian monastery church (Neuzell in Lusatia, Saxony), staying there only six months before entering a Jesuit seminary. He then went to Prague University as a student in philosophy, where he took a degree also in law. He was taken into service as a secretary by Count Salm because of his excellent violin playing. He took a few lessons from the virtuoso Lolli and from Stade [paid for by the Count?], then entered the service of the court capella at Gotha.

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Dismas Zelenka, born in 1679, who began his studies with his father, an organist. He is thought to have attended the principal Jesuit college in Prague (the Clementinum) and to have studied privately with Fux in Vienna. He then went to Italy for further study under Antonio Lotti.[125]

After Zelenka, other Bohemian composers and instrumental virtuosos seem to be about evenly divided between the Piarist and the Jesuit education. Georg Benda profited from both, in each case attending highly regarded institutions: the Piarist gymnasium at Kosmonosy and the Jesuit gymnasium at Jičín. In both schools he would have received an excellent musical education (vocal, instrumental, theoretical), intensive performance experience and extensive acquaintance with music drama (see Chapter II).

A multi-faceted "system" of education that grew in response to political, religious, economic and social forces set in motion after 1620 developed into a decentralized, but fairly efficient "production line" for proficient musicians: a system in which talented people were quickly identified and often intensively supported. Moreover, the very decentralization of the "system" fostered frequent contact between and among musicians of

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[125]Camillo Schoenbaum, "Zelenka, Jan Dismas," NG 20, 659-60. Jaroslav Bužga gives more recent material in "Dokumenty o pusobení J. D. Zelenky v saské dvorní kapele v drážďanech," HV XII/1 (1975) 83-89.

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varied repertories: the latest in opera from international centers of sophistication mingling with the folk-popular music of the tavern, the schoolboys performing together with the town and military bands, and all genres and personnel together meeting in the liturgy and ritual of the Catholic Church.

The dissolution of the Jesuit Order by the Habsburg monarch in 1773 and the reforms of Joseph II which involved the closure of most of the monasteries and the curtailment of elaborate liturgical services particularly with respect to music,[126] all served to destroy the mainspring of a system of music education which had aroused the admiration of Charles Burney in 1772.

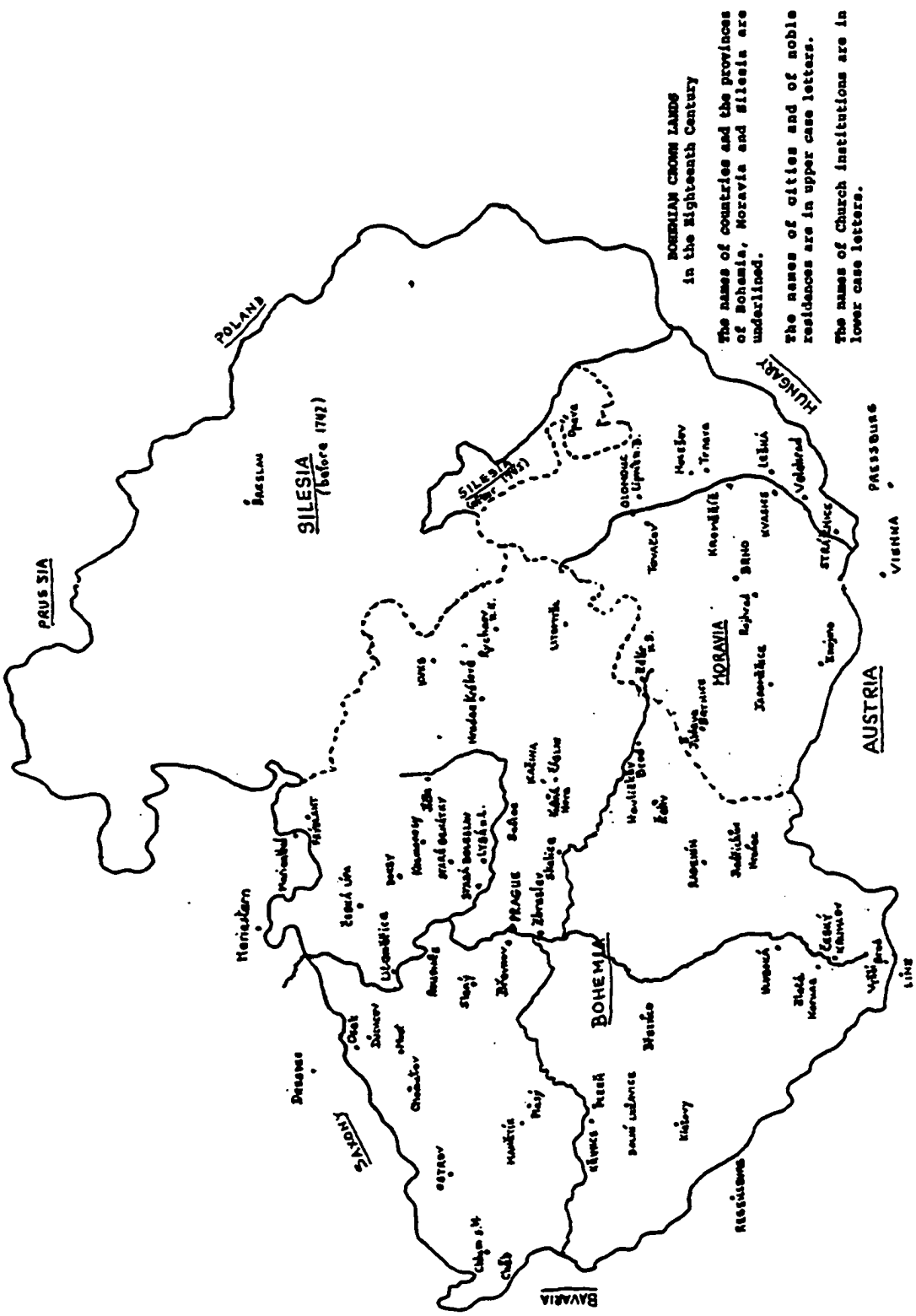
> Durch diese grosse Reform aber verlohren die armer Singknaben all Hülfe, und die Schullehrer die Zeit, welche sie zuvor der edlen Ausbildung der Tonkunst widmen konnten. Ja darum werden auch viele Eltern abgeschreckt, weil sie keine Unterstützung mehr für ihre Kinder zu hoffen haben, dieselben in der Tonkunst ausbilden zu lassen . . .[127]

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[126]Pauly, "The Reforms of Church Music," 372-82.

[127]Dlabacž, "Abhandlung," 18. See also the testimony of Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag (Vienna, 1796), reprinted ed. (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1976) 103-106. Von Schönfeld complains about the lower quality of musical education in Bohemia compared to that of former days.

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MAP 2. Bohemian Crown Lands

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CHAPTER II

THE MUSICAL CONTEXT: INSTITUTIONS, GENRES, COMPOSERS

Because there was no outstanding cultural center in Bohemia during the eighteenth century, musical culture was decentralized, spread not only geographically but also among a number of social institutions: the Church, the schools, the estates of the nobility and the towns (the latter in the sense of public music performances).[1] In each of these places, music was used for sacred as well as secular functions, at times with shared personnel, and with some similarities in musical repertory.[2] Also in these

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[1]The term "institution" may be construed different ways. Tomislav Volek at one point lists as most important, "schools, church choirs, monasteries and estates of the nobles" ("Czech Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis, I [Bydgoszcz, 1966] 81). At another, he adds to these "das Gasthaus und -- gering in ihrer Zahl, von meist kürzerer Existenz, aber mit starkem Einfluss -- die städtische Oper" ("Musikalische Zentren in Böhmen im 18. Jahrhundert," Colloquium Musica Bohemica et Europaea, ed. by Rudolf Pečman [Brno: International Musical Festival, 1972 (1970)] 283). Jaroslav Bužga identifies social institutions, separating them into three pairs: Klöstern und Kollegien, Kapital- und Domkirchen, Schlössern und Palästen. ("Musiker und musikalische Institutionen im Zeitalter des Barocks in den böhmischen Ländern," Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Osteuropas, ed. Elmer Arro [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977] 351, 359, 360).

[2]The function of music in war is not taken up in this study. However, locally-based military bands

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places, both foreign and native-born musicians practiced their skills and gained knowledge of and experience with the available music. These social institutions, separately and together, helped to create the exportable "product" known as "the Bohemian musician."

The function of music and the general contours of musical life in three of these institutions: the Church, the school and the noble estate will be taken up in the first part of this chapter. The second part of this chapter will summarize the several genres of sacred music present in eighteenth-century Bohemia, and the principal foreign composers found in Bohemian collections and inventories.

The Social Institutions

The Church

The Roman Catholic Church in Bohemia, as in other lands, is itself composed of two basic types of institutions, one connected with the ecclesiastical structure and hierarchy and the other growing out of historical spiritual movements. In the former we find the parish churches and cathedrals; in the latter, the

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frequently were asked to participate in performances of religious, ceremonial and entertainment music at churches, monasteries, schools and castles (Jiří Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba [1620-1740]," Hudba v českých dějinách [Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983] 171-72). Sehnal also describes the participation of the town bands and Jewish musicians in Bohemian musical life (p. 172-73).

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establishments and churches of the monastic and non-contemplative orders. In almost all of these, music had an essential function. The role of music was greater in some institutions than in others, but nowhere was it more prominent than in the cathedrals.

The Cathedrals

By the end of the seventeenth century there were four episcopal cathedrals in Bohemia. At the apex of the hierarchy was the diocese of Prague (founded 973), with its archbishop at the metropolitan Cathedral of St. Vitus. The See of Olomouc was later established for Moravia (1063), with its bishop at the Cathedral of Olomouc. Two new Sees or bishoprics were formed in the seventeenth century to assist the Counter-Reformation effort: Litoměřice (German: Leitmeritz) in North Bohemia (1655) and Hradec Králové (German: Königgrätz) in East Bohemia (1660).[3]
Music in the cathedrals was intended to reflect the glory

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[3]No systematic work has been done on the music history of the latter two. The historical information is found in its most concise and accessible form in Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen--Mähren--Schlesien, Band I (Königstein/Taunus, 1967). Separate articles are devoted to each of the dioceses in Bohemia and Moravia, together with bibliographies. The music archives from Litoměřice are those of the Bishop's Library (Cs LIT). Among the contents are 14th- and 15th-century codexes, printed music and manuscripts from the first half of the eighteenth through the nineteenth century, printed cantionals from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and various theoretical works. Other music materials are in the Litoměřice Museum (see PruvodceB, 129-31). No music archive exists from the cathedral of Hradec Králové.

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and pomp suitable to the estate of the bishop. The splendid pontifical rites, which only bishops, archbishops, and a few other honored ecclesiastics could celebrate, called for musical compositions of appropriate magnificence.[4] Visits of the Emperor, high nobility and high-ranking ecclesiastics, as well as celebratory occasions decreed by the Habsburg rulers (a victory in war, the end of a plague)--or occasioned by Imperial family affairs (the birth of an heir or a death)--all placed high demands on the musical staff.

The Cathedral of St. Vitus was intimately connected with the affairs of the ruling monarchs of Bohemia whose castle is immediately adjacent. The Cathedral's music forces were, on occasion, augmented by members of other church choirs as well as by members of the royal capella.[5] From the time of the last occupying monarch, Rudolf II of Habsburg (1576-1612), until the mid-eighteenth century, the

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[4]One of these was the Abbot of Osek, and one was the Commander of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star.

[5]Archival material describes a visit of Emperor Leopold I in 1673. His arrival was announced by four choirs of trumpets standing in the four corners of the square outside the castle/cathedral complex. A four-choir Te Deum and Mass were performed, with each choir stationed in a different part of the Cathedral. At his next visit a four-choir Te Deum was again sung, using 200 singers recruited from all the Prague churches. The Imperial court musicians participated in two Masses. After the Court departed in 1680, "reports ceased about music at St. Vitus" (Emilián Trolda, "Česká cirkevní hudba v období generalbasovém, VI. Hudba u sv. Víta," Cyril, LXI [Prague, 1935], 57, 58, 59).

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court musicians were available only occasionally, when the sovereign was in residence at Prague Castle.[6] Whether due to lack of other than routine music or as a result of an excited burst of detailed reportage when the Emperor and family were present, it appears that in the seventeenth century the Cathedral had few noteworthy musical performances unless the Habsburg rulers were there.[7]

St. Vitus' music program began to develop in the 1690s under the praefectus chori Mikuláš Wentzely (c1643-1722), an employee of the Archbishop's consistory and a composer of high repute.[8] But it was his successor, Johann Christoph Gayer (Czech: Kryštof Karel; served from 1705 to

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[6]"An Outline of the History of St. Vitus' Music Choir," by Marie Kostilková, is in Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis, 2 vols., CAM IV (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1985) I, 79-101, together with a list of primary sources and their locations (p. 106-107). The music is in Cs Pak; a historical bibliography is in AFK I, 14-15. Additional descriptive material for the period 1650 - 1700, is given by Trolda in "Česká církevní hudba," Cyril LXI (1935) 56-59.

[7]Trolda, "Česká cirkevní hudba," 58.

[8]Michna's printed collection, Flores verni (Prague: Labaun, 1699), consisting of five Masses, one Requiem, and one Salve Regina, was officially recommended by the Archbishop's consistory to the clerics of the Prague archdiocese (Kostílková, "An Outline," 90). The collection was copied by Emil Trolda and is in his manuscript collection (Cs Pnm, Sign. XXVIII E 216-220). Trolda's collection was catalogued by Alexandr Buchner, ("Hudební Sbírka Emiliána Troldy," Sborník Narodního Musea v Praze VII-A, Historia No. 1, ed. by Gustav Skalský [1954]); the work is No. 495. The Salve Regina has been published in Das Erbe Deutscher Music, 2nd ser., Sudetenland, Böhmen und Mähren IV (Reichenberg: Ullmann, 1943) 1ff.

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1734) who brought to St. Vitus a more contemporary taste and organization. He obtained music from Italy through the offices of Baltasar Knapp, the Secretary of the Czech Chamber.[9] In 1723, during the residence of Emperor Charles VI for his coronation as King of Bohemia, the Cathedral's music production (still under Gayer) was able to benefit from the presence of major composers, performers and conductors in the Imperial capella, among them Antonio Caldara (1630-1736) and Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741).

The Cathedral again served as a showcase for grand performances during the festivities held in connection with the canonization of St. John of Nepomuk (1729).[10]

> Before the celebrations, at its own expense the Metropolitan Chapter had the big choirloft at the western wall of the Cathedral repaired; the first storey obtained a new, advanced parapet with railing and a new organ. From October 8 to 16, people longing to see something exceptional proceeded from the three towns of Prague [Old Town, New Town, Little Quarter] to the Cathedral, overfilled to the point of bad taste . . . The Mass [was] by the renowned court musician Antonio Caldara . . . called Missa sanctificantiones st. Joannes Nepomuceni.[sic] St. Vitus' Choir [capella] was quite unable to handle these very exceptional tasks and therefore musicians from other Prague churches and cloisters were called upon to help out.
>
> Following these extraordinary events the Castle again grew quiet and the life of musicians at St. Vitus' Cathedral went back once more to its normal routine.

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[9]After Gayer's death, the greater part of this collection was purchased by the Knights of the Cross, Prague, and is listed in their inventory of 1753-54 (see Chapter IV).

[10]Kostílková, "An Outline," 94.

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The immediate successors to Gayer were Johann Anton Görbig (?1684-1737)[11] and Jan František Novák (d. 1771; served 1737-58),[12] composers whose works were disseminated throughout parts of Bohemia. They were not, however, among the first rank of Bohemian musicians, such as Černohorský and Sehling, who were employed at other Prague churches. (Sehling did, however, serve as a violinist in the capella and as a substitute for Novák during his last illness.)

Novák was succeeded by František Xaver Brixi (1732-1771), a young musician who became not only one of the best-known composers in Prague, but a creative artist whose cworks were disseminated in hundreds if not thousands of copies during his lifetime and long after his death. He was "one of the leading musical figures of mid-18th-century Bohemia," whose work was "rooted in the Neapolitan style" with "fresh melodic writing, vivacious rhythm and lively bass lines, and from that of his predecessors by its

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[11]See Milan Poštolka, "Görbig, Johann Anton (Thaddeus), NG 7, 536. "Görbig's artistic orientation can be seen from the selection of composers represented in his library . . . for example Caldara, Lotti and Heinichen. Only a few of his own compositions survive: masses in a slightly archaic stile misto . . ." Görbig's Missa S. Wolfgangi is in Trolda's collection (CS Pnm, Sign. XXVIII F 268; see Trolda, No. 198).

[12]Novák is probably the composer of one Mass under his name at Klosterneuburg. See "Novák, Jan František," ČSHS, II, 189. A Regina Coeli by Novák is in Trolda's collection (Cs Pnm, Sign. XXVIII E 53; see Trolda, No. 335).

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simple, yet effective instrumentation."[13] Of all of the musicians connected with St. Vitus, František Brixi had the greatest impact on Bohemian musical culture.[14]

By the late 1750s, the Cathedral of St. Vitus had a large complement in its capella: eighteen singers (nine lay persons and nine priests who sang Psalms), six choirboys (bonifantes) and thirty-two permanent instrumentalists, as well as an organist and music director. The new organ, built in 1762-65, was for a time the largest in Bohemia.[15]

That the Cathedral held a significant place in the development of music in Prague as well as in Bohemian lands may be seen from the presence of the compositions by its music director-composers, beginning with Wentzely, in numerous collections and inventories. Yet, with the three exceptions of Wentzely, Sehling (who was not officially a

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[13]See Vladimír Novák, "Brixi. (2) František Xaver Brixi," NG 3, 310.

[14]It is claimed that it was directly due to Brixi's popular musical style that Mozart received in Prague what was, perhaps, the most favorable reception of his lifetime. See Otakar Kamper, František X. Brixy (Prague: Mojmír Urbánek, 1926) 103; also Jan Němeček, Nástin českéhudby XVIII, století (Prague: SNKLHU, 1955) 169. Brixi's music is found in every Bohemian and Moravian collection. Trolda copied eighty-seven manuscripts into his collection (Cs Pnm, Sign. XXVIII E and F; see Trolda, No. 39-125). Among modern published editions are a Missa Pastoralis, ed. by Trolda (Prague: Artia, 1947) and Missa integra, Musica Antiqua Bohemica, 2nd ser., VI (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1971).

[15]Kostílková gives figures about payments, personnel and duties, but testifies to the sketchiness of the material for much of the eighteenth century ("An Outline," 96).

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music director) and F. X. Brixi, there is no indication that these composers provided more than competently-written music based on contemporary models.

The music collection of St. Vitus, some items of which have handwritten annotations by F.X. Brixi, suggests that the musical life at the Cathedral itself may have been more influential than the works of its composers. The extant, incomplete collection of over 1,700 inventoried items, dating from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, indicates that the Cathedral possessed works representative of the best of contemporary European composers. Through its numerous musicians who also played or sang elsewhere,[16] and through an elaborate musical liturgy that was certain to attract the musically curious,[17] St. Vitus' repertory may have exerted a greater influence than can be directly documented. From a musical-

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[16]The nearby Loreto pilgrimage church exerted a mutual influence on St. Vitus because of the shared personnel. See Tomislav Volek, "The Prague Loreta as a musical institution," Domus Lauretana Pragensis, 2 vols., ed. by Oldřich Pulkert, CAM I (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1973) I, 39. Josef Seger held simultaneous posts as organist at two Prague churches: Our Lady of Týn and St. Francis Serafin, belonging to the Knights of the Cross (Milan Poštolka, "Seger, Josef," NG 17, 104). There are numerous other examples and combinations, each of which indicates the possibility of mutual exchange of music repertory.

[17]Franz Benda testified that as a choirboy in Prague, "I often visited those churches where I could hear the best singers" (Paul Nettl, "Franz Benda's Autobiography," Forgotten Musicians [1951], reprinted ed. [New York: Greenwood Press, 1969] 205.

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historical viewpoint, the collection contains some unique items and autographs, and a large representation of Bohemian composers, including the emigrant musicians, Tuma, Zelenka, Gassmann and Mysliveček.[18] Together with the collection of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, the Cathedral's collection is the main source on the history of Czech music in the first third of the eighteenth century.[19]

Like St. Vitus, The Cathedral at Olomouc suffered a similar disadvantage in being neither a governmental center nor located in the principal resident city of the bishop. The bishop preferred his own dominion at Kroměříž.[20] Up to

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[18]Jiří Štefan, "Introduction," Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis I, 68-72. From the period 1700-1775, composers from Italy include: Durante, Fago, Feo, Galuppi, Leo, Lotti, di Majo, Mancini, B. Marcello, Pergolesi, Perti, Piccini, Porpora, Rutini, Sacchini, Sarro, Sarti, A. Scarlatti, Traetta, Vinci, Vivaldi, Zoppis. Composers from Germany include: C. Graun, Handel, Hasse, Heinichen, Rathgeber, Telemann. From the Habsburg court: Caldara (over ninety-five items), Conti, Fux, G. Reutter (father and son). Among the Bohemians are: Brentner, F.X. Brixi, Š. Brixi, Gassmann, Gluck, J. A. Koželuh, Loos, Mysliveček, Novák, Lohelius Oehlschlägel, Pichl, Poppe, Reichenauer, Sehling, and Stamitz (without first name). Among the Austrian composers are Aufschnaiter and Donberger.

[19]Štefan, Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis I, 68.

[20]The most recent study is by Jiří Sehnal, Hudba v olomoucké katedrále v 17. a 18. století (Brno: Moravské Muzeum v Brně, 1988). A short description is given by Jaroslav Bužga in "Olmütz," MGG IX, 1928-29. Alois A. Neumann has written a brief study which contains material now unavailable elsewhere, "Příspěvky k dějinám hudby a zpěvu při olomoucké katedrále (1614-1780)," Special edition of Hlídky, 1939 (Brno, 1940). A historical bibliography is in AFK I, 31.

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the present, musical life at Olomouc has been of interest to musicologists because of research connected with the justly celebrated collection of Bishop Archduke Karel Josef Count Karel Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn (1624-1695)[21]

In seventeenth and eighteenth-century Moravia, because of the small number and lesser importance of secular capellas, the best musical positions were in the larger churches.

> Music at the [Olomouc] Cathedral was the best-endowed; [it] had to be the best in the whole diocese, and it had to serve as a model for music in other churches. . . . And because in Moravia there were, with only a few exceptions, no noble court chapels that might also give musicians a position with social rank, the position of Music Director (kapelník) at the Cathedral carried the highest rank it was possible for an ambitious musician to obtain.[22]

The musical personnel at the Cathedral consisted of the Music Director, organist, professional singers, choirboys (an average of six during the eighteenth century), and instrumentalists, augmented by town musicians

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[21]See Sehnal, Olomoucké katedrále, 20, 64f,73f, 79f, 89ff.

[22]Sehnal, Olomoucké katedrále, 96-98. A 1746 inventory of music and instruments belonging to the estate of Count Jan Matyás Thurn a Valessassin who was prelate of the Cathedral Chapter was published by Sehnal in "Nové příspěvky k dějinám hudby na Moravě v 17. a 18. století," ČMM LX (1975) 165-70. Count Thurn had more instruments in his possession than Bishop Egk of Olomouc. An additional inventory published in the same journal (p. 170-73), gives an impressive list of instruments from the estate of an Olomouc town trumpeter (1751), part of whose estate consisted of a collection of music which included twenty-five Masses and seventy-eight symphonies.

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as needed, and by the bishop's own capella on occasion.[23]

The music directors (Capella Magistri) at Olomouc had close connections with Vienna, the large churches in Brno, the larger Moravian monasteries and with noble courts. The closest connection was with the bishop's court at Kroměříž, to such an extent that musical life at the Cathedral needs to take into account the musical life of the bishops. Indeed, the bishops' inventories provide the principal clues to the actual music repertory. Although the Music Directors were, as a rule, fine composers, and collectors of music, no Cathedral collection exists for the period from 1708 to 1872. It appears that the music remained as part of the estates of the individual directors at their death.[24]

In 1691, Thomas Anton Albertini (1660-1736), the first lay director of music, began work at the Cathedral. His works are preserved in the Lichtenstein-Kastelcorn collection. Albertini was succeeded by Václav Matyáš Gurecký (1705-1743; Music Director 1736-43) who had previously served Cardinal Bishop Wolfgang Hannibal Count

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[23]The first descriptive listing of the collection was by its archivist and conservator, Antonín Breitenbacher, in Hudební archiv kolegiátního kostela sv. Mořice v Kroměříži, Special publication of the Časopis Vlastenecký spolku musejního, XI (Olomouc, 1928), Catalogue B. A catalogue from a microfilm copy was compiled by Craig A. Otto, (Seventeenth-Century Music from Kromeriz, Czechoslovakia [Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Libraries, 1977]).

[24]Sehnal, Olomoucké katedrále, 7.

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von Schrattenbach (1711-1738). Gurecký, who was noted for his operas and oratorios, had been sent by the Cardinal to Vienna to study with Caldara. He also had connections, through his brother Josef, with the court of Count Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn at Wiesentheid.[25]

Josef Antonín Gurecký (1709-1769) who succeeded his brother as music director, also served Cardinal Schrattenbach and his successor, Jakob Ernst Count von Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn (1738-1745), as well.[26] Josef Gurecký traveled to a number of foreign courts prior to taking the position at the Cathedral, and several of his vocal and instrumental compositions in the collection of Count Rudolf Franz Erwein indicate that he must have been in residence at the Wiesentheid castle during 1735-40.[27]

Anton Neumann (1740-1776), who was Music Director from 1769 to 1776, served as "Cammerdiener und Musik Direktor" for Count Leopold Egk during his short

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[25]The Missa obligationis ex C (No. 569), in the Schönborn collection is, according to Sehnal, probably by Václav Gurecký. See Fritz Zobeley, ed., Die Musikalien der Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid I. Teil, Band 2, Handschriften (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982) 69. Sehnal's commentary is in Olomoucké katedrále, 42; see also Sehnal's article, "Gurecký, Václav Matyáš, NG 7, 850-51.

[26]Liechtenstein left the bishopric at Olomouc to become Archbishop of Salzburg, 1745-1747.

[27]See Zobeley, Die Musikalien, Nos. 570-79 (two Masses, eight concertos, one sinfonia), 69-73. Gurecký's position at the Schönborn court is unclear (Sehnal, Olomoucké katedrále, 43); also see Sehnal, "Gurecký, Josef Antonín," NG 7, 850.

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episcopacy (1758-1760). Then for a brief period he worked for Egk's successor, Count Maximilian Hamilton (1760-1776). Egk's music inventory (1760) contains forty-one symphonies and twenty-one trios by Neumann, with another eight symphonies in the collection.[28] Although none of Neumann's works are in Hamilton's inventory (1776), his sacred compositions are found widely distributed in Moravian church collections; two of his sinfonias are in the Doksy castle collection of Count Waldstein and one in the Esterházy collection.[29]

The Parish Churches

Although a general study of music in the parish would be of inestimable value, this discussion will be limited to a brief overview of the parish as a music institution, which, in its ubiquitousness, touched all lives in Bohemia.

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[28]Jiří Sehnal, "Neumann, Anton," NG 13, 125. Sehnal has written two articles about Egk's inventory (1760): "Kapela olomouckého biskupa Leopolda Egka a její repertoar (1758-1760)," ČMM I (1965) 205-19, and a revised and expanded version, "Das Musikinventar des Olmützer Bischofs Leopold Egk aus dem Jahre 1760 als Quelle vorklassischer Instrumentalmusik," AMW XXIX (1972) 285-317. Egk's inventory of instruments and thematic catalogue of compositions is deposited in Cs OLa (Sign. C, Kart 504 Erzbistum Olmütz, Sterbefälle, Leopold Friedrich Graf Egk, fol. 61-74).

[29]Jiří Sehnal, "Das Musikinventar des Olmützer Bischofs Maximilian Hamilton (1761-1776)," Die Musikforschung, XXIV (1971) 411-16. Sehnal gives information about sources of Neumann's compositions in "Das Musikinventar des Olmützer Bischofs Leopold Egk," 301.

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Music in the parish churches was under the supervision of the parish priest. The actual training, conducting and organ playing might be the responsibility of one or more individuals, depending on the size of the parish and the amount of endowments given by the ruling lords of the manor. As pointed out in the discussion of the schools in Chapter I, the local populace, children and adults, provided the musical personnel.

In some towns and villages "literary brotherhoods" existed (Latin:Literati; Czech: literátské bratrství).[30] These were laymen who, before 1620, in Protestant Bohemia, organized themselves into guild-like associations for the purpose of performing church music. Their repertory consisted of plainsong, Czech spiritual songs and vocal polyphonic music (much of which the members composed). Immediately after 1620, in Catholic Bohemia, the Literati were dissolved or discouraged. But with the growth of figural music (stil moderno or stile misto) in the parish, the demand for instrumentalists, and the perception by religious leaders of the need to utilize the popular love of singing, the Literati were gradually re-formed under the auspices of the parish in many towns and villages and often included women.

Although the emphasis of these brotherhoods was on

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[30]Jiří Sehnal, "Cantional. 1. The Czech Kancionál," NG 3, 733-34.

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spiritual piety, the groups generally were expected to perform both vocal and instrumental music during the Mass, on special feast days, on pilgrimages, for funeral services, and for special Easter and Christmas services. Participation in the Advent Rorate Mass was a particular duty. The local cantor was generally the director and the repertory consisted largely of spiritual songs, either from printed cantionals (see below) or from locally-compiled collections.[31] After their final formal dissolution in 1785-86, very little has survived. A few inventories briefly list small collections of instruments, hymnbooks and song books (cantionals).[32]

Of the more than 1,000 parishes in Bohemia and Moravia at the time, the preserved inventories and collections are few, and, as one might expect, most of these are modest in size and scope. The contents, however, of some of the larger ones, call for a high level of

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[31]Bužga, "Musiker," 339-41.

[32]Two manuscript collections and one copy each of the cantionals (see discussion below) by Božan (1719) and Šteyer (1764 edition) from the literary brotherhood in Březnice are in the Březnice parish church collection. This collection, a mixture of church choir, literary brotherhood, and Jesuit church and college collections, has been catalogued by Jitřenka Pešková and published as Collectio Ecclesiae Březnicensis, CAM III (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983). An inventory from the parish church of Chrudím in Northeast Bohemia lists a Latin Gradual, several Czech Graduals, a Rorate collection, and a Catholic Cantional (Eva Mikanová, "Hudební Chrudím v. 15. - 18. století," typescript manuscript given to me by the author, p. 17).

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performing capability from the local performers.

One of the two larger eighteenth-century parish church inventories is from Kvasice in Moravia (1757 with additions to 1772).[33] Kvasice is a small town about 10 km South of Kroměříž. It was, in the eighteenth century, part of the estate belonging to Rottal family, whose family seat was at Holešov (see below). The rector of the school (cantor) was also the organist and choirmaster in the parish church, and all of the four rectors whose copying work and diligent acquisitions make up the bulk of this inventory were local people.

The inventory consists of 280 compositions, more than three-quarters of which are sacred music. Among the seventy-eight named composers appear a number of well-known names, indicating that not only were the cantors well aware of contemporary musical activity in major centers, but they had the taste and discrimination to acquire pieces from some of the best representatives. The acquisitions of works by composers of international fame suggest that the level of local musical competence was fairly high. Among

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[33]The inventory was published in its entirety by Theodora Straková, "Kvasický inventář z r. 1757," ČMM XXXVIII (1953), 105-49. The inventory is deposited in Cs Bm (Sign. G 172). The collection, of mixed provenience, is also in Cs Bm. A second parish inventory, also from Moravia, is a thematic catalogue (1763) from the church of St. James (sv. Jakub) in Brno, now deposited in Cs Bam (Sign. c 43/70). This inventory has been the subject of a study by Miroslav Krejčí, "Inventář hudebnin z kostela sv. Jakuba v Brně," (Diplomová práce, University J.E. Purkýně, Brno, 1957).

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the Masses are several by Antonio Caldara (c1670-1736) and Reutter (either Georg, Sr., 1656-1738, or Georg, Jr., 1708-1772, or both) from the Imperial Court, as well as one by F.X. Brixi. There are Litanies by František Tuma (1704-1774) and Václav Kalous, F.X. Brixi's teacher (1715-1786); Offertories by Nicola Porpora (1686-1768) and Lohelius Oehlschlägel; arias by Caldara, Johann Hasse (1699-1783), Domenico Sarro (1679-1744), Carl Heinrich Graun (1703/04-1759); a Parthia by Franz Xaver Richter (1709-1789), and two symphonies as well as a Parthia by Joseph Haydn (1732-1809).[34] The Kvasice inventory corroborates Charles Burney's observation that people in small towns in Bohemian lands had a performing acquaintance with works by representative composers who were in the mainstream of contemporary music.

Jiří Sehnal has calculated that around 1700 in Bohemia there were, in addition to regular Sunday services, an additional forty-two non-working religious feasts per year in which church attendance was mandatory. From this he has concluded that the average person went to church not less than ninety times in a year--that is, about once every

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[34]One Haydn symphony, in C ("à Viol. 2, Clar. 2, Alto Viola 1 et Basso"), is listed in the inventory with a dated entry of 1757. Another in C ("à viol Duobus , oboae Duobus, cla. Duobus/ Alto Viola et Basso"), was entered on March 1, 1768. The Parthia in C ("à Vio. ?, Alto Viola et organo"), was entered April 4, 1772. Unfortunately, the manuscripts were not preserved, preventing further identification.

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four days.[35] We may assume that the volume of music performed and heard in the public religious setting was remarkably high and therefore highly significant in the musical development of Bohemian people.

The Monasteries

The profound influence of the cathedrals and parish churches on the musical life of Bohemia was matched by the influence of the various religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church. The primary influence was from the Jesuits and Piarists, who were given the task of teaching with a view to conversion. However, other orders, among them Franciscans, Cistercians, Augustinians and Benedictines, also had schools. Monasteries could influence the singing and playing of music in their function as "lords of the manor" over parishes they owned, or through their members who served as parish priests. In the case of the Cistercian monastery of Osek and the Prague Knights of the Cross, both conditions prevailed.[36]

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[35]Jiří Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba (1620-1740)," Hudba v českých dějinách, ed. by Jaromír Černý, et al. (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983) 162.

[36]At the close of the Thirty Years' War, "shortages of priests . . . permitted only a third of the 1,000 parishes to be staffed" (J. Krajcar, "Czechoslovakia," New Catholic Encyclopedia IV, 592. The dire need led to the use of monks as parish priests, especially among the Cistercian order, which had often been pressed into such service. See Louis J. Lekai, The Cistercians, Ideals and Reality (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977) 386-87, 389-90.

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Although figures are inexact, it appears that there were at least 200 monasteries, convents and religious houses belonging to more than forty different orders in Bohemia, Moravia and the remaining Austrian part of Silesia in 1770.[37] An indeterminite number of monasteries and churches within certain of these orders conducted elaborate musical liturgies, like the cathedrals, and like the Benedictine abbey at Melk, that employed a large capella of vocalists, choirboys and instrumentalists.[38] Table 2.1 lists the most famous in the three major cities, Prague, Brno, Olomouc.[39]

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[37]Robert J. Kerner offers two different numbers, 151 and 154, (Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century [New York: Macmillan, 1932] p. 319 and 339). Whether these numbers stand for Bohemia alone or include the three territories is unclear. In both instances his reckoning does not include the houses of the Jesuit order. The total number was obtained from a simple count of the institutions listed by Svátek (Organizace řeholních institucí). For further explanations and statistics see Rostislav Nový, "Der Kirchenbesitz und seine Verwaltung," Bohemia Sacra, ed. by Ferdinand Seibt (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1974) 56-57.

[38]See Robert N. Freeman, "The Practice of Music at Melk Monastery in the Eighteenth Century," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1971). Freeman's thesis has been published in revised and enlarged form as The Practice of Music at Melk Abbey, Based upon the Documents, 1681-1826 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989).

[39]Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 169. Additional material is from Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, "Kirchenmusik, C. Die katholische Kirchenmusik vom Tridentinum bis zur Enzyklika "Annus qui." MGG XVI, 962ff.

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TABLE 2.1.--Monastic Churches in Prague, Brno and Olomouc most famous for their musical liturgies

(Key to Abbreviations of the separate Prague towns:
O.T. = Old Town; N.T. = New Town; L.Q. = Little Quarter;
Hrad = Hradčany, the Prague Castle district;
Coll. = Old collection extant.)

Order and City	Church (Czech name)	Coll.
Augustinian		
Brno	St. Thomas (Sv. Tomáš)	Coll.
Benedictine		
Prague, O.T.	St. Nicholas (Sv. Mikuláš)	
Capuchin		
Prague, Hrad	Our Lady of Loreto (Loreta or Panny Maria v Loretě)	Coll.
Jesuit		
Brno	Assumption of B.V.M. (Nanebevzetí Panny Marie)	
Olomouc	Our Lady of the Snow (Panny Marie Sněžná)	
Prague, O.T.	St. Salvator and St. Clement (sv. Salvátor, sv. Kliment, belonging to the Clementinum provincial house & college)	
Prague, L.Q.	St. Nicholas (sv. Mikuláš)	
Prague, N.T.	St. Ignatius (sv. Ignác)	
Knights of the Cross (Křížovníci)		
Prague, O.T.	St. Francis Serafin (sv. František Serafínský)	Coll.
Knights of Malta (Maltézští rytíři)		
Prague, L.Q.	Our Lady Below the Chain (Matky Boží pod řetězem)	
Minorite		
Brno	St. John (sv. Jan)	
Prague, O.T.	St. James (sv. Jakub)	
Premonstratensian		
Prague, Hrad	Our Lady of Strahov (Panny Marie na Strahově)	
Servite		
Prague, O.T.	St. Michael (sv. Michal)	

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The entire picture of musical life in Bohemia's and Moravia's monasteries has yet to be fully described, and perhaps may never be, due to the lack of preserved material. As can be seen in Table 2.1, of the churches listed, only three collections are known to exist; none of the three is complete.[40]

That a number of orders, particularly the Jesuit, Piarist, Augustinian, Benedictine, Cisterician, Premonstratensian, Franciscan (Capuchin and Minorite), and Brothers of Compassion began an intensive cultivation of music in Bohemia during the Counter-Reformation effort is known from studies of an assortment of archival material.[41] We also know through financial records, collections of letters and biographical information that various monasteries, schools and religious centers were in close contact with each other and with the courts of noble

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[40]A catalogue of the collection from the Loreto church (Cs LIT), has been published by Oldřich Pulkert as Domus Lauretana Pragensis, 2 vols., CAM I. The collection of the Knights of the Cross is in Cs Pnm; its collection of codexes and printed cantionals is in Cs Pu (see Chapter IV). The large collection from the Augustinian church of St. Thomas in Brno is in Cs Bm. Most of the works date from 1750 to 1840 and parts are from other churches' collections. See Bohumír Štědroň, "Hudební sbírka augustiniánu na Starém Brně," Věstník české akademie věd a umění, LII/1 (1943) 1-29.

[41]Neuman has outlined the devlopment of the Piarist order in Piaristé a český barok (Přerov: Společenská knihtiskárna, 1933) 9-25. Emil Trolda, between 1918 and 1944, published short studies about the Augustinians, Jesuits and Compassionate Brothers as well as monographs about individual monasteries (see Bibliography).

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patrons. Yet comparatively little eighteenth-century musical evidence remains.[42] Table 2.2 summarizes the preserved inventories and collections of those monasteries not on the list of urban centers above.[43]

TABLE 2.2.--Monasteries having preserved music inventories or collections (1700-1775)

(Key to Abbreviations: B = Bohemia; M = Moravia; * = Thematic catalogue; i = list of instruments; Coll. = preserved collection; Inv. = inventory (with approximate date). RISM Sigla indicate location of inventory or collection.)

Order	Geog. Location (German)	Coll./Inv.	Source Location
Benedictine	Břevnov (B)	Coll.	Cs Bm
Benedictine	Rajhrad (M) (Raigern)	Inv. 1725-c1750 (i)	Cs Bam[a]
		*Inv. 1771	Cs Bm[b]
		Coll.	Cs Bm
Cistercian	Osek (Ossegg) (B)	Inv. 1706 (i)	Cs Pnm[c]
		Inv. 1720,1733/34(i)	Cs Pnm[c]
		*Inv. 1753/54-1802	Cs Pnm[c]
		Coll.	Cs Pnm[c]
Compassionate Brothers (Cz: Milosrdných bratří; German: Barmherzige Brüder)	Brno (M)	Coll.	Cs Bm[d]
Elizabethenes (Czech:Alžbětinky)	Prague (B)	Coll.	Cs Pnm
Knights of the Cross (Cz: Křížovníci; German: Kreuzherren)	Prague (B)	Inv. 1737/38-59	Cs Bam[e]
		Coll.	Cs Pnm[e]

[42]The students in the Jesuit schools at Mikulov (German: Nikolsberg) and Jindřichuv Hradec (German: Neuhaus) played in the local churches, and from the latter school students performed at Cardinal Harrach's palace. These and a number of other contacts are described by Bužga, "Musiker," 357-58.

[43]Jiří Fukač, "Inventáře hudební," ČSHS II, 550-51.

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Order	Geog. Location (German)	Coll./Inv.	Source Location
Premonstratensian	Želiv (Latin:Siloënsis)	Coll.	Cs Pnm[f]

a) Sign. K 140. See Theodora Straková, "Rajhradský hudební inventář z r. 1725," ČMM LVIII (1973), 217-46. Complete contents.
b) Sign. G 6. 125 leaves. Scheduled for publication by Theodora Straková.
c) See Chapter Three.
d) A catalogue is in preparation by Michaela Kopecká.
e) See Chapter Four.
f) See Emil Trolda, "Siloënsia," Hudebni Revue X (Prague 1916), 69-76. Description only.

In 1773 the Jesuit Society was dissolved and their properties confiscated. A large portion of their archival material disappeared. From the more than forty-six residences and institutions, only one Jesuit musical inventory and collection of music remains to document what we know was an extremely rich musical life.[44] Under the reforms of Joseph II, 1781-1790, which suppressed some orders and reduced others, fewer than half survived. The properties of the others were confiscated by the government, and their duties were reassigned.[45] Fragments of collections from some of these monasteries are preserved in various archives.[46]

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[44]A small inventory and collection are from the Jesuit college at Uherské Hradiště. The inventory is deposited at Cs Pu; the collection is at Cs Pnm. For descriptions of the contents of each, see Jiří Sehnal, "Hudba v jesuitském semináři v Uherském Hradišti v roce 1730, " HV XVIII (1981) 50.

[45]Kerner, Bohemia, 43; Robert A. Kann, A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) 188.

[46]Most of the Moravian holdings are either in Cs Bm or Cs Bam. The catalogue of holdings for the former,

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The function of music within the life of eaach individual monastery is known only in general terms. Precise descriptions from individual monasteries are lacking, pending further studies of archival sources. Knowing that practices differed among the orders and even between regions, we must rely on a general picture. Here, Robert Freeman's study on music at the Benedictine monastery of Melk is extremely helpful.[47] The Roman Beviary was authorized for use in Bohemia under Archbishop Waldstein (1675-1694). Using Freeman's description together with that of Jiří Sehnal as a basis,[48] a general monastic liturgy, except in those orders which were restricted to silence or plainchant, is outlined in Table 2.3. In the table, as well as in the discussion to follow, the term "figural" appears. For the period under discussion, "figural," is a term distinguishing stil moderno or stile misto from plainchant, or stil antico.[49]

PrůvodceM, is clear and detailed; for the latter, the catalogue, Průvodce po státním archivu v Brně (Brno: Krajské nakladatelství v Brně, 1954)), is detailed but written in long prose descriptions. For Bohemian archives, the catalogue, PrůvodceB, indicates where music may be found without specifying many of the collections and deposits by name. Trolda's series of articles, "Jesuité a hudba," consists mainly of names of Jesuit musicians.

[47]Freeman, "The Practice of Music at Melk Monastery," 116ff; Music at Melk Abbey, 150.

[48]Sehnal, Olomoucké katedrále, 84-86.

[49]"Figural, ist eine Art zu singen, oder zu musiciren, da die Stimmen nicht einerley Mensur und Tact [sic] halten, wie im Choral; sondern da eine einen

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TABLE 2.3.--Liturgy and music in the monasteries

(* = public liturgy on Sundays and feast days)

Time	Service	Daily music (Ferial, semiduplex)	Sunday music (Feasts, duplex)
AM			
3:30	Matins	plainsong	plainsong
	Lauds	plainsong	plainsong
6:00	Low Mass	plainsong	plainsong
	Terce	plainsong	plainsong
9:00	*High Mass	plainsong/organ improvisation	figural
PM	Sext	plainsong	plainsong
	None	plainsong	plainsong
3:00	*Vespers	plainsong/organ improvisation	figural
4:00	Compline	plainsong	plainsong/figural Marian antiphon

As stated above, feast days in Bohemia numbered forty-two in 1700; monasteries might have additional feasts for local or patron saints and martyrs. Also in Bohemia, the Advent season called for special Rorate Masses. [50] In addition to these, figural music was called for on other occasions: Requiem Masses for high personages, responsories for the dead (Libera me, Domine), Te Deums for celebrations of thanksgiving. In general, the season of Lent called for

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Schlaghält, läufft die andere durch 4. Viertel, oder durch 2. Viertel und 4. Achtel, die eben diesen Schlag ausmachen: Oder, da eine fortspringt, die andere pausiret, und was dergleichen Figuren mehr im Spielen sind, da indessen all hierinne gleiche Mensur halten." Kurzgefasstes musikalisches Lexicon (Chemnitz, 1737), facsimile edition (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975), 139-40. See also Michael Tilmouth, "Figural, figurate, figured," NG 6, 543.

[50]Jaroslav Mráček, "Rorate chants," NG 16, 185.

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figural music of a more modest scope, if any.[51] However, on Good Friday and on Easter, some of the larger institutions, and especially the ones with schools attached, performed oratorios for the public on what appears to have been a fairly large scale (see below, Oratorio).

Music also functioned in the monasteries in extra-liturgical ways. There were celebrations of name days, especially for the abbot and those holding higher posts in the monastery; celebrations of golden jubilees of a priest's first Mass; processions in the town and countryside. There was music for recreation, such as Tafelmusik which was performed at some monasteries, and entertainments for the Carnival season (Czech: masopust; German: Fasching), beginning on the evening of Quinquagesima Sunday and ending the following Tuesday evening (Shrove Tuesday). Popular songs, marches, dance music and plays with music (see below) were performed.

The tradition of elaborate musical liturgy, begun in Bohemia in the seventeenth century, seemed to gain endorsement from the Papal encyclical of 1749, Annus qui.[52]

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[51]Freeman, "The Practice of Music at Melk Monastery," 137.

[52]The encyclical "granted recognition to the new contemporary style with its instrumental accompaniment. . ." Karl Gustav Fellerer, The History of Catholic Church Music, trans. by Francis A. Brunner (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961) 142.

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But shortly thereafter, in 1753, a Papal bull of Benedict XIV curtailed the number of feast days, and hence, the number of occasions for the use of large vocal and instrumental capellas.[53] Almost contemporaneous with this bull was a general decree issued by Empress Maria Theresa (January 26, 1754) banning the use of trumpets and timpani in all church services and processions. There is no indication that this practice diminished.[54]

The Empress did, however, manage other monastic reforms in a series of decrees issued throughout the 1760s and 1770s. These laws, in effect, reduced the income of the monasteries as well as restricted their size in number of members.[55] Taken together, this meant that the monasteries gradually could no longer maintain a large

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[53]Freeman, "The Practice of Music at Melk Monastery," 121.

[54]"Judging from the instrumentation of [F.X. Brixi's] compositions, the decree . . . was not observed." Štefan, Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis I, 72. At Melk as well, "the order does not appear to have been stringently enforced. . ." Freeman, "The Practice of Music at Melk Monastery," 122.

[55] "The most important of Maria Theresa's decrees were concerned with limiting the number of new entrants to, and the acquisition of further capital by, the monasteries." Ernst Wangermann, The Austrian Achievment 1700-1800 (London: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1973) 82. An excerpt from Maria Theresa's "Political Testament" (c1751) is found on p. 75-76: "And I should therefore consider it not merely not laudable but rather culpable, if more property were to be given or transferred to the clergy. For on the one hand they do not need it, and on the other they do not, unfortunately, utilize what they have in the way they should, while being a heavy burden on the public. . ."

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religious staff or pay for a large professional music capella. A shrinking of the musical liturgy had begun even before the general dissolution and curtailment in 1784. The monasteries could no longer serve their former function as a livelihood for many musicians and as a source of educational scholarships for choirboys as they once had.

While they were in their growth and peak periods of musical cultivation, the Bohemian and Moravian monasteries produced a number of excellent musicians: composers, teachers and performers. Among the best-known (known outside their order and/or outside their monastery) are the following:

TABLE 2.4.—Outstanding Bohemian musicians in religious orders

Order	Name (Dates)	Place of Work
Benedictine	Gunther Jakob (1685-1734)	Kladruby monastery St. Nicholas, Prague Manětín castle + printed works
Cistercian	Mauritius Vogt (1669-1730) (born in Bavaria, studied and worked in Bohemia)	Plasy monastery Mariánská Týnice church Manětín castle + printed works
Knights of the Cross, Red Star	František L.Poppe (1670-1730)	Most commendum, church Knín parish Klučeny parish St. Francis Serafin, Prague
Minorite	Ferdinand Bernard Artophaeus (? - 1721)	St. James, Prague
Minorite	Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský (1684-1742) "Padre Boemo"	St. James, Prague Our Lady of Týn, Prague also in Italy
Minorite	Česlav Vaňura (1694-1736)	St. James, Prague + printed works

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Piarist	Antonín Brosmann/ Damasus a Sancto Hieronymo (1731-1798)	Piarist colleges: Bílá Voda, Kroměříž, Přibor, Johannesberg
Piarist	Václav Kalous/ Simone à Sancto Bartholomaeo (1715-1786)	Piarist schools at Strážnice, Vienna, Horn, Mikulov, Kosmonosy, Benešov, Prague, Slaný, Kroměříž
Piarist	Antonín Mašat/ Remigius à Sancto Erasmo (1692-1747)	Lipník nad Becvou
Premonstra-tensian	Josef Dukát (1684-1717)	Želiv monastery + printed work
Premonstra-tensian	Franz Joseph Oehlschlägel / Joannes Lohelius (1724-1788)	Bohosudov church, Strahov, Prague

Each of the above, either through teaching, directing, conducting, or composing, or any combination thereof, played a significant part in the musical education of Bohemia. Although we do not have complete biographical information for each, we know that some of them were trained in monastery schools (see section B) and with few exceptions (Vogt, who studied in Italy and Germany, and Černohorský, who went to Italy four times), they did not leave Bohemia or Moravia to study elsewhere. A number of them taught pupils who would later become more famous. Artophaeus taught Černohorský, who in turn is alleged to have taught Seger, Tartini, and Gluck. Kalous taught F.X. Brixi and Antonín Brosmann.

Only members of the Piarists were totally involved in school teaching and directing music capellas, as can be

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expected from the mandate of the order. Members of other orders taught, directed and composed as an adjunct to their other religious duties. Some of them seemed to be given more time to specialize. The Cistercian, Mauritius Vogt, was the author of an excellent music treatise, Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae (Prague, 1719) and the Premonstratensian Oehlschlägel was a renowned organ builder.[56] They all had a common background: they received their basic training in Bohemian crown lands and they developed their skills through that training and acquaintance with the available repertory.

> Monasteries and colleges were the bases for music with a lasting tradition, broken only off and on by outside circumstances (wartime incidents, epidemics). The variable level of particular performances resulted from the disposition of the regular forces, mediums, and capability -- particularly in the colleges -- of the active composers and students. [The level] sank only occasionally as a consequence of declining support of a particular head [Vorgesetzter]. Church ceremonies became in monastery churches a magnificent, exciting, sensually-affecting show with musical accompaniment, which was accessible to broad social strata and mediated manifold vocal, vocal-instrumental, and instrumental works to them.[57]

The Schools

As described above, music was taught in the schools

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[56]Oehlschlägel designed and supervised the building of the organ at Strahov, Prague. Němec gives a description of the organ, and a smaller one that Oehlschlägel redesigned, including the stoplists (Pražské varhany, 111-15).

[57]Bužga, "Musiker," 359.

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not as a curriculum subject, but as a means to develop Catholic piety through active participation in the liturgy. A certain time was allotted to instruction, both in vocal and instrumental music, beginning at the local schools (sometimes referred to as "Latin schools"). The schools provided a basic acquaintance with the musical repertory, the quality and breadth of which was amazingly high throughout Bohemia.

Music in the Local School

A school ordinance, issued by Count Philip Clam-Gallas for his estate town of Frýdlant in 1743, describes the daily routine prescribed for the local school. The morning session, which lasted from 6 to 12 (7 to 12 in winter), had two hours of instruction from 9 to 11 by the cantor or Schulmann, "sie Kinder im Singen, Geigen aufn [sic] Clavier und anderen Instrumenten bestens zu informieren befleissen sein solle."[58] No mention is made of music instruction or practice in the afternoon session,

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[58]Josef Bennesch, Ortsgeschichte von Haindorf (Friedland in Böhmen: Stadtgemeinde Haindorf, 1924) 203. A similar set of instructions was issued by Count Kaunitz in 1717 for the parish school at Česká Lípa (Böhmische Leippa). The instructions apparently reiterate the provisions of an earlier set issued in 1682 by the previous lord, Cardinal Harrach. The instructions (in German), are printed in full by Eva Mikanová ("Hudební kultura v České Lípě a okolí," Sborník příspěvku k době poddanského povstání roku 1680 v severních čechách, ed. by Marie Vojtíšková [Prague: Okresní archiv Česká Lípa, 1980] 223-26).

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which lasted from 1 until 4. On Sundays and holidays the children, under the cantor's training were to sing in the church choir. When a musical litany (figural music) was needed for a feast day, "the cantor, during the music instruction period the day before must teach it to the children."[59]

It is this kind of daily instruction period that Burney observed in Čáslav, when he declared "I caught them in the fact."[60][sic]

> I went to the school which was full of little children of both sexes, from six to ten or eleven years old, who were reading, writing, playing on violins, hautbois, bassoons, and other instruments. The organist had in a small room of his house four clavichords, with little boys practising on them all. . .

It is possible that the organist's young son, whose musical talent Burney commented on favorably, was Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812), the celebrated pianist and composer. Dussek went from the school at Čáslav and his father's tutelage to attend the Jesuit gymnasium at Jihlava (German: Iglau) and then Kutná Hora (German: Kuttenberg).[61]

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[59]"den Tag vor einfallenden Feiertag die Litanei musikalisch forderst zur Ehre Gottes dann zu Nutzen und wegen der Excertiti der in Singen und Musiklehre bestehende Jugend verrichten zu lassen." Bennesch, Ortsgeschichte, 204.

[60]Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe, II, 132.

[61]Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe, II, 132; Howard Allen Craw, "Dussek, (2) Jan Ladislav Dussek," NG 5, 755.

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Music In the Secondary Schools

Music training, again as no part of the formal curriculum, continued with even greater emphasis in the secondary schools (colleges) run by the Jesuits and Piarists.[62] Although the schools were not founded with the objective of doing so, they produced some excellent musicians. Georg Benda, for example, was enrolled at the Jesuit college at Jičín as a seminarian, taking the full course of study over three and a half years.[63] Table 2.5 lists those Bohemian musicians of distinguished reputation who are known to have attended Piarist or Jesuit schools.[64]

TABLE 2.5.--Bohemian musicians in Jesuit and Piarist Schools

(Czech names given first/German, if any, given second)

Jesuit schools

Březnice	Jan Antonín Koželuch (1738-1814) Václav Pichl (1741-1805)
Brno	Jeroným Haura (1704-1750)
Chomutov/Komotau	Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729-1774)
Hradec Králové/ Königgrätz	František X. Dušek (1731-1799) Jan Křtitel Kuchař (1751-1829) ?František Tůma (1704-1774)

[62]Almost all German sources refer to these secondary schools by the term Gymnasium, but some use Kollegium. The Czech sources vary, sometimes using gymnasium and more often kolej. Whatever the name, these are always secondary schools with graded levels.

[63]Helfert, Jiří Benda, 65.

[64]In general, the information is obtained through the fragmentary archival material in which some records of school matriculants are to be found.

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TABLE 2.5, continued

Jičín/Jitschin	Baltazar Janovka (c1660-1741) Václav Karel Holan Rovenský (1644-1718) Georg Benda (1722-1795) Jan Křtitel Kuchař
Jihlava/Iglau	Johann Stamitz (1717-1757) Paul Wranitzky (1756-1808) Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812)
Klatovy/Klattau	František Habermann (1706-1783)
Jindřichuv Hradec/Neuhaus	Adam Michna (c1600-1676)
Kutná Hora/ Kuttenberg	Franz Anton (Rösler) Rosetti (c1750-1792)[a] Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812)
Litoměřice/ Leitmeritz	Václav Praupner (1745-1807)
Olomouc/Olmütz	Josef Leopold Dukát (1684-1717) F. A. (Rösler) Rosetti[a] Paul Wranitzky
Opava/Troppau	Pavel Vejvanovský (?c1633 or c1639-1693)
Prague	Baltazar Janovka (c1660-1741) Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745) František Benda (1709-1786) Josef Ferd. Norbert Seger (1716-1782) Josef Mysliveček (1737-1781) Václav Pichl (1741-1805) F.A. (Rösler) Rosetti[a] ?František Tůma
Trnava	Ferdinand Kauer (1751-1831)
Znojmo/Znaim	F. A. (Rösler) Rosetti[a] Ferdinand Kauer
<u>Piarist schools</u>	
Kosmonosý	Viktorin Brixi (1716-1803) Georg Benda Jiří Ignác Linek (1725-1791) František X. Brixi (1732-1771) František Bečvařovsky (1754-1823)
Lipník nad Bečvou /Leipnik	Antonín Brosmann (1731-1798)
Rychnov nad Kněznou/Reichenau	Václav Kalous (1715-1786)

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Table 2.5, continued

precise school	Václav Matyáš Gurecký (1705-1743)
not known	Josef Antonín Gurecký (1709-1769)

[a. Rosetti's name appears in connection with four Jesuit schools, but at Znojmo at least, hewas employed as a lay teacher. To what extent others also served as teachers is unclear, especially as gifted senior students were given teaching roles.]

Even with the fragmentary information we have about the schools attended, it is evident, from the quality of the graduates of the different schools over a period of time, that the level of musical training seemed to be high in general.

Discussion of school repertory is limited by the lack of primary sources. Of the schools listed above, only one has an existing musical inventory for the time period between 1700 and 1775: the Piarist college at Kosmonosy. The inventory is dated 1707 and 1712, a time before any of the musicians listed above were born.[65] The only other existing inventories are from the Piarist college at Slaný and from the Jesuit college at Uherské Hradiště, which do not appear in Table 2.5 due to lack of information about

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[65]The inventory is in Cs Pa. There are two "editions;" the earliest, Inventarium Universale Collegii Cosmonossensis Schol. Piar. Sanctae Crucis, is dated 1707 (Sign. Ř Pi 398). A second and larger inventory, Inventarium Chori Cosmonossensis Scholarum Piarum ad Sanctam Crucem, dated 1712, seems to incorporate the contents of the 1707 inventory (Sign. Ř Pi 399). It also contains a list of instruments. The contents of the 1712 inventory have been published by Zdeněk Culka, "Inventáře hudebních nástroju a hudebnin piaristické koleje v Kosmonosích," Příspěvky k dějinám české hudby, II (Prague: Academia, 1972) 5-43.

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their student matriculants.[66] The Slaný inventory, like the others, carries an early date, 1713, but has additional dated entries to 1760.[67]

The best information available about music instruction and performance at one of these schools is from Vladimír Helfert's intensive research on Georg Benda, who attended both Piarist (Kosmonosy) and Jesuit (Jičín) colleges.[68] Helfert was unable to discover much information about music at Kosmonosy, but found rich sources in archival material and historical studies related to Jičín. Helfert's information can now be supplemented by Zdeněk Culka's study on an early inventory from Kosmonosy, together with material from studies of Piarist schools.[69]

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[66]For Uherské Hradiště, see above.

[67]The Slaný inventory, Inventarium Rerum et Instrumentorum Musicalium Chori Slanens Schol. Piar. Innovaten sub R.P. Tobia Thoma á S. Elia Dom. Rectores Anno Reparatae Salutis 1713, is in the Okresní (District) Library of Chladno. My thanks to Tomislav Volek of Prague for a copy of his annotated typescript copy. The inventory contains about 1300 compositions by 220 authors. Among the items of interest are vocal compositions on Czech texts from the second half of the seventeenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The remains of the Slaný music collection is in the Slaný town archive. See also "K otázce vzniku českých pastorel," by Tomislav Volek, HRo X (1957) 774-76.

[68]Helfert, Jiří Benda. There is a summary in German, p. 192-202. Helfert used some of this material in his essay, "Die Jesuiten-Kollegien der böhmischen Provinz zur Zeit des jungen Gluck," Festschrift für Johannes Wolf, ed. Walter Lott, Helmut Osthoff und Werner Wolffheim (Berlin: Martin Breslauer, 1929) 57-64.

[69]Culka, "Inventáře piaristické koleje," 5-43. One study, about a particular Piarist college, Lipník nad

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An Ordo musices (Rule for music) for Jičín, dating from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, outlines the music personnel and the requirements for music practice and performance. From this document, Helfert concluded that Jičín was "a regular school of vocal and instrumental music."[70] There was a well thought out, graded system of music teaching, both practical and theoretical. Students were divided into singing groups according to their vocal range, each group with its own teacher. Practice time was invariable: beginning a quarter hour after breakfast and lunch. For those whose voices were altering there was a "school of instrumentalists," with teachers for each of the different instruments: strings, "cornu," trombone, clavichord.[71]

Performing conditions also were enumerated: each student was requested to bring his own instrument to

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Bečvou is by Jan Bombera and Eva Bomberová, "Hudba v piaristické koleji v Lipníku n.B. v letech 1680-1780," HV, X (1973) 111-25; summary in German. The other is part of Neuman's general history of the Piarist schools in Bohemia (Piaristé a český barok).

[70]Helfert, Jiří Benda, 77.

[71]Helfert, Jiří Benda, 77. Neuman shows that the Piarist schools adopted much the same system, using as evidence a 1712 listing of their members who taught and performed music. Some of these men were "externists," who taught in the noble manor houses and castles as "chaplains" to the household. P. Anselm Hönl from Kosmonosy, who sang bass and played string instruments is listed as "Kaplan vévodkyně badenské v Lovosicích a Ostrově." (Chaplain to the Duke of Baden at Lobositz and Schlackenwerth) (Piaristé a český barok, 143). J.C.F. Fischer was the Hofkapellmeister at Schlackenwerth during this time.

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church, but one extra student was assigned to help carry the double bass. All of the instruments apparently belonged to the college, because two pupils were assigned to see that they were deposited in their proper place afterward. Two pairs of students were in charge of taking care of the manuscript parts.[72] Helfert estimated that Jičín, which was a large school, had a capella at least the size of the ones at Jihlava or Chomutov (which is known to have had 30 members).

Concerted music (music for voices and instruments) and polyphony (when the season required it) were performed in the monastery church on Sundays and feast days. Songs honoring the Virgin Mary were sung on Saturday afternoons.[73] The school inventory from Slaný (1713) offers a glimpse of a smaller school's repertory. The list includes works by composers active between 1700 and 1730 in Italy, Germany and the Imperial Court. In addition, the inventory contains a large number of works by Bohemian and Moravian composers, especially those working at the cathedrals in Prague and Olomouc. Among the later entries (1753, 1760) are works by Carl Heinrich Graun, Adolph Hasse, Padre

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[72]Helfert, Jiří Benda, 77, n.41.

[73]In 1741 Jičín college printed a hymnbook edition in 1,000 copies "for the use of students who like singing." Helfert, Jiří Benda, 79.

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Martini and a symphony by Georg Wagenseil.[74]

The Kosmonosy inventory (1707, 1712) bears a close resemblance to Slaný's in genres and composers during the same early period.[75] This limited evidence suggests that students in the Piarist and Jesuit schools probably had contact with the works of a number of contemporary composers, both European and Bohemian-Moravian. The available sources point to the probability that students were well acquainted with all of the current genres of music.

Although opera has not been mentioned, at Jičín, Georg Benda found a special genre of music which Helfert believes served as the foundation for his later dramatic works. This was connected with Jesuit theater practice, in the unique form of school plays with music. These plays grew out of the Jesuit school custom of final exercises and

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[74]Among the earlier composers are Giacomo Carissimi, Giuseppe Pitoni, Heinrich Biber, J. C. F. Fischer and Johann Kerll. The Neapolitan composers are represented by Francesco Durante, Francesco Feo, Leonardo Leo, as well as Tommaso Albinoni and Giovanni Maria Bononcini. From the Habsburg Court are Johann Schmelzer, Georg Reutter, Antonio Caldara, and Johann Joseph Fux. Additional later composers are Baldassare Galuppi, and Domenico Sarro. The greater portion of music in the Slaný inventory, at least in the early part of the eighteenth century, consists of music by Bohemian composers: Gunther Jacob, Mauritius Vogt, Mikuláš Wentzely, Johann Christoph Gayer, Tobias Liehre, František Poppe and others. Later Bohemian composers include: Joseph Brentner, F.X. and Šimon Brixi, Česlav Vaňura, Jan Zach and Jan Dismas Zelenka.

[75]Kosmonosy has about eighty composers in common with Slaný. (Culka, "Inventáře piaristické koleje," 32-38).

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recitations, which in turn were based on a graded mastery of rhetoric. The plays, which were fully staged, with scenery, costumes, music and dance, took place

> several times during the year, the main production being connected with the final examination. Political events, church holidays, or days celebrating the patrons of school and country, provided additional opportunities to display the colleges' theatrical achievements. The public performances were carefully prepared and dress rehearsals were held before an audience of invited dignitaries.[76]

The plays described above included those which involved the whole college, as well as those plays produced by the individual "grades" or "classes" (Czech: třídi). Helfert believed that probably each of the five grades at Jičín produced a play each year.[77] At Lipník, a Piarist school, the same system apprently was followed. Here, "Theater production was often, not less than once a year for each class."[78] There were other play productions: for Christmas, Easter and occasional celebrations.[79] The plays and music were written by teachers and older students.

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[76]Henry Schnitzler, "The School Theatre of the Jesuits, The Theatre Annual (New York: Hill and Wang, 1943) 56-57. For a survey of the subject of the school plays, including types of subjects, staging and music, see Heinrich Hüschen, "Jesuiten," MGG, VII, 27-33.

[77]Helfert, Jiří Benda, 92. Also "Die Jesuiten Kollegien," 61.

[78]Bombera and Bomberová, "Hudba v piaristické koleji," 115.

[79]Bombera and Bomberová, "Hudba v piaristické koleji," 114-15.

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From existing reports of the stagings, as well as from information gleaned from the printed synopses, at least some of the plays were expected to be performed on a professional level, complete with stage mechanics. Some benefactor--usually the local lord--would underwrite the expenses.[80]

These student productions, some of which were performed on a magnificent scale, fulfilled two cultural tasks. Because they involved the ordinary students as well as the noble students, they provided a common cultural experience. The common experience might be assumed to form a common musical understanding. In a second sense, the school plays were an important foundation for the aristocratic taste for opera which dominated European musical culture throughout the Baroque era.[81] At the same time, these same plays were training the musicians who would be hired to produce music of a similar kind for the nobility.

The Jesuit school theater exerted widespread influence on the other orders, so that Piarists,

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[80]F[erdinand] Menčík, Příspěvky k dějinám českého divadla (Prague: České akademie císare Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1895) 93.

[81]"From the beginning, especially after 1620 the school drama was the essential form of music theater in Bohemia. . . . [It gave an effective experience] to numerous generations of students . . . and to the broad stratum of the population who otherwise hardly went to the theater." Jaroslav Bužga, "Schuldrama. B. Das Schuldrama in den böhm. Ländern," MGG XII, 236.

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Benedictines Augustinians and others also began similar productions.[82] (See Map 3).

In Bohemia, however, few primary sources exist to document the content of the plays or their music. What has been preserved are collections of the printed synopses (periocha) which were given or sold to members of the audience. But no continuous or complete collection exists from the Bohemian crown lands, probably due to the precipitous dissolution of the Jesuit order followed by the suppression of many of the others.[83]

Two scores of Jesuit school plays have been preserved. One by the Bohemian composer Jan Dismas Zelenka, Sub olea pacis et palma virtutis conspicua Orbi

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[82] Wolfgang Mozart wrote the intermezzo Apollo et Hyacinthus in 1767 to be performed between the acts of a school play sponsored by the Benedictines at Salzburg University. Stanley Sadie, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus," NG 12, 682.

[83] One collection at the castle of Český Krumlov in South Bohemia is worth noting. The lords of Český Krumlov were extremely interested in theater and were strong supporters of the theater in the Jesuit college which the oldest castle family (Rožmberk) had founded. Part of the Jičín archive was transferred to the castle (then owned by the Schwarzenbergs) after 1773. The archive contains thirty-five printed synopses from the years 1699-1739, twenty different synopses in manuscript and sixty plays in manuscript, but no music. School plays are among the theatrical performances listed by Menčík for Bohemia for each year from 1621 to 1776 (Příspěvký, 95-150). The list is far from complete, especially for the later years. But for the earlier years, the number of plays and the location of the various performances proves the widespread popularity of the genre. Many of the libretti are deposited in Prague at Cs Ps and Cs Pu.

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regia Bohemia corona, or Melodrama de Sancto Wenceslao, was written for and performed at the Jesuit college (Clementinum) in Prague on the occasion of the coronation festivities for Charles VI.[84] The other, Geminus in uno firmamento splendor, nempe Schwarzenbergicus et Lichtensteinicus, by an anonymous composer from the Jesuit college at Český Krumlov, was performed in 1750 for a Schwarzenberg family celebration.[85] From these scores and from indications on the printed synopses[86] one can gain a sense of the operatic nature of some of these school plays, as well as of the high level of performing ability of the students.

Beginning with Vincenzo Albrici (1631-1696) who was working in Prague late in the seventeenth century, both Italian and Bohemian composers, members of the Jesuit order and secular composers, including Zelenka (above), Sehling, Habermann, F.X. Brixi,[87] and Mysliveček, all composed school

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[84]The music consists of eight arias and a serenata. The score is deposited in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, and is possibly preserved only because Zelenka took it with him back to Dresden after 1723.

[85]The score is found under Sign. 280 (Helfert, Jiří Benda, 118).

[86]Jan Port offers an overview of the subject together with samples of plots, stage descriptions, titles of scenes, and other information in "Divadlo řádových škol a náboženských bratrstev," DČD, I, 172-79; 182-87.

[87]Erat unum cantor bonus (Schola latino musica; Il cantore; Der Schulmeisterius). Modern edition ed. by H. Krupka (Prague: Český hudební fond, 1970). An edition of Der Schulmeister, in the series Musica rinata, no. IX, is

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plays. Increasingly during the course of the eighteenth century these plays took on the full characteristics of Italian opera. For some performers and some in the audience, the plays provided their first and perhaps their only contact with this latter musical genre.

Other forms of musical theater also were cultivated: the oratorio, a type of staged oratorio, and plays with musical interludes and interspersed dances. The latter two types have been referred to as "melodramata."[88] In addition, pastorellas were performed during the Christmas season.[89]

Available evidence indicates that the musical repertory at the Piarist and Jesuit schools, as well as at some of the other schools was similar to that of the the cathedral and monastery. Students performed a full range of sacred music for the full range of liturgy and pious observances (the Mass, Vespers, Litanies, Requiem Masses, Marian devotions). There were also the processions, as well as a variety of musical-dramatic genres. The school

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misattributed to Paisiello. A second comic play by Brixi is Luridi scholares (Kartenspiel). Modern edition ed. by H. Krupka (Prague: Český hudební fond, 1970). The confused and often conflicting sources have been untangled by Vladimír Novák. See "Brixi. (2) František Brixi," NG 3, 310.

[88]Jaroslav Bužga, "Hudební barok (1620-1740)," Czechoslovenská vlastivěda IX/3, Hudba (Prague: Horizont, 1971) 94. (See also Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 168).

[89]Bombera and Bomberová, "Hudba v piaristické koleji," 115-16. The pastorella is described below.

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performances were public affairs, and the school, castle and town at times combined forces for festive occasions. At Lipník it is recorded that on special occasions the students were joined by visiting schools or by military bands.[90] In some colleges students played and sang Tafelmusik or Carnival entertainments either at the school or at the monastery refectory. The musical-esthetic range of these pieces was broad: from naive, humorous popular songs and dances to virtuosic sonatas by Corelli.[91]

The schools served as recruiting grounds for the Church and for the nobility. Joseph von Schönfeld summed up the decentralized, but musically productive system in 1796 in the Jahrbuch der Tonkunst für Wien und Prag, beginning with a description of the local parish school as it had been shortly before his writing, and then continuing:[92]

> Nach diesen gesungenen musikalischen Uebungen ward der Knabe in eine Stiftung gebracht, wo er nebst der Ausbildung in der Musik seine anderweitigen Studien fortsetzen konnte. Er erlangte hier die Bekanntschaft mit Priestern und Freunden der Musik, die ihn anfänglich nur mit Kleinigkeiten beschäftigten, dergleichen musikalische Abschriften oder eine Violinstimme waren. Wie nun ehedem

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[90]Bombera and Bomberová, "Hudba v piaristické koleji," 116-17.

[91]Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 168.

[92]Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag. Faksimile-Nachdruck, mit Nachwort und Register von Otto Biba (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1976) 104-05.

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> vorzüglich Klöster, Prälaten und ansehnliche Familien als Schützer und Beförderer der Tonkunst bekannt waren, so fand sich bald Gelegenheit, junge Künstlergenies in einem Orchester oder in einer Kapelle anzubringen.

The Noble Residences

In Bohemian lands, the pathway to advancement and success, even for townsfolk and employees of the church was through the courts of the aristocracy, which held absolute power over its local estates. Music, to a great degree, provided the password, whether for a position in the household, for permission to accept a choirboy scholarship or to study at a secondary school, for permission to engage in advanced study or training for the priesthood, or for the pursuit of advanced musical training.

Although the interests and support of the aristocracy directly affected the quantity and quality of musical training in Bohemia, musical life on the estates and in the palaces had much less effect on the development of music than the musical activities of the Church and schools. The reasons for this were basically two: 1) the inconsistency of the musical repertory due to the personal preferences and income of each noble;[93] and 2) the

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[93]"The production of music in noble residences was very episodic [depending on] the economic possibilities of their estates, on their taste, also on their education . . ." Zdeňka Pilková, "Doba osvícenského absolutismu," Hudba v českých dějinách, ed. by Jaromír Černý, et al. (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983) 234. See also Zdeňka Pilková, "Musikzentren in den böhmischen Ländern in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts vom

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discontinuity of musical life on each estate and in each urban palace.[94] (See Appendix B for a table of the known capellas in Bohemia and Moravia.)

Music had functions common in every noble household: for private chapel worship, for the hunt, for dancing and for entertainment of family and guests.[95] During the course of the century, and particularly after mid-century, the first two functions lessened, while the latter increased. Some aristocrats cultivated a personal proficiency on an instrument. This aspect also changed over the century, beginning with a few isolated exemplars like Count Questenberg, who played the lute. Toward the latter part of the century, Johann von Schönfeld noted at least forty of the Prague nobility who were fine players on a number of different instruments. Among the names were those of the

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Standpunkt des Instrumentariums," Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation von Instrumentalmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts VIII (Blankenburg/Harz, 1978 [1977]) 30.

[94]"Many capellas had only an occasional character, and their existence can be documented only with difficulty. The activities of the capellas were completely dependent on the musical predilections of the ruling family representatives; with their death, as a rule, the capella was dissolved. For these reasons, noble capellas had an episodic nature. . ." (Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 170). See also Theodora Straková, "Hudebníci na collaltovském panství v 18. století," ČMM LI (1966) 231.

[95]"Music was used very often: practically daily at table, at the arrival and departure of the lordships as well as for various important visitors to the castle, for worship, for festivities, in the castle theater, for entertainments and for the hunt" (Jiří Záloha, "Eggenberská zámecká kapela v Českém Krumlově," HV, VI, No. 2 (1969) 235.

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highest and wealthiest nobility, the Count and Countess Pachta, Count and Countess Sternberg, Countesses Clam-Gallas, Fürstenberg, Waldstein, and Counts Hartig, Kolovrat, Nostitz, Sporck.[96] The question of personal musical proficiency among the nobility and whether there was a change in its cultivation over a century awaits further study.

The Personnel of the Capellas

The aristocratic capella in Bohemia and Moravia was made up of servants, as was the case in other lands. They functioned as musicians only in a secondary role to the primary assignment, which might be as personal servants (valets), household servants (butlers, footmen), grounds servants (keepers of the hounds, gamekeepers, gardeners), or clerical employees. Consequently, they were not paid expressly for their musical services.[97] A smaller

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[96]Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, "Virtuosen und Dilettanten," Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien un Prag (Vienna, 1796), facsimile edition with commentary by Otto Biba (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1976) 109-38.

[97]"Pro českou šlechtu bylo typické, že většinou používala k hudebním službám své poddané (komorníky, sluhy, stolníky, úředniky, apod.) a nezaměstnávala svobodné hudebníky za plat" (Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 169). In 1796 Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld could still write in the Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag: "Ihre Büchsenspanner [gunbearers] dürfte nicht eher die Livree anziehen, als bis sie das Waldhorn vollkommen blasen konnten. Es sind kaum zehn Jahre vorüber, als man noch in Prag von manchen Livreebedienten forderte, dass er Musik verstand, wenn er als dienstfähig angesehen seyn wollte, und noch wird dieser Umstand von einigen Herrschaften als

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establishment might consist only of two field trumpeters, or, as became increasingly common in Bohemia, two Waldhornists. However, the size of capellas is difficult to determine because musicians were seldom listed in that capacity.[98]

Although the custom of using servants as musicians could be found in other countries, the practice in Bohemia and Moravia had a unique and invariable feature: musicians who served in the residential capellas were all subjects of the liege lord, recruited from the native population of the lord's estates. With few exceptions, even the Kapellmeister was locally born or at least from another of the lord's estates or the estate of a family member.[99] When additional singers or instrumentalists were needed for a particular occasion on a country estate, the lords recruited them from their nearby town or village.[100]

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unentbehrlich verlangt." (p. 105-06).

[98]Pilková, "Doba osvícenského absolutismu," 235. One exception is the list of servants functioning as musicians in the capella of Count Colloredo-Waldsee at Brtnice castle in Moravia (Theodora Straková, "Hudebníci na collaltovském panství v 18. století," ČMM LI [1966] 231-68).

[99]A notable exception was Joseph Haydn, hired by Count Morzin for his Bohemian country estate at Dolní Lukavice (Lukavec). There is evidence that František Antonín Václav Míča , the son of Count Questenberg's organist, was groomed for his position as the Count's Kapellmeister from his early youth (Helfert, Hudební barok, 111-12).

[100]Count Questenberg is one example. His "extras" were drawn from the artisans and other townsfolk, including a sculptor and the schoolmaster, the latter of whom was

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The average size of a noble capella, based on the information in music inventories and numbers of parts in the preserved collections, has been estimated at between five and fifteen. For the most part, the capella consisted of a Harmonie, a wind ensemble, depending on the lord's purse and personal taste.[101]

The Presence and Development of the Capellas

As already stated (Chapter I), the large majority of the nobility in the seventeenth century consisted of new land owners. Their Bohemian and Moravian estates, or manors, were generally not the source of the family title and the family honor, but merely a source of revenue. Manors were bought and sold, transferred from owner to owner through marriage, death, and sometimes through forced sale in order to raise cash.[102] The transfer of ownership was one of the contributing elements to the disjunctness of

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often called on for assistance at the castle (Helfert, Hudební barok, 132).

[101]Pilková, "Doba osvícenského absolutismu," 235. Pilková's article, "Musikzentren," summarizes in tabular form the instruments of some of the larger known capellas.

[102]Dolní Lukavice, in West Bohemia, offers an example of changing ownership. In 1666 it came into the possession of Count Ferdinand Matthias Morzin, the "founding father" of a new branch of the Morzin clan. On his death, it passed to his son, Maximilian and then to Maximilian's son Karl Josef, who was forced to sell it to obtain needed funds to Count Karl Friedrich von Hatzfeld zu Gleichen in 1780, who in turn sold it to Count Schönborn in 1794 (Milan Poštolka, "Skladatel a kapelník hraběte Morzina," MM XXX (1983) 41-42).

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musical life in the country estates throughout the eighteenth century.

In very few instances was a strong patron of music succeeded by another, even within the same family. The brilliant musical life at the court of the Prince-Bishop Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn at Olomouc and Kroměříž , 1664-1695, did not continue with the next bishop and after that was sporadic, but never reached the same level.[103] We find no successor to Count Salm at Tovačov after 1697, nor to Count Gellhorn at Blansko after 1702 or Countess Lažanská at Manětín, after about 1727. A notable exception was at the castle of Český Krumlov, where the music- and theater-loving Eggenberg family was succeeded by an equally, if not more, enthusiastic Schwarzenberg family, which had an even larger fortune.[104]

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[103]Descriptions of the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn capella, its members and repertory, can be found in Craig A. Otto's introduction to Seventeenth-Century Music from Kromeriz, Czechoslovakia, A catalog of the Liechtenstein Music Collection on microfilm at Syracuse University (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Libraries, 1977) xi-xxvi. Also see Don Smithers, "Kroměříž" NG 10, 277-78; and Jaroslav Bužga, "Kremsier," MGG VII, 1753-55. For Liechtenstein's successors see Jiří Sehnal ("Das Musikinventar des Olmützer Bischofs Leopold Egk aus dem Jahre 1760 as Quelle vorklassischer Instrumentalmusik," AMW 29 [1972] 285-317). Also see Jiří Sehnal ("Nové Příspěvky k dějinám hudby na Moravě v 17. a 18. století: Kapela olomouckého kapitulního prelata v první polovině 18. století," ČMM LX (1975) 165-70.

[104]For material on both families, see Josef Hejnic and Jiří Záloha ("Český Krumlov a divadelní tradice," Teatralia zámecké knihovny v Českém Krumlově, ed. Jitka Šimáková and Eduarda Macháčová [Prague: Knihovna Národního Muzea v Praze, 1976] 11-30); and Jiří Záloha, record jacket notes

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When the seat of government was moved to Vienna in 1620, the manors in Bohemia and Moravia became places of seasonal residence, sporadic visits or even no visits at all for many of their new owners. The political, social and economic interests of the landed nobility centered upon the Imperial seat, where, to protect those interests, most of the nobles spent the majority of their time.[105] Although there is evidence of two active noble capellas in Moravia at the end of the seventeenth century, Tovačov and Kroměříž few traces exist of any in Bohemia (see Appendix B).

There was a distinct change in the first forty years of the eighteenth century. The Bohemian aristocracy, now in its third generation and relatively free from war duties, was given its cue by the ethos and routine of the Imperial Court. They escaped from Vienna in the summer and at other times of the year in order to pass the time agreeably on their country estates in Bohemian lands, many of which had undergone significant renovation or complete rebuilding in Imperial style and luxury.[106] For

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for Hudba na zámku v Českém Krumlově, performed by various groups and soloists (Supraphon 1 121291-92 G).

[105]Pilková, "Musikzentren," 30.

[106]At the same time as the monasteries, aristocratic landlords in Bohemia entered upon ambitious and splendid architectural projects. Among the rebuilt and redorated residences in the first three decades of the 18th century were Dolní Lukavice (Morzin), Kuks (Sporck), Manětin (Lažanský), Roudnice (Lobkowitz), Jaroměřice (Questenberg), Brtnice (Collalto); and the Prague palaces of Trautmannsdorf, Liechtenstein, Lobkowitz, Straka, Morzin,

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entertainment, a number took with them from their household a small instrumental ensemble,[107] or arranged for one to be in residence. When the Bohemian Diet met, as it did annually for increasingly longer periods of time until about 1740, nobles and ecclesiastical lords spent a longer time in their Prague palaces, which also had been newly built or renovated.[108] The peak of income and outlay in conspicuous consumption was reflected in a corresponding peak in the number and perhaps the quality of noble capellas during this time[109]

Thun-Hohenstein, Sporck, et al. The building and rebuilding of country residences was occurring throughout all of Europe at the time. See Fernand Braudel ("The urbanised countryside," Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800, trans. Miriam Kochan [New York: Harper and Row, 1973], 202f).

[107]Due to this custom young Joseph Haydn found himself as Kapellmeister to Count Morzin (either Ferdinand Maximilian Morzin (1708-ca. 1760) or more likely to his son, Karl Joseph Franz (1717-63), at the family estate of Dolní Lukavice (Lukavec) in West Bohemia during the summers of 1759 and 1760 at least, and perhaps even 1757 through 1760. G. A. Griesinger offers the first set of dates in Biographie Notizen über Joseph Haydn (Leipzig, 1810), new edition, ed. Franz Grasberger (Vienna: Kaltschmid, 1954) 15; also see A.C. Dies (Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn [Vienna, 1810], new edition, ed. by Horst Seeger, Berlin: Henschelverlag, [n.d.], 45f), and H. C. Robbins Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, Volume I: Haydn, The Early Years 1732-1765 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980) 236ff. Milan Poštolka offers evidence for the longer time period in "Skladatel a kapelník hraběte Morzina," MM XXX (1983) 39-41.

[108]Kerner, Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century, 29.

[109] "In comparison to the first half of the century, certainly quantitatively and perhaps qualitatively the peak was reached in [the cultivation of music at] aristocratic residences" (Pilková, "Doba osvícenského absolutismu,"

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Even with the apparent proliferation of musical centers, one should bear in mind that the normal size of a Bohemian aristocratic capella was fairly modest in comparison with that of the royal court at Dresden or the Imperial court in Vienna. The nobles' Imperial service and attendance tended to preclude the formation of large resident ensembles such as were found in Mannheim and Dresden, for example. Furthermore, the high costs of such large establishments, which could barely be supported by either Vienna or Dresden,[110] were not within the reach of most of the Bohemian nobility, with the possible exception of the extremely wealthy Czernin, Kinsky, Schwarzenberg and Lobkowitz families.[111]

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234). Pilková has also stated that "Der Gipfel der Tätigkeit der Schlosskapelle fiel in die erste Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Damals wirkte eine grössere Anzahl von Schlosskapellen, sie waren verhältnismässig gross und ihr Repertoire entsprach den neuesten Stilströmungen" ("Musikzentren," 30).

[110]In the case of Dresden, the physical and economic destruction of the Seven Years War "restricted interest in the arts at court for a time" (Ortrun Landmann, "Dresden, 3: Music at court," NG 5, 619f). As for Vienna, "Financial difficulties compelled Maria Theresa soon after her accession to dismiss the splendid musicians who had been the glory of Habsburg court culture since the reign of Leopold I, and on whom Charles VI had been spending 200,000 florins a year" (Wangermann, The Austrian Achievement, 116.

[111]By the 1740s, the Schwarzenbergs were the richest family in the Bohemian lands; they were followed by the Lobkowitzes. The Czernins and Kinskys, together with the Buquoys, Martinitzes and Morzins, possessed the greater portion of the Fidei Commisse [62 great land-trust holdings] (Kerner, Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century, 71).

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After 1740, during and after the wars of the Austrian Succession (ended 1763), the activity of noble capellas diminished. Economic stringencies, due to the almost continuous war conditions, considerably lessened the ability of the noble families to support extensive musical ensembles and productions.[112] The exception was in what was left of Austrian Silesia, where "the noble capellas achieved their greatest flowering in the 1770s and 1780s."[113] It has been asserted by Racek that, toward the end of the eighteenth century the only active capella in Prague was that of Count Pachta.[114]

With few exceptions, music inventories from the noble capellas either have not been preserved or have not yet come to notice within present archival deposits. Those residences for which musical inventories are known to exist are shown below in Table 2.6.[115]

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[112]Racek, Česká hudba, 201-02; also Wangermann, The Austrian Achievement, 116.

[113]Pilková, "Musikzentren," 30.

[114]Racek, Česká hudba, 203.

[115]For a full listing of collections and inventories together with their present locations, see Appendix B.

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TABLE 2.6.--Eighteenth-century music inventories, Bohemian and Moravian noble capellas

Residence (B=Bohemia; M=Moravia)	Name of Family/Owner	Type of Inventory (M=Music; *=Thematic I=Instrument list)	Date
Kroměříž (M)	Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn	M + I	1695-96
Tovačov (M)	Salm	M + I	1697-1700
Blansko (M)	Gellhorn	I	1702
Český Krumlov (B)	Eggenberg	M (1) M (2) M (3) I	end 17 c. c1706 post-1706 c1706
Manětín (B)	Lažanská	I	c1720
Olomouc (M)	Thurn-Valessassin	I	1747
Brtnice (M)	Collalto	M*	1752
Jaroměřice (M)	Questenberg	I	1752
Olomouc/Kroměříž (M)	Egk	M + M* + I	1758-60
Olomouc/Kroměříž (M)	Hamilton	I	1776
Český Krumlov/ Hluboká (B)	Schwarzenberg	M*	c1769-98
Frýdlant (B)	Christian Clam-Gallas	M*	?1768-69[116]
	Caroline Clam-Gallas	M* (arias)	c1810
Lešná (M)	(not known)	M*	2nd half 18th c.
Doksy/Duchcov (B)	Waldstein	M	?2nd half 18th c.

[116]There has been some disagreement about the dates. H.C. Robbins Landon states "beginning 1768-69" (Supplement to the Symphonies of Joseph Haydn [London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961] 15-18). Barry S. Brook suggests "c. 1810," (Thematic Catalogues in Music [Hillsdale, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1972] No. 987, 988). Jiří Fukač sets both at "c. 1770," ("Inventáře hudební," ČSHS I, 550).

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As inferred from Table 2.6, a study of the music repertory in aristocratic residences during the eighteenth century must be based on a small body of inventory evidence. Collections exist (Appendix B), but all have endured losses or intermediate additions from other sources. The task of reconstruction is complicated by the fact that no inventories originate from the period 1720-50.

Providing further hinderance to the formation of a complete picture is the fact that there are no musical documents from the Prague palaces of the wealthy Kinskys and Czernins that might help reconstruct the size and personnel of their capellas. Available sources indicate that Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770) and Antonio Vandini (c1690-after 1771) were employed by Count Kinský in Prague from 1723 to 1726, but nothing more.[117] There are incidental references to Count Ludwig Joseph Hartig, who was active in the music life of Prague, and with whom Jan Dismas Zelenka began his career, but nothing is known about his capella.[118]

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[117]Paul Brainard, "Tartini, Giuseppe," NG, 18, 584; Sven Hansell, "Vandini, Antonio," NG, 19, 521.

[118]A "Hartig" is listed as a donor on a few pieces in the St. Vitus collection. See Antonín Podlaha, Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae quae in bibliotheca capituli metropolitani pragensis asservantur. Editiones archivii et bibliothecae s. f. metropolitani capituli Pragensis, Op. XIX (Prague, 1926). Hartig is also credited with being a driving force in an early public "Musical Academy" in Prague which lasted from 1713 to at least 1717. He was elevated from Baron to Count in 1719 (Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 171).

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Little is known about the relationship between Antonio Vivaldi and Count Wenzel Morzin of Prague, to whom Vivaldi dedicated his Il cimento dell'armonia e dell'inventione, Op. 8 (1725). Vivaldi claimed to be Morzin's "Maestro in Italia," and the composer was believed to have been in Prague around 1730-32, but precise documentation is lacking.[119] About other immensely wealthy and high-placed Czech nobility (Clam-Gallas, Lobkowitz, Kolovrat, Sternberg, Waldstein) it is only for a period later in the eighteenth century that a few musical documents have been preserved (see Appendix B).

It is, however, possible to suggest an overview of musical life in individual residences of the nobility based on the available documentation, which in a collective sense helps to characterize the multiple possibilities within the Bohemian lands during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. Two phenomena that greatly affected musical life among the nobility and their capellas will be mentioned.

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[119]Eric Cross, The Late Operas of Antonio Vivaldi 1727-1738, Vol. I (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981) 30-31. Six of Vivaldi's operas were produced by Antonio Denzio's opera company in the Sporck palace theater, Prague, and also at the Kuks estate: La Tirannia gastigata (1726), Farnace (1730), Argippo (1730), Alvilda Regina de Goti (1731), Doriclea (1732), Dorilla in Tempe (1732). All the libretti are in the Křimic collection of Count Vrtba. See Pravoslav Kneidl ("Libreta italské opery," Nos. 8, 34, 37, 42, 46, 47). No. 2, Orlando furioso (1724), which was attributed to Vivaldi, has been shown to be by Bioni.

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Music and Musical Activities in the Capellas

The outstanding musical life at the court of Prince-Bishop Karl Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn (1624-95) on his estate at Kroměříž has been well-described and documented.[120] Liechtenstein, whose tenure as bishop began in 1664, started by rebuilding his castle after its destruction by the Swedish army. A music lover, he formed a large personal capella, which is thought to have included about thirty instrumentalists. Characteristically, Liechtenstein's musician-employees were recruited largely from among his own subjects, including his music director, Pavel Vejvanovský, who served after the departure of Heinrich Biber (1644-1704) from that post. For this ensemble Liechtenstein procured a music library based largely upon the works of composers connected with the Habsburg Court in Vienna but also drawing from the work of Bohemian and Moravian composers. He provided the financial foundation for a choir at the collegiate church of St. Maurice (Mořic) in Kroměříž and for their training.

In addition to liturgical music for the bishop's use, Liechtenstein's large collection (which is now incomplete) includes music for secular entertainments. The

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[120]The catalogue of the existing collection was published by Breitenbacher (see Bibliography). For lists of studies, see Don Smithers ("Kroměříž," NG 10, 277-78); Ernst Hermann Meyer ("Kremsier," MGG VII, 1755); and Craig Otto, (Seventeenth-Century Music, xxvii-xxviii).

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bishop's residence hosted a full complement of these entertainments: dancing, "water music," birthday celebrations and Carnival festivities. From the evidence of the music collection, the only genre of contemporary popularity obviously absent was opera seria. A musician who served in Liechtenstein's capella would have had first-hand experience with the latest music from Vienna's top composers, as well as experience with what Vienna could not provide: music based on folk melodies of the Bohemian lands.[121]

The castle of Count Ferdinand Julius Salm (1650-1697) at Tovačov, had a more modest and slightly less varied musical life, according to a music inventory of 1697-99.[122] The count's music collection of 390 numbered items is about evenly divided between repertory for the chapel and the court. The inventory lists Masses, Offertories and Motets, Litanies (including Litaniae Lauretanae), Vespers and related works, Marian antiphons, Requiems and related works, Rorate pieces (some in German), several Oratorios, thirty-seven sonatas (for church or chamber) and 133 balletti (among which are a few intradas and serenadas).

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[121]Smithers, "Kroměříž," NG 10, 277.

[122]The inventory is fully reproduced by Jan Racek, "Inventář hudebnin tovačovského zámku z konce 17. století," Musikologie I (Prague-Brno:Melantrich-Pazdírek, 1938) 45-68. It is deposited in the CS Bam, Sign. G 45; a copy is in Cs Bm; no collection exists.

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Tovačov derived much of its music from close contact with the capella at Kroměříž, for there are many items in common, as well as many compositions by Vejvanovský. In addition, there are a number of works by local Bohemian and Moravian composers.

Based upon the manuscript parts in its holdings, the Tovačov capella could perform works of up to eighteen parts for some of the Masses, but usually needed no more than ten performers. The instrumental suites of dance music required, in general, only four or five players. At Tovačov, a musician would have made acquaintance with the works of the leading Viennese court composers, as well as with leading Bohemian and Moravian composers, and would have played works by an even larger group of local composers than at Kroměříž. The capella would have had familiarity with all kinds of music except opera seria.

In East Bohemia, at Manětín, the family seat but certainly a provincial town, the Countess Marie Gabriela Lažanská (d. 1758), née Czernin, employed in her service two well-known Bohemian composers who were in religious orders: the Cistercian Mauritius Vogt, and the Benedictine Gunther Jacob. Josef Brentner taught music to her children. One of the Manětín cantors was Josef Antonín

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Planický (c1690-1732; in Manětín until 1715).[123] One of the Countess' motives in employing good musicians was, as she wrote, to have them compose "many fine Masses and other church music needed throughout the year so that the youth who are interested in music could be equal to [those in] any county seat."[124]

In mid-century, a different musical repertory appears at the castle of Brtnice, Moravia (German: Pirnitz), belonging to the Count Tomáš Vincinguerra Collalto (from 1740-1769). The Brtnice capella flourished in conjunction with that of the neighboring castle of Jaroměřice, with which it had some composers and pieces in common.[125] The repertory was made of of sinfonias, concertos, divertimentos, cassations, with four string parts and sometimes with occasional pairs of winds. Also there were violin sonatas and a smaller number of trios and quartets and parthias for strings or winds. The "Music-Director" was a house servant from a local family.[126]

The older part of the Waldstein (Czech: Valdštejn;

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[123]Jiří Sehnal, "Hudební život v Manětíně v první polovině 18. století," Opus musicum V (Brno, 1969) 147-154.

[124]". . . zde mnohé pěkné mše svaté a jiné přes cely rok potřebné církevní písně složil, mládež k tomu přivedl, že prospěch jejich kterémukoliv krajskému městu se přirovnatí mohl" (Sehnal, "Hudební život v Manětíně," 148.

[125]Straková, "Brtnický hudební inventář," ČMM XLVIII (1963) 205.

[126]Straková, "Brtnický inventář," 206.

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older German: Wallenstein) collection from Doksy castle (1740-1800) is comprised mainly of sinfonias and overtures, with some sonatas, trios and concertos and a few opera scores.[127] This collection serves as the prototype for many others in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The composers include Imperial court composers from earlier in the century as well as Italian opera composers, some Viennese and a few French names as well as emigrant and native resident Bohemian composers.[128]

Originating from the end of the eighteenth century, one of the two Clam-Gallas thematic catalogues from Frýdlant castle is comprised basically of instrumental genres: symphonies, cassations, quartets, trios and a range of dance music by contemporary composers, Franz Aspelmayr, Jean-Baptiste Davaux, Francois-Joseph Gossec, Joseph Haydn, as well as a good selection of Bohemian composers who enjoyed European reputations: Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Jan Ladislav Dussek, Johann Stamitz and Jan Vaňhal.[129] The

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[127]Milada Rutová, "Valdštejnská hudební sbírka v Doksech," Sborník národního muzea v Praze, Series A - Historia, XXVIII/5 (1974) 186-197.

[128]A thematic catalogue was made of the collection by Milada Rutová in her Ph.D. dissertation, "Valdštejnská hudební sbírka v Doksech" (Charles University, 1970). Unfortunately, the published monograph (see note above), could not include the notated material. A full list of the composers is in Thematic Catalogues in Music by Barry S. Brook, No. 989.

[129]The full list of composers is in Brook, Thematic Catalogues, No. 987, 988.

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other catalogue is comprised of operatic arias. These later collections and inventories, taken in combination with surviving collections, witness to the diminishing of the ceremonial function of music in the aristocratic residences as well as the decrease in noble sponsorship of private and public liturgies.

Looking back on the picture of musical life in the noble residences earlier in the century, it appears that two phenomena in the early 1720s came to have profound and widespread influence on noble patrons and musicians. The first centered on an event, the second on an institution.

The coronation of Charles VI in Prague (1723) and its attendant festivities provided an extended occasion for ambitious and large-scale music productions.[130] In effect, Prague for a short time functioned as an Imperial court cultural center. The events attracted musicians from all over Europe as well as Bohemia, the best of the professionals as well as the aspiring students who made up the bulk of the performing personnel.[131] Hundreds of

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[130]Jaroslav Bužga, "Prag," MGG X, 1581.

[131]The highpoint of the celebration was the production of the opera Costanza e Fortezza, written for the occasion of the Empress' birthday by Johann Joseph Fux and directed by Antonio Caldara. A summary account of the colossal opera production, based on the reportage in the Wiener Diarium is given by Egon Wellesz in the critical edition, J. J. Fux: Costanza e Fortezza, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich XVII, "Einleitung," vii-xi. (See also Oscar Teuber, Geschichte des Prager Theaters, 3 vols. [Prague: A Haase, 1883] I, 48ff).

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performers and an audience of thousands gained first-hand knowledge of the work of excellent composers and virtuosos.[132] The presence of the Imperial family in Bohemia spurred the nobility, both secular and ecclesiastical, to provide entertainments for the court in town and on their nearby estates.[133] Pending fuller study, it appears that this event may have stimulated musical life and imagination for almost two decades until curtailment by the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48).[134]

Starting at the time of the coronation festivities, Count Franz Anton von Sporck (1662-1738) opened a newly enlarged and decorated theater in his Prague palace and

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[132]Among those present during this event were: Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773), who traveled to Prague expressly for the opera in the company of Sylvius Leopold Weiss (1686-1750) and Carl Heinrich Graun (1703/04-1759). All three obtained positions in the orchestra. (See Quantz's autobiography printed in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik, 5 vols. [Berlin, 1754-62], reprinted edition [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970] 210). The same autobiography was published by Paul Nettl in Forgotten Musicians, with the particular passage beginning p. 294. Among others who were present were Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770), Antonio Vandini (c1690-after 1771), and the Bohemian musicians Jan Dismas Zelenka and Franz Benda.

[133]Wellesz, J.J.Fux: Costanza e Fortezza, xi.

[134]"Sie [Fux's opera] leitete eine Periode der regsten, emsigsten musikalisch-dramatischen Arbeit in Prag ein und wirkte ermunternd, befeuernd auf den Adel Böhmens zur Unterstützing und Förderung der Kunst und Musik im Lande. Auch die Kloster . . ." (Teuber, Geschichte des Prager Theaters I, 56).

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hired Antonio Denzio's opera company.[135] The opening opera, Orlando Furioso by Antonio Bioni (1724), was a great success.[136] This event inaugurated the semi-permanent presence in Bohemia of the institution of the traveling Italian company which was to continue through the century. These companies brought the nobility and the general public in Prague and in Brno into regular contact with staged opera and a small selection of the current repertory that was otherwise unobtainable. Several castle archives contain collections of libretti from these productions, indicating the interest and patronage of a number of the nobility.[137]

Denzio's company performed seasonally in Prague from

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[135]A study of this theater's activities was made by Daniel Evan Freeman as "The Opera Theater of Count Franz Anton Von Sporck in Prague (1724-35),"(Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1987).

[136]Benedikt, Franz Anton Graf von Sporck, 132-33. According to the notations of Count Vrtba on his program, "Diese Oper Orlando furioso ist von allen Leuthen Excesive Approbirt worden" (Pravoslav Kneidl, "Libreta italské opery v Praze v 18, století," Strahovská knihovna, I [Prague, 1966] 101).

[137]Pravoslav Kneidl has published a nearly complete list of librettos of all the operas played in Prague by the traveling companies between 1723 and 1805. The librettos are primarily from the Vrtba library at Křimic castle and the Lobkowitz archive at Radenín, supplemented by other collections ("Libreta italské opery," Strahovská knihhovna II-V (1966-69). The entire Křimic castle collection, belonging to Jan Josef Vrtba the elder (1669-1734) and Jan Josef the younger (1713-1782) has been published in Teatralia, zámecké knihovny z Křimic, 2 vols., ed. by Jitka Šimáková and Eduarda Macháčková (Prague: Divadelní Ústav a Knihovna Národního Muzea v Praze, 1970).

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1723 to 1734, presenting Venetian operas by such composers as Bioni, Albinoni, Porta and Vivaldi, who worked briefly with the company.[138] The troupe's last production was the first of the Neapolitan operas to be played in Prague: Leonardo Vinci's Siroe, Re di Persia.

Angelo Mingotti (c1700-after 1767) had another troupe, principally in Brno (c1732). Later he travelled either jointly at times with his brother Pietro Mingotti (c1702-1759) or separately throughout Germany and the Habsburg lands, playing often in Prague. Their repertory included works by Neapolitan composers Galuppi, Pergolesi, Hasse, Sarti, Orlandini, Jommelli, Giacomelli and Gluck, who worked with them in 1747 and 1748.[139]

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[138]Tomislav Volek and Marie Skalická, "Antonio Vivaldi a Čechy," HV, II (1965) 419-28. The Lobkowitz archive contains libretti for seven Vivaldi operas, all produced in Prague by Denzio between 1726 and 1732 (Kneidl, "Libreta italské opery," Part 1 [1966]). In Prague, opera played to the public in Sporck's theater until the opening of the Prague city theater called "in Kotce" in 1738 (Czech: v Kotcích, literally "in the stalls," for it was built in part of the open-air market. Contemporary foreign references use other titles: "Opernhaus," "municipal public theater," even "Royal" or "Royal National" theater). Until the opening of the Estates Theater (or Nostitz-Theater, now the Tyl Theater) in 1783, opera was played "in Kotce," and around 1781 in the theater in the Thun palace (see Jaroslav Hach "Operní divadlo v šlechtických rezidencích a na městských scénách," DČD I 268). In Brno, Italian opera was being played by 1728; a new building opened in 1734. Opera played in Olomouc at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but a theater wasn't built until 1770. Němeček, Nástin české hudby, 170.

[139]Erich H. Müller von Asow, Angelo und Pietro Mingotti (Dresden: R. Bertling, 1917) 3. For the work of the Mingottis in Bohemia and Moravia, see Hach (Operní divadlo," I, 268-69).

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Neapolitan operas and intermezzi formed the repertory of Giovanni Battista Locatelli (1713-after 1790) and his troupe that toured in Central Europe and Russia. Locatelli played in Prague 1748-57, and during this time Gluck worked for him as well.[140] Among the composers whose dramatic works were played were Baldassare Galuppi, Adolph Hasse, Bernardo Pasquini, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Giovanni Marco Rutini, Francesco Zoppis, and Locatelli himself as well as Gluck.

Locatelli was followed by Giuseppe Bustelli (d. 1781) who toured Bohemia and Germany with Neapolitan operas and introduced the newer genre of opera buffa in works by Gassmann, Galuppi, Hasse, Piccini, Righini, Paisiello and others. Also among his productions were works by the Bohemian composers Mysliveček and Johann Anton Koželuch.[141]

For musicians as well as a developing public audience, opera as a genre became more common after 1724 but only in some centers. Local musicians made up the

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[140]Tomislav Volek, "Locatelli, Giovanni Battista," NG 11, 104. Also see Hach ("Operní divadlo," 269). Thirty of the libretti, most of which are by Metastasio, are in Czech archives (Kneidl, "Libreta italské opery," Part III , Strahovská knihovna 2 [1967] No. 69ff. Some of the operas are not listed in Oscar T. Sonneck's Catalogue of Opera Librettos printed before 1800 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1914).

[141]Tomislav Volek, "Bustelli, Giuseppe," NG 3, 516. Volek notes that on Bustelli's death, some scores from his estate were purchased for Esterháza, for the use of Haydn's opera ensemble. Kneidl lists eighty-six librettos in Czech archives ("Libreta italské opery," Part III, No. 177ff).

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orchestra in the public opera in Prague and Brno and, on the country estates of the nobles where some of these troupes travelled, the servants functioned in the same way.[142]

As for opera in the aristocratic residences, Count Franz Anton von Sporck presents one model of patronage, and the earliest example. Rather than use a large hall, as some nobles later did, he built a theater at his Kuks estate and, as noted above, another in his Prague palace. He invited itinerant Italian impresarios to present their productions in both places as a resident ensemble (see Denzio above), providing his own or local instrumentalists. The Sporck opera presented works primarily by Venetian opera composers, which, at the time of Sporck's death in 1738, were no longer contemporary.

Count Johann Adam Questenberg (1678-1752), on the other hand, mounted operas privately, only for himself and his guests in his palace at Jaroměřice (German:Jarmeritz), Moravia. He seldom used professionals, except for some Italian soloists hired for the occasion, but relied instead on his domestics and townspeople. His music director, František Václav Míča, not only produced and directed the operas, which were generally by Venetian composers, but arranged some and wrote his own. Míča is credited with

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[142]Hach, "Operní divadlo," 271.

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writing the first opera set in the Czech language, O původu Jaroměřic or L'origine di Jaromeritz in Moravia.[143] Although various sources tell of the broad spectrum of musical life in the residences of Sporck and Questenberg, no inventories and only fragments of collections remain.[144]

Perhaps the liveliest private theater, and certainly the longest unbroken musical life, was at the palace of Český Krumlov in South Bohemia. The counts supported the music program at the nearby Jesuit college, and maintained close contact with it. In addition to students, the town musicians also performed in the castle productions. The possible effect on a developing local musical tradition that was made by the decades of continuous patronage of two families, Eggenberg and Schwarzenberg, awaits further study.[145]

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[143]Music at Questenberg's court is described in detail by Helfert (Hudební barok), and in the more recent research by Theodora Straková ("Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou a jejich význam v hudebním vývoji Moravy," O životě a umění; listy z Jaroměřické kroniky 1700-1752, ed. by Alois Plichta [Jaroměřice: Místní osvětová beseda, 1974] 391ff.

[144]A collection from Kuks exists at Cs Pnm, but it is of a later date and mixed provenience.

[145]A catalogue of the theater archives has been published as Teatralia zámecké knihovny v Českém Krumlově, in 2 vols., ed. Jitka Šimáková and Eduard Macháčková (Prague: Knihovna Národního Muzea v Praze, 1976). A full history of the theater, which includes purely dramatic works and comedies as well as operas, extending from the early seventeenth century to the nineteenth century forms part of both volumes, and was written by Josef Hejnic and Jiří Záloha. The castle theater remains in working condition today, complete with a collection of sets and wings from the eighteenth century. Some sets and drawings

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At Holešov (German: Holleschau) castle in Moravia, beginning in the 1730s, Count František Antonín Rottal (1717-1762) supported a theater that played both Italian and German works. In direct contrast to Questenberg, with whom he had frequent contact, Rottal engaged all vocal personnel from outside, drawing especially upon the opera companies at Brno.[146] The music director at Holešov from the 1730s until 1745, was Ignaz Holzbauer (1711-1783) who later worked at Vienna and Mannheim. Franz Xaver Richter (1709-1789), who also worked at Mannheim was presumably born at Holešov and probably connected with the court (certainly with Holzbauer), but information is lacking.[147] Lack of material has also prevented further study on the repertory and interaction between Holešov, Jaroměřice, and the Mingotti company in Brno.

Notwithstanding all this musical activity, and despite contacts between capellas for the copying and loaning of music manuscripts and musicians,[148] the influence of aristocratic capellas on musical life in Bohemia, particularly with respect to opera, appears to have been

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appear in DČD I, 224-27 (see Bibliography).

[146]Věra Palečková, "Hudba na Holešovském zámku," ČMM, XXXIV (1949) 233.

[147]Roland Würtz, "Richter, Franz Xaver," NG, 15, 846. Holešov (German: Holleschau) was first given as the birthplace by Dlabacž in his Künstler-Lexikon, 576, but no corroborative documents have been found there.

[148]Rutová, "Valdštenjská hudební sbírka," 176.

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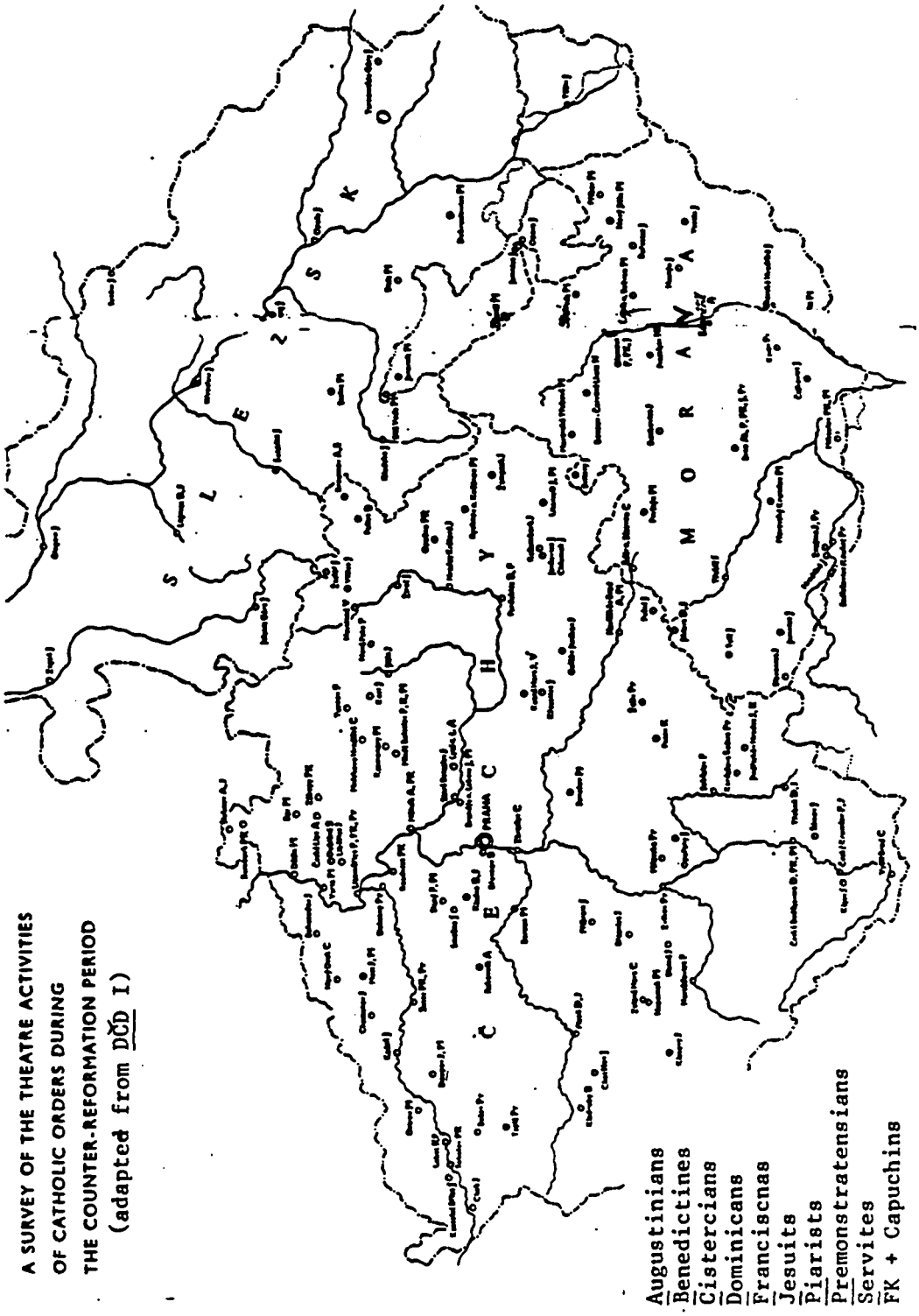
limited because of their independent and irregular nature. The most consistent repertory and continuous musical life remained in the churches and their attached schools.

> Church music substituted in Bohemia and Moravia for the function played by public concerts . . . in Bohemia and Moravia the church choir remained the most important musical institution throughout the Classic period.[149]

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[149]Zdeňka Pilková, "On the periodization of Czech Musik," [sic] Musica Antiqua 3. (Bydgoszcz, 1972) 98.

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MAP 3. School Theaters Established by Monasteries

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Musical Genres and Representative Composers

As described in the first part of this chapter, each of the social institutions used music for religious, ceremonial and entertainment functions, although to a different degree. Throughout the eighteenth century, the ceremonial and entertainment genres increasingly penetrated the Catholic liturgy, so that, generally speaking, in any of the social institutions--all of which performed sacred music--people could come in contact with the broad spectrum of musical forms and types, limited only by the composers (and hence the styles) available in the repertory of that particular institution. Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767), for example, mentions attending two different neighboring chapels for the express purpose of hearing the different styles of music cultivated by each (with a view toward learning both).[150]

Church Music

The categories of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn's inventory of 1695 conveniently summarize most of the genres

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[150]"The two neighboring chapels at Hannover and Brunswick, which I attended at special festivals, at all Masses, and many other [occasions] besides, gave me the opportunity to become more familiar -- in the former with the French style of writing, in the latter with the Italian --and to learn to distinguish [them]." (Autobiography of 1729, printed in Johann Mattheson's Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte (Hamburg, 1740), reprinted edition., ed. by Max Schneider [Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969] 354). Translation by Gordon J. Kinney.

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of liturgical music found in Bohemian inventories and collections during the eighteenth century. As tabulated by Craig Otto they are:[151]

I.	Missae	IX.	Regina Coeli
II.	Offertoria	X.	Hymni
III.	Vesperae	XI.	Te Deum Laudamus
IV.	Sonatae	XII.	Responsoria
V.	Litaniae	XIII.	Requiem
VI.	Salve Regina	[XIV.	Balletti]*
VII.	Alma Redemptoris	[XV.	Miscellana]*
VIII.	Ave Regina Coelorum		

(* = not used in the church)

Masses

Mass settings are found in great numbers in the inventories and collections of the different churches (cathedral, parish, monastic), as well as in the inventories and collections of the schools and the nobility. While the stil antico persisted throughout the period in vocal a capella settings, the number of new compositions in this style tended to diminish. The Counter-Reformation's encouragement of the use of elaborately composed settings (stil moderno, stilus mixtus, or figural music) for public worship on Sundays and feast days, coupled with the great increase in the number of the feast days themselves (see above), resulted in a high increase of newly-composed Masses. For example, at the Prague Loreto church, Kapellmeister Konstantin Anton Taubner furnished copies of seventy Masses by various

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[151] Seventeenth-Century Music, xxiv.

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composers in one year alone (1727).[152]

During the the first half of the eighteenth century polychoral Masses were performed in the larger and wealthier institutions that not only had the personnel but whose head had the right to celebrate Mass pontifically, that is, with the most sumptuous setting. Among them were the cathedrals, the Prague Loreto, the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star in Prague, and the monastery of Osek. Most of the compositions in polychoral style were by Italian composers or those working at the Viennese court, although Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn's Kapellmeister, Pavel Vejvanovský also introduced a number of works in this genre.[153]

The concerted Mass, with solo voices, chorus and instruments (and especially trumpets and timpani) is characteristically associated with cathedrals, larger parish churches, and schools, where choirboys and instrumental personnel were available. From the end of the seventeenth into the first three decades of the eighteenth century the inventories show an increasing number of compositions by Bohemian composers in the concertante style. Foremost in this group are: Adam Michna (c1600-1676), Ferdinand Artophaeus (d. 1721), Johann Christoph

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[152]The entire list is printed by Oldřich Pulkert in Domus Lauretana Pragensis I, 43-47.

[153]Otto, Seventeenth Century Music. Vejvanovský's Masses are No. 83, 155, 159, 262, 265.

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(Karl) Gayer (?1668-1734), and Gunther Jacob (1685-1734).

Mass settings for more modest forces--four or five voices, fairly simple solo parts and minimal accompaniment for two violins and continuo--were the mainstay of the repertory. Such compositions had an even greater increase in number throughout the century, especially in the publications of Johann Valentin Rathgeber (1682-1750).[154]

Requiem Masses appeared in small numbers throughout the century, together with requiem motets. New acquisitions seem to have been made with a view to adding one or two contemporaneous works from time to time, according to the size and means of the institution.

Vespers

Collections and inventories contain a large number of settings of the Vesper psalms, as well as the closing Magnificat. The Vesper compositions are second in number to the Masses and show approximately the same stylistic spectrum and development, with many of the same composers contributing to the repertory.

Offertories and Motets

Beginning with printed collections and a few

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[154]Rathgeber was a pioneer of a style of church music published in south Germany. It was simple, melodious, and intended for local parish choir use. His music appears in the inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross (see Chapters III and IV).

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individual manuscripts in the early sources, these pieces for solo voices and/or chorus gradually formed the largest group of acquisitions over the course of the eighteenth century. In the early part of the century, the pieces had no standard generic names, but appeared with various titles, such as "concertus," "concerto," "cantata," "motetto." Around 1730, arias and motets by Neapolitan opera composers appear in inventories and collections and the generic title, "aria" becomes more frequent. Some of these arias were taken directly from operas and supplied with a Latin text.[155] In German-speaking areas of Bohemia, some arias and cantatas (motets) were given German texts. Czech texts, however, tended to be limited to popular spiritual songs and hymns and only rarely appeared in liturgical works.

Marian Antiphons and Litanies

The Marian antiphons (Salve Regina, Alma Redemptoris, Ave Regina Coelorum, Regina Coeli), form

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[155]An example of this practice is provided by a manuscript copy of an opera aria by Johann Adolf Hasse made by Johann Joseph Vincent Tham, c1750: "Aria Ex opera Ezio. Il no chier, che si figura ogni Scorgho ogni et Tenore Solo, Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, Alto Viola con Organo. Del Sigl. Adolfo Hasse." The opening text reads: "Festina surge fama." The manuscript is deposited in Cs ME, sign. 462. Hasse's opera, Ezio, had its first performance in Naples in 1730 and its Dresden premiere in 1755. It is hoped that the Czech State Union Music Catalogue (CS Pu), through its work of collecting, notating and comparing musical incipits of thousands of pieces, will eventually be able to identify many contrafacta.

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another large category of sacred music found in all institutions, together with various kinds of litanies. The Litania Lauretana, which was favored by the Habsburgs, appears almost everywhere, with steady acquisitions of new works throughout the period by Imperial, Italian, Austrian and some Bohemian composers. [156]

The remaining genres -- Responsoria, Hymns (Introits) and Te Deum -- appear in small numbers, the first two generally without composer identification. The festive Te Deum, more often a work by a well-known composer, tended to diminish in numbers and acquisitions around mid-century.

Instrumental Music

The practice of substituting instrumental pieces for vocal parts of the Mass is reflected in the continuous acquisition of suitable works throughout the century by all institutions. Parthie, divertimentos, concertos (instrumental), overtures and symphonies appear in the inventories, often without a composer attribution. In the

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[156]Mary Berry, "Litania Lauretana," NG 11, 74-75. Mozart composed two settings of this litany between 1771 and 1776 (K109/74e and K195/186d). For the Habsburg use of this litany and the composers, see Friedrich W. Riedel, Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711-1740) (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1977) 198-200. A discussion and analysis of Mozart's litanies and earlier ones by Biber, Johann Ernst Eberlin (1702-1762), Anton Cajetan Adlgasser (1729-1777) and others, together with musical examples, was made by Karl August Rosenthal in "Mozart's Sacramental Litanies and their Forerunners," MQ XXVII/4 (October 1941) 433-55.

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smaller parish churches as well as in the noble chapels the names that do appear are generally those of the well-known German, Austrian and Bohemian composers.[157]

Oratorios

Oratorios were produced at least annually in almost every large church, school and noble chapel. In the urban centers, as noted above, they were huge productions, with printed librettos. Today, due to the loss of most of the scores and manuscripts, these libretti, together with inventory annotations, now form the bulk of the evidence for the repertory.[158] Based upon this data, it seems clear that after 1750 there was a marked decrease in the use of oratorios. Some partial reasons for this reduction probably lie in Bohemia's straitened economic circumstances beginning just before this time.[159]

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[157]It was noted above that the parish church at Kvasice, Moravia, possessed some of Haydn's works of this genre at least as early as 1757.

[158]A collection of ninety-three oratorio librettos dating from 1723 to 1764 is described by Jaroslav Bužga in "Einige Quellen zur Geschichte der Osteroratorien in Prag und Brno (Brünn) und der Ostermelodien aus Olomouc (Olmütz) im 18. Jahrhundert," De Musica Disputationes Pragensis I (Prague: Academia, 1972) 151-71. Milan Poštolka has published a catalogue of ninety-nine librettos that are deposited in the State Archive, Strahov, Prague, which originate from fifteen different orders. See "Libreta strahovské sbírky," MM XXV-XXVI (1973), 70-149. Otakar Kamper lists Prague productions in Hudební Praha v XVIII. věku (Prague: Melantrich, [1935]) 243-53.

[159]A list of oratorios performed at the church of the Knights of the Cross in Prague from 1738 to 1759 reflects the change in circumstances in that the productions after

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Special Bohemian Genres

Perhaps the most significant domestic musical achievement prior to 1720 was the appearance of four Catholic Bohemian cantionals (Czech: kancionáls).[160] The several centuries' old Bohemian tradition of spiritual folk song, which had developed from simple strophic songs into hymns and into polyphonic settings cultivated by the Literáti, was taken up by the Catholic church in the seventeenth century.

The first cantional published in a figured bass format was Česká mariánská muzika [Czech Marian music] (Prague, 1647) by Adam Václav Michna z Otradovic. This collection revitalized and modernized the popular tradition and served as the base and model for all succeeding hymnbooks. Michna himself, an organist and businessman of the burgher class, who published elaborate concertante works as well, is considered to be the first Bohemian composer to have mastered the contemporary Italian style. In the tunes he composed for his two hymnbooks, (the second was Svatoroční muzika [Music for the liturgical year] (Prague, 1661), he captured an indigenous folk character that was to have an effect on succeeding generations.

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the mid-1740s tend to be pastiches and arrangements (see Appendix M).

[160]See Jiří Sehnal, "Cantional. I. The Czech kancionál," NG 3, 733-35.

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Several of his pieces were carried into succeeding hymnbooks and have remained in the popular repertory to this time.[161]

The most important hymnbook, in the number of tunes (911 in the second edition) and popularity, reflected in the number of editions, was the Český kancionál (Prague, 1683, second edition 1687, sixth edition 1764) by Matěj Václav Šteyer (1630-1692) a Jesuit priest and teacher. Šteyer's collection consisted only of simple melodies, unlike the next two hymnbooks. Václav Karel Holan Rovenský (1644-1718), an organist, published Capella regia musicalis/ Kaple královská zpěvní a muzikální [Royal musical capella] (Prague, 1693), which contained older Hussite songs, some popular songs, and some of Michna's songs. Its interesting feature is in its simple cantata-like and dialogue arrangements, useful for smaller parishes. Slavíček rajsky [The heavenly nightingale] (Hradec Králové, 1719) by Jan Josef Božan (1644-1716), a

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[161]Adrienne Simpson, "Michna, Adam Václav" NG 12, 269-70. A portion of Michna's Loutná česká [The Czech lute] has been published in partial facsimile and transcription (see Bibliography). One of the most famous, and still current songs from Česká mariánská muzika, "Chtíc, aby spal," has been transcribed by Jaroslav Pohanka in Dějiny české hudby v příkladech (Prague: SNKLHU, 1958) No. 106, p. 76. A study and analysis of Michna's songs was published by Jiří Sehnal, "Písně Adama Michny z Otradovic (1600-1676)," HV XII (1975) 3-43. Sehnal provides a comparative table of songs from Michna's three works with respect to the hymnbooks of Šteyer, Holan and Božan. Incipits for each are given in the Brook-Gould "Plaine and Easie Code," 39-43.

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parish priest and hymn collector, had figured bass accompaniment for most of the melodies. It was published posthumously through the support of Count Franz Anton von Sporck, who was lord of the estate where Božan's parish was located. Through Sporck's efforts, the collection was disseminated throughout parishes in Bohemia and Moravia.[162]

Along with all of the liturgical music described above, these popular songs had a place. They were used in processions and for pilgrimages. They were sung in monasteries and in parish churches everywhere, often during the Mass or substituting for sung parts of the Mass.[163] Beginning early in the eighteenth century, professional Bohemian composers began to use some of these melodies as the basis for more elaborate works.[164]

During this same time in Bohemia, another church music genre had been developing, the pastorella, which was performed at Christmas time.[165] The form was either in

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[162]"Božan, Jan Josef," ČSHS, I, 124f. See also John Clapham, "Božan, Jan Josef," NG 3, 147, and Heinrich Benedikt, Franz Anton Graf von Sporck (Vienna: Mainz Verlag, 1923) 452-53.

[163]See Bužga, "Musiker," 341. The Šteyer and Božan hymnbooks are part of the Březnice church collection, as well as local hymnbooks which incorporate some of Michna's songs (Pešková, Collectio Ecclesiae Březnicensis, 24).

[164]Šimon Brixi (1693-1735) and Josef Sehling (1710-1756) are two of the well-known, professionally-trained composers who incorporated a number of songs into larger liturgical works.

[165]There is evidence that the genre developed in other countries as well, particularly in Poland and parts of

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simple stanzas, following the text, or, in the case of extended forms, was a multi-movement structure that could involve some drama. Many pastorellas incorporated folk songs or songs from the cantionals and often used folk instruments, such as bagpipes and pastoral trumpets (tuba pastoralis, pastorica, pastoritis). The pastorella genre was developed initially by sophisticated composers and continued to be cultivated at this level mainly by Bohemian composers, while it moved to the rural areas where it was also taken up by local composers.[166] Pastorellas and "pastoral Masses" (Missa pastoralis, Missa pastoritia, Missa in Nativitate), which contain many similar elements, appear in most collections and inventories.[167]

Secular Music

Because of the scattered and fragmented nature of

Germany. See Geoffrey Chew, "Pastorella," and "Pastorale. 5. 17th- and 18th-century Christmas and instrumental pastorales outside Italy," NG 14, 296, 293-94; also see Geoffrey Chew, "The Christmas Pastorella in Austria, Bohemia and Moravia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manchester, England, 1968).

[166]The earliest known pastorella in Bohemia is by Fux, "Pastores evangelizo vobis," in the Rajhrad monastery collection from 1725 (Cs Bm, sign. A 12324). See Chew, "The Christmas Pastorella," 105-09. A complete list of all known manuscripts of Czech pastorellas is appended to Jiří Berkovec's study České pastorely (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1987) 213-72.

[167]A recently-completed study having a comprehensive view of the pastoral genre is by Mark Germer, "The Austro-Bohemian Pastorella and Pastoral Mass to c1780" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1989).

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the sources, the cultivation of secular music in eighteenth-century Bohemia cannot be fully determined. Within the collections and inventories, very little vocal secular music appears until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Instrumental music is plentiful throughout the century, some of which probably served a dual purpose, "per la chiesa e camera." The nobility expressed their individual preferences through collections of balletti, suites, as well as sonatas and concertos for favorite solo instruments. Parthias for wind instruments form a favorite genre, as well as divertimentos and sinfonias for various instrumental combinations.[168]

Although not every noble family could afford to support their own opera or ballet theater, like the Schwarzenbergs at Český Krumlov, some of them collected ballet suites and opera arrangements for wind or string ensembles. This music is found in collections and inventories dating from later in the century. Throughout the century a number of nobles avidly collected opera librettos and programs.[169]

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[168]The term "sinfonia" is used here to identify early eighteenth-century types rather than the Classical "symphony" of Haydn and Mozart.

[169]The various Bohemian castle collections of opera librettos are housed in Cs Ps, or in the several castles. A compilation was made of the Prague opera productions by Pravoslav Kneidl ("Libreta Italské Opery"). Complete castle collections, which include intermezzos, spoken plays, popular comedies, melodramas, and occasionally oratorios, are being published in the series, Teatralia

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The impression given by the meagre sources is one of gradual increase after mid-century in the number of arrangements of operatic and symphonic material for chamber ensemble, in addition to the continuous collection of pieces written for string trios and small wind groups.

Foreign and Native Composers

Music was streaming into Bohemia from a number of European centers during the eighteenth century--music that was heard and performed by Bohemians, whether school boys, university students, or members of religious or aristocratic capellas. Based on the evidence of inventories and collections, before 1700, the majority of foreign composers were from Italy and the Imperial Court. However, some were connected with Salzburg. Table 2.7 lists the composers who are most often represented.

TABLE 2.7.--Representative foreign composers in Bohemian and Moravian inventories and collections, c1700

Bologna
Bassani, Giovanni Battista (c1657-1716) (also in Ferrara)
Colonna, Giovanni Paolo (1637-1695)
Degli Antoni, Pietro (1648-1720)
Gabrielli, Domenico (1651-1690)
Perti, Giacomo Antonio (1661-1756)
Torelli, Giuseppe (1658-1709)

Rome
Carissimi, Giacomo (1605-1674)
Corelli, Arcangelo (1653-1713)
Foggia, Francesco (1604-1688)
Pasquini, Bernardo (1637-1710)
Pitoni, Giuseppe Ottavio (1657-1743)

(Prague: Divadelní Ústav a Knihovna národního muzea v Praze; see Bibliography for current editions).

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TABLE 2.7, continued
Vienna, Imperial Court
Bertali, Antonio (1605-1669)
Draghi, Antonio (1634/35-1700)
Fux, Johann Joseph (1660-1741)
Kerll, Johann Kaspar (1627-1693)
Leopold I, Emperor (1640-1705)
Reutter, Georg (1656-1738; "the elder")
Richter, Ferdinand Tobias (1651-1711)
Sances, Giovanni (c1600-1679)
Schmelzer, Johann (c1620/23-1680)
Ziani, Marc'Antonio (c1653-1715)

Salzburg
Biber, Heinrich (1644-1704)
Pezel, Johann Christoph (1639-1694)

Other Austrian
Richter, Ferdinand Tobias (1651-1711)

During the first forty years of the eighteenth century, music still continued to arrive from the Imperial Court and from Italy, particularly Naples (which became part of the Habsburg Empire from 1714 to 1734). Most of these composers were active in opera as well as church music. However, works by composers from German courts began to make an appearance, particularly those from Dresden (which had become a Catholic court in 1697)[170] (see Table 2.8).

The music of German Protestant composers, notably Johann Sebastian Bach, is almost totally lacking as are

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[170]"The Saxon acquisition of the Polish crown [through Augustus II, "The Strong,'s" conversion to Catholicism and subsequent takeover] changed the relations between Vienna and Dresden. Saxony, the home of the Lutheran Reformation, though nearly always moderate in its opposition to the emperor, now became fully dependent on close collaboration with him" (Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany, 1648-1840 [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964] 99).

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composers from England (not surprisingly). With the exception of Lully's name in a few private noble sources, French composers did not make a significant appearance until after 1775.

TABLE 2.8.--Representative Foreign Composers In Bohemian and Moravian Inventories and Collections, 1700-1740

(* = Composers whose works were performed in Prague by itinerant opera companies)

Naples
Durante, Francesco (1684-1755)
*Feo, Francesco (1691-1761)
Leo, Leonardo (1697-1744)
*Mancini, Francesco (1672-1737)
*Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista (1710-1736)
*Porpora, Nicola (1686-1768)
Sarro (Sarri), Domenico (1679-1744)
Scarlatti, Alessandro (1660-1725)
*Vinci, Leonardo (c1690-1730)

Other Italian Cities
*Albinoni, Tomaso Giovanni (1671-1751), Venice
Bononcini, Giovanni (1670-1747) Bologna, Vienna
Bonporti, Francesco Antonio (1672-1749) Trent
*Gasparini, Francesco (1668-1727) various Italian cities
*Lotti, Antonio (c1667-1740) Venice, Dresden, Prague
Marcello, Benedetto (1686-1739) Brescia
Pollarolo, Carlo (c1653-1723) Venice
*Vivaldi, Antonio (1678-1741) Venice

Imperial Court, Vienna
Caldara, Antonio (c1670-1736)
Conti, Francesco Bartolomeo (1681-1732)
Fux, Johann Joseph (continues from 1700)

German Courts
Fischer, Johann Caspar Ferdinand (?c1670-1746), Baden, Ostrov
Handel, Georg Frederick (1685-1714), Halle, Hamburg, Hanover
Heinichen, Johann David (1683-1729), Dresden
Schmidt, Johann Christoph (? - 1728), Dresden

After 1740, the composers from the Imperial Court are not as well represented. The foreign composers whose works most often appear in inventories and collections are

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those most often connected with opera. The correspondence between the names appearing in the inventories and collections and those whose works were performed by traveling opera companies is even more marked (compare Tables 2.8 and 2.9).

TABLE 2.9.--Representative foreign composers in Bohemian and Moravian inventories and collections, 1740-1775

(* = Composers whose works were performed in Prague by itinerant opera companies)

*Albrechtsberger, Johann Georg (1736-1809), Melk, Vienna
Aspelmayr, Franz (1728-1786), Vienna, Imperial Court
Aumann, Franz Josef (1728-1797), St. Florian monastery
Bach, Johann Christian (1735-1782), Germany, Italy, London
*Bernasconi, Andrea (?1706-1784), Milan, Munich
*Bioni, Antonio (1698-after 1739), Venice, Breslau, Mainz
Boog, Andreas (? -1763), Imperial Court
*Boroni, Antonio (1739-92), Italy, Stuttgart
Caldara, Antonio (1630-1736), Imperial Court
Camerloher, Placidus von (1718-1782), Munich, Freising
*Ciampi, Vincenzo (?1719-1762), Italy, London
Dittersdorf, Karl Ditters von (1739-1799) Vienna, various court positions
Donberger, Georg Joseph (1709-1768), Vienna, Herzogenburg
*Duni, Egidio (1708-1775), Italy, Paris
Durante, Francesco (1684-1755), Naples
*Feo, Francesco (1691-1761), Naples
*Ferradini, Antonio (?1718-1779), Naples
Filtz, (Johann) Anton (1733-1760), Mannheim
*Fischietti, Domenico (c1725-? after 1810), Naples
Fux, Johann Joseph (1660-1741), Imperial Court
*Galuppi, Baldassare (1706-1785), Venice
*Gassmann, Florian (1729-1774), Vienna, Imperial Court [Bohemian-born]
*Gluck, Christoph Willibald (1714-1787), Prague, Dresden, Vienna, et al.
Graun, Carl Heinrich (1703/04-1759), Berlin
*Hasse, Johann Adolf (1699-1783), Dresden, Vienna
Haydn, Joseph (1732-1809), Lukavice, Eisenstadt, Esterháza
Haydn, Michael (1737-1806), Vienna, Grosswardein, Salzburg
Holzbauer, Ignaz (1711-1783), Holešov, Vienna, Mannheim
*Jommelli, Nicolò (1714-1774) Stuttgart, Vienna
Majo, Gian Francesco (de) (1732-1770), Naples
*Paisiello, Giovanni (1740-1816), Naples

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Table 2.9, continued

*Perez, David (1711-1778), Naples
*Piccini, Niccolò (1728-1800), Naples
*Rutini, Giovanni Marco (1723-1797), Naples, Berlin, Dresden, Prague
*Sacchini, Antonio (1730-1786), Naples
Sammartini, Giovanni Battista (1700/01-1775), Milan
*Sarti, Giuseppe (1729-1802), Faenza, Copenhagen
Terradellas, Domingo (1713-1751), Naples, Rome, et al.
*Traetta, Tommaso (1727-1779), Naples, Mannheim, Vienna
*Wagenseil, Georg Christoph (1715-1777), Vienna, Imperial Court
*Zoppis, Francesco (c1715-1781), Venice, Bonn, Prague

Beginning in 1740, the tide of emigrating Bohemian musicians began to swell (see Chapter I). The musicians took with them what they had been taught and what they had heard and played in Bohemia. A number of them began to earn reputations as composers in the various foreign courts. Table 2.10 shows who were the major composers, when they left Bohemia, where they first worked, and some information about the genres in which they composed, as well as whether their music played a part in Bohemian musical culture.

TABLE 2.10.--Emigrant Bohemian composers, born 1670-1750 (in approximate birth order)

(* = Works appear in a number of Bohemian and Moravian inventories and collections)

Composer	First Court/City of destination	Date of Emigration	Opera/ Oratorio/ school play	Vocal sacred/ secular	Instrumental
Born 1670s					
*Zelenka, Jan Dismas	Dresden	1710	oratorio/ school play	sacred	X
Born 1690s					
*Zach, Jan	Mainz, et al.	1745		sacred	X

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TABLE 2.10, continued

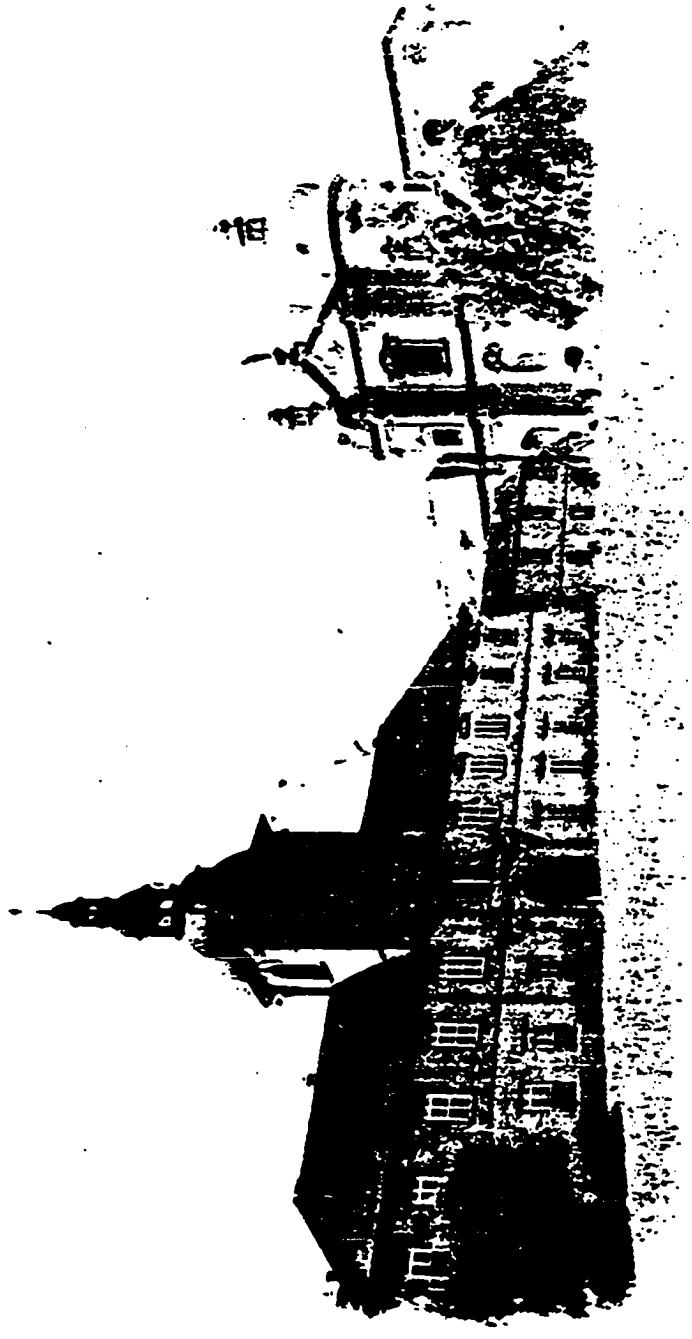
Composer	First Court/City of destination	Date of Emigration	Opera/ Oratorio/ school play	Vocal sacred/ secular	Instru-mental
Born 1700-1709					
*Tůma, František	Vienna	1720		sacred	X
*Habermann, Franz	Italy, various	by 1731	1 opera/ oratorio/ school play	sacred	X
Zarth (Čart), Georg	Vienna, et al.	1725			X
Benda, Franz	Vienna, et al.	1726		secular	X
*Richter, F. X.	Kempten, et al.	1740	oratorio	sacred	X
Born 1710-19					
Benda Johann Georg	Dresden	by 1733			X
*Stamitz, Johann	Mannheim	1741		sacred	X
Born 1720s					
Benda, Georg	Berlin	1742	opera/ Singspiel/ melodrama	sacred/ secular	X
*Štěpán, Josef Ant.	Vienna	1741		sacred/ secular	X
*Pokorny, Franz Xaver	Wallerstein, Regensburg	1753			X
*Gassmann, Florian Leopold	Italy, Vienna	1742	opera/ oratorio	sacred/ secular	X
Born 1730s					
Kammell, Antonín	London	by 1764			X
*Mysliveček, Josef	Venice, et al.	1763	opera/ oratorio	sacred/ secular	X
Kohaut, Josef T.	Paris	by 1764	opera		X
*Vaňhal, Jan K.	Vienna (he was taken there)	1761	opera/ 1 oratorio	sacred/ secular	X
Born 1740s					
*Pichl, Václav	Grosswardein	1765	opera	sacred/ secular	X

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TABLE 2.10, continued

Composer	First Court/City of destination	Date of Emigration	Opera/ Oratorio/ school play	Vocal sacred/ secular	Instru- mental
Krumpholz, Jean-Baptiste	Vienna	1758			x
Went, Johann	Vienna	mid-1770s			x
Reicha, Josef	Wallerstein	1774			x
Stich-Punto, Giov.	around Europe	c1766			x
Koželuch, Leopold	Vienna	1778	oratorio	sacred/ secular	x
Fiala, Josef	Wallerstein	1774		sacred	x
Kraft, Anton	Vienna	by 1778			x

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Illust. 2.--The Cistercian Monastery of Osek, view from the front

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CHAPTER III

THE MUSIC INVENTORIES OF OSEK

In 1919, the Czech musicologist Emil Trolda drew attention to the musical culture of the Cistercian monastery of Osek (German: Osegg, Ossegg; Latin: Ossecensis) in a series of articles published in German.[1] Trolda's personal field of interest was sacred music, and so he focused on the church compositions that were in Osek's music inventories of 1706 and 1720. Twelve years later, Paul Nettl published a brief study of the secular music from the same two inventories.[2] These two initial reports established Osek's reputation as a significant music center in the eighteenth century, and have continued to provide reference material for music historians.[3] Yet,

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[1]Emil Trolda, "Tote Musik (Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte Böhmens)," Musica Divina VII/5-6 (May-June 1919), 71-72; VII/7-8 (July-August 1919), 111-12; VII/9-10 (Sept.-Oct. 1919), 139-44; VII/11-12 (Nov.-Dec. 1919), 171-76.

[2]Paul Nettl, "Weltliche Musik des Stiftes Ossegg (Böhmen) im 17. Jahrhundert," Beiträge zur böhmische und mährische Musikgeschichte (Brünn: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1927), 33-40; (originally published in Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft IV [1921-22]).

[3]Trolda's study formed the basis for Ernst Tittel's broad conclusions about Baroque music in Bohemia in Österreichische Kirchenmusik, Band 2 of Schriftenreihe des

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the inventories themselves have not been studied for the additional information they have to yield. Osek's thematic catalogue dating from 1754 to 1810, when added to the material in the early inventories, permits a reconstruction of the development and practice of music in one institution during a crucial period of stylistic changes. Osek's musical development provides a mirror which reflects the changing musical culture in Bohemia during the eighteenth century.

A Brief History of Osek

The Cistercian monastery at Osek (German: Osegg, Ossegg; Latin: Ossecensis) was founded in northern Bohemia near Duchcov (German: Dux) at the end of the 12th century by a colony of monks from Waldsassen, Germany. The exact point at which its affiliation changed from the German provincial unit or "congregation" to the Bohemian-Moravian one is a matter of some doubt, but German cultural connections were retained and periodically renewed by influxes of German settlers to the area through the seventeenth century. Until the election of Kajetan Březina

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Allgemeinen Cäcelien-Verbandes für die Ländes der deutschen Sprache (Vienna: Herder, 1961) 169-70. Rudolf Quoika relied on the same study as the basis for his discussion of Baroque church music composers in Die Musik der deutschen in Böhmen und Mähren (Berlin: Merseburger, 1956) 61-62 and in several MGG articles. Nettl's study contributed to Kurt Stangl's description of, "Böhmen und Mähren," MGG II, 28, 32. Karl Michael Komma drew on both for portions of Das böhmische Musikantentum (Kassel: Johann Philipp Hinnenthal, 1960), especially p. 140.

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of Birkenfeld in 1749, all the abbots bore German names.

TABLE 3.1.--Abbots of Osek, 1650 - 1798[4]

Laurenz Scipio	1650 - 1691
Benedikt Littwerig	1691 - 1726
Hieronymus Besnecker	1726 - 1749
Kajetan Březina z Birkenfeldu (von Birkenfeld)	1749 - 1776
Mauritius Elbel	1776 - 1798

After its total destruction in the Thirty Years' War, Osek was restored and reordered along with the other Cistercian houses in Bohemian lands into the Bohemian-Moravian-Lusatian Vicariate (see Table 3.2 and Map 2).[5]

TABLE 3.2.--Cistercian Bohemian-Moravian-Lusatian Vicariate, 1620-1785

Monasteries: (German/Latin names)		Dates
Osek	(Ossegg/Ossecensis)	1199 -
Vyšší Brod	(Hohenfurt/	1259 -
Plasy	(Plass/Plassium)	1146 - 1785
Skalice	(Skalz/Scallicum)	1357/1690-1783
Zbraslav	(Königsaal/Aula Regia)	1292 - 1785
Sedlec	(Sedletz/	1143/1454-1783
Zlatá Koruna	(Goldenkron/Corona Aurea	1263 - 1785
Velehrad	(Welehrad)	c1200 - 1784
Žďár	(Saar)	1251 - 1784
Convents: (These are in Upper Lusatia; no Czech names)		
Mariastern	(/Mariae Stella)	1248 -

[4]Meinrad Siegl, "Cisterzienserstift Ossegg," Ein Cisterzienserbuch. Geschichte und Beschreibung der Bestehenden und Anführung der Aufgehobenen Cisterzienserstifte in Österreich-Ungran, Deutschland und Der Schweiz, edited by Sebastian Brunner (Würzburg: Leo Woerl [1881]) 315-33.

[5]Josef Svátek, Organizace řeholních institucí v českých zemích a péče o Jejich archivy, published as a special supplement to Sborník archivních prací XX/2 (1970) 534-35.

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TABLE 3.2, continued

Marienthal	(/Mariae Vallis)	1234 -
College:		
St. Bernard, Prague		1374 - 1785

The presiding superior of the Vicariate had the title "visitator et vicarius generalis." Three of Osek's abbots in the period 1666-1798 served in this position, which held considerable power. The abbot of Osek always held the supervisory position of Visitator natus at the convents of Mariastern and Marienthal; the Magdalite convent in Most (German: Brüx) was also under his jurisdiction.[6]

Osek's most extensive growth and the peak of its musical activity was in the period 1648-1783, during which time it was one of the most famous and prosperous of the Bohemian-Moravian Cistercian houses. Available figures show that Osek had forty-seven members in the years 1699 and 1780, which brought it close in size to the Abbey of Melk.[7]

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[6]In addition to Siegl, Brunner and Svátek, above, these additional studies have been consulted: Leopold Janauschek, Der Cistercienser-Orden, Historische Skizze (Brno: Benedictiner Buchdrückerei, 1884); and Franz Machilek,"Die Zisterzienser in Böhmen und Mähren," AKG III (1973) 185-220. The preface to the inventory of the monastery's papers at Cs LIT (Sign. Rad Cisterciáku Osek), hereinafter referred to as OInv, includes a short history of the Osek monastery. A typescript copy of the inventory is deposited in Cs Pu (Sign. 4350/I & II).

[7]Melk had over fifty members during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Robert N. Freeman, The Practice of Music at Melk Abbey Based Upon the Documents, 1681-1826 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der

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Osek's wealth was derived in large part from its extensive land holdings, some of which were in Saxony. The community owned limestone quarries and coal mines and, under Benedikt Littwerig, founded the first industrial enterprises in the region.[8] Consistent with Cistercian tradition, Abbot Benedikt and his immediate predecessor, Laurenz Scipio, encouraged the new enlightened development of agriculture and agricultural techniques, which increased production. In 1647, the monastery had received an Imperial privilege to found a hospital with a pharmacy-dispensary.[9]

Contrary to Cistercian custom, but necessitated by the shortage after 1620, Osek's monks also served as parish priests for the eight parishes that were part of the monastery's estates. Osek also was in charge of a pilgrimage site and church, Maria Radčice (German: Radschitz; Latin Raticensis) which was also part of its

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Wissenschaften, 1989) 25. Other abbeys in the Vicariat were larger than Osek. Vyšší Brod and Žďár had fifty-eight members in 1780; Plassy had fifty-seven. Louis J. Lekai, The Cistercians, Ideals and Reality (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977), comparative charts 467-74.

[8]Osek's stocking manufacture was the first industry, founded in 1696. The weaving industry, founded in 1706, produced "osek cloth," which acquired a certain amount of fame. OInv, xxxi. In 1732 Osek employed about 450 people from its domains, the majority of whom were serfs. Josef Kočí, "Krize a rozklad nevolnického zřízení," Československá vlastivěda, ed. by Josef Macek et al. (Prague: Orbis, 1963) 531.

[9]The privilege was withdrawn in 1775. OInv. xxxii.

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landholding. Maria Radčice was a focus of popular Marian devotion dating from the thirteenth century. Pilgrimages to the site, which took place on the third Sunday after Easter, received enhanced status after Pope Clement XI granted all pilgrims full indulgence (1696). Abbot Benedikt ordered the building of a new pilgrimage church (completed 1718), which, by 1730, employed twenty-two clerics and saw over 50,000 pilgrims annually.[10]

The church at Maria Radčice was only one part of an extensive building campaign begun during the rule of Abbot Benedikt. The entire monastery, including the hospital, granaries, brewery, abbey, and the adjoining church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was completely rebuilt and redesigned from the mixed Gothic and Renaissance styles into the High Baroque style. At the same time, the monastery also paid for renovation and rebuilding of the parish churches on its estates and for its newly-purchased house in the Old Town of Prague.

Osek was noted for its learning, and at the turn of the 18th century, several well-known scholars, including Franciscus Speer, Eustachius Janka and Augustin Sartorius, were numbered among its members.[11] The large and

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[10]OInv, xxxii-xxxiii.

[11]Franciscus Speer published Theses theologicae de Deo uno et trio (Prague 1707) and De cognoscibilitate et fine Dominicae Incarnationis (Prague 1708). Augustin Sartorius (1663-1723) published a seminal work, Cistercium bis-tertium (Prague 1708). The scholarly works of Speer,

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elaborately-decorated library, designed by Abbot Benedikt for the new abbey, housed the monastery's collection of approximately 40,000 volumes, which encompassed not only theological subjects, but also history and the sciences.[12] From the late seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries, Osek's members could be found on the theological faculty at the archbishop's Collegium St. Adalbert in Prague, as well as in the Cistercian college of St. Bernard.[13]

Osek also proved assiduous in its patronage of the arts. The best of the local and native architects, artists and artisans were engaged to carry out its building plans in the desired Baroque style. Octavio Broggio (1670-1730), whose work was influenced by Giovanni Santin-Aichel (d.

Sartorius and Janka have been found in a number of monastic libraries, indicating a wide distribution. (Siegl, "Ossegg," 343f and OInv. I, xliv).

[12]In Osek's archive are letters between Abbot Benedikt and J. F. Gleditsch, a bookseller in Leipzig; Historiae Byzantinae and Western European literature were among the purchases. Although partially destroyed in 1759, the library was later reassembled and continued to be enlarged to 63,000 volumes by 1921. The present library, of mixed provenience, consists of some 21,000 items; 147 manuscripts and incunabula are at Cs Pu; the rest is at the District Musem in Teplice; (see PrůvodceB, 164). Bernhard Wohlmann published a catalogue of the manuscripts in "Verzeichniss der Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Stiftes Ossegg," Xenia Bernardina II (1891), 115-64.

[13]Album Ossecense oder Verzeichnis der Mitglieder des Cistercienser-Stiftes Ossegg vom Jahre 1645-1896. [Seven hundred year Jubilee album published by Osek] (Bilin: Verlag des Cistercienser-Stiftes Ossegg, 1896). The individual members of the monastery from its founding are listed in birth order with a short biographical notice on their work. The anonymous editor commented on the sparse material for the earlier years.

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1723) and who was a native of the district seat of Litoměřice (Leitmeritz), was the principal architect.[14] Wenzel Lorenz Rainer (d. 1743) and Johann Jakob Steinfels (d. 1730) of Prague did the frescoes. Franz Anton Kuen (1679-1742) was Osek's sculptor in the years 1713-16.[15] Statuary, paintings and frescoes adorned not only the abbot's wing, but the monks' quarters as well. Artistic thought had been given even to the placement of the windows so as to afford the best views. Osek owned many paintings by well-known masters, including Rembrandt, Potter, Rubens, Carracci, Breughel, Cranach, Stella, Bassano, van der Meer, and van der Werf.[16] Abbot Benedikt's successor, Hieronymus Besnecker, continued the building and artistic enrichment, to which he contributed spacious gardens laid out according to the French design, in which he placed some of the Gothic statuary from the monastery's earlier years.

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[14]Santin-Aichel was the favorite architect of a number of orders in Bohemia and Moravia. He and Broggio both were influenced by the early work of Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. (Machilek, "Die Zisterzienser," 204). Erich Bachmann's article, "Architektur und Sakrallandschaft," in Bohemia sacra, ed. by Ferdinand Seibt (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1974), includes a groundplan of Osek (p. 496). A photograph of the interior of Osek's church of the Blessed Virgin Mary is in Dějiny českého výtvarného umění II, 2 vols., ed. by Jiří Dvorský (Prague: Academia, 1989) II, 429, together with a discussion of Broggio's extensive work in Bohemia and Moravia.

[15]Kuen's statue of St. Matthew, together with a discussion and further examples of his work is in Dějiny českého výtvarního umění, II, 502.

[16]Siegl, "Ossegg," 351-52.

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Osek's ecclesiastical and political connections reached far beyond its own estates, not only in the positions of its abbots but also through its members. Several of them, notably Sartorius and Janka, served as secretaries to the Cistercian congregation, positions which involved travel and receiving important visitors at Osek from different houses, lands, and orders.[17] Visitors' accomodations formed an important part of the monks' quadrangle complex, not only because of ecclesiastical affairs but also because the monastery was situated directly on the road connecting Dresden with Regensburg, Munich and Salzburg.[18] Osek provided much needed hospitality for the steady stream of travelers, many of high rank.

Osek had its own secondary school (college) which followed a curriculum similar to the Jesuit plan. Novices were trained as well by Osek's Novicemasters and its professors of theology. In addition, Osek's monks had charge of the different parish Latin schools.[19]

Osek flourished until overtaken by political events.

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[17]The Album Ossecense enumerates the positions and various incumbents. It seems that no monk held any teaching position for life, but rather that the position was part of a series of duties. However, only the monks with advanced education taught theology or were Novicemasters.

[18]OInv. I, liv.

[19]Machilek, "Die Zisterzienser," 212.

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In 1741 Saxon troops invaded Bohemian territory, billeting soldiers in the monastery and exacting ruinous "contributions." In 1742, Bavarian troops did the same. The Prussian soldiers arrived in 1744, forcing Abbot Hieronymus to flee for safety in Prague. After about ten years of peace and recovery, the monastery was again put under threat during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), as Prussian soldiers advanced and retreated throughout the territory, plundering, raiding, and carrying off some of the monks to hold them for ransom, in lieu of Abbot Kajetan Březina, who like his predecessor, had had to flee. The monastery's library was ransacked by Saxon troops under General Wallis. This period of turmoil marked the beginning of the monastery's decline of fortune.

Hardly had rebuilding begun when famine struck the area (1771). About the same time the textile enterprises and the mines failed. While Osek was providing social relief of various kinds to the local population, the ecclesiastical reforms of Maria Theresa were dissolving the benefices and foundations that had supported the choirboy program and much of the liturgical music. The dissolution of many of the orders and a number of individual monasteries in Habsburg lands, begun in 1783, took away most of the Cistercian monasteries in the Vicariate. Osek was forced to take on additional responsibilities for parish administration and public education as well as for

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the consolidation of the order's ecclesiastical business. However, the monastery continued to support a rich intellectual life well into the nineteenth century. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) was in correspondence with several of its members and visited Osek twice, in 1810 and again in 1813, the first time as the guest of the abbey.[20] Osek's abbots continued to be known as patrons of music, particularly Benedikt Venusi (1798-1823) who hosted Goethe's entertainment. Musical life did not come to an end, but it was greatly changed, as the inventories show.

Osek's Musical Life and Musical Personnel

Osek was well-known for its rich musical life in the eighteenth century.[21] However, pending a thorough study of Osek's archival material and the extant collection of music, that life can only be approached through the inventories and related sources.[22]

For a beginning, we can consider the musical practice of the Cistercian Order. The Cistercian Office conformed to the prescriptions of St. Benedict, with the observance of regular Hours (Lauds, Matins, Terce, Sext,

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[20]Kurt A. Huber, "Goethe in böhmisch-märischen Klöstern," AKG IV (1976) 163-64.

[21]Rudolf Quoika, "Leitmeritz," MGG VIII, 584.

[22]It is my understanding that this project is now under way in Prague and will be published in the series CAM.

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None, Vespers, Compline; see page 120). But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under Counter-Reformation pressure, the choral service became greatly elaborated so that "processions were multiplied and common commemorations introduced." The Cistercians accepted the rubrics of the Roman Missal in the seventeenth century, which resulted in a celebration of the Mass that was generally in conformity with that of the cathedral chapters[23] (see Chapter II).

Although details about Osek's musical endowments and foundations are not available, the music manuscripts and inventories show that a number of choirboys must have been in residence as they were in Zwettl.[24] Additional musicians (instrumentalists) were hired for special feast days, of which twenty-five were enumerated in Osek's music inventory of 1720. These feasts included the usual liturgical calendar feast days (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Corpus Christi and its octave, All Saints), days celebrating the Blessed Virgin (Conception, Annunciation, Visitation, Purification, Ascension), special saints of the Church (John the Baptist, Stephen, Sebastian), a Bohemian saint (Procopius -- but not

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[23]T. Boyd, "Cistercians (Rite)," New Catholic Encyclopedia III, 889-90; also see Lekai, The Cistercians, 364-65.

[24]The Zwettl choirboy foundation began in the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth century there were thirty Sängerknaben (Lekai, The Cistercians, 391).

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Wenceslas), special saints of the Cistercian Order (Benedict, Bernard) and days special to the abbey (anniversary of the dedication of the church, and the name day of the abbot). All of these feasts involved processions and elaborate, figural music. The heading indicates that the musicians ("Musici Majores") were to receive the midday meal on these days, by the Abbot's gracious permission (Table 3.3)[25] The present records do not indicate how many extra musicians were hired, nor what instruments they may have played. Osek's lists of instruments and the occasional notation of instrumentation in the inventories, however, offer some clues (see below).

TABLE 3.3.--List of Special Feast Days Celebrated at Osek

Festa quibus Musici Majores de Gratiosa R[evere]ndissimi D.D. Abbatio dispositione prandium percipiunt

Festum Circumcisionis
Epiphaniae
Purificationis
S:P: Benedicti
Annunciationis
1mo die Paschatis
In Ascensione Domini
Dominica Pentecostes
In festo SS: Trinitatis
In festo SS: Corporis Christi
In Nativitate S: Joannes Baptistae
In festo SS: Apostol: Petri et Pauli
In Visitatione B:V:M:
In festo S:P: Stephani
In festo Assumptionis B:V:M:
In festo S:P: Bernardi
In Dedicatione Eccle[si]ae
In festo omniam Sanctorum

[25]Inventory of 1706, fol. 48 v.

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In festo Conceptionis B:V:M:
In Nativitate D[omi]ni nostri JESU Xti
In Patrociniis Solemnibus
festo S: Sebastiani
S: Procopii
Decollatione S: Joannus Baptistae
In Octava Corporis Christi
In Die Onomastica Reverendissimi
Dni Dni Abbatis.

The cult of the Blessed Virgin, a marked emphasis of the Habsburg dynasty, was also a particular devotional focus of the order, as shown in the list of feasts. It is within the realm of possibility that Osek's sponsorship of the Marian site at Radčice, together with its parish supervision, would have fostered the growth of popular spiritual songs such as those in the cantionals, but in German rather than Czech. It is likely that Osek used the Literati of Duchcov in liturgical musical activities.[26]

Osek engaged in theater activities. A school play or melodrama (which was also a Passion play), "Ecce Agnus Dei, Ecce: sive Ipsorum verborum Interpus Sacer Sanctus Joannes Baptista," by J. B. A. Böhm was produced at Osek in 1692. Coming before the influence of Italy could have had its full effect, the work shows great skill, both in "the melodic movement of the solo voices," as well as in the effective contrast of the instrumental sections (which included a ballet) with the vocal parts.[27]

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[26]The Literati in Duchcov are mentioned by Quoika in "Leitmeritz," MGG VIII, 583.

[27]Jaroslav Bužga, "Schuldrama. B. Das Schuldrama in den böhm. Ländern," MGG XII, 236. (See also Emil Trolda,

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In the same school tradition, Osek produced in 1732, "Socrates & Xanthippe," a "Burlesca per il Carnevale," by an unknown composer, set for SATB solo voices, 2 violins, viola, bassoon and cembalo.[28] Mysliveček, while he was a student at the Jesuit college in Prague, dedicated a school play, "Alarm at Parnassus," to Osek's abbot Kajetan Březina.[29] Mysliveček dedicated several cantatas to Abbot Kajetan as well, testifying to the abbot's reputation as a patron of music as well as his connection with the Jesuits in Prague.[30]

Osek was in close contact with the Waldstein family who owned the Duchcov estate and were occasionally in residence there, as the Waldstein's Doksy archive shows. Several items in the Doksy collection indicate acquisitions

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"Ein musikalisches Schuldrama aus Böhmen a. d. Jahre 1692," Der Auftakt XVI [1936] 57-166.) The score is deposited in Cs Pnm.

[28]The score is deposited in Cs Pnm (Sign. XXXIV A 109). See Tomislav Volek, "První české zpěvohry," Dějiny českého divadla I, ed. by František Černý (Prague, Academia, 1968) 332 and note 184, p. 379.

[29]"Mysliveček, Josef," ČSHS II, 140. The date must have been between 1749 when Březina was elected abbot and 1753, when Mysliveček left the school. The score is missing, but the printed libretto which is in the Osek collection (Cs Pnm), indicates that it had four solo parts, Apollo, Euterpe, Melpomene and Erato, for two sopranos, alto and tenor plus 2 violins, viola, 2 oboes, 2 Waldhorns and cembalo. The title is written simply, "Opera itala." See Otakar Kamper, Hudební Praha v XVIII. věku (Prague: Melantrich, [1935]) 193-94. On the title, see M. Rutová, "Valdštejnská hudební sbírka," 177.

[30]"Mysliveček," ČSHS II, 140, 141; also Kamper, Hudební Praha, 194.

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for the Osek abbey which were deposited at Duchcov, for example, some symphonies by Werner from 1739. Some operatic works by Paisiello, Vranický, Winter and Alayrac in the Waldstein collection correspond to notices in the later Osek inventories. In addition, several scores of pastoral operas from Emanuel Arnost Waldstein, Litoměřice bishop (1716-89) and set by Jan Jakub Trautzel (1749-1834), regens chori at Osek, are deposited in the Osek collection under the pseudonym "Saputo." [31]

Finally, H. C. Robbins Landon has noted that the Osek collection is rich in Haydn works, including some of the earliest extant manuscripts.

> In some cases they antedate all other known manuscripts, even those of Göttweig Abbey in Austria. Apparently the monks at Osek procured their music partly from Prague, but partly from Vienna, too, which would explain the early date of many of the Haydn symphonies."[32]

According to Landon, the Osek collection contains some chamber music by Haydn and some unique examples of Haydn's works. Most of these early symphonies were "procured by a Pater Leopold, some others by P. Leonard Dohnt."[33]

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[31]Rutová, "Valdštejnská hudební sbírka," 182. The The scores are deposited in Cs Pnm (Sign. XXXII A 243 and XXXII A 106.

[32]H. C. Robbins Landon, Supplement to the Symphonies of Joseph Haydn (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961) 12.

[33]Landon, Supplement, 12. Osek has the only known copy of "XII Menuette" by "Giuseppe Haydn," which appear to be the "lost" minuets from the period c1760-1770. Landon lists forty symphonies by Haydn that are in manuscript in

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Brief annotations on several of the pages in Osek's music inventory of 1720 appear to be records of music loaned to other institutions sometime around mid-century.[34] The records show that the abbey's music library supplied a diverse group. First, there were Osek's own parish churches, through the Ludi magistro (literally, "master of students," a teacher) or cantor (always unnamed). The villages of Janegg (Jeníkov) and Graben (Hrob) are often named, as well as the pilgrimage church of Maria Radčice.

Loans were made to schools--some in nearby towns (about 10 km; Moldavia and Bilina are mentioned), through the Ludi magistro or cantor. Some were made to schools in towns 30-50 km distant: to Louny, to a "Dno Carolo Mayer" in Levin, to the rector in Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad), to the cantor in Litoměřice.

Osek sent music to Cistercian houses: Mariastern, Maria Valle (to Prochaska), Plasy, Neuzelle (in Silesia, to F. Clemente) as well as to the abbeys of other orders: the Premonstratensian abbey at Teplá (to "Holtz--Excellente Dno Doc."), and the Knights of the Cross in Prague (to Bleylebel).[35]

Among the miscellaneous loan entries are several to

Osek's collection (p. 12-14).

[34]Inventory of 1706, fol. 41 r, 41 v.

[35]Josef Bleylebel (d. 1762) was regens chori, bass singer and composer at the Knights of the Cross in Prague. "Bleylebel, Josef," ČSHS I, 111.

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Dresden (no name or institution identified) and several to individuals, for example, a "parvo Ignatio," and "Heer, Ludi magistro."

To all of these persons and institutions Osek loaned a wide range of music: Masses by Caldara, Carpani, Debuini, Grünberger, Haberman, Klima, Königsberger, Landfelt, Mancini, Pergolesi, Rautani, Rutini, Sehling, Vignati, Zechner; Offertories by Novák, Reichenauer and Sehling; Arias by Graun (to Dresden), Holzbauer, Pergolesi, Porpora; Litanies by Sehling; an Oratorio by Sarro (to Litoměřice); Sonatas by Neruda and a Concerto by Benda (to Plasy); six Symphonies and two Trios by Franz Benda (to F. Clemente in Neuzelle).

Musical Personnel

Osek's records are far from complete with respect to musical personnel, especially in the years before 1750. The monks served as cantors both at the abbey church, at Maria Radčice, and in the parishes. Some are listed as regentes chororum (choir directors), others as succentors (assistants to the regens chori) and still others as organists. Yet some, whose compositions are in Osek's inventories, do not seem to have held any music position. Available information yields more than thirty names from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries to which are attached the description "cantor," "succentor," or "regens chori." At

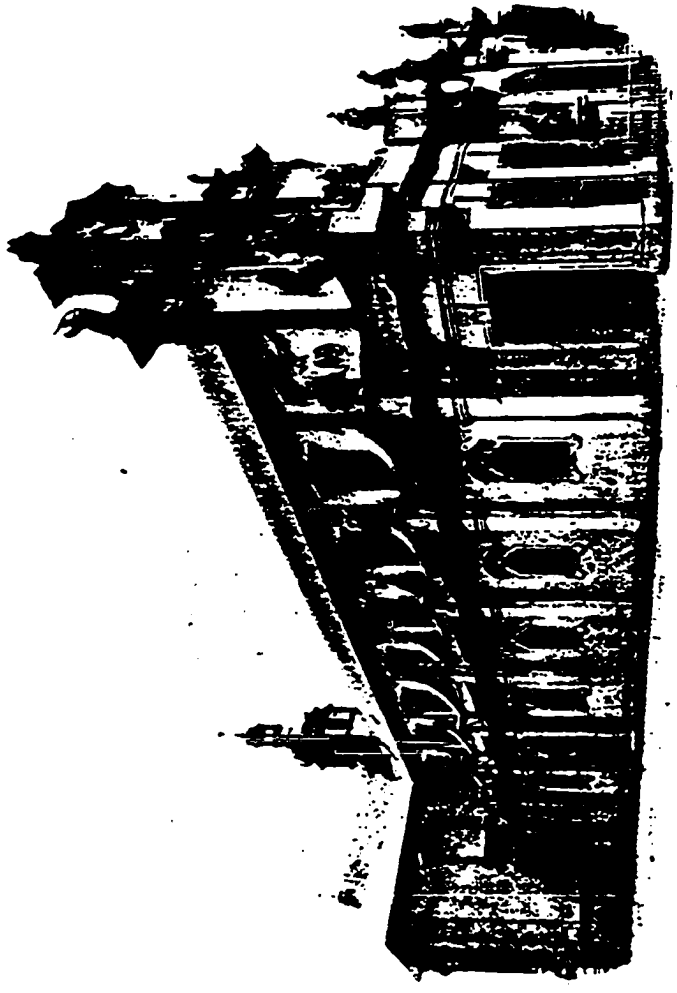
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least fifteen more are either known to be composers or are thought to have been directors of music. None are described as organist, unless it is with superlatives. A selected list follows, based largely on information in Album Ossecense.

	Album No.
Kreisel, Sigismund Johann (1631-1654), "Concionator et musicus praeclarus"	23
Pressel, Wenzel (? - 1684), "Praestans organista"	41
Fischer, Norbert Johann Zacharias (1648-1690), Cantor	45
Edelmann, Anton Johann (1650-1704), "Praeclarus organista"	52
Lorenz, Laurenz (1653-1706), Cantor	58
Lux, Balthasar (1655-1696), "Egregious Conciniator"	61
Heinrich, Alberik Franz Joseph (1662-1722), Cantor	76
Eser, Petrus Franz Joseph (1670-1743), Cantor	84
Janka, Eustachius Johann Severin (1693-1742), Regens chori	119
Burian, Florian Johann Wenzel (1693-1759), Regens chori	125
Kern, Marian Georg (1707-1764), "Musicus praestans et excellens"	155
Sommer, Nivard Wenzel (1714-1758), Regens chori	160
Reinisch, Cyrill Johann Josef (1714-1786), Regens chori	165
Fischer, Eustachius Wenzel (1732-1809), Regens chori	191
Janke, Placidus Johann (1737-1770), Regens chori	195
Dohnt, Leonard Franz (1743-1802), "Fidicen praeclarus"	208

The last named, Leonard Dohnt was the procurer of Haydn symphonies noted above. An "excellent violinist," he was also regens chori at Osek. Eustachius Fischer copied one of the Haydn symphonies, as did an Antony Cron, or, more exactly, Joachim Anton Cron (1751-1826), who studied at the Jesuit college in Chomutov and under Seger in Prague for organ playing and

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Illust. 3.--Osek, View of Monastery Church

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composition.[36] "Er soll einer der grössten Orgelspieler seiner Zeit."[37] The "Pater Leopold" noted by Landon, was probably Leopold Josef Los (1743-1780), Cooperator at Maria Radčice from 1776 until his death. No notice about his musical ability is given in the records, but he was at the St. Bernard College in Prague around 1770, the date of the first Haydn acquisitions.[38]

This brief summary suggests that the level of musicianship at Osek during the eighteenth century was fairly high and corroborates, in part, Osek's reputation as a music center.

The Sources: Osek's Music Inventories

As shown in Table 2.2 (Chapter II), three inventory sources exist for Osek spanning the years 1706 and 1802. Each of the sources will be described here briefly, with respect to historical setting and format. The contents will later be examined in more detail.

The Inventory of 1706

The earliest musical inventory from Osek is the Inventarium sive Catalogus Musicalium cum annexa Specificatione Instrumentorum Musicorum Combinatio A hoc

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[36]Vladimír Němec, Pražské varhany (Prague: František Novák, 1944) 141.

[37]Album Ossecense, No. 224.

[38]Album Ossecense, No. 205.

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Ordine digestio Anno 1706 Ecclesia B.V.M. de Osseco[39] (Illust. 4). It was compiled during the first flourishing of the monastery as a religious, cultural, and economic center. At the same time that Abbot Benedikt was engaged in a monumental building campaign, the music library was also being built from a smaller, earlier nucleus into what was to be a collection of hundreds of works. There is no indication on the title page as to why a "Catalogus Musicalium" was made at this time. A total remodeling of the church did not begin until 1712, but the twenty-fifth anniversary of abbot Benedikt's professional vows was in 1705, and there may have been a celebratory intention.

The inventory's format and layout suggest that it was carefully planned, and the uniform handwriting testifies to the work of a single unidentified compiler--perhaps Pater Petrus Franz Joseph Eser who was serving as

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[39]It is deposited at Cs Pnm, (Sign. Osek [cisterciáci], č. př. 65/52, Gl). The inventory is 19.8 cm wide and 31 cm. long with forty-two unnumbered pages, some single, some folded sheets, which have been sewn together inside a paper cover. The title appears on what would be the first numbered page. Pages are ruled in three, four, or five columns, each of a different width, allotted to suit the length of the planned entries. For example, the Masses are in a five-column format. The extreme left and right columns are narrow and blank. The column second from the left is for the genre title, e.g., "Messa." The third column, which is wider, is for the specific title, such as "Fidei, Spei a Charitates." The fourth column is narrower than the third and is for the name of the composer. The inventory includes a "Specificatio Instrumentorum Musicalium" or list of instruments. An outline of the format and contents is in Appendix C.

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cantor about that time (see above).[40] The scribe had evidently planned for future additions, as can be seen in the amount of space left after the last item under each rubric. Moreover, two categories that were planned--each for "new acquisitions"--were left blank.

The Inventory of 1720

Shortly after the completion of the remodeling of the church (1718) and at the peak of Abbot Benedikt's building program, a new inventory was begun by Florian Burian (see above), who at this time, had taken his vows of profession but had not yet celebrated his first Mass (1722). Burian later served as regens chori and then Cooperator in the parish of Jeníkov (German: Janegg) from 1735 to 1748.[41] He incorporated most of the works from the 1706 inventory together with the works that had been acquired since that time, working over a time period of two years, 1720-1722. Burian then added to the inventory in 1723, 1724, and 1733-34, making a group of dated entries for each of these years, and presented the whole as a gift to abbot Hieronymus Besnecker upon the seventh year of his election, according to the florid prefatory dedication which begins: Catalogus Musicaliorum/ Anno 1720, in Ordinem/ digestus ab eodem,/à quo/ et Anno 1733 est

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[40]An appendix was added later by a different scribe.

[41]Album Ossecense, 50.

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renovatus[42] (Illust. 7). Among the contents of the inventory are two lists of instruments (see below).

The Thematic Catalogue of 1753/54

During the recovery period after the havoc wrought by the military invasions of 1741-44 (the War of the Austrian Succession) and before the Seven Years' War (1756-63), a thematic catalogue was begun at Osek in 1753: Catalogus Musicaliorum pro Choro Ossecensi.[43] According to

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[42]"Music catalogue of 1720, arranged by the same one who revised it in 1733." The title continues: "Verus/ De Meliori, et feliciori nota/ . . . Index Musicaliorum/ vetera a nova/ per ordinem exhibens/ Honori et demississimae Venerationi/ Reverendissimi ac Cisterciensis Monasterii B:/ V: Maria de Osseco Abbatis dignissimi Patris ac Patronis/ sui Venerandissimi/ . . . D. D. clientiim minimus [dedicated by your humble servant] P. Florianus Burian O:P:" The prefatory dedication begins on the inside front cover and continues on both sides of the first page, which is unnumbered. The manuscript is in Cs Pnm (Sign. č. př. 65/52). The majority of the inventory pages have been ruled in advance. Although some pages in the gatherings seem to have been cut out, nothing seems to have been omitted. Some pages are blank, some rubrics were extended beyond the scribe's original plan, and some planned-for categories never received entries. In the mid-eighteenth century, some previously blank pages were used for simple accounts and bookkeeping entries, most of which were not connected to music, but were directly related to the maintenance of the church. The pages were numbered in succession on the upper right corner of the recto side, apprently by Burian, who compiled an index at the end (see Appendix D).

[43]This is the title on the cover. The title page reads: Syllabus/seu/Catalogus perutilis/non Choralia, Verum figuralia/pia festivi Chori proferens artificia,/quae/pro felici officij habiti fine/in Bacchanalijs/sua vioris Instar Musicae/filiali ex reverentia/Reverendissimo, ac Amplissimo Domino Domino/CAJETANO, Sac: ac Exempti Ordinis Cisterciensis, Celeberrimi/Monasterii B:V: Mariae de Osseco Abbati, Regni/Bohemiae Prolato Dignissimo, Patri Suo the elaborate dedication written on the first (unnumbered)

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page, the inventory was intended for Abbot Cajetan Březina, and was begun by regens chori Nivard Wenzel Sommer (see above).[44]

A total of 540 individually numbered items are listed under the original rubrics, with a later group of 313 that was entered in 1802.[45] Of special interest, but outside the scope of this study, is a group of incipits for

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Venerandissimo/offert/Filius obsatiens Fr./nomine Nivordus Sommer cognomine dictus (Illust. 9). The thematic catalogue is deposited in Cs Pnm.

[44]The catalogue is written with ink on paper and bound in a dark red hardboard cover, 20.3 cm wide and 34 cm long. The title is written on the outside front cover. As it now exists it has 121 leaves numbered consecutively from 1 to 90 in the upper right hand corner of the recto page, beginning with the second leaf. After number 90 several leaves have been removed; twenty-five unnumbered leaves follow. Then another leaf has been removed, followed by an nnumbered leaf on which is a "Consignatio Instrumentorum pro Chori Figurali." A later hand has numbered the subsequent leaves from 117 to 121, which numbers correspond to the consecutive order of the pages that now exist. Abbot Kajetan's bookplate is inside tha back cover. The page format is in pre-ruled double staves, one double stave per item. There are seven or eight incipits on a page. Each double stave is numbered in sequence, sometimes in advance of any entry, as shown by some numbered but blank staves. Each double stave contains, in the case of Masses, two or three incipits of about two measures each: generally "Symph." (not in each case), Kyrie, and Gloria. The composer's name is to the right of the double staves and placed about midway between them. Between the double staves of each entry is a specific title and a description of the voicing and instrumentation, such as: "Kyrie et Gloria a Canto 2, Alto, Tenor, Basso 2, VV, Vla, Clar. 2, Org." The initial scribe laid out only two rubrics, Masses and Offertoria; the other rubrics were not added until 1802.

[45]Later additions are dated 1817, 1861 (instruments), and non-thematic entries from 1881 to 1894.

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thirty-one symphonies entered with a date of 1817.[46] The catalogue was originally keyed to the location of the music within the choir library by a locator letter and number.

The dating of the thematic catalogue has been incorrectly reported in some sources. The folder at the archive gives the dates 1734, 1735 with additions in 1753, 1754. The earlier dates are certainly true with respect to the material contained in the catalogue, but not with respect to the date of the catalogue itself, which is, by virtue of the dedication on the title page, 1754, the year in which Sommer completed his term as Osek's regens chori.[47]

At least six scribes (A through F) made entries in the catalogue through 1802. In two cases, the particular entries suggest that the scribes are identical to the regens chori, and by inference, that in all probability the successive regentes chororum, beginning with Sommer, account for the six scribal hands. For example, "C" has

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[46]The title reads: "Symphoniae ab Ant: Wolff, Fabricae nostrae Praefecto relictae, amodo pro Moi . . . no comparatae ab Reverendissimo Domino Abbate, D. Benedicto Venusi 1817." Benedict Josef Venusi (1751-1823; abbot at Osek 1798-1823) was a talented performer on organ and violin as well as a composer (Album Ossecense, No. 219). The composers of the symphonies are identified as: Gyrowetz (4 symphonies), Haydn (11), Krommer (1), Mozart (3), Pleyel (9), Romberg (1), Paul Wranitzky (2). Incipits are written on two staves, six to nine per page, folios [91v] - [93r].

[47]The date is correctly reported, together with the dated additions, in Barry S. Brook, Thematic Catalogues in Music. An Annotated Bibliography (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 1972) 193.

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entered only works by František X. Brixi who began as the music director of St. Vitus cathedral in Prague in 1759. The previous scribe, "B" entered only one work by Brixi, suggesting that Reinisch, who ended his term in 1759, may have been "B" and Janke, who began in 1760, may have been "C". The entries made by "E" and "F" are self dated as 1802. Table 3.4 indicates scribal identities together with a probable range of acquisition dates for the pieces entered. The range is based on the tenure dates, checked against the biographical data of the composers entered by each scribe.[48]

TABLE 3.4.--Scribes, Osek's Thematic Catalogue, 1754

	Regens chori	Tenure	Entries	Acquisition Dates
A	Nivard Sommer	1747-54	308	1735-54
B	Cyrill Reinisch	1755-59	27	1755-59
C	Placidus Joh. Janke	1760-66	6	1760-66
D	Eustachius Fischer	1767-78	199	1767-78
E	Gotthard Knechtl (?) (Succentor 1779-1802)	1802-10	23	1779-1802
F	Jan Jakob Trautzel	1784-1807	290	1779-1802

This catalogue, as well as the two earlier inventories, also contains a list of instruments. Taken together, all three inventories provide an insight into performance practice at Osek during the eighteenth century.

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[48]A seventh scribe made the 1817 symphony entries (see above).

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Musical Instruments

Osek's music inventories and thematic catalogue contain four lists of instruments dated within the years 1700 to 1775, the scope of this study. In addition, there is an addendum to the thematic catalogue, dated 1802, which supplies information about the instruments at Osek in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Summarizing the sources, then, there are five:

1706 Specificatio Instrumentorum Musicalium

1720 Mantissa Instrumenta Musica Specificans

1749 Consignatio Instrumentorum Pro Chori Figurali

1754 Consignatio Instrumentorum Pro Chori Figurali

1802 Annotatis supra accesserunt

Each of the five will be examined briefly with respect to the contents themselves, the contents in relation to the instrument collections of other institutions, and, beginning with the 1720 Mantissa, with respect to changes taking place at Osek.

Specificatio Instrumentorum Musicalium (1706)[49]

The sequence and order of the instruments (see summary list below) offer some clues to the scribe's understanding of the importance of the instruments with respect to musical and social functions. First place is

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[49]Inventory of 1706, page [40]. The full text is in Appendix H.

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accorded to the generalbass instruments, the foundation of Osek's figural music. The violin family is well represented, and placed above the older viol group. The spinet is placed, surprisingly, with the string instruments. These are followed by trumpets, trombones and timpani, which were instruments of special status and function, assigned to high ceremonial occasions: solemn liturgies, aristocratic festivities and public events. By their placement in direct succession, it appears that the scribe thought of them as a group.

The next group of wind instruments presents some difficulties in decoding the Latinized terminology, but some tentative identifications have been made through comparison with the later instrument lists. Particularly confusing is the scribe's use of the word "chorus." The instruments (zink, cornet, and what I have identified as dulcian and schalmey) are grouped by the scribe according to key and to tone quality and reflect seventeenth-century performance practice.

At the bottom of the list is a surprise appearance of a new instrument: a pair of Waldhorns (Litui). This is one of the earliest recorded appearances of this instrument in any Bohemian or Moravian inventory. Its use at Osek preceded the engagement of a horn player at the court of Weissenfels (1706). How Osek come in contact with the Waldhorn is unknown. At this date, it was still new to

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Bohemia, having been brought from Paris by Count Franz Anton Sporck, who apparently heard the instrument in 1680, had two of his Bohemian bondsmen trained to play it, and then cultivated its use extensively.[50] It is possible that Osek may have had some contact either with Sporck's capella or with the parish church at Mladá Boleslav, from which an earlier possession of six Waldhorns has been reported.[51]

At the bottom of the list is the trumpet marine, a stringed instrument which "was granted temporary popularity during the Baroque period."[52] Osek's 1706 inventory contains a printed collection of music that uses this instrument: J. M. Gletle's Musica genialis latino-germanica (Augsburg, 1675). Based on the order in the manuscript,

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[50]Horace Fitzpatrick, The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian tradition from 1680 to 1830 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970) 11-15, 21-25, 91-93. Osek's Waldhorns are mentioned by James MacKinnon in "Lituus," NG 11, 89.

[51]According to a comparative table compiled by Zdeňka Pilková, Mladá Boleslav reported six Waldhorns around 1700, and Count Blansko at Gellhorn had three in 1702 ("Musikzentren in den böhmischen Ländern in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts vom Standpunkt des Instrumentariums," Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation von Instrumentalmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts VIII [Blankenburg/Harz, 1978] 39). In this table three horns were erroneously reported at Osek in 1706 instead of two. Pilková drew attention to the swiftness of the Waldhorn's popularity in Bohemia in "The Horn in Bohemian Sources of the 18th Century," The Horn in the Past and Present of Czech Music, ed. by Jan Trojan, Milan Vach (Prague: Czech Music Society, 1983 [1981]) 67f.

[52]Karl Geiringer, Instruments in the History of Western Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) 139.

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Table 3.5 summarizes Osek's instruments in 1706:

TABLE 3.5.--Summary list of instruments in Specificatio

Generalbass instruments
- 1 Regal organ
- 2 Clavichords
- 2 Lutes or Theorboes (Testudinae)
- 1 Violone with 2 bows

Strings
- 4 Violins (Violino Majores)
- 2 Piccolo Violins (Violino minores)
- 4 Violas
- 4 Violas d'Amour (fidicularum hubaisticarum)[53]
- 1 Gamba

- 2 Spinets (Alae)

Ceremonial Wind Instruments
- 5 Trumpets in C (Tubae Campestres)+ crooks
- 2 Trumpets in D " " "
- 3 Trombones, A,T,B
- Mouthpieces for trumpets and trombones

Percussion
- 1 pair timpani

Other Wind Instruments
- 2 oboes (Chorus hubarum) in B-flat[54]
- 1 Bassoon (una huba et Basson) in B-flat
- 1-2 Dulcian(s) (Chorus hubarum) in C

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[53]The term "hubaristicarum" is uncertain. It seems to refer to a reediness of sound, and in the context of what appears to be a set of four string instruments, to a type of viola d'amore, which was popular in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This premise is supported by the 1720 list of instruments which itemizes "Viola di Amor 1 novissima, et alia antiqua" [one very new and another old (one)]. See Myron Rosenblum, "Viola d'amore," NG 19, 814-16.

[54]Here as well, the term "hubarum" seems to refer to a reediness of sound, this time in the context of wind instruments. The term "chorus," may imply that there is a consort, at least in terms of two. The instruments are grouped by key, which supports this hypothesis. Since the 1720 inventory lists a dulcian, at least one dulcian is assumed to have been in the 1706 inventory. The other instrument, in B-flat, is listed together with a bassoon, hence the assumption that it was an oboe, and probably two, which are found in the 1720 inventory. See William Waterhouse, "Bassoon," NG 2, 268-73.

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TABLE 3.5, continued

1 Schalmey (Chorus Tibiarum) in C[55]
2 Transverse flutes (Teutsche flotten)[56]
2(?) Recorders (Chorus Flautarum)[57]
1 Zink [Grosser Zinckhen]
1 Cornet [Cornetin]
2 Waldhorns (Litui) in G

Additional

1 Tromba Marina

In addition to the instruments noted above, several others are of special interest. The seven field trumpets, or tubae campestres rival the splendor of the seven in the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn collection, 1687, and, in Bohemia, were exceeded in this time only by the eight in two Bohemian church collections: one from Kutná Hora (German: Kuttenberg), after 1709, and one from Mladá Boleslav (German: Jungbunzlau), c1700.[58] It is not known who played these instruments at Osek, but in Moravia several monasteries hired independent trumpeters who were not

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[55]The inventory uses the popular term "Teutsche Schallmey," which was a term used for "an elegant and slender instrument (built at treble and tenor pitches) . . . it was used for a time in the Saxon army (two trebles and a tenor, with a dulcian for the bass)." Anthony C. Baines, "Shawm," NG 17, 238.

[56]The term "German flute" was used in the eighteenth century to distinguish the transverse flute from the recorder. Edgar Hunt, "Recorder," NG 15, 649. Osek's later inventories list a pair.

[57]It is not clear how many recorders are present. The inventory refers to a "chorus," which in this case may mean "consort." The description, "sinè una," seems to indicate that one is missing. Later inventories show two, made out of boxwood. See Sibyl Marcuse, A Survey of Musical Instruments (New York: Harper & Row, 1975) 561.

[58]Pilková, "Musikzentren," 39.

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attached to military regiments or in aristocratic service.[59]

Osek's inventory contains a number of works calling for trumpets (see below). In addition, it is likely that, as at the Habsburg Court, the trumpets were used in the processions, for intradas between strophes of litanies, and at other points in the liturgies.[60] Trumpets and timpani were regarded as symbolic and functional attributes of the highest power, instruments representing privilege. Therefore, by analogy, they belonged also to the celebration of the power of God, so that in the baroque era, "the sound of trumpets and timpani became an indispensible part of all [religious] festivities."[61] Contrary to earlier reports, the Specificatio Instrumentorum describes one pair of timpani rather than one timpanum.[62]

The private cultivation of music by Osek's monks is also noted in the inventory. Both clavichords were in the personal possession of two of the abbey's members: August

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[59]Jiří Sehnal, "Trubači a hra na přirozenou trompetu na Moravě v 17. a 18. století [Part I]," ČMM LXIII (1988) 181.

[60]Friedrich W. Riedel, Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711-1740) (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1977) 207.

[61]Sehnal, "Trubači a hra [I]," 175.

[62]The erroneous report began with Nettl ("Weltliche Musik," 357; Beiträge, 40), which was used as a source by Don Smithers (The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721 [Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973] 192). Nettl's list contained other errors and omissions which have been noted and corrected in Appendix H.

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Sartorius, the General Secretary and a composer as well, and Petrus Eser, the cantor.[63] One of the lutes was in the possession of Hieronymus Besnecker, who was later to become abbot of Osek.[64] Spinets, of which Osek had two, were often used as practice instruments by organists.[65]

In comparison with other musical establishments in Bohemia and Moravia at about the same period of time, Osek had a fairly good-sized orchestra with broad and flexible tone color capable of performing in the contemporary concertato style. The capella could reproduce noble effects with trumpets and timpani, and it could support intimate chamber music. Although Osek had fewer instruments in its possession in 1706 than did Prince-Bishop Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn in 1695, the basic instrumentation was essentially the same.[66] In common with

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[63]The inventory states, "Unum habet R. P. Secretarij; alterum Fr. Petrus" (Appendix H). Because of its placement in the instrument list, its title, "Clavichord" (rather than "Cembalo" or "Clavicymbal"), the early eighteenth-century date, and Mattheson's belief in its superiority, I have identified the instrument as a clavichord rather than as a harpsichord, as suggested by Don Smithers, The Baroque Trumpet, 192. See Edwin M. Ripin, "Clavichord," NG 4, 464. But see Edwin M. Ripin, et al., "Harpsichord," NG 8, 235-37 for consideration of the alternate possibility.

[64]The inventory states, "Unum habet R. P. Hieronymus."

[65]Marcuse, A Survey, 295.

[66]Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn's Consignatio Instrumentorum of 1695 is reproduced by Craig Otto, in Seventeenth-Century Music from Kromeriz, Czechoslovakia (Syracuse: Syracuse University Libraries, 1977) xvi.

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other establishments of the time, Osek had in use some instruments from the Renaissance, as well as Baroque forms, but unlike most of the contemporary orchestras, Osek was already in possession of the new Waldhorns which were destined to increase in popularity.

Mantissa Instrumenta Musica Specificans (1720) and Consignatio Instrumentorum Pro Chori Figurali (c1749)[67]

In a period when Osek was enlarging its music library, it was also expanding its collection of musical instruments. Moreover, the size and configuration of its capella was also undergoing revision. At least twenty-five instruments were newly added to the collection listed in the Specificatio of 1706 and some of the older instruments were deleted. By means of the two separate lists of instruments included in the inventory of 1720, it is possible to trace a continuous process of additions and deletions up to at least 1749 and perhaps slightly beyond.

The earlier list, Mantissa, was written by Burian, the original scribe of the inventory, and was apparently intended as the final entry page.[68] It seems to have been a

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[67]Inventory of 1720, fol. [47]r and fol. [49]r, respectively. The full texts are in Appendices I and J.

[68]According to Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1986), "mantissa," (p. 725), refers to "makeweight", which is "something thrown into a scale to bring the weight to a desired value." (p. 719) The "mantissa" was added by Burian to round off the volume. The author's index to the

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type of checklist, following the sequence of the earlier Specificatio, but not the format. At least three corrections to the original list were made by Burian (No. 4, 6, 10 and possibly 23). Several other corrections and emendations were made by a different scribe, who apparently started work in 1734, according to a dated final item (No. 39) at the bottom of the page. The deletions and additions to the Mantissa seem to have been preparatory annotations which became fully incorporated into the Consignatio, written by the same scribe who signed himself "Candil - Cand[idato?]," possibly in 1749 or later.[69]

The Consignatio marks a change in instrumental considerations from the Mantissa and the earlier Specificatio by placing the violins at the top of the list in the order found in modern editions, although still below the positive organ. Table 3.6 compares the three instrument lists.

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volume places the Mantissa last, without assigning it a folio number. It should be noted that Burian did not number the folios past folio 40.

[69]The date of 1749 was reached from this evidence: an emendation to Mantissa no. 19, "aliud novum a Rds:Dno Cajet. donatum," appears in a parallel entry in Consignatio no. 11 as "unum par . . . a Rdis: ac Amplis. Dno donatum." Both entries concern recorders, seemingly the same pair and the same donor who, in all likelihood, is Kajetan Březina. Březina took his vows as a priest in 1731, hence the title "Reverendissimo Domino" could not have been attributed to him before that time. The extended title, "ac Amplissimo" which is reserved for the highest ranking clergy, became Březina's upon his election as abbot in 1749. It is possible that the Consignatio was made on the occasion of the new abbot's rule.

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TABLE 3.6.--Comparison of Specificatio, Mantissa, and Consignatio

Instrument	Specificatio 1706	Mantissa 1720-33 (* = scribal changes)	Consignatio c1749
Strings, bowed			
Violins	4	8,8,9*	9,8*
Piccolo violins	2	3	more than 1
Violas	4	4	4 or 5
Viola d'amore	4	4 (5?)	4 (5?)
Gamba	1	1	1
Violoncello	-	2,1*	2
Violone	1	2	2
Trumpet marine	1	1	-
Strings, plucked			
Lutes/Theorboes	2	4,3*	3
Mandora	-	1	-
Colascione	-	1	1
Woodwinds, Reeds			
Recorders	2? consort?	4	2
German flutes	2	-	-
Traverse flutes	-	-	2
Oboes	2	5	5
Schalmey	1? consort?	1? consort?	-
English horns	-	2	2
Bassoons	1	4	3
Dulcian	1(2?)	1	-
Brass			
Trumpets	5 in C, 2 in D	3,4* in C, 2 in D, 2 in C(1734)	8
Waldhorns	2 in G	2 in G, 2 in F, 2 in ?	at least 2: 1 in G, 1 in F
Trombones	3:A,T,B	3:A,T,B	3:A,T,B
Zink/Cornet	2	2	-
Timpani	1 pair	2 pair	2 pair
Keyboard			
Regale	1	1	-
Positive	-	1	1
Clavichord	2	3 or 2	2
Spinet	2	2	1
Harpsichord	-	1	1

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The table shows that up to 1733, Osek had been increasing the strength of its orchestra in every category as well as adding to the variety of chamber instruments useful either for liturgical or personal recreational functions. Among the recreational group are the colascione and mandora.[70] A "Lyra" or hurdy-gurdy makes a brief appearance only in the Mantissa and is crossed out before 1749.[71] Among the keyboard instruments, a harpsichord was added by 1720.[72] Apparently during the same time period two lutes or theorbos were acquired and one later discarded. A modern positive organ replaced the old regal in the

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[70]The respective titles given to the instruments "Galizona" and "Mandora" correspond to the titles in Tomáš Baltazar Janovka's Clavis ad thesaurum (Prague, 1701), a treatise likely to have been known at Osek. According to Janovka, the mandora was a smaller type of colascione, tuned a 4th higher. See Donald Gill, "Colascione," NG 1, 435.

[71]The word "lyra" (or lira) is the Latin equivalent of the German "Leier," or hurdy-gurdy. Johann Karel Rohn's contemporary dictionary, Nomenclator. To gest Gmenowatel aneb Rozličných Gmen . . . (Prague: Johanna Prussowa, 1768) IV, 49, defines "Kolowratek ... Lyra, ae, f. Die Leyer." At this time, the hurdy-gurdy was a folk instrument, but also was used in court festivities in France. See "Hurdy-gurdy," NG 2, 261-62.

[72]Both the Mantissa and the Consignatio list a "Cymbalum." As it always appears in a sequence of keyboard instruments, it probably refers to the Latin clavicymbalum" or harpsichord (Ripin, "Harpsichord," NG 2, 164). This understanding is corroborated by the contemporary, Rohn, who wrote: "clavicymbalum. Ein musikalischer Flügel/ oder Instrument mit Messingenen Seiten bezogen." Rohn distinguished the instrument from "Clavicordium, organum fidiculare minus. Clavicord" (Nomenclator, IV, 377, 379).

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"great hall" ("Sala majori") of the abbey.[73]

A number of older instruments continued from 1706 to 1749 and even beyond, most notably, the set of trombones. According to an entry in the 1754 Consignatio, the five mutes ("Sartinulae") owned by Osek were used by the trombones for funeral music. However, some older instruments begin to decrease in number or are noted as having fallen into disrepair before mid-century, indicating that they were no longer in use.

Beginning with the bowed strings, Osek's policy was to increase the strength of its violin section, as the Mantissa shows in successive entry corrections. Beginning with six (two more than in the Specificatio, the number increases to eight and then nine, and, after 1749, is again reduced to eight (note the later emendation to the Consignatio). The "piccolo violins" increase by one in 1720, but in 1749 the scribe is inexact about how many there really are, using only a plural description ("Fides minores"). There are, however, mutes and two bows. ("cum suis futralibus ex 2 plectra"). Violas remain constant, with a new one appearing in 1749. The violas d'amore also

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[73]It is not clear what is meant by the "Sala majori." The possibilities are three: the chapter hall, the refectory, or the transept of the church. Meinrad Siegl noted in 1881 the presence of a small organ on the north side of the transept which was used for accompanying plainsong, ("Die Abtei Ossegg," 349), but gave no details of its history or of any other small organs at Osek.

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seem to remain constant with a new one acquired by 1720, as noted in the Mantissa, with a later notation that the others are old ("1 novissima - et aliae antiquae"). The Consignatio repeats the same description, suggesting that someone at the abbey continued to play.

The sole gamba continues undisturbed throughout the time period but a pair of violoncellos introduced in 1720, are reduced to one--only to become a pair again in 1749 with the addition of a new one. One of the two bows was of pernambuco ("ex ligno indico") and had been acquired by 1720. The trumpet marine disappears in 1749, only to reappear later.[74]

Among the woodwinds, the wooden German flutes disappeared and the metal transverse flutes entered Osek's orchestra by 1749. Three additional oboes found their way to Osek by 1720, but one had disappeared before 1749 and two had fallen into disrepair. The two English horns ("Cornua Anglica") acquired at the same time apparently continued in use without mishap. By 1749, the schalmey and

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[74]Osek seems to have continued longer than the norm with this instrument. Cecil Adkins dates its popularity from 1650 to 1725 ("Trumpet marine," NG 19, 226). A trumpet marine from Osek, presumably this same instrument, is in the instrument collection of the National Museum, Prague. It is a single-stringed instrument, described and illustrated by a drawing in Ludvik Kunz, Die Volksmusikinstrumente der Tschechoslowakei, Teil I (Leipzig: Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1974) 68-69. From its appearance, the instrument seems to be identical to the unidentified trumpet marine shown in Alexander Buchner's Musical Instruments Through the Ages, trans. by Iris Unwin (London: Spring Books, 1958), illustration no. 226.

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dulcian were gone, as well as the zink, cornet and regale. Osek's orchestra then had a fairly modern profile. During this same period, Osek's orchestra reached a size that compared favorably with those of other religious and aristocratic establishments. Table 3.7 offers a comparison.[75]

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[75]The instrument categories are based on the ones used by Adam Carse in The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969) 18-27. Zdeňka Pilková has constructed a comparative table of all of the known capellas in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia from 1671 to 1790 in "Musikzentren," 39-41.

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TABLE 3.7.--Comparison of Osek's orchestra (c1720-33) with other orchestras of the period

	Vln	Vla	Vcl	Bs	Fl	Ob	Cl	Bsn	Hrn	Tpt	Tpi	Other
Osek (c1720-33)	6-9	3-4	2	4*	4	5	0	5#	6	8-9	2pr	*incl. gamba, tpt marine; #incl. dulcian; + 3 picc. violins, 2 zinks, 2 Engl.hrn 3 trmbones 3 lutes
Kosmonosy[a] (Piarist School, Bohemia, 1726)	8	3	2	1	2	2	0	1	4	6	1pr	3 trmbones
Dresden[b] (Saxony-Poland court, 1719)	7	5	5	5	2	5	0	3	2	?	?	pantaleon, theorbo
Mannheim[c] (Elector's court, 1720)	12	2	2	3	-----		15	-----		?	?	tpts & drums available
Vienna[d] (Imperial Hof-musik, 1721)	23	?	4	3	0	5	0	4	1	16	2	gamba,lute 2 cornetti 4 trmbones

a Zdeněk Culka, "Inventáře hudebních nástroju a hudebnin piaristické koleje v Kosmonosích," 8, 31.
b Adam Carse, The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century, 20.
c Ibid., 23.
d Ibid., 27.

In number and variety, Osek's instrumental capabilities matched or exceeded those in the table. The "instruments of privilege"--trumpets and timpani-- had steadily increased in number, reflecting the high rank and

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status of Osek's abbot[76] and testifying to the brilliant sound of Osek's musical performances.[77] Osek had also filled the mid-range of strings and winds with new instruments, cellos, flutes, oboes and English horns, and had greatly enlarged its complement of Waldhorns, two of which were designated for the abbot's private use.[78]

The disappearance of some instruments by mid-century may not have been through disfavor or disuse. Some may have been destroyed or stolen during the wartime raids by foreign troops in the 1740s.[79] Osek continued to acquire

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[76]As visitator for the Bohemian-Moravian-Lusation Vicariate, the abbot held a seat in the Bohemian Diet. In addition to this, he maintained the episcopal privileges granted to the abbots of Osek in the seventeenth century, among which was the right to the use of trumpets. Osek's trumpets were all equipped with crooks ("cum suis dependentijs," Mantissa No. 14, 39) which offered greater flexibility and possibility for performance.

[77]Osek's pilgrimage church at Maria Radčice also had a full complement of brass instruments in its capella: 9 trumpets, 2 trombones, 2 Waldhorns. By contrast, its string section was small: 3 violins, 2 violas, 1 bass, which, together with a positive organ, constituted its orchestra, the design of which supported the processional and high ceremonial functions at the shrine (Pilková, "Musikzentren," 40). The 1735 inventory from Maria Radčice is deposited at Cs LIT (Sign. ŘA cisterciáku Osek). See Jindřich Keller, "Píštělníci a trubaři. Pojednání o výrobědechových hudebních nástrojů v Čechách před rokem 1800." Sborník Národního muzea v Praze, Series A Historie XXIX/4-5 (1977) 189.

[78]Mantissa No. 20, "Lituorum Waldhorn ... tertium par etiam ex f, novissimum habetur in Abbatia." All the French horns had a full complement of crooks. "Lituorum paria duo habent requisita appositoni o[mn]iam." Mantissa No. 27.

[79]The Consignatio describes the spinet as "abandoned" ("deseunt"), No. 10. The clavichords are noted as "lost"

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new instruments, however, but with different instrumental emphases.

Consignatio Instrumentorum Pro Chori Figurali (1754);[80] Annotatis supra accesserunt (1802)

The Consignatio Instrumentorum compiled in the back of Osek's thematic catalogue of 1754 was not written by the original scribe, Nivard Sommer, but, according to the handwriting, by his successor, whom I have assumed to be P. Cyrill Reinisch (Regens chori 1755-59). Although no date appears on either of the two pages, the latest possible time for the compilation would have been before September 1756. That month saw the first of the Prussian invasions, which brought marauding soldiers to Osek "almost daily."[81] The Prussians were followed by the Saxons who, in 1759, carried off several of the monks, including Reinisch himself. In addition, the Saxon troops mercilessly plundered the abbey of everything that could be carried away.[82] A comparison of the Consignatio's contents with those of the 1802 Addendum shows that, with few exceptions, the instruments went with them.

A date of 1755 has been assumed for the Consignatio

("abest"), No. 18.

[80]Thematic Catalogue of 1754, p. 116-17 and 117-19.

[81]Siegl, "Cisterzienserstift Ossegg," 326.

[82]Siegl, "Cisrterzienserstift Ossegg," 328.

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because that is the date P. Cyrill began his work and it is likely that he may have wished to make an inventory. His list shows the design, care and consistency of a librarian, which he was prior to becoming regens chori (1753-54).[83]

The forty-one numbered items tally closely with the instruments in the 1749 Consignatio, with one great difference: the number of violins. P. Cyrill lists nineteen, only seven of which he indicates are new ("novae"). There is no indication how the others might have come to be in the Osek collection. Table 3.8 gives a summary list of the instruments in a form comparable to that of Table 3.6, with reference to the 1802 Addendum. (The complete Consignatio and Addendum are reproduced in Appendix K.)

TABLE 3.8.--Summary of Instruments in Consignatio (1755) and Addendum (1802)

	Consignatio	Addendum
Strings, bowed		
Violins	19	
Piccolo violins	1	
Violas	3	1
Viola d'amore	2	
Gamba	1 ("old")	
Violoncello	1	1
Violone	1	1
Trumpet Marine	1	1 (Monochord)
Strings, plucked		
Lutes/Theorboes	3 (2 broken)	
Mandora	1 ("old")	1 ("destructa")
Woodwinds, Reeds		

[83] Album Ossecense, No. 165.

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TABLE 3.8, continued

	Consignatio	Addendum
Recorders	2	2 Flautus militaribus ("broken")
Traverse flutes	2	
Oboes	2	2 Clarinets ("new")
English horns	2 ("old")	"Cinke" (?)
Bassoons	2 (1 "old"; 1 "very new")	
Brass		
Trumpets	6	
Waldhorns	2 in Dis	2 in Dis("new")
	2 in A	1 in C
Trombones	-	
Timpani	2 pair	1? pair
		1 Tympanorum militaire
Keyboard		1 Tamburino
Positive	1	
Harpsichord	1	
Other		
Hurdy gurdy (lyra)	1	
		Ala bohemica[84]
		1 instrument "whose name I don't know"

A careful comparison of the Consignatio and the Addendum also yields some valuable information. For the Addendum, it is a reference to a series of numbered items referring to symphonies, divertimentos and parthias by Haydn, Stamitz, Dittersdorf, Pleyel and Vaňhal.[85] With respect to the Consignatio, it is a description of the

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[84]The Ala is a kind of double zither, an older Bohemian folk instrument. The Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn capella possessed one (Ernst Hermann Meyer, "Kremsier," MGG VII, 1755).

[85]The pieces with identified composers are as follows: Symphonies by Joseph Haydn (9), Stamitz (6), Pleyel (1), Rickert (12) (Aemilian Rickert, an organist and Chorregens at the Cistercian monastery of Hradec Králové, 1781-84 [Dlabacž, Künstler-Lexikon IV, 578]). Divertimentos by Joseph Haydn (6) and Rickert (6). Parthias by Dittersdorf (8) and Vaňhal (18).

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maker of almost every string instrument.

Although all of its instruments came from in or near Central Europe and not from Italy, nevertheless Osek selected from among the finest craftsmen. The abbey owned two violins made by Jacob Stainer (?1617-1683) of Austria, one of the most valued violin makers in Central Europe.[86] One violin was made by Sebastian Klotz (1696-c1760) from Mittenwald, Bavaria, "undoubtedly the best" of his illustrious family of violin makers.[87] Not surprisingly, Bohemian violin makers accounted for the largest proportion of instruments in Osek's collection. A violone and a violoncello were made by Johann Ulrich Eberle (1699-1768) of Prague, whose instruments were compared favorably with those from Cremona.[88] By far the greatest number of string instruments came from the workshops of the Rauch family, in all probability the branch in Chomutov, not too distant from Osek. One violin was made by Sebastian (1711-1801), three "new" violins and one viola by Johann (1720-60), and

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[86]Walter Senn, "Stainer, Jacob," NG 18, 56-57.

[87]Charles Beare, "Klotz," NG 10, 114.

[88]"... einer der besten Instrumentmacher in Prag, dessen Violinen eben so gut, als die berufenen Cremoneser gewesen, ja gar dieselben an Güte übertroffen haben" (Dlabacž, Künstler-Lexikon I, 359). Karel Jalovec gives more recent information about Eberle in The Violin Makers of Bohemia (London: Anglo-Italian Publication Limited, n.d.) 34-35.

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four "new" violins and one viola by Christopher (1728-92).[89] Other European makers were Johann Meisl (three "new" violins), Martini [Martin] Fichtl "in Wien" (one violin), and Ludovici [Louis] Guersan "ex Gallia" (one violin).

Osek's capella had begun to resemble an orchestra of the early Classical period. It had nineteen violins, most of high quality (together with fine bows and mutes), a piccolo violin (which was called for by some of the music in the 1754 Thematic Catalogue), three violas and one violoncello, plus an increasingly modern-looking complement of woodwinds, plus horns and trumpets (complete with crooks and mutes) and timpani.[90] At this time, little remained of the older instruments, and Osek had apparently ceased to employ the once-customary trombones for either liturgy or entertainment. After the last numbered entry of the Consignatio, the scribe has written: "Of the trombones ["tubis ductilibus"] there are only parts, of which none

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[89]There was a branch of the Rauch family also in Prague. It is possible that the Sebastian Rauch who made Osek's violin may have been a member of this group. See Jalovec, Violin Makers, 78-79.

[90]There is a close correlation with the Mannheim orchestra of 1756, as well as Haydn's orchestra at Esterházy in 1783. See Adam Carse, The History of Orchestration (New York: Dover Publications, 1964; reprint of 1925 edition with corrections) 171. Clarinets did not appear until the notice in the 1802 Addendum, and then as a "new" pair "with keys." According to Carse, Mannheim's orchestra had three clarinets in 1782 and Berlin had two clarinets in 1787. Assuming that the instruments arrived sooner than entered in the Addendum, it may be that Osek wasn't too far behind.

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form a whole."

In sum, Osek's collection of instruments was gradually taking on the contours of the modern orchestra, while retaining some special features connected with liturgical rites. Its size and composition compare favorably with those of a number of contemporary orchestras, as shown in Table 3.9.

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TABLE 3.9.--Comparison of Osek's orchestra, c1754, with other orchestras of the same period.

	Vln	Vla	Vcl	Bs	Fl	Ob	Cl	Bsn	Hrn	Tpt	Tpi	Other
Osek (1754)	19	3	1	1	4	2	0	2-3	4	6	2pr	1 pclo vln, 2 vla d'am., 1 gamba, 1 tpt mrne, 1 hpschd, 1 positive, 1 lute, 1 mandora
Krnov (M)[a] (Minorite monastery choir, 1744)	10	1	2	1	2	0	0	1	2	8	1pr	2 trmbones, 1 vla d'am.
Brno (M))[b] (Augustinian choir, 1754)	15	2	2	1	4	1	0	1	4	10	2pr	1 lute, 1 baryton, 3 fistulae militares
Berlin[c] (Hofkapelle, 1754)	12	4	4	2	4	3	0	4	2	x	x	1 theorbo, 1 gamba, 2 cemb.
Dresden[d] (Hofkapelle, 1756)	18	4	3	2	3	6	0	6	2	0	0	1 pantaln, 1 gamba, 1 organ
Mannheim[e] (Hofkapelle, 1756)	20	4	4	2	4	2	0	2	4	12	1pr	
Salzburg[f] (Archbishop's Kple, 1757)	8	2	2	0	-3-		0	4	3	(10)	1	2 vlones, 3 organs (10 tpts available)

a Pilková, "Musikzentren,"
b Sehnal, "Hudba u Brněnských augustiniánů," 230.
c MGG 10, "Orchester," Plate III.
d Ibid., Plate IV.
e Ibid., Plate VII.
f Ibid., Plate XIII.

From Table 3.9 it is evident that Osek's potential orchestra was exceeded in size only by the major court orchestras, and even then not with respect to every

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instrument. For example, the number of Waldhorns is matched only by Mannheim. In comparison with the Augustinian monastery of Brno--a more prestigious music center at that time--Osek's orchestra appears to be on a par, except with respect to the number of trumpets.

Osek's Organs

As part of the total rebuilding of Osek's abbey in the seventeenth century, and to support and enhance the liturgy in Osek's abbey church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, a new organ was commissioned from Johann Heinrich Mundt (1632-91). Mundt, an immigrant to Prague from Cologne, together with Mattheus Köhler (Matěj Kehler) from Zittau (Saxony, on the Bohemian border),[91] built a two-manual organ with full pedals and twenty-six stops. The new organ was completed between 1668 and 1670, making it the first large Baroque organ built in Bohemian lands.[92]

The tonal disposition was in accord with that of Italian-Austrian baroque organs, with clear, open foundation stops and light mixtures. The overall sound was unusually crisp and bright, and yet it was capable of expressive pathos, mainly through its flute and copula

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[91]Rudolf Quoika states that Köhler was from Zwittau (Svitavy, Moravia) ("Barocke Orgelkultur im Stifte Ossegg [Sudeten]," Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 53 [1950] 97). Němec insists that Köhler was from Zittau, Saxony. (Pražské varhany, 104). Emil Trolda agrees with Němec, in "Kehler, Matěj," PHS II/1, 533.

[92]Quoika, "Barocke Orgelkultur," 97.

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sounds.

The disposition of the stops was as follows:[93]

Hauptwerk
- Principal 8
- Copula maior 8
- Quintade 8
- Flöte 8
- Octav 4
- Copula minor 4
- Flöte 4
- Quinte 3
- Superoctav 2
- Quindez 1 1/2
- Sedez 1
- Mixtur IV
- Zimball II

Rückpositiv
- Copula maior 8
- Principal 4
- Copula minor 4
- Flöte 4
- Octav 2
- Quinte 1 1/2
- Sedez 1
- Mixtur III

Pedal
- Subbass 16 (wood)
- Octavbass 8
- Superoctavbass 4
- Quint 3
- Mixtur (2) IV

Mundt's organ was in use for more than ninety years. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the trend of instrumental development at Osek's toward a classical symphonic design was paralleled in the construction of a new organ, commissioned by Abbot Kajetan Březina. The organ, was completed in 1763 by Johann Joseph Ferdinand Pleyer (1728-1811) of Loket (German: Elbogen).[94] The organ's tonal design was similar to that of a French organ, that is, imitative of the string tone of the orchestra and possessing the capability of imitating different-timbred

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[93]Quoika, "Barocke Orgelkultur," 97-98.

[94]Lubomír Tomší discusses Pleyer's training (the school of Abraham Stark) and analyzes his work in "Loketská varhanářská škola," HV XXVI/2 (1989) 122-26.

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instrumental voices.[95]

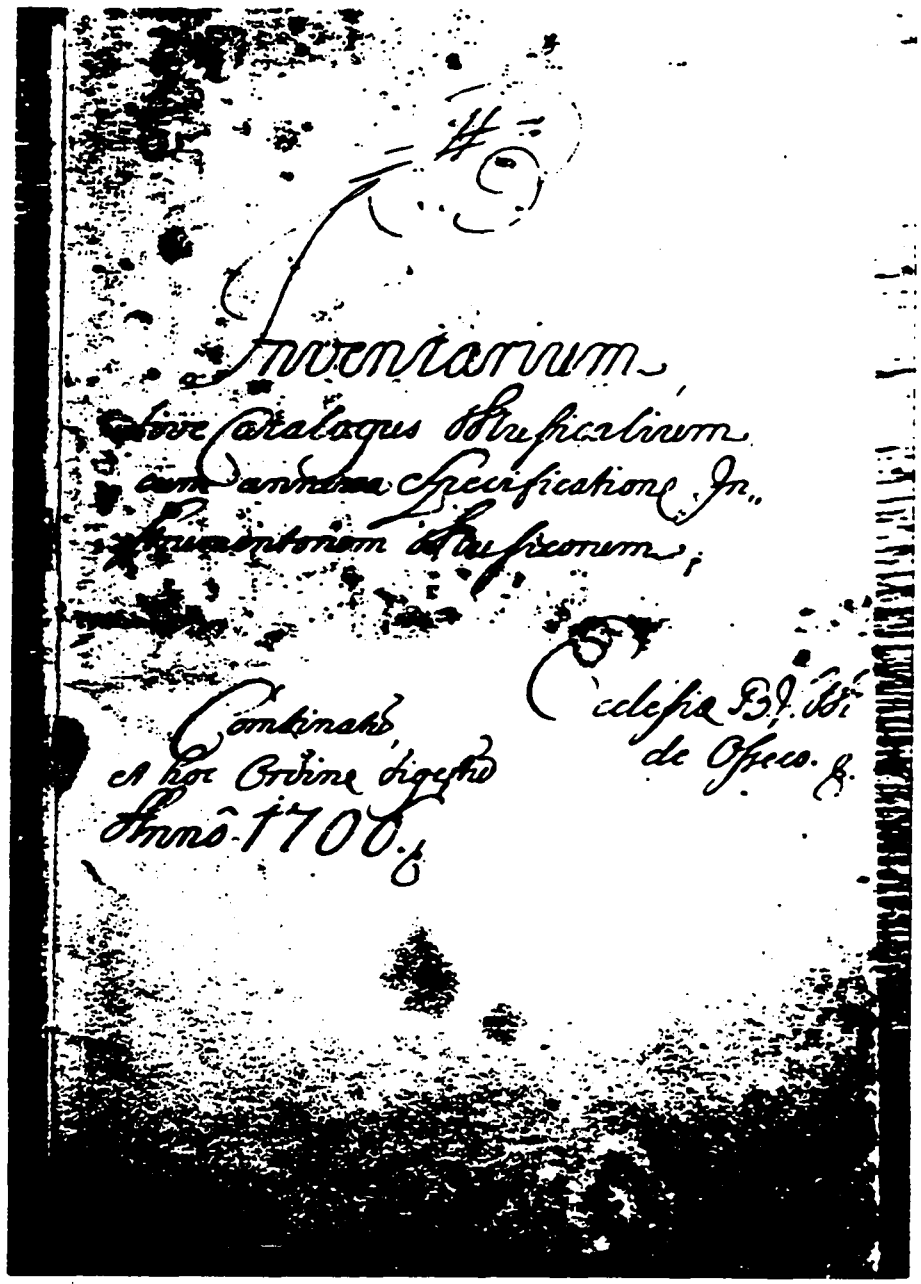
Hauptwerk	
Principal 8	Octav 4
Copula Maior 8	Quinte 3
Salicional 8	Superoctav 2
Gamba 8	Sedecima 1
Unda maris 8	Mixtur (2) V
Flöte maior 8	
Quintade 8	
Rückpositiv	
Copula maior 8	Quinte 3
Principal 4	Octrav 2
Spitzflöte 4	Superoctav 1
Copula minor 4	Mixtur III
Pedal	
Subbass offen 16	Octavbass 8
Subbass gedeckt 16	Violon 6

Both in its orchestra as well as in its organs, Osek clearly planned to be in the forefront of stylistic changes and contemporary currents.

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[95]Quoika, "Barocke Orgelkultur," 98; also L. Tomší, "Loketská škola," 130.

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Illust. 4.--Osek, Inventory, 1706, Title Page

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Musical Repertory: The Inventory of 1706

Introduction

Musical genres within the institutions of the Catholic church are, as has been seen, initially determined by liturgical needs. The actual music, in the sense of form, style, instrumentation and tone color, is determined by the coordination of liturgical needs and values with available musical style, performance practice, musical personnel, and contemporary taste. Therefore, in Osek's two music inventories and one thematic catalogue, one can expect to find certain liturgical genres common to all church institutions, such as the Mass, Vespers, and Litanies. The style and setting of the music within these genres can vary to some extent, not only within the same inventory, but also, and to a greater degree, between successive inventories. Moreover, the interval of time marked by different inventories can elucidate changes in taste, values or performing personnel (to name a few factors). Osek's inventories provide just such an opportunity. However much or little information is yielded in each document, each has something to tell about the musical repertory at Osek during a particular period of time and its relationship to the previous period.

The Inventory of 1706

This inventory contains 690 entries, comprising at least 730 separate works, with an appendix of twenty-one

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pieces. Most of the inventory is given over to liturgical music, with a small collection of secular vocal and instrumental pieces filling out the remainder. The rubrics chosen and their sequence give an indication of the liturgical functions and values of the musical genres, and say something about the organization of Osek's music library. In a way, the Inventory functioned as a catalogue for the use of the regens chori, as well as a record of a special group of acquisitions.

A group of pieces by Giovanni Battista Bassani (c1657-1716) appears to have been the foundation, if not of Osek's collection, then of the Inventory, for it forms the sole subject of the first rubric. Then the compiler turned to the principal liturgical genre, the Mass, which is preceded by several Introits (a placement which reflects the Introit's function at the beginning of the Mass). Following the Mass and its additional composed vocal-instrumental pieces (Offertoria, for example), is the next principal service, Vespers, with its attendant hymns and following Litanies. Inexplicably, a category devoted to Tafel-Musik precedes the last group, Requiem music. A general outline of rubrics is in Table 3.10; (the full description of the contents is in Appendix C).

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TABLE 3-10.--Inventory of 1706, General Rubrics in Sequence

			Entries	No. of works
I.	Works by Bassani		37	39
	A. Works from P. Antonius[96]		6	6
	B. Printed works		3	3+
II.	Introits		8	11
III.	Masses	(111)		
	"Meliores"		37	41
	"Mediocres"		9	9
	"Antiquiores"		13	13
	A. Works from P. Antonius		45	47
	B. Printed works		7	7+
IV.	Offertoria	(120)	80	80
	A. Works from P. Antonius		40	40+
	B. (none)			
V.	Concertus	(148)	123	155
	A. Works from P. Antonius		19	19
	B. Printed works		6	6+
VI.	Ariae	(115)	102	113
	A. Works from P. Antonius		11	12
	B. Printed works		2	2+
VII.	Vesperae	(85)	14	14
	A. (none)			
	B. Printed works		1	1+
	Hymns		12	12
	Marian Antiphons		24	26
	A. Works from P. Antonius		19	19
	B. (none)			
	Litanies		8	8
	A. Works from P. Antonius		7	7
	B. Printed works (Passion)		5	3
VIII.	Taffel-Musik	(43)		
	Vocal		24	24+
	Instrumental		19	19+
IX.	Requiem music		17	17
XI.	Music from R. P. Alberico[97]		21	21
	(Masses, Offertoria, Concertus, Ariae, Vesperae)			

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[96]P. Anton Johann Edelmann (1650-1704), Prior and organist at Osek. Album Ossecense, No. 52. Apparently his legacy of music, separated into the compiler's main categories. Some of the pieces are duplicates of works already owned by Osek. It may be that P. Anton made a copy for himself.

[97]The most likely member of Osek would be P. Alberik Franz Joseph Heinrich (1662-1722), cantor, parish priest and father confessor at Maria Radčice (Album Ossecense, No. 76). If so, he gave the music well before his death. The

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In addition to the careful separation of the two substantial music legacies, gifts of Osek's monks, printed music was also kept separate as a distinct class, yet entered within the proper genre.[98]

Masses

The classifications and generic titles given to Masses in the eighteenth-century seem inconsistent and often confusing. The picture has been summarized by Bruce MacIntyre: "According to eighteenth-century rubrics, thematic catalogues, musical treatises, lexicons, and the musical manuscripts themselves, Masses were variously categorized according to the occasion, instrumentation, style, or length."[99] The 1706 Inventory adopts the same three style categories as those Kilian Reinhardt used to describe the

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general age of the works seems to be late seventeenth century, which is an argument in favor of another priest, P. Alberik Johann Adam Radler (1631-?). (Nothing is reported about Radler's musical ability in the Album Ossecense, No. 28.)

[98]The consistency with which this was done suggests the possibility that the inventory functioned as a locator guide to the music library, where printed music may have been stored apart from manuscripts, and where legacies and gifts had their own corporate identity.

[99]Bruce C. MacIntyre, "The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period: History, Analysis, and Thematic Catalogue" (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1984), Vol. I, p. 8. The dissertation has been published as The Viennese concerted mass of the early classic period, No. 89, Studies in Musicology (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, c1986).

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practices at the Imperial Hof-Musikkapelle in Vienna:[100]

Reinhardt: Rubriche Generali, 1727	Osek, 1706
1. "in contrapunto" (a cappella style)	Antiquiores
2. "mediocre" or middle style--in Fux's stylus mixtus; intended for ordinary Mass on Sundays and feasts of middle rank)	Mediocres
3. "solenne" (solemn; for most important occasions and feasts; usually with trumpets and timpani and of greater length--also stylus mixtus).	Meliores

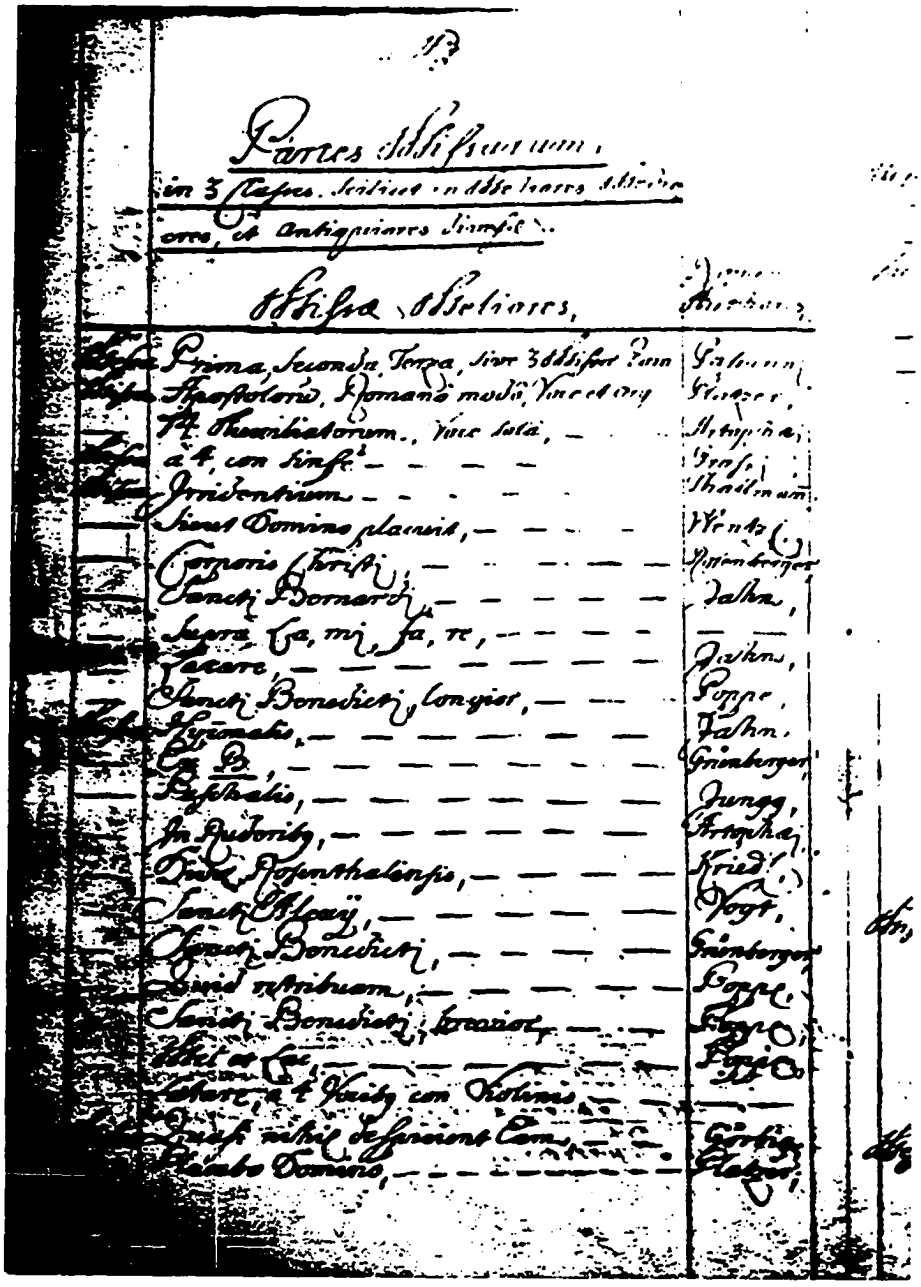
Among Osek's Masses, the most solemn style, the polychoral and the concerted Masses calling for trumpets and timpani ("Meliores"), have the largest representation. The thirty-seven items in this category compared to nine in the category of the more modest concerted Mass ("Mediocres") suggests that Osek was interested in acquiring music for major feasts that was generally on a brilliant, festive scale. There are only thirteen Masses in stil antico ("Antiquiores") for use during Advent, Lent and other fast days.

Under each of the three rubrics, Masses were entered by genre (variously, as "Messa," "Missa," "Messe," "Sacrum"), by title and by composer. The compiler has been

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[100]Kilian Reinhardt (1653/54-1729) was librarian and copyist to the Imperial Hofkapelle in Vienna, who was granted the title "Konzertmeister" in 1699. In 1727 he wrote a treatise on the musical customs of the court chapel, Rubriche generali per le funzioni ecclesiastiche musicali... (Elizabeth Roche, "Kilian Reinhardt," NG 15, 722). I have used part of MacIntyre's version and translation ("The Viennese Concerted Mass," I, 8) of Riedel's report and description (Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI., 68).

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Illust. 5.--Osek, Inventory, 1706, Missae Meliores

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very careful to give each Mass an author's name; there are only five entries for which no composer is given. The titles generally fall into the types described by Guido Adler for the seventeenth-century Viennese Masses, together with some additions suggested by Bruce MacIntyre for the Masses in the second half of the eighteenth century:[101]

Adler/MacIntyre	Osek
1. Christ or the Virgin Mary	"Della Madonna"
2. Saints, individual or as a group	"Sancti Ambrosij"
3. Feast days or seasons of the liturgical year	"Corporis Christi"
4. Special occasions	"Primitiale"
5. Persons or places	"Brükneri"
6. Adjectival names	"Elegans"
7. Quotation from the Bible, liturgy, or prayers	"Placebo Domini"
8. Names of virtues	"di Fortuna"
9. No. of voices or key designation	à 4," "Ex B"
10. Stylistic character	"Romano modo"
11. Aspect of composition	"Supra La, mi, fa, re"

Some of the titles are related to Osek's parish duties, as the "Missa Ruralis" and "Missa Wtelnensis."[102] Another, "Missa Supra La, mi, fa, re," suggests a parody technique primarily associated with a much earlier manner

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[101]Guido Adler, "Zur Geschichte der Wiener Messkomposition in der zweiten Hälfte des XVII.Jahrhunderts," Studien zur Musikwissenschaft IV (1916) 44; also MacIntyre, "The Viennese Concerted Mass," I, 12. Not every category listed by each is found in Osek's Inventory, such as MacIntyre's "Parts of the Litany of Loreto," and Adler's Notationsweise, and there are other categories not included by either, such as "Persons and places."

[102]Wteln was a village belonging to Osek. The Mass itself was written by P. Jakob Siegl (1638-1693) who served there as parish priest (Album Ossecense, No. 30).

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of Mass composition.[103] "Romano modo," by Platzer[104] and "3 Missa Rom." by Francesco Passarini (1636-1694) suggests the stylistic setting of the Roman polychoral Mass.

Although there are few descriptive references to the number of voices or their disposition, four of the printed collections of Masses are arranged for solo quartet with ripieno chorus and accompanying instruments. These Masses are by Maurizio Cazzati, Giovanni Paolo Colonna, Johann Kaspar Kerll, and Conrad Oeler.[105] The three other collections are by Johann Christoph Anton Fiebig, Alessandro Grandi, and Theodor Schwartzkopff,[106] and can be

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[103]Michael Tilmouth, "Parody (i)," NG 14, 238.

[104]This may be Sebastian Platzer (1627-1651) a Cistercian connected with Zwettl monastery, who, before his entry into the Order "war . . . kaiserlichen Hoforganist in Wien und ein tüchtiger Musiker" (Eitner QL XI, 0.509. On the basis of the earlier QL entry (VII, 471) Emil Trolda ("Tote Musik," 142) identified the composer as Johann Albrecht Platzer who was organist in the Vienna Hofkapelle from 1637 to 1641. It now appears that they were one and the same.

[105] Maurizio Cazzati, Messe brevi a otto voci, con una concertata a 4. e suoi ripieni a beneplacito, & una a otto da capella..., Op. 28 (Bologna, 1662; 1680, 1685) [See Appendix OO for RISM numbers.] On the basis of the dates of the next three, Osek probably acquired the 1685 edition. G. Colonna, Messa, e salmi concertati a 3. 4. e 5. voci se piace, construmenti, et ripieni a beneplacito, Op. 10 (Bologna, 1691); J. K. Kerll, Missae sex a IV. V. VI. vocibus, cum instrumentis concertantibus, & vocibus in ripieno... (Munich, 1689); C. Oeler, Triumphus Marianus, seu Missae sacrae pro festis B. V. M. . . . a 5 voc. et 2 VV necess., violis ac ripp. ad libit (Constance, 1697).

[106]J. D. A. Fiebig, Heptaphonum opus musicum, seu septem missae a CATB, II violinis, et organo (Bautzen, 1706) [See Appendix N for RISM numbers.] A. Grandi, Messe a 3. & a 4. voci concertante, con strumente...opera terzia

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performed by four voices (three in Grandi's work), two violins and organ (violone or other string bass). The presence of these printed collections enables us to determine the scope in age of Osek's 1706 repertory. The Grandi collection, although reprinted in 1693, when Osek probably purchased it, was first published in 1635-36. However, the Fiebig collcction had just been published in 1706, the year of the Inventory. Among the manuscripts, Osek had a copy of a Requiem Mass for Cardinal Harrach, archbishop of Prague (d.1667), composed by Heinrich Brückner (2nd half of the 17th century), whose works are found also in the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn's collection.[107] It also possessed the latest compositions by František Ludwig Poppe (1670-1730), whose works were just beginning to enter Bohemian collections.[108] The total number of Masses (over 115), exceeds that of every other institution for the next few decades except the Collegiate Church of

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(Bologna, 1635-36; 1693); T. Schwartzkopff, Missae, Psalmi & Hymni, a 4 vocib. & instr. ad libitum (Stuttgart, n.d.) [not in RISM].

[107]Whether either of the two Requiems in the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn collection is the one written for Cardinal Harrach cannot be ascertained from the titles (see Otto, Seventeenth-Century Music, 159, 161). Brückner's music is also found at Tovačov (see Jan Racek, "Inventář hudebnin tovačovského z konce 17. století," Musikologie I, ed. by Vladimír Helfert (Prague-Brno: Melantrich-Pazdírek, 1938) 61ff.

[108]Two Masses by František Poppe as well as several other pieces are found in the Kosmonosy Inventory of 1712.

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St. Maurice in Kroměříž.[109]

Offertoria, Concertus, Ariae

In each of these categories, the music is subdivided according to the relative emphases of the Cistercian Order: the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and then of the saints; then the liturgical year, followed by two special categories relating to the order and the first Mass of a priest (De Venerabili, Primitijs) and finally for Sundays (Dominicis, De Tempore).

Of particular interest is the number of "Concertus"--pieces in concertante style for one to three solo voice(s) and accompaniment by two violins--which Osek appeared to be rapidly acquiring at this time in manuscript copies.[110] The publication dates on the printed collections (1677 through 1691)[111] contribute to a hypothesis that this category was begun basically through such collections, and that Osek was desirous of augmenting the group to as great a degree as

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[109]In 1695, the year of Prince-Bishop Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn's death, St. Maurice had about 300 Masses, By 1725 the Benedictine monastery at Rajhrad listed only about 80, and by 1731 the Piarist monastery at Kosmonosy listed over 90. Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba (1620-1740)," Hudba v českých dějinách, ed. by Jaromír Černý, et al. (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983) 191.

[110]The modest number from P. Antonius' estate, in comparison to the number of Masses, may be an indication that the bulk of the acquisitions were fairly recent.

[111]The printed collections are by Giovanni Paolo Colonna, Thomas Eisenhuet, Melchior Glettle, and Johann Georg Rauch (see Appendix N for a full description).

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possible.

In the Inventory, the "concertus" pieces are listed by text incipits. Unlike the Masses, about a quarter of the pieces do not have a composer attribution. But, in contrast to the Masses and the Offertoria, almost every "concertus" piece specifies the solo voice(s) and the instrumental accompaniment, which is, without exception, "2VV," two violins. The great majority of the solos are either for canto or bass, as shown in Table 3.11.

TABLE 3-11.--Concertus Solo Settings

Voice(s)	Number of Pieces
C	34
A	7
T	2
B	29
CC	11
CB	11

(Other combinations, CA, AB, TB, BB, CAB, ATB, CTB and even BBB and TBB, are each numerically few.)

These canto parts, and the CC combination, indicate that Osek's choirboys were often employed. The prominence of the bass solos and the CB combination as well suggest that a competent male soloist was available, who probably was one of Osek's novices or one of its members.[112]

The inventory offers nc suggestion as to which part

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[112]Osek had very few lay brothers or lay persons (other than some domestic and grounds help) in residence who would have been available to perform, and presumably rehearse, on a regular basis. It always had a group of novices, under a Novicemaster. See Lekai, The Cistercians, 472 about the lay personnel, and Album Ossencense for the names of the Novicemasters.

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of the Mass the "concertus" pieces were used. There is an indication by the scribe, however, that these pieces had begun to replace the Offertoria: "tam de Concertibus, quam Offertorijs, sunt Sequentia."[113] Other possible functions were at the Benedictus, the Gradual, the Communion and then at other services whenever a Response was to appear.[114]

The rubric for Arias specifies how they were to be used: "Ariae, sive Cantilenae variae/ tempore Gradualis et Communionis/ producendae."[115] This also was a fast-growing category, almost totally made up of canto solos with two violins accompanying. The sub-categories and the text incipits testify that the overwhelming majority of these pieces express an emotional piety focused on the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Sacrament, and the Birth and Passion of Christ. (The Marian antiphons also show the same kind of setting.) More than half the texts are in German,

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[113]"Both the Concertos and the Offertories are Sequences" (Inventory of 1706, page 26). On this usage, see Otto Ursprung, Die katholische Kirchenmusik, [Vol. 10] of Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, ed. Ernst Bücken (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931) 207.

[114]Ursprung discusses the "cantata-like setting" as it comes to pervade the parts of the liturgy and has drawn a table showing the parts of the Office and the Mass with the appropriate music and Baroque usage (Die katholische Kirchenmusik, 212-13; 300).

[115]Inventory of 1706, page 27.

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signifying their use in popular devotions.[116] More than in any other category, the use of instruments other than violins is specified: "violet:", particularly for the Passion texts, and "gamba" and "viola" which appear more in this category than any other. Two printed collections by Johann Georg Reichwein (fl. 1684-1688), one published in 1684 and one of which is not mentioned in any other source,[117] may have been the nucleus of Osek's aria collection.

The title "Mottetum" was applied by the scribe only to some of the Offertoria and never to works in any other category. This consistent practice appears to reflect an understanding that the word "motet" should be applicable only to the older choral motet, not the modern vocal concerto.[118] That being true, all the Offertoria can be assumed to be a cappella works--which includes possibility

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[116]The rest of the texts are in Latin. A few German texts appear among the "concertus" pieces, only in the Nativity and Passion categories.

[117]Jesum und Mariam lobendes Lerchen-Stimmlein, Oder Etliche- und Weyh-nachts-Arien. . . (Regensburg, 1684) [RISM R994] is called "Lerchen Stimmlein" in the Inventory. The unknown work is called "Lerchen Gesang; id est: 24 Ariae, de tempore et Sanctis" (Inventory of 1706, p. 30).

[118]"The essential structure of the older motet style was retained in the true choral motet, especially in the Palestrinian motet predominant in the Catholic south (Italy, Austria and south Germany" (Jerome Roche, "Motet," NG 12, 638). The fact that the "concertus" pieces were scrupulously kept separate, even though understood to have some of the same functions, seems to corroborate this assumption.

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of doubling of parts by instruments (cornet and trombones), as was the common practice in the late seventeenth century.[119] We know that Osek possessed the instruments capable of providing just such a doubling (see above). No instruments are specified for any of the Offertoria, although in some cases the number of voices is given, generally when the number five has been exceeded, for example, "à 7," "à13," "à 20," and even à 24." The appearance of these numbers seems to be a signal to the regens chori that these works are for multiple choirs. Although the style may have been an older one, the composers listed are, almost without exception, the same composers who are listed with works of the newer style as well. One item among the Offertoria should be mentioned: the motet, "Ecce quomodo moritur justus," which may well be the same motet by Jacob Handl (Jacobus Gallus, 1550-1591), which was sung by custom in Czech lands on Good Friday throughout the Baroque era and even later.

Dramatic Works

In the genre of dramatic music, Osek had two pieces. One was a Passion oratorio by Giovanni Andrea Florimi (d. 1683), Passio D[omi]ni Nostri Jesu Chr[ist]i s[e]cu[n]dum Mathaeum in three printed parts: score, choral parts ("Versi della turba, id est: Synagogae sue turbaae

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[119]Roche, "Motet," 638.

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dicteria. . . Opera settima") and a German translation ("Passio secundum Matthaeum germanica").[120] The other was an anonymous sepolcro entitled Ecce quomodo moritur Justus. This last appears in the list of a printed works after the Litanies, and may have been only a libretto.[121]

Bohemian music traditions

Two entries among the Introits show that the Bohemian Rorate tradition was being cultivated at Osek. One is simply "Rorate ad tonum __" [unclear] by Osek's "excellent organist," P. Anton Edelmann. The other is "Introitus Rorate" by Franz David Thalmann a priest and composer at the Vienna Hofkapelle, 1696-1711.[122] No information is given about instruments or voices.

Among the Litaniae are six Litaniae Lauretanae for eight or nine voices, one each by Daniel Oborsky, and Christoph Rosenberger, both Bohemian cantors, two by

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[120]Judith Nagley lists only the Versi della turba ... per li passii della domenica delle palme, e venerdi sancto con alcuni brevi, e devoti motetti de cantarsi nel visitare li sanctisiimi sepolcri. 4vv, org. Op. 7 (Bologna, 1682), in "Florimi, Giovanni Andrea," NG 6, 656. It may be that what looks like a score at Osek is only a printed libretto, but that cannot be assumed.

[121]The work is listed anonymously under the rubric "Litaniae," as the last of the printed works, with the title,"Ecce quomodo moritur Justus, pro sepulcrendo Dni in die Parasceves." Apparently the piece was in circulation without a composer attribution for it was also printed anonymously in Božan's popular cantional, Slavíček rajsky (1719). Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 193-94.

[122]Inventory of 1706, page 35. For Thallman, see Eitner, QL IX, 388.

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Zacharias Jahn (Norbert Johann Zacharias Fischer) a cantor at Osek, and two without composer attribution.[123] In 1706, this tradition at Osek appears to have been met by indigenous composers.

The Christmas pastorale tradition is also present in Osek's inventory, and in two of the categories. A "Missa Pastoritia" by Osek's Anton Edelmann provides an early example of a Mass genre which was to enjoy "a great vogue, particularly in Germany,"[124]

Among the "concertus" pieces for the Christmas season is a "Pastorella à 3" for tenor, two basses and "2 Houbе" by Johann Anton Tychian.[125] This entry raises a question. Was the piece a true pastorella? If so, then it is earlier than the one by Fux (see Chapter II), and thus

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[123]For Oborsky and Rosenberger, see E. Trolda, "Tote Musik," 142, 143. For Jahn-Fischer, see Album Ossecense, 45.

[124]Geoffrey Chew, "Pastorale," NG 14, 293. The Mass certainly predates the 1750 date given for the pastoral style setting of the Latin Mass Ordinary in Czech-speaking lands (Chew, "Pastorella," NG 14, 296), but may be considered a product of German-speaking Bohemian culture, and thus more connected to German traditions than Czech. "The spiritual singing of Bohemia's German populace has not been researched up to now, but it evolved similarly to Czech spiritual singing" (Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 196). This lacuna has been addressed by Mark Germer in his recent unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "The Austro-Bohemian Pastorella and Mastoral Mass to c1780" (New York University, 1989).

[125]There are two oratorios by Johannes Antoninus Tychian in the Hofbibliothek in Vienna, according to Eitner, QL IX, 478. Nothing more is known about him, and no other compositions of his have been found in Bohemian music inventories or collections.

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it would be the earliest example of a pastorella in Bohemian lands.[126]

Tafel-Musik: the Instrumental music[127]

The second part of Osek's Tafel-Musik consists of nineteen entries, the greater part of which are dance suites in the form of ballets (7 entries) and parthias (5 entries). There are also three overtures and two collections of sonatas, one of which is Heinrich Biber's widely-known Fidicinium sacro-profanum.[128] The other collection of sonatas is a manuscript set of ten pieces "written and composed by the author," P. Balthasar Lux of Osek.[129]

Heading the list is the rubric, "Partes Recreativae pro Musica Instrumentali" (Recreational pieces for musical instruments). Although it is known that sonatas were used at various parts of the Mass, the only indication that this

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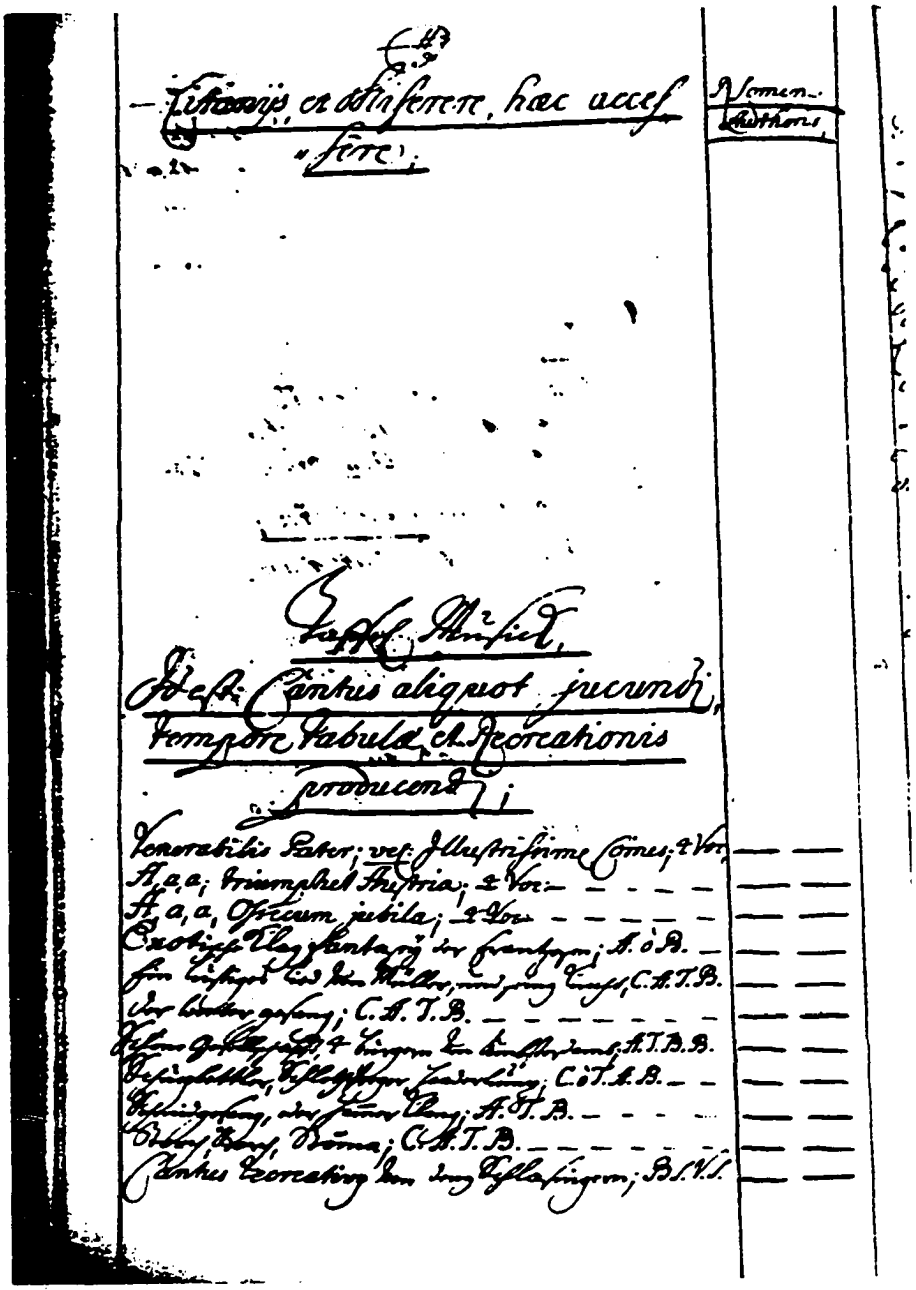
[126]See note 166, Chapter II. Jiří Berkovec lists the Tychian piece with the date of 1720, Osek's second inventory, where it appears again, but has missed its appearance in the 1706 inventory (České pastorely [Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1987] 30).

[127]There are some errors and omissions in the list that Paul Nettl has printed in "Weltliche Musik," Beiträge, 36-37. The list has been reprinted with the additions and corrections noted in Appendix F.

[128]Fidicinium sacro-profanum, tam choro, quam foro pluribus fidibus concinnatum, & concini aptum (Nuremberg, [1681]), [RISM B 2617], Göhler 2, 119.

[129]"Sonatae 10 conscriptae et compositae ab autore. Lux." (For Lux, see Album Ossecense, No. 61.)

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Illust. 6.--Osek, Inventory, 1706, Tafel-Musik

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might have been the case at Osek is the subtitle of Biber's Fidicinium "tam choro, quam foro" (for [church] choir as well as for the hall).

Osek's instrumental music parallels, in a smaller way, the instrumental collections of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn and of Salm at Tovačov which date from the same time. Its contents (ballets, sonatas, overtures) are the same. Unfortunately, few titles are given in the Tovačov collection, and so one can only guess whether any pieces were held in common. Osek's scribe gives few composers' names, which may indicate that the composers themselves were not of very high status. Had any composer been from the court in Vienna, which was the case with Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn's collection and Salm's, we can assume that the piece would have formed a valuable (and probably expensive) part of Osek's possessions and would have been carefully attributed in the inventory. This is indeed the case with Fux, whose name is on two entries, "Ballettae à 9," and "Parthia à duplici choro." [130] As it is, without names, other than Biber, Lux, and several church composers,[131] one can only conjecture about the possibility of works in

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[130]Fux's name is spelled "Fuchs." a common form in several inventories, including the one from Tovačov.

[131]P. Ferdinand Bernard Artophaeus (1651-1721), P. Benedict Aufschnaiter (b1665-1742), Johann Kristof Karl Gayer (?1668-1734), P. Johann František Poppe (1670-1730), and an unknown, Kohnhäuser.

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common. At most, one can discern a common interest.

Tafel-Musik: Vocal Music

The initial rubric reads: "Songs that will produce a delightful time at table and for recreation." [132] Indeed these must have done so. There are twenty-four entries that describe, in the main, individual songs as well as short plays, many of them comic and even ribald, most of them set for soprano, alto, tenor and bass, indicating that the choirboys were definitely part of the fun. Some solo, two-part and three-part songs are also included.

With the exception of three composers, one of whom is Heinrich Biber ("Quodlibeticum eines Bassisten" for bass voice and two violins), all the pieces are anonymous. Judging by the titles, Osek's monks enjoyed songs of celebration, or Applausus ("Triumphet Austria," "Ossecum jubila"), mocking songs aimed at the French ("Exotische Klag fantasen der Frantzosen," "Französisches Hössl"), ribald songs ("In honor of Bacchus, or, For good living many perish"),[133] quodlibets, and amusing tales ("Schöne Gesellschaft, 4 Bürgern von Amsterdamb").

It is apparent that some of the vocal pieces are miniature dramas or at the least musical dialogues ("The

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[132]"Cantus aliquot jucundi tempore tabulae et Recreationis producendi," Inventory of 1706, p. 36.

[133]"Honor Bacchi sive propter salus multi periere. 4 voc."

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Cantor and his assistant," for soprano, tenor and bass voices).[134] One of these, "Storch, Storch, Stoina" although unattributed in the inventory, has been attributed by Nettl to the town organist at nearby Cheb [German: Eger].[135] It is possible that many of the pieces originated in or at least circulated in the area. Most of the texts are in German, in keeping with the language of the general populace. There are two printed collections in both Latin and German as well as a collection of "amusing songs" in Italian.[136]

Apparently these vocal items, together with the instrumental music, did not constitute all of Osek's holdings of Tafel-Musik. The scribe made a notation that there were many more pieces, but of an older type, "different from the modern," and therefore he did not list them.[137] It is not clear whether the scribe was referring to

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[134]"Lectinius Cantor cum succantore. C.A.T.B."

[135]The organist is Georg Erhard Baldauf (d.1721) who held several positions in Eger. The piece itself is in three parts: the first canonic, the second a two-strophe Lied, and the third an older form of "proportio tripla," or "Hupfauf." The bass part is less a general bass than a bassa seguente. In all, it is a unlearned piece, mixing both older and newer compositional styles. See Paul Nettl, "Aus Egers musikalischer Vergangenheit," Beiträge, 56-58.

[136]Musicalischer Leuthenspiegel..., [RISM AN 1867]; and Musica Genialis Latino-Germanica... by Glettle, [RISM G 2622]. The Italian collection is "Pigra Luna sive cantus Comoediasticus."

[137]"N.B. Plurimae similes partes adhuc adsunt sed quia moderni tempo stylo valde dissimiles sunt, et cum exigua gratia producibiles, eas specificare ommitto."

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instrumental music only (the notation comes after the list of instrumental pieces), or to both vocal and instrumental pieces. One can conjecture that the reference may be to Renaissance-style pieces which were common in Bohemia to a much later date than elsewhere.[138] Now, at Osek, there was a clear consciousness of newness, and the "modern" was definitely preferred.

Printed Music

Although the inventory gives no indication as to when each work was acquired, the printed works enable some tentative conclusions to be drawn about dates. Among the twenty-six printed works (Table 3.12, below) are found approximately nine or ten items from the 1680s. Eight works were published in the 1690s, six of them from Italy. J. C. F. Fischer's Opus 3 was published in 1701 (Augsburg) and Fiebig's Heptaphonium Opus Musicum in 1706, which, as mentioned above, shows an astonishing rapidity in acquisition at Osek.[139]

("N.B. Many similar pieces still exist, but because they are so different from the modern style, and because they may be performed/produced with little effort, I omitted their listing.")

[138]Racek, Česká hudba, 87-88.

[139]The proximity of Osek to Bautzen in Saxony, the place of publication, may account for the rapid acquisition. The fact that Osek owned estates in Saxony may have played a part in the transmission. Also, the Visitator role of the abbot in the two Lusatian convents may have stimulated lively cultural communications. Apparently the work reached Osek before it was advertised

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The evidence from the printed music offers only general insights as to where Osek acquired its foreign repertory. Of the works printed prior to 1690, only two originated in Italy; the rest were from Germany or Switzerland. The Table below indicates the dates of printing, city of printing, type of work, and composer. (See Appendix N for a detailed listing).

TABLE 3-12.--Summary of Printed Works, Inventory of 1706

Date of Publication	City	Type of Work	Composer
1677	Augsburg	Concertus	Glettle
1662,80,86	Bologna	Masses	Cazzati
1681	Augsburg	Motets,solo	Glettle
1681	Nürnberg	Instrumental	Biber
1682	Bologna	Motets,choral	Florimi
1682	Ulm	Concertus	Anonymous
c1684	Stuttgart	Masses,Motets	Schwartzkopff
1684	Augsburg	Part-songs	Glettle
1687	Augsburg	Songs,concert.	Rauch, J.G.
1688	Regensburg	Arias	Reichwein
1689	Munich	Masses	Kerll
1690,95,98	Bologna	Psalms,conc.	Bassani
1691	Bologna	Masses,Motets	Colonna
1692,96	Bologna	Motets,solo	Bassani
1692	Bologna	Masses	Grandi
1693,96	Bologna	Motets,solo	Bassani
1694	Augsburg	Concertus	Eisenhut
1695	Bologna	Arias	Bassani
1697	Constance	Masses	Oeler
1701	Augsburg	Motets,conc.	Fischer, J.C.F.
1706	Bautzen	Masses	Fiebig

The connection between Osek and Bologna, at least regarding printed works, is strong in the 1690s. It is possible that this connection accounts for the enormous number of

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in the Leipzig Gross Katalog for the Östermesse of 1709 (Göhler 3, 64).

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Bassani's works. The greater part of this special collection, listed under the rubric Opera Bassani, is devoted to vocal "concertus" pieces. From the titles, it appears that most of the pieces were copied from Bassani's published collections, Op. 8, Metri sacri resi armonici (Bologna, 1690, 1696, et al.) and Op. 11, Concerti sacri, motetti (Bologna 1692, 1697, et al.).[140] Both of these editions were reprinted in Amsterdam and Antwerp, indicating their immense popularity, and testifying to Osek's contemporary musical taste.

Osek's scribe listed three of Bassani's published collections in the subcategory of printed works: Op. 12, Op.13 and Op. 16.[141] However, at the head of the manuscript listing are two more of Bassani's published collections, Op. 9 and, possibly, Op. 18.[142] Whether these were copied in their entirety rather than purchased in printed form is impossible to say, and how the entire collection arrived at

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[140]Op. 8 is listed in RISM, B1180-84. "Quid arma quid bella," from this collection was also published separately, apparently in England, as "Bassani's most celebrated motet" (RISM B 1185). Osek had copied it. Op. 11 is listed in RISM, B1191-94.

[141]Op. 12, Motetti a voce sola con doi violini (Venice, 1692, et al.), RISM B1195-98; Op. 13, Armonie festive o siano motetti sacri (Bologna, 1693, 1696, et al.), RISM B1199-1204; Op. 16, La musa armonica, cantate amorose musicali a voce sola (Bologna, 1695), RISM B 1207. Note that Op. 16 is not sacred music.

[142]Op. 9, Armonici entusiasmi de Davide (Venezia, 1690, 1695, 1698), RISM B1186-88; Op. 18, Messe concertate [3] (Bologna, 1698), RISM B1209-1210.

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Osek remains to be discovered.

A few individual works were acquired by gift, according to the scribal notations, "oblata a Lausan" ("given by Lausan") after three separate compositions. Other gifts, as shown above, included at least one estate bequest (P. Antonius Edelmann); the gift of at least one private collection (perhaps P. Alberik Heinrich), who were members at Osek. Manuscript collections were made of similar-type pieces, at least one of which was by a member at Osek[143] Other manuscript works were written directly for use at Osek or for its parishes by its members.[144]

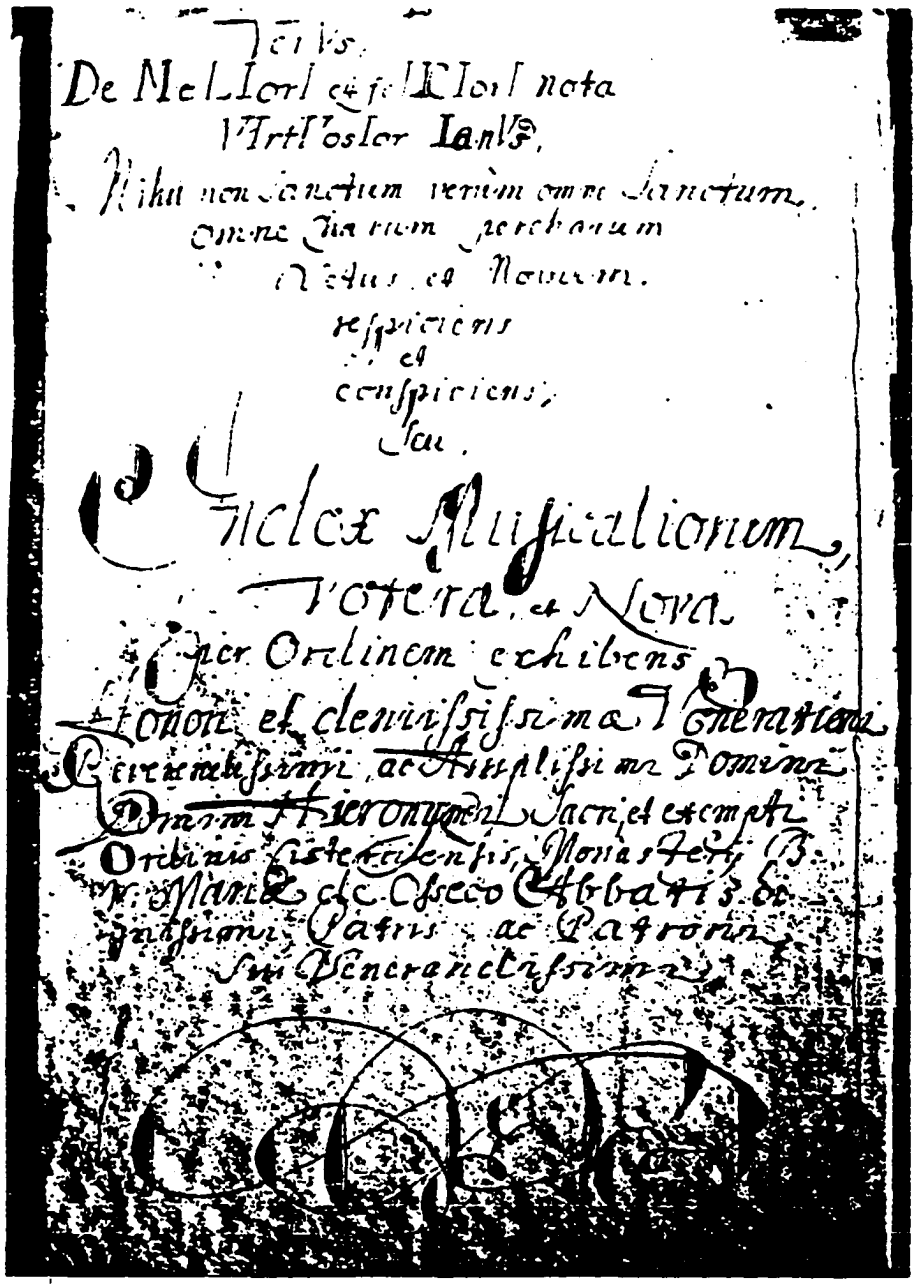
It appears that, up to 1706, Osek obtained some of its music from among its members, either as original compositions or as contributions from their own private collections which they made for use in service as cantors and regentes chororum. Some slight evidence has been given for acquisitions from local nearby talent. The printed music came from Italy, primarily Bologna, and from Germany. Further conclusions wiill be made following an examination of the composers in the inventory.

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[143]"12 Concertus. . . conscripti à P. Guillelmo Knij . . . in Compactura."

[144]Edelmann, Sartorius, Zacharias Jahn, Lux, P. Karl Franz Zacharias Breunl (1668-1726) and P. Christian Hyacinth Erbstein (1685-1720) (Album Ossecense 80, 95).

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Illust. 7.--Osek, Inventory, 1720, Title Page

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The Inventory of 1720

Osek's second inventory, begun in connection with the duties of the regens chori, P. Florian Burian, and continued by him at dated intervals, is a valuable source for studying the development of Osek's music program over a period of close to thirty years. The year 1720, when the inventory was begun, marks the end of several decades of building at Osek, including the recent renovation of the monastery's church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in high Baroque style. In the preceding decade, Osek's wealth had been increasing due to the combination of years of peace in the land, agricultural prosperity and economic expansion.

In that same decade the music program had been enriched through numerous acquisitions added to the previous library holdings of 1706. One of the purposes of the new inventory may have been a reorganization of the whole collection, probably begun by Burian. An acknowledgement of the old and new aspects of the collection was made by Burian in his florid dedication of 1733 to Abbot Hieronymus Besnecker (who was himself a capable musician).[145] It reads, in part:

> "Very Reverend Lord Father Abbot, permit me to call the name of Janus [a play on the abbot's

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[145]The "Taffel-Musick" listing in the Inventory of 1706 notes that Hieronymus Besnecker has one of the lutes in his private possession (see Appendix F).

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> name, Hieronymus, as well as on the contents] a good omen . . . the index shall list old and new, will contain old and new, just as Janus views the old time as well as the new . . . Various authors, famous men, notable living persons are listed in the compiled catalogue as in a Museum of the great Janus of the past and present. . . . I dedicate it to what other Muse? A thousand other patrons would be needed for Janus, the most virtuous, loved by the Muses and lover of music . . . " [146]

The 1720 inventory contains 1,745 entries in total, which, because of the occasional combining of works into one entry, actually comprises many more pieces of music. With respect to its general chracteristics, the 1720 inventory, like that of 1706, lists both figural liturgical music and secular vocal and instrumental pieces. The major categories differ only slightly from the 1706 inventory, but the differences are significant, particularly with respect to the subcategories of the Mass and the grouping of its additional vocal-instrumental works. In addition, liturgical genres, such as the Marian antiphons, Litanies, and Requiem pieces which occupied separate categories in the 1706 inventory, now are subsumed under Vespers. The vocal and instrumental secular pieces are now at the end, under the elegant Latin title of "Genialia." The general outline of the categories is shown in Table 3.13, below.

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[146]Inventory of 1720, fol. [1] v.

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TABLE 3.13.--Inventory of 1720, Rubrics in General Sequence[147]

	No. of Entries	No. of Works(approx.)
I. Masses		
"in Ordinem," 1720	107	108
continued, 1723	182	182
"absoletae" (1720)	84	83
"solennissime" 1723	18	18
II. Offertoria		
"de tempore," 1720	42	51
continued, 1723	16	16
Common of Saints, 1720	58	57
continued, 1724	27	35
Proper of Saints, 1720	44	46
continued, 1724	21	21
festivals of Church Year, 1720	65	66
continued, 1723	53	57
"de festis B.V. Mariae," 1720	31	31
continued, 1723	31	31
III. Gradualia		
"de tempore," 1720	131	232
continued, 1723	65	117
Common of Saints, 1720	58	58
continued, 1724	27	35
Proper of Saints, 1720	21	22
continued, 1724	16	27
festivals of Church Year, 1720	102	155
continued, 1723	109	193
B.V. Maria, 1720	40	94
continued, 1723	46	73
IV. Vespers: Antiphons, Litanies, Hymns, Requiems. Rorate	127	167
continued, 1724	58	63
V. Genialia, c1720[148]	159	159
continued, c1723	77	77

[147]A fuller description of the format is in Appendix D, together with the names of composers found in each category and subcategory.

[148]This category is undated, but a dividing point comes after 159 entries, which are assumed to constitute the original group.

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In the time period 1720-1722, Burian made 1,118 entries totaling about 1,328 works. About half of these were from the 1706 inventory.[149] As shown above, beginning in 1723 he began adding pieces under six of the rubrics; and in 1724 he began adding works under another four rubrics. A general idea of the number and type of the acquisitions can be had from the figures in Table 3.14.

TABLE 3.14.--Inventory of 1720, Generic Comparison of Newly-listed Music

Category	Total 1720-22	Acquired 1706-22	Acquired 1723-33+
Missae	191	c74	c200
Offertoria	c250	]	c140
Gradualia	c560	] c415[150]	c415
Vesperae	c167	]	c63
Genialia	c160	c127	c77
	c1328	c616	c895

By examining the new works added to the 1720 inventory, some conclusions can be reached about Osek's musical life in two periods: between 1706 and 1723 and

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[149]An exact count cannot be made for several reasons: 1) Several 1706 pieces have been combined into single entries in the 1720 inventory, sometimes without sufficient identification of all of the items; 2) Occasionally only generic titles, without identifying texts are given in the 1720 inventory; 3) A number of general titles, for example, "Missa Sancti Bernardi," by two anonymous composers, cannot be assumed to be the same work.

[150]This is an estimated total of all three categories, because the 1706 pieces have been reassigned in many cases and often because complete identifications are uncertain.

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between 1723/24 and 1733. A comparison of new music acquisitions with the older repertory suggests the nature of the changes taking place in Osek's musical taste and approximately when those changes occurred. A comparison of the lists of composers for each group of acquisitions (Section VI) supplies information about sources of music and directions of musical dissemination in both those time periods. After some general observations about the musical genres in the 1720 inventory, discussion will center first on the new entries, 1706-1722 and then on the 1723-1733+ entries, noting changes where pertinent, and offering an evaluation of the significance of the new acquisitions.

Musical Genres

As in the Inventory of 1706, the rubrics of the Inventory of 1720 reflect the primary importance of the Mass (first two categories), its extra-liturgical music (Offertories and Graduals), and Vespers. There has been no change in types and importance here. The categories of Offertoria and Gradualia are subdivided as before, according to the headings in the Graduale Romanum. Litanies, Hymns, and Requiems have been grouped together in the same general category with Vespers, instead of forming separate categories as in 1706. The effect of this general categorization is to group pieces, not by liturgical function but by musical genre.

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A comparison of the number of new acquisitions between 1706 and 1720 (approximately 616) with the total number of entries in the 1706 inventory (690), shows that Osek's music library had almost doubled in the fourteen years that separate the two inventories. Over the next decade, the collection was to increase by an even greater number of new acquisitions (approximately 895). These simple statistics, combined with the evidence of the increased size of Osek's orchestra (see above), testify to the expansion of the scope of Osek's musical liturgy during this period. Osek was not an isolated phenomenon, for the same expansion can be found at the Benedictine monastery at Rajhrad.[151]

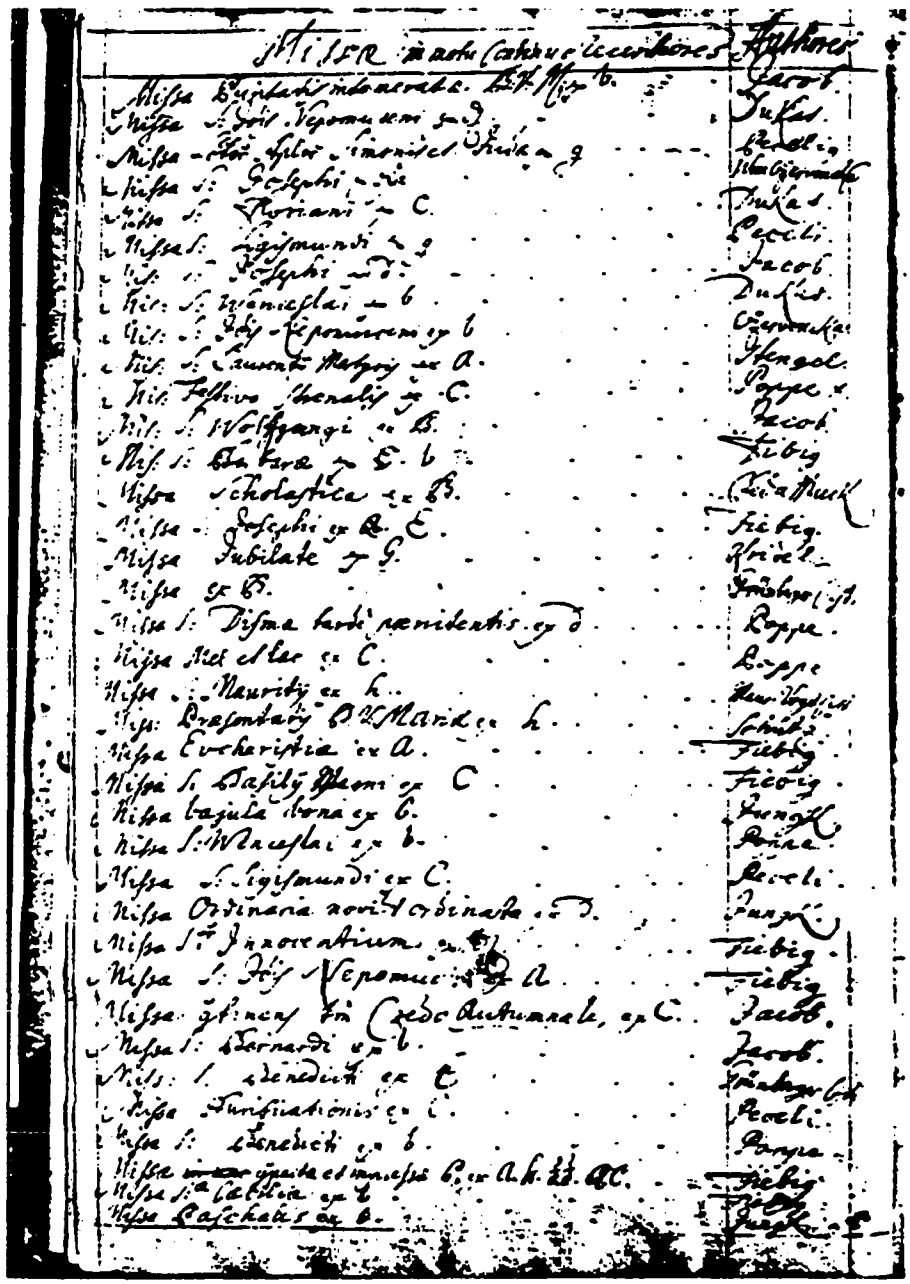
Masses, 1706-1722

The grouping of Masses by Burian no longer reflects a division into three ceremonial grades with their attendant styles and settings. Although three categories appear (Table 3.13, above), only two of them were for the original entries in 1720-1722. The first, and primary category is, as the inventory rubric "in Ordinem" indicates, a sequential list of Masses, together with the names of their composers and--something new--the key of each work. The second category, with the rubric "Absoletae" lists those Masses which have been "dispensed

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[151]See Theodora Straková, "Rajhradský hudební inventář," ČMM LVIII (1973) 218.

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Illust. 8.--Osek, Inventory, 1720, Missae

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with," or "laid aside." These groupings raise several questions. What works have been discarded? Why have they been "laid aside?" What has happened to the solemn, splendid "Meliores" Mass?

A comparison of the list of Masses "laid aside" with the Masses in the 1706 inventory reveals that almost all of them have been placed in this category, regardless of ceremonial grade. Although the works themselves are no longer extant for analysis, the composers' names are those that represent seventeenth-century concertato practice and stile misto. Among them are Bertali, Cazzati, Colonna, Draghi, Foggia, Grandi, Kerll, Passarini, and the Bohemians Görbig and Wentzely. None of their works has been retained, with the exception of one Mass each by Wentzely and Colonna. The Masses "dispensed with" include works that were not in the 1706 inventory, but which represented the older style, and which may have been acquired soon after 1706.

The composers who have been retained are the Bohemians, Germans, and Austrians who, like Josef Dukát and Gunther Jacob, modified the old concertato style with "wide-ranging themes, uniform rhythmic energy and running basses."[152] A Mass by the Italian, Vincenzo Albrici, who worked for many years at Dresden and in Prague, was

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[152]Milan Poštolka, "Jacob, Gunther," NG 9, 442.

retained as well. Although little is known of Albrici's

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style, particularly with respect to Masses, it is said that he played "with very good taste of a mixture Italian and ultramontane."[153]

The newer pieces acquired can only be stylistically approached by means of composers' names and some occasional annotations. According to title, a number of them replace earlier, discarded works. The basic representation is that of Bohemian composers, particularly Gunther Jacob and František Poppe (1670-1730), whose skillful blending of the Italian concertato style, singing melody and part-writing brought each of them wide popularity.[154] Their works are inscribed "in Ordinem," with only titles and key signatures indicated. In general, Osek seemed to be relying on lighter textures and melodic lines as well as definite major-minor tonalities, rather than modalities.

The question remains about Osek's Mass repertory for the solemn feasts that required vocal and orchestral brilliance. From some of the notations on the Masses "in Ordinem," a working hypothesis can be made. First, the titles themselves often serve to inform the reader about the stylistic contents. For example, "St. Bernardi," informs the Cistercian that this is for a feast of the

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[153]Milan Poštolka, "Albrici, Vincenzo," NG 1, 226-27.

[154]"Poppe, František Ludvík," ČSHS II, 344-45.

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highest grade.[155] A few of the Masses indicate the use of the instruments of splendor, "cum cornibus," "cum lituis ex dis," "cum lituis et clari ac tymp." There is an occasional "sinè tubis oblata" ("without the usual trumpets"), as a hint that perhaps at Osek, the use of trumpets or Waldhorns had become fairly frequent.[156] However, as the collection of Masses stands in 1720-22, it appears that Osek has been seeking a more contemporary expression, and has been casting around within the nearby area and Prague.

Offertoria and Gradualia: 1706-1722

For the scribe, Burian, a separate category for "concertus" pieces was no longer meaningful. All of the works for three or more voices are now grouped under "Offertoria," which includes those same pieces that had been classified as "Concertus" in 1706. The pieces for one and two solo voices are all in the "Gradualia" category. Each of the two categories, "Offertoria" and "Gradualia" contain works for the same celebrations and days of the Church year, and the respective rubrics appear

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[155]St. Bernard was one of the special feasts requiring the use of professional musicians.

[156]Sehnal has remarked that "The popularity of trumpets was attained . . . [in Bohemia and Moravia] during the first decade of the eighteenth century as perhaps nowhere else in Europe" ("Trubači a hra," 175).

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in paired sequence within the inventory[157] That voicing is the primary interest (given a liturgically appropriate text), is shown also by the distribution of several Hymns from the 1706 inventory. Where they had formerly been in under the rubric "Vespers," they are now divided among the Gradualia and Offertoria according to the following pattern: Hymns for four vocal parts are given the subtitle "motet" and placed with the Offertories; Hymns for solo voice (generally canto) and two violins appear among the Graduals.

The generic terms "mottetum" and "concertus" are quite fluid, as is seen in the continued use of both as subtitles within both categories. Apparently this fluidity was becoming common at this time.[158] The subtitle "aria" is always found under Gradualia, but makes an infrequent appearance in the 1720-22 listings. A few other general subtitles appear among the Gradualia: "strophae" and "arietta," both used for solo arias. The term "cantus" is used for solos and duos. It seems that a gradual standardization of terminology is taking place,

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[157]In other words, Offertoria "de tempore" are followed by Gradualia "de tempore," Offertoria for the Common of Saints by the corresponding Gradualia, etc. (see Appendix D).

[158]In the Catholic repertory at this time, "names such as 'motet' and 'concerto' were commonly used for smaller works. They were largely subsumed under such liturgical headings as hymns, offertories and antiphons" (Friedhelm Krummacher, "Cantata, II," NG 3, 709).

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but that the process is not yet complete.

Arias form the largest number of acquisitions between 1706 and 1720. At this point, the main solo voice is soprano, even more exclusively than in 1706. By far the largest number of these new arias are attributable, like the Masses, to composers working in Prague or nearby.[159] Italians, who are mostly from Rome or the Imperial Court, account for very few,[160] from which it can be deduced that Osek's growing interest in arias was being met by Bohemian sources at this time. Other sources were becoming more available, notably the court at Dresden. Although a few of the arias stem from composers active primarily in opera,[161] and although the nearby Dresden

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[159]Gunther Jacob, organist and choirmaster of the Benedictine church of St. Nicholas in Prague's Old Town, is represented by twenty-four arias in this category, more than any other composer; Josef Brentner by ten. One or two arias are by František Ludvík Poppe and Nicolò Cecherini, both at the Knights of the Cross; also Antonín Reichenauer, choirmaster at the Dominican church of St. Mary Magdalene; Petr Josef Schütz, choirmaster at the church of St. George in the Prague castle district; and Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel. With the exception of the latter, all are Bohemian composers. Stölzel lived and worked in Prague 1715-1717 (Fritz Hennenberg, "Stölzel, Gottfried Heinrich," NG 18, 174).

[160]The composers from Rome are Bernardo Pasquini, Giovanni Maria Casini (spelled Cassiani), Giovanni Battista Costanzi. The composers from the Imperial Court are Giovanni Maria Bononcini (at Vienna until 1712), Antonio Caldara (arrived 1716), and Francesco Passarini, who taught students sent to him in Italy by Emperor Leopold.

[161]Antonio Lotti was one of these listed in the inventory. He directed operas at the Dresden court and was producing operas in Prague, 1718-20. Among other Italian

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court opera had a measure of fame, as did the Imperial opera, most of the aria composers in the initial part of the 1720 inventory were not primarily connected with opera but with church music.[162] Given these facts, it is not likely that Osek was relying on arrangements of opera arias. There is evidence of at least one contrafactum, a secular cantata from Bassani's Op. 2, L'armonia delle sirene, which appears as a German aria among the Gradualia.[163]

One curious arrangement is found: a soprano aria to a German text, arranged from a violin solo by Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713).[164] Whether this piece is a unique kind of arrangement or whether there were others is impossible to determine at present.[165]

Dramatic Music

The Passion oratorio and sepolcro from the 1706

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opera composers in the inventory are: Francesco Ballarotti (c1660-1712) and Francesco Bartolomeo Conti (1681-1732), both serving at the Imperial Court.

[162]These composers include all of the Prague-based composers above, as well as those connected with religious Orders. We can include with them, the Bohemian, Jan Dismas Zelenka who began work at the Dresden court in 1710 and Antonio Caldara at the Imperial Court.

[163]The German text is "Mein Herz will ich erheben," and the setting is for alto solo (fol. 11 r). Bassani's Op. 2 was published in Bologna, 1680.

[164]"O reiner Himmelbrod. C.S. ex Viol. Solo. Corelli" (fol.26r).

[165]Discoveries of this sort are among the prospects offered by the Union Musical Catalogue in Prague.

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inventory are still present, entered among the Gradualia. The absence of dramatic works in both inventories suggests that they were kept in a separate collection, perhaps with the school or parish church.

Bohemian music traditions

It appears that in addition to the "aria" by Corelli, Osek added at least twenty new pieces with German texts between 1706 and 1720. All of these pieces are solo songs (Gradualia), specifically associated with three liturgical occasions: Advent-Christmas (the most), Easter, and with the rites for the dead--all of which had special folk customs attached to their observance. The use of the local vernacular, especially in several manuscript collections of arias "tum latinae tum germanicae" (one collection containing as many as 72 arias!) confirms the continued cultivation of these customs and popular piety. A functional connection with Osek's pilgrimage church of Maria Radčice is shown by the title of one of these arias, "O Maria, dic zu grüsst. de dolorosa ratschicensi."[166]

The pastorella by Tychian remained in Osek's collection, apparently still being performed in the 1720s. Another anonymous "Pastirolla" appears among the Gradualia, as well as a pastorella "Pastores accurite" by

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[166]Inventory of 1720, fol. 33 r. It was composed by one of Osek's members, A. Jahn.

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Timmer.[167]

Genialia

From the evidence in the inventory, it appears that Osek began to cultivate instrumental music to a much greater degree in the period from 1706 to 1720. Although the category of secular songs and instrumental pieces, "Genialia seu Cantus recreativi" ("Music for Recreation") is not dated, as are the other categories, it is possible, on the basis of some of the acquisitions, to construct a probable time division between the group of pieces entered in 1720-1722 and those entered afterward.[168] The results show that, in addition to about fifty-four pieces carried over from 1706, about 100 new pieces were added in the intervening period. Of these, only eleven are vocal. With almost ninety additions, the number of instrumental

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[167]The Timmer family included a number of musicians, all from Vienna (Eva Badura-Skoda, "Timmer," NG 18, 825). It is not known whether any of them composed this Pastorella. It may be that this work was among those in the 1706 inventory to which no composer's name had been affixed at that time.

[168]The 1706 items are scattered among others of the same vintage. Then a printed work appears, "Sonatae impressae . . . sculptae 12. trio. Sebastiano Bodino." This can only refer to the Musicalisches Divertissement, oder in das Gehör gerichteter Trio, vierter Theil, bestehend aus XII. Sonaten ... (Augsburg: Johann Christian Leopold, n.d.) by Sebastian Bodinus (d. after 1753). RISM B 3249. Although the publication is not dated, part four is dated after 1726 by Klaus Häfner ("Bodinus, Sebastian," NG 2, 837). This work, part four, post-dates the first inventory entries and thus provides a dividing line. works has tripled in comparison to the number in 1706.

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The new vocal pieces have not been entered with part descriptions, making it impossible to know whether they were solo or part-songs. The titles, as in 1706, are in Latin, German and Italian, with one in French. All of them seem to reflect the previous song categories. Most of the composers are anonymous, but a few are by Osek's Zacharias Jahn, who supplied many sacred pieces to the choir. It is possible that all of these songs were added soon after 1706 and none thereafter, signaling a lack of interest in new vocal repertory from the second decade of the eighteenth century onward.

The situation is quite opposite with respect to instrumental music, as stated above. Here too, however, a large proportion of identifiable composers is from an older period. For example, pieces appear that were not in the 1706 inventory: works by Schmelzer, Biber, and Kerll, all of whom are seventeenth-century composers. Some pieces are by church-related composers, for example, Albrici, Poppe, Haüsler; and some are anonymous. The pieces, for the most part, bear some of the same generic titles as in the earlier inventory, such as parthia and balletae. Some appear to be dance stylizations, such as menuettae, allemande, and saltus. There are two new overtures and a "serenada." In short, there is little change from the 1706 repertory with respect to these genres and styles.

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The biggest change is in the addition of a large number of sonatas. In 1706 there was only one set of ten sonatas. By 1720-1722 forty-four additional sonatas had been acquired, although most of them were by seventeenth-century composers, such as Biber, Schmeltzer[169] and Bertali. Several of these, as well as several of the ballets, indicate the use of scordatura.[170] Altogether, Osek's instrumental repertory, as of about 1720, was rather old-fashioned.

This inventory provides certain evidence that at least some of the instrumental pieces, minuets and sonatas in particular, were used in the liturgy. In addition to Biber's Ficidinium Sacro-Profanum, which has been carried over from 1706, there are a "Sonata di Natalis à 13," by Bertali, and another, "à 18," both works for a substantial instrumental body. An anonymous set of "Menuettae variae" is described as "Intrada ab initio pro Missa." There is also a set of "Varia pro organo artificiosa" compiled by P. Antonius Edelmann, which may well have been intended

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[169]A piece by the same name, "Balletae discordatae" by Schmeltzer (fol. 39 r), also appears in the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn collection. Other than that, no common works have been found by any composer. At Tovačov, the titles are too general for comparison.

170. Scordatura is indicated in Schmeltzer's "Balletae discordatiae" (see the preceding note), as well as in two pieces by Biber, "Sonata à Violino Solo artificiosa" (fol. 40r) and "Sonata 3. Violinis e[s]t altera" (fol. 39 r).
for interludes and versets, if not for more substantial

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portions of the Mass.[171]

Finally, the 1720 inventory entries include one pedagogical item, an anonymous set of violin exercises, "Pro fidibus exercitia varia." [172]

Printed Music

Printed works do not occupy a separate sub-category in the 1720 inventory; each item from 1706 appears amid the manuscript items under the proper category, or sometimes twice if its contents are applicable to two categories.[173] Apparently the fact of being printed is no

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[171]The use of instruments as a concertizing body was well-established in Bohemia around 1700. (Sehnal, "Pobělohorská doba," 192). As the musical-liturgical balance became subtly changed, the Mass and other religious observances became concerts. See Friedrich W. Riedel, "Die katholische Kirchenmusik," MGG XVI, 965-66, and Karl Gustav Fellerer, The History of Catholic Church Music, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961), Chapt. 14, "Symphonic Church Music," 154ff. Fellerer locates the beginning of instrumental domination in the first half of the 18th century, beginning particularly with the works of Neapolitan composers. The works of these composers entered Bohemian choir repertories in the 1720s.

[172]Inventory of 1720, fol. 40 r.

[173]An example of this is the collection Novae sirenes sacrae harmoniae (Augsburg, 1687), by Johann Georg Rauch (d. 1710), RISM R 347. The work appears once in the 1706 inventory under the rubric, "Concertus." In 1720 it is cited twice: under Offertoria (fol. 20v) and under Gradualia (fol. 25r), in neither case with its title; simply "Miscellanea in typo. Rauch." Only by referring to 1706 is it possible to find the actual title. The work itself is a collection of pieces for one or more voices; it has been cataloged by Burian accordingly, under both Gradualia (solos) and Offertoria (multi-voice).

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longer significant in itself: a simple notation, e.g., "in Typo," suffices for the purposes of inventory description, when it appears at all.

Only one printed work entered Osek's collection between 1706 and 1722, a collection of Masses by Valentin Rathgeber, his first Opus (Augsburg, 1721).[174] The significance of this work in Osek's musical life will be discussed in conjunction with the later additions to the 1720 inventory (below). For the present purpose, it is sufficient to note that Osek purchased no new printed items between 1706, when Heptaphonium Opus Musicum by Fiebig was acquired almost immediately after printing, and 1721, when Rathgeber's collection was printed, and also acquired immediately. The reason for the lack of printed acquisitions cannot be attributed to a lack of funds or interest in new music, which Osek was acquiring in abundance at this time. This fact suggests that the new music in which Osek was interested existed only in manuscript copies and not in printed sources. What is known about the state of printed music at this time is consistent with this suggestion.[175]

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[174]Johann Valentin Rathgeber, Octava musica clavium octo musicarum in missis octo musicalibus, a IV. vocibus C.A.T.B., II. violinis, & duplici basso continuo ... opus I. (Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1721). RISM R 294.

[175]"By 1700 most of the current musical repertory had moved outside the world of music publishing as it involved letterpress printing" (Donald W. Krummel, "Printing and

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Summary, 1706-1720

In the years between 1706 and 1720, Osek had almost doubled its repertory, increasing the number of Masses, but concentrating heavily on solo works. The basic kernel of the library stems from Bohemian musicians and church composers of surrounding Europe who had been adapting the Italian styles. There is a marked, if not strong continuation of popular religious music and customs, and no evidence of the musical-dramatic productions testified to by other sources. Lack of information in the inventory does not permit any conclusions about how Osek's orchestra was used. On the basis of the rate of new acquisitions, Osek seemed to be searching for every means of satisfying its desire for lighter textures and melodic display.

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publishing of music, II.3," NG 15, 265). Krummel describes the pervasive use of manuscript copies for music which used smaller note values, a use which was closely bound with Neapolitan opera and Viennese Classicism. As it entered the church, the operatic style--exemplified in the cantata-- also was disseminated in manuscript copies. "From about 1660, when large manuscript repertories were being formed in the leading German musical centres, the printing of complex music became increasingly difficult partly because of the restricted market and the technical limitations of printing from type" (Friedhelm Krummacher, "Cantata, II," NG 3, 703).

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The Inventory of 1720, Entries Beginning in 1723

The year 1723 was, as described in Chapter Two, a watershed year for music in Bohemian lands. It was the year that Emperor Charles VI, with his court entourage, including the Hofkapelle, came to Bohemia for the purpose of celebrating his coronation as King of Bohemia. The intent of the Imperial Court was to impress the Bohemians with the magnificence and power of the Habsburg dynasty--epitomized in the outward grandeur to which music contributed in large measure. The Habsburgs succeeded in their aim. Even more, the musical events attending the Court's sojourn, and their effects on the performers and audience alike, stimulated musical life with great suddenness. The economic prosperity of the country was increasingly used to support greater musical, as well as artistic, ventures, which the new generation of Bohemian nobility (and higher clergy) desired as a means of self-glorification.[176] Even in the Church, the outward signs and perquisites of proper status were of high importance.

It is precisely in this period, beginning in 1723,

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[176]Eugene K. Wolf has remarked about Elector Carl Theodor at Mannheim in this respect, that his "lavish patronage of the arts, like that of other rulers, was intended among other things to reflect the utmost glory upon himself" ("The Symphonies of Johann Stamitz: Authenticity, Chronology, and Style" [Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1972] 191).

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and ending some time after 1733,[177] that Osek acquired its greatest amount of new music, approximately 895 separate inventory entries. This amount greatly exceeded the number of new acquisitions from the period 1706-1722 (see Table 3.14, p.272). Burian, the scribe, systematically approached the task of entering the titles and composers into the inventory pages, beginning six groups in 1723 and four in 1724 (see Appendix D.) Further evidence that Burian was reorganizing Osek's music library and its cataloguing system appears in the occasional locator letters on the new entries, such as "sub sign. P."

Although each of the categories will be described separately, overall there is less in the way of descriptive information. Pieces in stile antico cannot be discerned except perhaps by the notation "sine Violins" on one motet. Several descriptive, evaluative terms are written next to certain works that met with Burian's approval: "suavissimae," for an aria by Jacob, "bonae," and a report on a Credo ad Missa by the Bohemian Jesuit Marian Kern, "Contini spectant" ("esteemed by Contini").[178] An occasional indication of the high level of

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[177]The ending date cannot be precisely ascertained because the inventory ceased to have regular, dated entries soon after that time.

[178]Contini is Ignaz Maria Conti (?1699-1759), theorbist and composer who was attached to the Imperial court as Hofscholar (Hermine Williams, "Conti, Ignazio Maria," NG 4, 683). Conti(ni) was in Prague for the coronation in 1723-24.

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performing ability required is signified in the descriptive, "solo virtuoso," and "virtuosissimo." The adjective "elegans," which appears in every category, might refer to a cappella settings, but this intent cannot be confirmed.

Masses, 1723-1733

The categories for the new entries remain the same as before, with one exception: the rubric Missae solennissimae has been added. This subcategory had not been in the original plan and was clearly an afterthought, as shown by its appearance in the middle of a page headed by the rubric Offertoria (fol. 7 v). There are eighteen entries, numbered in sequence, grouped by composer names. Apparently thirteen of them, at least, were obtained from a single source, probably another library or collection.[179] Composer names are given for seventeen of the Masses. All the names all are Italian, representative of what might be termed the "Neapolitan tradition": Fago, Sarro, Feo and Mancini from Naples, Bencini from Rome and both Contis, father and son. Each of the Masses has a key attribution, five with the distinction "molli" or "duro," which the inventory does not generally observe.

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[179]The original numbers from the unknown source are written next to these thirteen items with the word "alias" ("at one time") 3,4,5,6,7,8,10,11,12,13,17,20,32. Apparently the source was larger than the selection of Masses. As no other numbers appear on any other of Osek's new acquisitions, it is likely that these were the only items acquired from that source.

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One of the Masses is marked "a duplici Choro," confirming that these are indeed the most solemn type of Mass. The uniformity of description, which differs in the kind of detail from that of the other Mass category, and the lack of further entries under this rubric, tend to confirm the hypothesis that these Masses were acquired as a unit.

The terminology and categories of the Roman Missal are used to describe the other Masses, listed "ab 1723," under the rubric "in Ordinem." Almost every one is entered either by the name of a saint, or a season or festival of the Church year, followed by the grade designation, "primae classis, "2ae classis," "simplex," "duplex," "ferialis," or "Dominicales." Occasionally the older term, "mediocres" is used. Keys are given as well. There are a number of Kyrie-Gloria pairs and a few Credo movements listed separately. Other new descriptive terms appearing for the first time in the Osek inventories on a somewhat regular basis are "breves," brevissimae," and "longa."[180]

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[180]One Mass, by Caldara, is designated "integra." It is not entirely clear what the term "brevis" means during this period. Lewis Lockwood offers two possibilities: either a reduction to two movements, Kyrie and Gloria, or a shortening of all the movements ("Missa brevis," NG 12, 364). Denis Arnold observes that the Neapolitan tradition tended to favor the Kyrie-Gloria pair ("Mass III:18th century," NG 11, 793). Bruce MacIntyre concludes that the terms missa brevis and missa longa "were not used consistently during the eighteenth century" ("The Viennese Concerted Mass," 13).

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Altogether, a standardization of liturgical custom with musical practice seems to be in evidence, so that it is no longer necessary to describe the distribution of parts and instruments in each Mass. There are only a few additional descriptive terms. "Pomposa" and its superlative "pompossissima" seem to signify the more magnificent settings, especially the use of trumpets and timpani. Only a few obligato instruments are specified, among them a gamba for a Mass of the Three Kings by Conti.

A group of nine printed collections contains within it the proof of Osek's interest in a newer type of Mass setting (alluded to in connection with the earlier acquisition of Rathgeber's Op.1). Among the nine collections are two more by Rathgeber.[181] These sets contain music suitable for country parishes or any choir having only modest means at its disposal. The setting is uniformly for four-part choir accompanied by two violins and basso continuo. In some collections by Rathgeber and others of this type, optional parts are provided for trumpets and French horns (lituis). Rathgeber, whose published sets are ubiquitous throughout Germany, Austria and Bohemia during this time, exemplifies a style that is tuneful, simple, non-contrapuntal, with Baroque harmonies

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[181]The collections by Rathgeber are his Op. 3: Novena principalis Constantiniana... (Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1725, 26), RISM R 297 & 298; and Op. 7: Decas Mariano-musica... (Augsburg: Lotter, 1730), RISM R 301.

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and bass lines. Most of the movements are through-composed and without self-contained solos, in contrast to the sectional style coming from Italy, which at that time tended toward independent solo movements.[182]

Similar collections in the list, by Wilhelm Ganspeckh (1687-1770), Carl Ritter (fl. 1727), Alphons Kirchbauer (fl. 1731) and Johann Jakob Schnell (1687-1754) suggest that Osek was intent on providing for the several parishes under its direct supervision. Other printed collections, by Gunther Jacob, Marcus Teller (fl. 1715-27) and Johann Michael Breunich (d. after 1756), in their more elaborate, concerted settings, clearly require forces available only at the monastery itself or perhaps at its pilgrimage church at Radčice (see below and Appendix N for a complete list of printed works.)

Offertoria and Gradualia, 1723-1733

Osek obtained fewer Offertories in this period, and even fewer by Italian composers in comparison to the Gradualia (see Table 3.14 above). The descriptive terms, "motet" and "concertus" are still found in both

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[182]Elizabeth Roche, "Rathgeber, Johann Valentin," NG 15, 598. Roche defines this style as "18th-century Bavarian church style," of which the chief characteristics were "compactness combined with liturgical propriety, tunefulness, non-contrapuntal choral writing and simple solo parts" ("Königsperger, Marianus," NG 10, 176-77); also see E. Roche, "Kayser, Isfrid," NG 9, 836. Ursprung mentions the "superficial nature" (Oberfläche) of these Masses (Die Katholischen Kirchenmusik, 234).

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categories, but "aria" and a new adjective, "cantata," are exclusively among the Graduals.[183] The adjective "pompos." describes a number of pieces in both categories, with a "pompossissimum" ascribed to an Offertorium by Hasse.

Although about 415 new items are listed in the Gradualia, the actual number of works is about 730, far exceeding that amount. Sets of arias form single entries, generally by the same composer ("Ariae 12 de o[mn]i S[ancto] in de B.V. et tempore. Caldara"), stand as evidence for Osek's copying commissions. A few sets are devoted to works of more than one composer (Porta together with Casparini, for example).

Vesperae, 1723-1733

This category shows a modest increase, with the addition of four Te Deums and a number of "pompos." Litanies and Requiems, primarily by Bohemian composers (Jacob, Poppe, Kern among the better-known). Of interest are a "Magnificat a 8, pompossissimi ex G" by Antonio Vivaldi,[184] a Laudate pueri by Jan Dismas Zelenka and a

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[183]The term "concertus" appears primarily for works by anonymous composers; the term "cantata" is found exclusively connected with works by Italian composers. Although Burian is simply following the copyist's titles, the consistent separation of the two terms suggests that "cantata" was not yet adopted widely in Bohemian lands.

[184]Whether this piece is identical to Vivaldi's Magnificat (RV 610), is not verifiable (Peter Ryom, "Vivaldi, Antonio, Works," NG 20, 43).

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Dixit by Santo Lapis (fl. 1725-1765).[185]

Dramatic Works, 1723-1733

This period found new acquisitions at Osek, ranging from a simple "Dialogus" to a "Melodrama de passione Domini, opera plenissima" and seven oratorios, all found in the category of Oratoria. In their authorship, all of them reflect the context of the school plays, written and performed for edification as well as for pious expression. The Dialogus was written on the topic of St. John of Nepomuk (see below) by the Bohemian, Gunther Jacob.[186] Three of the oratorios are by anonymous composers and the others by composers unique to Osek: Ritter (1) and Kolmschlag (3). In effect, these seem to represent the school practice of commissioning able students to write the annual dramatic presentation.[187] One anonymous sepolcro

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[185]Santo Lapis was reported in Prague in 1738. The presence of one of his works at this date may indicate that he was in Prague earlier than was previously known--or that he was in Dresden (see Alfred Loewenberg and Michael F. Robinson, "Lapis, Santo," NG 10, 466).

[186]"Dialogus S. Joann. Nepom. Sacratus. Jacob" (Offertoria, fol. 21 r).

[187]The Jesuit Clementinum commissioned works from Zelenka and Mysliveček while they were students. Zelenka also received a later commission for the play, Sub olea pacis. The oratorios are listed as: "Opera seu Oratorium, per Meditatis distributum pro die Parascevis lae classis. Anon"; "Opera alia ex b . . . pro tempore Quadragesimali 2ae classis. Anon."; "Opella alia ex d 2ae classis credo hanc et pudordentis . . .[unclear] Authore Anon." are entered in sequence on fol. 22 v, followed by "Opera alia ex G 2ae classis. Quadragesima. Ritter." "Oratorium . . .

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is among the Gradualia.[188] Although many of Caladara's works are entered among all the categories of the inventory, none of his oratorios or sepolcri appear in Osek's collection. However, there are two arias which were evidently excerpted from one of his dramatic works that had been performed at court in Vienna.[189]

Bohemian music traditions, 1722-1733

Osek continued its acquisitions of vernacular pieces partly in the Offertoria, partly in Vespers, but primarily in the Gradualia categories. German texts appear as before, associated with Christmas and Easter services, but now also for some saints' days and for Lent. Twelve of the arias are contrafacta from works by Caldara, two from Albinoni, and three are by Bohemian composers.[190] The rest are anonymous. The setting of German texts to

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quadragesimali sub litera C;" "Oratorium alterum sub Litera D;" and "Oratorium festivum sub Litera B" all by Kolmschlag, are listed in sequence (fol. 23 r).

[188]"Opera seu oratorium. Harmonicum solem. pro S. Sepulchri. B[asso]. Anon." (Gradualia, fol. 27 v).

[189]"Ariae 2ae sub 1 involucro di Passione, Propalaeum Operae. Caldara," (Gradualia, fol. 27r). At least two of Caldara's works were produced in Vienna during Passion Week: "Il Ré del Dolor" (1722) and "La passione di N.S. Gesù Cristo" (1729). (F. W. Riedel, Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI, 252). Robert Freeman lists the latter work as being performed in 1730. ("Caldara, Antonio," NG 3, 616).

[190]The Bohemian composers are Zelenka (one aria) and Marian Kern (one aria and one Vesper hymn). These may have been composed to German texts, but also may have been contrafacta.

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Italian melodies, in effect, may have helped to forge a link between popular music practice and aristocratic culture.

Other pious observances also are in evidence. Four Masses, six Offertoria and one printed collection[191] for St. John of Nepomuk reflect the liturgical activity that took place in connection with the saint's beatification in 1723 and his canonization in 1729.[192] The feasts of the Holy Rosary also are marked by Masses and Offertoria, as well as the Maria Dolorosa observances at Osek and Radčice.[193] In addition to these, seven Litaniae Lauretanae were added

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[191]The printed collection of arias was by Balthasar Villicus (Willicus; 1st half 18th century), Bieblicher [sic] Ehren-Klang..., Opus Tertium (Hradec Králové: Wenzel Johann Tybely, 1723), RISM V 1573. The RISM listing erroneously states that Graz was the place of publication. Possibly the error is attributable to confusion with the German name for Hradec Králové-- Königgratz (Karel Chyba, Slovník knihtiskařu v Československo od nejstarších dob do roku 1860, published in a series of supplements to the journal Strahovská Knihovna 1 - 14/15 [Prague, 1966-80], 297). Václav Jan Tybely was publishing in Hradec Králové from 1711 to 1744.

[192]The Masses were composed by Zelenka, Sarro, Ritter, Jacob (marked "molti"); Offertoria composers were [Šimon] Brixi, Gunther Jacob (the Dialogus, note 00, above), Vogt, Caldara, and Mancini (2), fol. 21 r. In this new group of works, the Bohemian saint, Wenceslas also has Masses and Offertoria in his honor.

[193]The Masses "Sac. Rosario" are by Zelenka and Donberger. For Maria Dolorosa, a Mass in B by Caldara is listed, and may well be the same as the one published in DTÖ xxvi, Jg. xiii/1 (1906). For the same feast, a "Stabat Mater, de dolorosa Mater. Processioni applicatum dum ("during the procession") by Prasl (a priest at Osek) is among the Gradualia, as well as a piece by "Italus." In this connection, it should be noted that the pilgrimage church at Radčice was dedicated to Maria Dolorosa.

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among the Vespers pieces.

The Christmas pastoral tradition shows a sudden upsurge in this time period. Two Masses are marked "Pastoritia" and several Offertories bear the designation "Pastoritium." As we might expect, some of the composers are anonymous and some are Bohemian: Zelenka, Kern, Jacob, and Antonín Reichenauer (?1694-1730). But two of these pastoral Offertoria are by Caldara as well. In addition, there are at least twenty-six pieces designated "Pastorella" among the Gradualia, by the composers shown in Table 3.15, below. Most of the pieces are in Latin, but a few are in German.[194]

TABLE 3.15.--Pastorellas and composers

Anonymous	7	(1 in German)
Reichenauer	6	
Sarri	4	
Jacob	3	
Lotti	2	
Caldara	1	(or 6; in German)
Fux[195]	1	

[194]Most of the pieces are designated for soprano solo. Unfortunately, instrumentation is unspecified, otherwise some evidence might have been gained concerning Osek's use of older instruments (the schalmei, cornet and zink.) The performance of pastorellas often involved "survivals from the instruments of the Middle Ages ... [which] by now had become socially disreputable." Chew, "The Christmas Pastorella," 185. A Holztrompet from Osek in the National Museum collection may well have been used in the performance of pastorellas or any of the pastoral genre.

[195]There is a possibility that the pastorella by Fux, entered as "Pastorella di Concert. instrument. Fux" (fol. 26 v) may be a duplicate of one in the Rajhrad inventory

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Bologna 1
Italus 1
(+ Kern, "Aria Pastoritia")

Genialia, 1723-1733

Osek's collection of secular music increased by about seventy-seven entries in this period, but in proportion to the Masses and Gradualia, the increase was far less. What is even more significant is that only two items consisted of vocal music, and both were entered at the end of the category almost, it seems, as an afterthought.[196] Neither seems different from pieces dating back to the turn of the century.

The big difference lies with the type of instrumental pieces that Osek acquired in this period. A trend was seen starting in the previous period with the acquisition of a group of sonatas. In this period, no more dance suites appear in the entries and no single dance movements. The entire group of entries consists of sonatas, concertos, sinfonias and parthias, with the exception of one anonymous capriccio and one overture by the Bohemian, Reichenauer. The upsurge of instrumental music is entirely in keeping, as we have seen, with

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reputed to be the earliest known in Bohemian lands (see note 166, Chapter II).

[196]"Cantus recreativus ex d. O Lune Raritae. Italo" and "Cantus alii recreativus. Wurm Schmied. Italo" entered in sequence (fol. [41] r). It is not clear how a vocal piece by "Italo" could have had a German title, "Wurm Schmied" (Wurm, the Blacksmith").

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general developments in this part of Europe. In keeping with the general developments, it is well within the bounds of probability that the individual movements from these pieces were used as inserts, preludes and interludes in the Mass.

Exact or even general identification of most of these works is impossible because no information is given other than generic title, key, and sometimes the number of parts. Most of the works are written for three, some for four, and only one each for eight and six parts. At the end of the list is a group of sonatas for two parts, one of which is a sonata by Vivaldi. Two other works by Vivaldi are also in Osek's collection, a "Concertus ex d. solem." and a "Concertus a 6." [197]

Vivaldi was one of only three major composers in Osek's Genialia list, the other two being Caldara and Fux. Most of the pieces are anonymous, or by less well-known composers, giving the impression that, with the exception of composers from the Imperial Court or from Prague, in this category pieces by famous composers were not particularly sought after.[198] A brief list of composers and

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[197]Identification of these works is impossible at present. The sonata, described as "Sonata à2 ex C" could be one of two works, RV 60 or 61, Op. 1 No. 3. (Peter Ryom, "Vivaldi, Antonio, Works," NG 20, 38). The two concerti have no distinguishing specifications.

[198]Knowledge of Vivaldi's works may have been obtained at first hand through Prague. Vivaldi appears to

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works is in Table 3.16 (the full list is in Appendix G).

TABLE 3.16.--Composers of Genialia, 1723-33

Bodino, Sebastian	Sonatas, printed collection of 12
Brentner, Joseph	Concertos (6) a 4 in G
Caldara, Antonio	Parthia in G
	Sinfonia a 3 in E
	Sinfonia a 3 in F
Conti, Francesco B.	Concerto a 3
	Sinfonia a 4 in F[199]
Hlinenski	Parthia in D
Mitschka [Míča ?]	Parthia a 3 in C
Pichler, [P.Placidus ?]	Concerto a 3 in C
	Parthia a 3 in C
Porsile, Giuseppe	Sinfonia a 3
	Sinfonia a 4 in C
	Sinfonia a 4 in D
Reichenauer, Antonín	Ouverture in F
	Parthia in D
Reinhardt, Johann Georg	Sonata a 4 in A
Richter, Franz Xaver	Parthia a 3 in D (2: the same?)
Scaccia, Angelo Maria	Concerto solem. in D
Strahl, [Wenzel?]	Parthia a 3 in G (2: the same?}
	Parthia a 4 in G
	Parthia a 4 in A
	Parthia in C
Timmer	Sonata del camera a 2
	Sonata a 2 in B
Valentini, [Giuseppe?]	Sonata a 2 in E
Vivaldi, Antonio	Sonata a 2 in C
	Concerto solem. in D
	Concerto a 6

On the basis of the above identifications, Osek's instrumental music can be judged fairly up-to-date, written by living composers--in fact, a complete change

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have been in Prague c1730-32, according to Tomislav Volek and Marie Skalická ("Antonio Vivaldi a Čechy," HV II [1965] 425). See also Eric Cross, The Late Operas of Antonio Vivaldi (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 30-31.

[199]The scribe has marked this "elegans." A Sinfonia for 2 violins, viola and bass is listed by Hermine Williams in "Conti," NG, 681.

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from the collection as it stood in 1720.

Printed Works, 1723-1733

Several published collections have been mentioned in the discussion of their contents. In all, eighteen printed works found their way into Osek's music library during this period. In contrast to the previous sets, all of which, with the exception of Rathgeber's Opus 1, predated 1707 (see Table 3.12, above), not one collection acquired in this period is from Italy. Seventeen are from Germany and one is from Bohemia. Table 3.17, below indicates the dates of printing, city, general contents, and composer (see Appendix N for a detailed listing).

TABLE 3.17.--Printed works acquired, c1723-35

Publication Date	City	Type of Work	Composer
1722	Munich	Masses	Ganspeckh
1723	Hradec Králové	Arias	Willicus
1725	Prague	Masses	Jacob
1725,26	Augsburg	Masses	Rathgeber
1726	Augsburg	Motets	Rathgeber
1726	Augsburg	Masses, motets	Teller
[n.d.,1726?]	Augsburg	Sonatas	Bodinus
1727	Mainz	Masses	Breunich
1727	Augsburg	Masses	Ritter
[1729?]	unknown	Arias	Ritter
1729	Bamberg	Masses	Schnell
1730	Augsburg	Masses	Rathgeber
1730	Augsburg	Arias	Willkomm
1731	Augsburg	Masses	Kirchbauer
1731	Augsburg	Masses	Rathgeber
1732	Augsburg	Motets	Rathgeber

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Publication Date	City	Type of Work	Composer
1732	Augsburg	Arias	Willkomm
1735[200]	Augsburg	Motets	Rathgeber

The prominence of Augsburg as a source of printed music at Osek is plain: twelve items in all, nine of which were from the publishing house of J.J.Lotter (see Appendix N). It is also apparent that more than half of the publications consisted of Masses, the music of primary liturgical importance.

As noted above in connection with Rathgeber's music, Osek's emerging need at this time was for music of simpler design and melodious style suitable for modest parish choirs. Not only Rathgeber's collections of Masses and motets, but six other collections above offered this type of music: the Masses by Ganspeckh, Kirchbauer, Ritter, Schnell and the Masses and motets by Teller. It is no accident that most of these prints stemmed from the presses of J. J. Lotter, which specialized in Catholic church music of this kind, and which held a leading position among the German publishers accessible to Osek at this time.[201]

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[200]This item, which appears in the middle of fol. 23r, enables us to date the approximate ending of this period of acquisitions. It must have been acquired almost immediately after its publication, as it is entered in the scribe, Burian's hand, as are the entries which follow it. (Burian left for Janegg by 1735.)

[201]The firm held a leading position in south German music publishing from before 1720 until after 1830. Adolf Layer, "Lotter," NG 11, 248.

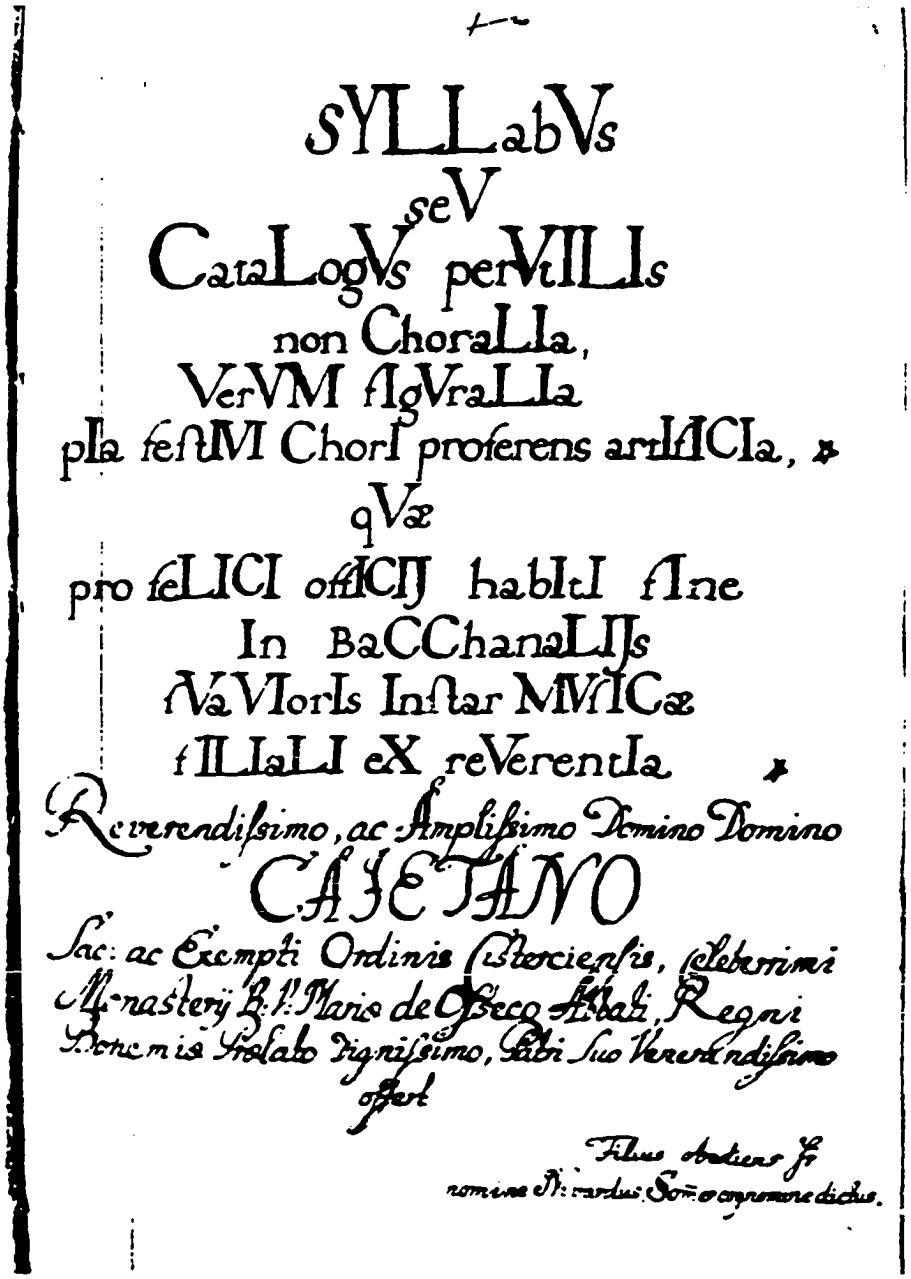
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Summary, 1723-33

This was a period of numerous and rapid music acquisitions at Osek, which directly paralleled the upsurge in musical activity in other cultural centers in Bohemia: courts, schools, and cathedrals. At Osek, musical development proceeded along two different lines. One was toward the brilliant, high Baroque sound and style, based largely on operatic models. The sheer number of new Masses testifies to the perceived needs for contemporary liturgical expression at Osek's church. Arias, which Osek acquired in enormous number, show not only the remarkable level of the performing abilities of Osek's capella soloists, but also an echo of the contemporary desire of the aristocracy for the musical expressiveness of the opera.

The other line of development was with respect to popular traditions and piety. This is shown in the printed collections of Masses, arias, motets and sonatas, as well as the popular emotional appeal of contrefacta arias in German. The indigenous pastorale traditions, exemplified in the pastorella and also in pastoral Masses and other works have increased in strength. The monastery of Osek became, in this period, a crossroad where two strands of culture, the popular and the aristocratic, met: in short, a microcosm of Bohemian culture.

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SYLLABVS
SEV
CATALOGVS PERVTILIS
non CHORALIA,
VERVM FIGVRALIA
pia festivi Chori proferens artificia,
quæ
pro felici officij habiti fine
In BACCHANALIIS
ſuavioris Inſtar MVſicæ
ſILIALI eX reVerentia
Reverendiſsimo, ac Amplißimo Domino Domino
CAJETANO
Sac: ac Exempti Ordinis Cisterciensis, celebrimi
Monasterij B.V. Mariæ de Osseg Abbati, Regni
Bohemiæ Prælato dignißimo, Patri suo Verendißimo
offert

Filius obedien Fr
nomine Bernardus Sotmo cognomine dictus.

Illust. 9.--Osek, Thematic Catalog, 1753/54, Title Page

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The Thematic Catalogue of 1753-54

Osek's music library, which been flourishing well into the 1730s, along with Osek's general prosperity, was dealt a blow by the invasion of foreign troops from 1741 to 1744. In 1753 regens chori P. Nivard Sommer began a thematic catalogue of the music library's contents, part of which were clearly carried over from the 1720 inventory. However, because of the war depredations, there is no certainty about the fate of the rest of the music library that was not included in the thematic catalogue. Did Osek discard the items? Were they "laid aside" as were many of the older Masses in 1720? Or were they carried away by soldiers -- or even more likely, were they burned up or destroyed in some other manner? A full evaluation of Osek's remaining collection may provide some answers.

The thematic catalogue was continued by several other scribes, this time through another period of depredations, 1756-1763. Unless otherwise annotated, we can ascertain what was added, but not what was destroyed. At any rate, Osek's acquisition policy and hence its musical taste and values can be traced from 1735 to 1778 through four groups of entries entries in the thematic catalogue, totaling 538 individually-numbered items (see Table 3.4, p. 215).

If only the music entered up to 1778 were

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considered, the discussion would have to be restricted to Masses and Offertoria, for, as described above, P. Nivard laid out only those two categories, which the succeeding scribes followed. Not until 1802 were Gradualia, Requiems, and dramatic music entered by P. Jakob Trautzl. In the case of dramatic music, there is evidence that Osek possessed several pieces long before that time.

There is no indication of Vespers or Litanies as a category, which may mean any one or combination of three things: 1) Osek had stopped acquiring new items in these categories; 2) Osek no longer performed figural music for Vespers; 3) No scribe found it necessary or important to record what was available in these categories.The first two suggestions are unlikely, simply because it is known that other monasteries--Melk, for example--continued to acquire and perform Litanies, especially Laurentian Litanies, long after 1750. Michael Haydn composed some of the latter about 1770 to 1773, and other litanies date in the 1790s.[202] The third suggestion seems equally unlikely. In any case, the evaluation of Osek's musical practice between 1735 and 1778 must be more tentative, in view of what can only be termed as missing material.

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[202]See Reinhard Pauly and Charles H. Sherman, "Haydn, Michael," works list in NG 8, 410.

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Masses

The original scribe, P. Nivard Sommer (scribe A), began with one large category of Masses: "Missarum pro stylo moderno producibilium" ("Collection of Masses that are performed in the modern style"), by which he indicated that certain styles were not to be included in the catalogue, notably the stil antico.[203] The single category was divided into six sub-categories: three of them according to grade of liturgical solemnity, two according to musical characteristics and one for the pastoral genre. Each of these subcategories was added to by scribes Reinisch Fischer and later Trautzl (scribes B, D, and F; see Table 3.18, below), indicating

TABLE 3.18.--Inventory of 1753-54, Masses acquired

Subcategory	Scribes A	B	C	D	E	F
A. Missae solennissimae	38	6	5	46	0	2
B. Missae solenniores	33	5	1	21	0	10
C. Missae solennes, sive fest.	36	7	0	2	22	29
D. Missae Dominicales	35	3	0	28	0	0
E. Missae breves	18	5	0	12	1	12
F. Missae pastorales	16	1	0	8	0	3
G. Missae partes Solitariae	10					

[203]It is likely that Osek continued to perform Masses in a cappella polyphonic style. In support of this thesis, there are a few examples in the catalogue itself. One is a "Missa pro Quadragesima" by Gunther Jacob marked "sinè instrumentis," but with organ accompaniment (fol. 21 r, No. 35, entered by A); another is a "Miserere Romanum" by Händl, written in long notes and without organ accompaniment (fol. 88 v, no. 10, entered by F). This later addition seems to reflect the gradual development of an early eighteenth-century initiative for the recovery and performance of older polyphonic music (see Karl Gustav Fellerer, "Cecilian movement," NG 4, 47; also Georg Feder, "Kirchenmusik. E. Im Zeitalter der Aufklärung und der Wiener Klassik," MGG XVI, 979-80).

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Illust. 10.--Osek, Thematic Catalogue, 1753/54
Missae Solennissimae (fol. 2 r)

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continuity of use or acquisition in the respective category at Osek at least until 1802 (with the exception of Missae Domenicales). A seventh subcategory of single Mass movements ("Missae partes Solitariae") was begun by Sommer (A) but was not continued by other scribes. The discontinuance of the acquisition of single Mass movements suggests that there was a discontinuance of an earlier and widespread practice of using Mass movements by different composers in the course of the same service.[204] Correspondingly, the end of this practice suggests also a growing sense of the Mass as a musical whole--an entity in itself with its own internal logic and unifying principles.[205]

The three ceremonial grades, "solennissimae," "solenniores," "solennes," appear again as they did in 1706, in descending order. At first glance, these categories appear to indicate a return to considerations

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[204]Riedel shows abundant examples of this practice in Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI, 222-25, 231-309.

[205]Fellerer describes the gradual change from the connection of church music to the cantata, opera and oratorio with their individual, independent sections, to the "symphonic art and its thematic activity . . . [that] became the dominating principle" (History of Catholic Church Music, 162). The six later Masses of Joseph Haydn, composed between 1796 and 1802, exemplify the sense of wholeness of character and considered balance between and among the various "movements" in the structure.

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of the old ceremonial grades.[206] And in many ways they conform to those expectations. However, the given vocal and instrumental descriptions in all three subcategories show some overlapping, and hence, a different approach to ceremonial distinctions.

The Missae Solennissimae category contains a preponderance of settings for two four-part choirs. Occasionally one choir will have five parts. However, there are a sizeable number of pieces for one five-part or even four-part choir, and varied numerical combinations and permutations of doubled voices can be found. The basic instrumentation is for two violins, viola, cello and organ, most often with the addition of two trumpets. Two oboes, two horns, 2 flutes can be found, as well as solo or obbligato parts for oboe, trumpet, cello, bassoon. Even from the initial entries, the descriptions resemble modern practice. As for movements, there are occasional opening sinfonias, then incipits for Kyrie and Gloria. These appear to be settings of entire Masses, as some of the titles, "Missa integra," suggest.[207]

Almost all of the Missae solenniores are intended for four-part choir or five-part choir, with a basic two violin, viola and organ accompaniment. Added to these

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[206]See p. 246-47, above.

[207]A study of the extant collection in conjunction with the thematic catalogue is needed.

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instruments can be found various combinations of: two oboes, two trumpets, trumpets and timpani, cello, bassoon, two flutes, two horns. Yet here also there is an occasional setting for two choirs. Although only Kyrie and Gloria incipits are given, at least some of the works are entire Mass settings. That such is the case is suggested by some entries subtitled "Missa integra," and some entries that carry annotations about obbligato instruments for the Credo movements.[208]

The Missae solennes seem to be intended for four-part choir, with additional voices (a second soprano or bass) as a rare exception. The same instrumentation as in the above category is found, as well as all of the possible additional and obbligato instruments. The "violetta" (viola) is occasionally called for, as it is in other categories. Based on annotations similar to those cited above, this category also consists of complete Masses.

Noting the similarity of voicing and instrumentation in all three categories above, the basic differentiation among the three grades appears to be one of length of individual movements and of musical

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[208]Examples are: "Vlc. solo in qui sedes, "Fl. tr. in qui sedes" in a Missa solenniore by Sehling; "Vlc solo in quoniam" in a Missa solen. by Leo; "Lituis 2 ex F in qui sedes" in a Missa solen. by Costanzi. This last work also calls for "2 Lituis anglicis" or English horns, which Osek possessed.

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elaboration.

The sub-category of Missae Dominicales may isolate those Masses which are based in some way on the plainchants for a particular Sunday. The continuous entries of music by contemporary composers tends to support the conclusion that this practice continued at least until the 1770s.[209] A four-part choir is almost always the rule here, with two violins and organ as the basic accompaniment to which any number and combination of instruments listed above could be added. Some are merely indicated "ad lib;" some are "obblig." With the exception of the first Mass in the category, all the others bear the title "Missa integra."[210] The title suggests that all of the Masses are "complete," "whole," even though only a Kyrie incipit is given.

The term Missae brevis has been discussed briefly above. As a category in the thematic catalogue, the term evidently suggested some definite charateristics to the scribe. Does "brevis" refer to fewer movements or shorter movements? At Osek, the second meaning, shorter

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[209]The last entries are by D (1767-78), a total of 28. For a description of "Missa Dominicales," see Ruth Steiner, "Mass," NG 11, 769.

[210]As has been noted in the discussion, the title, "Missa integra," appears in all of the categories: Solennissima, Solenniores, Solennes, Dominicales.

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movements, seems to be the preferred one.[211] Evidence for this is found in the general title "Missa integra," for every one of the Masses entered by scribe Sommer (A) except the first. The basic setting is for four-part choir, two violins and organ, with two trumpets or two horns ad lib. Other instruments appear rarely, the viola being one of them.

The same basic setting as in the Missae brevis stands for the Missae pastorales, with some generic variations. First, the adjective "pastoral" is attached to some of the obbligato instruments, signifying that they are not the usual type but rather are folk instruments: for example, "Lituo Pastoritis oblig. ex A" or "Tuba pastoritia." Another folk instrument is described as "Agripippio" ("Farmer's pipe"). Not every such Mass uses folk instruments, but the proportion is fairly high. Here again, as in the pastorellas entered late in the 1720 inventory, one is left to conjecture about the presence of the instruments at the monastery itself, when they do not

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[211]Osek's usage agrees with Johann Gottfried Walther's description of shorter length as the criterion of Messe brevi (Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek [Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732] 401). August Scharnagl remarks: "Bei den Gottesdiensten an den Wöchentagen und den gewöhnlichen Sonntagen genügte die musikalisch knapp gefasste, durchkomponierte "Kurzmesse," mit der Bezeichnung "Missa brevis" oder "Missa brevissima" (Einführung in die katholische Kirchenmusik 119). According to Mozart's own letters, the Archbishop of Salzburg, in the 1770s, was known to favor the Missa brevis as part of reform of worship.

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appear listed in the inventories.[212]

It is possible, but not completely verifiable, that the two pastoral Masses from 1722-1733 are included in this catalogue.[213] However, the continued acquisition of pieces and the appearance of the pastoral Masses in their own distinct sub-category reflect the growth in popularity of the folklike Christmas Mass at Osek, and in this part of Europe in general. That most of the pieces are by Bohemian composers (see Appendix E) signifies the continued strong domestic cultivation of this genre.[214]

Throughout the Mass subcategories, the basic specified voicing and instrumentation remains the same:

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[212]A slight possibility exists that the terms "pastoritia," etc. are suggestions only, descriptive of the musical parts. Chew notes "a pastoral style of instrumentation" that "was developed in both sacred and secular pastorales, especially in German areas" ("Pastorale," NG 14, 294).

[213]One was by Kern and one was anonymous. The present catalogue of 1754/54 contains two by Kern and four by anonymous authors. Without the music, exact identities cannot be verified.

[214]Chew outlines the development and popularity of the pastoral tradition, especially in 17th- and 18th-century Bohemia, Germany and Austria, in "Pastorale," NG 14, 293-94. The citing of these central- European countries by Chew is mirrored in the nationality of Osek's composers. The 16 initial pieces by scribe A are, in terms of nationality, as follows: Bohemians: Angstenberger (1), Brixi (1), Habermann (1), Kern (2), Reichenauer (1), Taubner (1). Austrians: Klima (1), Umstatt (1). German: Kayser (1). Unknown: Liberti (1), Püschel (1); Anonymous = 4. All subsequent entries are Bohemian names only: B lists Brixi (1); D lists Brixi (7), Lohelius (1); E lists Brixi (1), Lohelius (1), Soyka (1). See also Germer, "The Austro-Bohemian Pastorella and Pastoral Mass."

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Four-part choir;

Two violins (with the addition of viola, violoncello two oboes, two flutes);

Two trumpets or two horns (with the occasional specification of bassoon, trombones, timpani);

Organ.[215]

This same pattern appears with an increasing standardization in the later entries. The fairly constant inclusion of brass instruments in these later entries, attests not only to their popularity, but also to the apparent disregard of the Imperial Reskript of 1754 which banned their use in the Mass and in processions.[216]

Offertoria

The Offertoria, as in the 1720 inventory, are grouped liturgically according to headings in the Missale Romanum. However, in 1753 there are fewer groups and each

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[215]The bassoon is rarely specified unless as obbligato instrument, but according to contemporary practice, they doubled the bass. Timpani are rarely specified as such. From contemporary custom, we know that that they were expected to be used together with the trumpets (Geiringer, Instruments in Western Music, 153, 196.

[216]This ban was discussed in Chapter II. The Reskript, renewed in 1767, was bolstered by successive attempts to simplify and reduce religious observances. (Hans Hollerweger, Die Reform des Gottesdienstes, 61-6)3. Sehnal discusses the lack of effect in Bohemia of Maria Theresia's reforms in "Hudba u brněnských Augustiniánu," 227f. R. Pauly offers details on the continuance of reforms under Joseph II ("Reforms of Church Music," 372-82). Eve R. Meyer adds additional material in "Joseph II: The Effect of His Enlightened Absolutism," Enlightenment Essays II (1971), 149-57.

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grouping has become a subcategory. Of the eight subcategories, the greatest number of pieces is consistently found in the subcategories corresponding to the most active series of feasts in the liturgical year: de Tempore, de quovis Sancto, and especially in monastic observance, the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[217] The Christmas season also shows evidence of considerable interest, at least for scribes A and D (1753 - 1770s), as shown below in Table 3.19.

TABLE 3.19.--Offertoria: Entries and Additions

Subcategory	Scribes A	D	F
propria de Nat. Christi Dom.	15	9	2
propria pro Resurr. Christe Dom.	5	1	-
propria Pent. Veni Sancte Spiritus	8	1	1
Te Deum laudamus, pro festo SS Trin.	6	-	-
propria pro festo Corp. Christi	7	1	12
propria de B. V. M.	21	34	13
communia de tempore	22	9	14
de Sanctis communia, et omni fest.	38	27	15

The subtitle "mottetto" is still occasionally found in some entries. A number of these, and other pieces not labelled as motets, bear detailed descriptions that suggest these pieces to be cantatas.[218]

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[217]Riedel describes these categories in "Kirchenmusik, III. Gattungen der Kirchenmusik," MGG 16, 966.

[218]One entry by Mancini reads "...mottetum cum tribuis Ariis et Choro finali" (fol. 56, no. 11). It was common practice at this time for cantatas to be sung at the Offertory. "...vor allem die Motette mit freigewählten Texten vielfach identisch ist mit der Kirchenkantate. . ." (Ursprung, Die Katholischen Kirchenmusik, 211). See also

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The separate category for the Te Deum instead of inclusion under another category appears to reflect its frequent use during the early reign of Maria Theresia in celebrating national victories and proclamations of Imperial thanksgiving.[219] The fact that no additions were made subsequent to A's entries corresponds to a change of Imperial interest at the close of her reign and the reforming propensities of Joseph II.[220] The decline in special Christmas music after D's entries also reflects the restrictions supported by Joseph II.[221]

Summary of Instrumentation

The vast majority of Offertoria show the same pattern of voices and instruments as the Masses above, thus providing additional corroboration of a trend toward standardization of instrumentation. Other standardizations of musical settings also are evident: the obligatory use of trumpets and timpani in the Te Deum and in Pentecost music, and the use of solo instruments in specific parts of the Mass movements. The repeated specification of certain texts for solo instruments gives

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"Motet" by Christoph Wolff, NG 12, 637;

[219]Hollerweger, Die Reform des Gottesdienstes, 62-66.

[220]Hollerweger, Die Reform des Gottesdienstes, 87-88. Joseph II began to effect some of his policies before his accession, beginning in 1765.

[221]Hollerweger, Die Reform des Gottesdienstes, 446-49.

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evidence of the standardized sectionalization of the Mass movements into independent musical pieces; in other words, a cantata-like Mass, whose development has been linked to Neapolitan practice.[222] Transverse flutes, generally in pairs, are among the solo instruments specified; others specified include: oboe (often in pairs), cello, viola, and the brass instruments (French horns, trumpets, trombones, all generally in pairs with an occasional use of three trombones). The style tendency, especially in the Masses, seems to be toward a vocal and instrumental concert consisting of a sequence of numbers varied in timbre and texture.[223]

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[222]Ursprung states: "Sogar übermächtig wird die Kantate als Eigenform" (Die Katholischen Kirchenmusik, 211). Blume describes the development of a "Kantaten-Messe" in connection with the use of trumpets ("Kirchenmusik. III," MGG 16, 966). According to Crocker, "cantata mass" is connected with the Neapolitan composers and "a general attitude that infected the whole [18th] century" ("Mass. III," NG 11, 793).

[223]Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf mentions in his autobiography, that, around 1750 in Vienna, "It was customary for connoisseurs of music to attend the Benedictine Church in large numbers, for the music, particularly on great festivals, was of the choicest kind, and the performance first-rate" (The Autobiography of Karl von Dittersdorf Dictated to His Son, trans. from the German by A. D. Coleridge [London, 1896; reprinted New York: Da Capo, 1970], 6). Other contemporary and later witnesses corroborate Dittersdorf's observations. MacIntyre quotes from an anonymous publication, Ueber die Kirchenmusik in Wien (1781) to the same effect ("The Viennese Concerted Mass," 148-49).

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Arias

The absence of any separate aria category from the beginning of the catalogue in 1753 until 1802 is surprising, in view of the assiduousness of their acquisition as seen in the previous inventory. More than four hundred were acquired in the period just preceding the first entries in the thematic catalogue.[224] The list which was finally compiled in 1802 contains arias which are for the most part by composers active in the last third of the eighteenth century. The gap of about twenty-five years in new acquisitionsof arias, from 1735 to 1770, has several possible explanations: 1) non-acquisition or non-cataloging of arias in adherence to Pope Benedict XIV's 1749 encyclical "Annus qui," which forbade any "theatrical" elements in worship;[225] 2) arias were acquired by Osek but they disappeared or were destroyed in the successive plunderings of the monastery; 3) arias were acquired by various regentes chororum as part of their own personal property and thus not entered in Osek's

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[224]Perhaps it was the enormity of the undertaking which led to the deliberate restriction of the catalogue's contents.

[225]Various portions of the encyclical have been discussed above with respect to the discouragement of the use of trumpets and timpani. The decree more accurately restricts the use of "theatrical music," a phrase referring directly to opera. A fuller description of the issues is given by August Scharnagl (Einführung in die katholische Kirchenmusik [Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, n.d.] 118).

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catalogue.[226]

Dramatic Works

As mentioned above, dramatic works, as a separate category, "Oratoria seu Operae..." were not entered before 1802 (fols. 85v-86v). Among the twenty-six items are a number of works that date at least from the 1770s, and one which was specifically dedicated to Abbot Cajetan Březina by František X. Brixi in 1771.[227] A school play by Brixi, "Schola Latino Musica," which predates 1771 is also in the collection.[228] Eleven of the works are oratorios, four are described as "Opera pastor[itia]," and the rest are titled "opera" or "operetta," of which one is Brixi's school play (above). It appears that the list is of librettos only,

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[226]This was common practice, as was shown at the Cathedral of St. Vitus, Chapter Two. A more precise answer to the lack of arias in this period awaits a study of the preserved collection in CsPnm. The collection is under the class number XXXII.A, fond: klášter Osek u Duchcova.

[227]The entry (fol. 86r, No. 17) states: "Brixi. Opera in honorem Reverendiss: P. Cajetani." Vladimír Novák has shown that this is undoubtedly the piece by Brixi entitled "Opera peramoena," which is now in the Osek collection, (Sign. XXXII.A.498). The piece, shown by Novák to be an arrangement of an earlier Brixi congratulatory cantata, "Corona dignitatis senectus" (1765), was copied by P. Eustachius Fischer, Osek's regens chori, and dated 1771 ("Slavnostní kantáta F. X. Brixiho věnovaná B. Grundmannovi," HV XX/1 [1983], 60-68).

[228]An alternate title for the same work is "Erat unum cantor bonus" (see Chapter II, note 87; also see Oldřich Pulkert, "Musica rinata come figliastra," HRo XVI [1967], 45).

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not of music,[229] and it is unclear why the list, which is essentially a miscellany of material, has suddenly been made. The full list of composers is in Table 3.20.

TABLE 3.20.--Composers of Dramatic Works, List of 1802

Composer	Oratorio	Opera
André, Johann (1741-1799)		1 comica [German title, unclear][230]
Brixi, František X.	2	1 in honorem P. Cajetani 1 operetta. Schola Latina musica
Cochler [unknown]		1 pastorella
Dittersdorf, Karl Ditters von	1 italiano	
Graun, [unidentified]	1	
Karauschek, Wendeline (d. 1789?)	1	
Lohelius Oehlschlägel	3	1 pastorella
Mederitsch, Johann (1752-1835)		1 comica. Ictotus der Schlosser
Montschel [unknown]	1	
Mysliveček, Josef		1 italia[231]
Müller [unknown]		1 maggiore [German title, unclear][232]
Rolle [unknown]	1	1 pastor. 1 Hermanns-Tod
Schuster, Joseph (1748-1812)		1 comica. [German title, unclear][233]
Various (pasticcio)		1 pastor. germanica

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[229]Rutová states that the Mysliveček play is a libretto (see note 31, above). In general the titles are not given or unclear. The authors, but no similar titles are found in the castle collections of Radenín, Křimice, or Český Krumlov.

[230]"Opera Comica 2 Actuam: Der Zögfer" [?]

[231]"Italia. Personae: Apollo, Euterpe, Melpomene, Erato." (This is the libretto referred to in note 31.)

[232]"Opera Maggiore: Die Zauben-Eitsen" [?]

[233]"Opera comica: Der Dustor Mür..." [?]

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TABLE 3.20, continued

Composer	Oratorio	Opera
Anonymous	2	1 Copernicus triumphans
		1 Bourlesca, La Gouvernante
		1 operetta, Der Schleister

Bohemian Musical Traditions

The table above lists four pastorale compositions, which afford some evidence that the pastorale tradition was still enjoyed at Osek. In the initial entries to the catalogue, some smaller dramatic works specifically for the Christmas season are hinted at in a few entries under Offertoria. They are all by Bohemian composers and may well be pastorellas.[234] The pastoral Masses have already been described above, together with the possible use of folk instruments or imitations of folk instruments.

The popular tradition as reflected in the use of the vernacular (German) is continued, but not to a great degree.[235] The significance of this cannot be determined without further study of Osek's life through archival

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[234]The composers are Sehling, "Mottetto Pastorale cum Aria et Alleluja" with "Tromba Pastorati oblig." included in the scoring; Swoboda, "Pastoritium etiam pro festo Trium Regum applicabili;" and one is anonymous, "Prologus Pastorum Sacrae Nocti" (fols. 41v-42r). Other pieces in the same group, by the Bohemian composers Kern and Novák, may also be pastorellas.

[235]There are three pieces entitled "Offertorium Germanicum" for the Easter season by Kern, who was from Osek. There are no other indications of works in German until two works by Michael Haydn, "Deutsches Hochamte" and "4 Choralis Vesperae textu Germanicae" (fol. 90r, nos. 30, 31), entered by scribe F in 1802.

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documents.

Printed Music

In contrast to Osek's earlier inventories, the thematic catalogue contains no references to printed music.[236]

Genialia

With the exception of the 1817 list of symphonies and the 1802 libretto list, the thematic catalogue gives no evidence of secular vocal or instrumental music. On considering the contents of the previous inventory, we might assume that Osek continued to use instrumental works as interludes and substitutions in the Mass and at other services. From the record of music loans entered into the blank pages of the 1720 inventory, it was precisely at the time that the thematic catalogue was in formation (1753-1754) that Osek was sending out manuscript copies of symphonies, sonatas, and at least one concerto.[237]

Summary

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[236]Here again, a study of the preserved collection may be of assistance. It is likely that no printed music was purchased, but it is also possible that it was not considered necessary to record it in a thematic catalogue.

[237]The composers identified were Benda and Neruda (see page 206). It is also possible that the lack of instrumental music in the catalogue resulted from a ban made on table music by the Bohemian-Moravian-Lusatian Vicariate in 1737 (reported by Lekai, in The Cistercians, 155).

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From the incomplete record offered by the thematic catalogue, it can be seen to some extent that Osek continued to support a music establishment that could produce larger, polychoral works with full orchestral accompaniment as well as a cappella works. Both the general trend in church music as well as a continuance of popular traditions seem to be in evidence at Osek. However, the thematic catalogue, the last of Osek's documents to be examined for this study, exhibits no effect from the dissolution of the choirboy scholarships or the changing role of the monastery with respect to the schools and the social order.

With a consideration of the composers represented in all of the inventories, a fuller picture of musical life can now be drawn.

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Composers

Up to this point, the musical contents of Osek's three inventories have been examined through the information yielded by the scribal entries. Musical and liturgical genres have been noted where possible, as well as acquisitions, losses, instrumentation, voicing, and the presence of Bohemian musical traditions. Even with all the information gained thus far, comparison with other collections and inventories is a tenuous enterprise--even comparing Osek with itself between the years 1733 and 1753--when not all categories and genres are clearly equivalent.

A fairly direct way of comparing the contents of different inventories and collections is through the composers' names represented in each. These names also serve indirectly to identify musical styles; groups of similar compositional styles in an inventory suggest patterns of musical development within a musical institution. Sometimes the occurrence of names serves to establish direct connections between institutions and persons.

This section is devoted to an examination of the composers in each of the inventories, in order to obtain a clearer picture of Osek's repertory, to compare Osek's repertory with that of other Bohemian and Moravian institutions, and to explore the directions and changes in

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Osek's musical development. The first task will be to note not only the composers' names, but those who are represented by a larger number of works in the inventory, and whose music therefore might have exerted a greater influence on musical life at Osek. The second task will be to distinguish the national-ethnic origins of these composers, in order to come to an assessment of the relative importance of Italy, the surrounding countries, and the Bohemian lands. The third task will be to try to ascertain Osek's reliance on composers from the Imperial Court, other aristocratic courts or church institutions, and Osek itself as sources of music. The information gained from these investigations will then be used to compare Osek's repertory with those of selected Bohemian and Moravian institutions and with the musical repertory of Count Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn (1677-1754) and with several catalogues and inventories from the Oettingen-Wallerstein court library.

The Inventory of 1706

One hundred thirty-three separate composers, identified either by name or by initials are in the 1706 inventory. These composers account for 493, or slightly more than 67% of the approximately 730 pieces in the inventory. The remaining pieces are anonymous. Not all of the composers can be precisely identified and in some instances, even when a name can be clearly discerned, no

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information about the composer has come to light.

Of the 133 identifiable composers, ninety are represented by only one or two pieces. In terms of relative significance, assuming that all of the pieces in the inventory were performed, it seems reasonable to place greater weight on the smaller number of composers who are represented by more than two works. It is impossible, in this context, to ignore the fact that, in Osek's listing, Bassani's name is attached to forty-nine works, of which four are collections. No other composer's name appears on even half this number.

For the purpose of this analysis, therefore, only those composers who contributed three or more works to the inventory will be considered within the various statistical groupings, although reference will be made to all of the composers with respect to the general discussion.[238] Table 3.21 lists the composers represented by three or more works in the 1706 inventory.[239]

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[238]All of the composers' names are found in Appendix C entered under the specific rubrics where they are found in the manuscript.

[239]The calculation has been made on the basis of identifiable pieces, not simply items. Some single items consist of two or three separate pieces, as well as of works by different composers. The number of pieces and the number of items, therefore, will not be identical.

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TABLE 3.21.--Inventory of 1706: Composers Represented by Three or more works

(* = It is not clear in every case which composer of the two is intended.)

	No. of works
ABERSBACH, Johann (fl. 2nd half 17th c.)	5
ALBRICI, Vincenzo (1631-1696)	20
ARTOPHAEUS, Ferdinand Bernard (? - 1721)	12
AUFSCHNAITER, Benedict Anton (1665-1742)	3
BASSANI, Giovanni Battista (1647-1716)	49
BERTALI, Antonio (1605-1669)	5
BIBER, Heinrich (1644-1704)	3
BITTNER (? - ?)	3
BREUNL, Franz Zacharias (1688-1726)	12
BRÜCKNER, Heinrich Alois (fl. 2nd half 17th c.)	7
BRUNO, Wolfgang (? - 1679)	4
CHERICI, Sebastian (c1642-prob. 1703)	9
COLONNA, Giovanni Paolo (1637-1695)	3
EDELMANN, Antonius (1650-1704)	18
FEDELI, Ruggiero (c1655-1722)	7
FIEBIG, Johann Christoph (? - 1714)	8
FISCHER, Johann Caspar Ferdinand (c1665-1746) or FISCHER, Johann (1646-1721)	8 *
GAYER, Johann Christoph (Karel) (1668-1734)	14
GLETTLE, Johann Melchior (1626-1683)	7
GÖRBIG, Johann Anton (1684-1737)	7
GRÜNBERGER (17th century)	4
HAÜSLER, Antonín (HEISLER ? - 1691)	9
JAHN, Josef Jan Adam (1657-1713) or JAHN, Zacharias (1648-1690)	22 *
JUNGG, Johann Ludwig (2nd half 17th c.)	5
KERLL, Johann Kaspar (1627-1693)	4
KRIEDEL, Johann Christoph (1672-1733)	11
LIEHRE, Tobias Ernestus (1644-1727)	8
MEDA, Bianca Maria (fl. late 17th c.)[240]	3

[240]Bianca Maria Meda is described by Eitner as a composer and a nun (QL VI, 414). The 1706 inventory appends to her name the descriptive phrase "Monaca in Pavia" ("nun in Pavia"). Pavia, both as town and province, is located in Lombardy, reasonably close to Milan and conceivably to Bolognese influence. In the later 1720 inventory, Meda's same three pieces are annotated as "da donnatrice Maria Meda," raising a question as to whether Meda was the composer or simply the donor of the music. On the strength of Eitner's listing of Meda as composer, she is so considered here.

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TABLE 3.21, continued

	No of works
PACHELBEL, Johann (1653-1706)[241]	3
PASSARINI, Francesco (1636-1694)	5
PEDERZUOLI, Giovanni Battista (? - c1692)	4
PITONI, Giuseppe Ottavio (1657-1743)	9
PLATZER, Johann Albrecht (17th c.)	3
POPPE, František Ludvík (1670-1730)	12
REICHWEIN, Johann Georg (fl. last 3rd 17th c.)	4
SARTORIUS, Augustin (1663-1723)	4
SCHWARTZKOPFF, Theodor (bapt.1657-1732)	5
SITTER, Jacob (J.S.S.J.; ? - 1713)	4
THALLMANN, Franz David (late 17th c.-early 18th c.)	9
VOGT, Mauritius (1669-1730)	20
VOITA, Johann Ignaz Franz (VOJTA; ? - 1701)	9
WENTZELY, Mikuláš František Xaver (c1643-1722)	8
ZACHER, Johann Michael (bapt.1651-1712)	6

A preliminary glance at the composers' dates, reveals that more than half were living at the time of the inventory, and that the large majority were composing no earlier than last third of the seventeenth century. Among the oldest composers were the internationally known Bertali, Colonna and Kerll, all of whose music was circulating in Bohemia at this time (see Table 2.7, page 181). Glettle's music was circulating almost exclusively through printed collections, the same medium by which he is represented at Osek. In general, the largest number of pieces is from contemporary composers.

Dividing these composers according to national-ethnic origin is possible only to an approximate degree

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[241]Osek possessed three vocal concertos de tempore by Pachelbel: "Summe Regum, C.B. 2VV," "Jesu Nomen invidendum, B.B. 2 VV," and "Funde Jesu, A.B. 2VV," (Inventory, page 25). These three works were not entered into the 1720 inventory and seem to have disappeared.

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for those whose biographical data are lacking.[242] With some allowance for this fact, four groupings can be made:

Composers from Italy (10)
Albrici, Bassani, Bertali, Cherici, Colonna, Fedeli, Meda, Passarini, Pederzuoli, Pitoni.
(These composers account for 114 pieces.)

Austrian lands (3)
Glettle, Platzer, Zacher.
(These composers account for 16 pieces.)

German (7)
Aufschnaiter, Johann Fischer, Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer,[243] Jungg, Kerll, Pachelbel, Reichwein.
(These composers account for about 27 pieces.)

Bohemian (22-23)[244]
Abersbach, Artophaeus, Biber, Breunl, Brückner, Bruno, Edelmann, Fiebig, Gayer, Görbig, Grünberger, Häusler, Jahn (both), Kriedel, Liehre, Poppe, Sartorius, Sitter (J.S.S.J.), Thallmann, Vogt (born in Bavaria), Voita, Wentzely.
(These composers account for about 207 pieces.)

It appears that Osek, around 1706, was drawing a large part of its repertory from native Bohemian composers, most of whom appear to be from the German-

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[242]Emil Trolda and Paul Nettl made initial attempts at national-ethnic identifications. (Trolda, "Tote Musik,"111-12; 139-44; and Nettl, "Weltliche Musik," Beiträge, 34-35). Since publication of these articles, further identifications have been made in PHS, ČSHS, MGG, and NG.

[243]Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer was born in Rastatt (Bavaria)"probably of Bohemian origin" (Susan Wollenberg, "Fischer, J. C. F.," NG 6, 606).

[244]According to the most recent biographical information, Biber was born in Wartenberg, which is near Reichenberg (Liberec) in Bohemia (Elias Dann, "Biber," NG 2, 678); Mauritius Vogt appears to have spent all of his schooling and working life within Bohemia. (Milan Poštolka, "Vogt, Mauritus," NG 20, 64).

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speaking population. Also, it is evident that the Italian presence, even without the forty-nine works by Bassani, was much more significant than the German. Albrici and Pitoni, whose works are representative of developments in Rome, have contributed more works to Osek's repertory than the composers who are more representative of Venice: Bertali, Fedeli, and Pederzuoli. However, the Bolognese influence, in the works of Bassani, Cherici, Colonna, (possibly Meda), and Passarini, far outweighs any other.

Pitoni's music offered a connection with the German College in Rome and a representative of the Palestrina style. Bassani, Colonna, and Colonna's pupil Cherici were active members of the Bolognese Accademia Filarmonica; Colonna was maestro di cappella at the prestigious Cathedral of San Petronio. Through the works of these composers, Osek was abreast of the most recent currents in Italian music.

Some of Osek's music reflected a French influence. Both Johann and Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer incorporated French style characteristics into their works.[245] No French composers appear in the inventory, however, nor in the contemporary inventories at the

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[245]Gwilym Beechey says of Johann Fischer that he "wholeheartedly transplanted the French style of Lully into German music" ("Fischer, Johann," NG 6, 607). Susan Wollenberg says of J.C.F. Fischer that "his publications reflect predominantly the French taste characteristic of the Baden court at the time." ("Fischer, Johann Caspar Ferdinand," NG 6, 608).

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Piarist schools of Slaný and Kosmonosy. Probably the basic reason for this, aside from the contemporary political antipathies, was the entirely different development of church music in France.[246]

Among the Bohemian composers, Wentzely, Poppe and Vogt exemplify an indigenous school of concertato style church music based on Italian models. Their works are found widely disseminated within Bohemia and Moravia. Four Masses, two Vespers, two Requiems, a Litany and several sonatas by Brückner as well as Offertories by Abersbach and Wentzely are in the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn collection and several of Poppe's works are in Dresden. Works by Abersbach, Artophaeus and Liehre are found in Breslau. In general, the broad representation and distribution of works speaks well for the level of musical training possible in Bohemian lands at this time.

At least twenty of the composers from Table 3.21 above are connected with the Church, either as members of Osek or as music directors, composers and choirmasters at other institutions. This is true of every one of the Bohemian composers, including those who contributed only one or two works. By far the greater number were in orders, with Jesuits predominating, although there are a number Benedictines, Minorites, Augustinians, Dominicans

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[246]Ursprung, Die Katholischen Kirchenmusik, 215f.

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and Cistercians from other monasteries. The only Bohemians working at a court about this time were Thallmann in Vienna and Biber, who as a member of the Archbishop of Salzburg's capella was still church-connected. The relative influence on Osek's 1706 repertory of court institutions versus church institutions can be seen by means of the lists below.

Active in Vienna, Imperial Court (7)
Bertali, Kerll, Pachelbel (1674-77), Pederzuoli, Platzer, Thallmann, Zacher.
(These account for 34 pieces of music.)

Active in Other Aristocratic Households (6)
Biber (Salzburg)
Cherici (Dresden)
Fedeli (Dresden, Berlin, Bayreuth, Hanover, Kassel, Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel)
J.C.F. Fischer (Margrave of Baden at Schlackenwerth)
Johann Fischer (1701 Schwerin; + other courts)
Kerll (Munich)
Schwartzkopff (Stuttgart)
(These account for about 38 pieces of music.)

Active at Osek, Cistercian Houses (8)
Breunl, Edlmann, Grünberger, Jahn (both), Sartorius (Osek)
Platzer (Zwettl)
Vogt (Plasy)
(These account for 83 pieces of music.

Active in Other Ecclesiastical Insitutions (18)
Abersbach (a Jesuit priest, place unknown)
Albrici (St. Augustine, Prague)
Artophaeus (St. James, Prague)
Aufschnaiter (Passau cathedral)
Brückner (uncertain)
Bruno (Brno, Jesuits)
Fiebig (Choirmaster at Aussig/Ústi na Labem)
Gayer (Loreto, and St. Vitus, Prague)
Gletle (Augsburg cathedral)
Görbig (Loreto, Strahov, and St. Vitus, Prague)
Haüsler (Jesuit seminary, Prague)
Kriedel (Choirmaster at Rumburg/Děčin)
Liehre (St. Vitus, Prague)
Poppe (Knights of the Cross, Prague)
Reichwein (Regensburg, cathedral)
Sitter (St. Nicholas, Little Quarter, Prague)

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Voita (St. Nicholas, Old Town, Prague)
Wentzely (St. Vitus, Prague)
(These account for 152 pieces of music.)

By far the greatest amount of music coming to Osek at this time was direct from other church institutions.

Prague occupies a prominent place on the list of ecclesastical institutions, accounting for the majority of the 152 pieces of music. The Habsburg Court in Vienna, as a source of music for Osek, was cf far less importance at this time. It is possible that Osek acquired much of its music through its "Osek-house" in Prague, purchased in 1695, or through its connections with the Cistercian college of St. Bernard and the archbishop's college of St. Adalbert in Prague, where a number of the monastery's members taught.[247]

Comparisons with Other Inventories

When the list of composers in the 1706 inventory is compared with the roughly contemporaneous inventory from the school connected with the Piarist monastery at Slaný (1713)[248] forty-six common names are found. Most of them are Bohemian and German composers connected with ecclesiastical institutions. Some Italian names appear in both inventories, including Bassani, Valentini, Passarini and Bertali at Vienna. With the Piarist school at

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[247]See page 195.

[248]See note 67, Chapter II.

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Kosmonosy, whose inventory dates from 1707 to 1712,[249] Osek has thirty-nine composers in common, along lines similar to those at Slaný.

Some connections have already been made with the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn inventory and collection. In all thirty-one of the composers from Osek's inventory appear at Kroměříž and twenty appear in the castle inventory at Tovačov (1699).[250]

Among these five institutions in Bohemian lands which compiled inventories at about the same time (i.e., Osek, two aristocratic courts and two monastery schools), a small group of names are shared in common: Albrici, Bertali, Biber, Brückner, Felsner, Kerll, Kertzinger and Wentzely. Most of the better-represented composers in Osek are common to three of the other four inventories, suggesting that Osek shared in a catholicity of musical preferences and was fully abreast of current trends inside Bohemia.

Outside of Bohemia, and looking at the Schönborn collection, some interesting correspondences can be found, even though the bulk of the collection post-dates 1706. Schönborn, like Osek, collected a number of Bassani's printed works. One of them is the same, and the rest are

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[249]See note 65, Chapter II.

[250]A comparative table will be found in Appendix P.

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devoted to the same church genres.[251] Osek also had other Italian composers in common with Schönborn: Bonporti, Cazzati, Giacomelli and Pitoni. Both Osek and Schönborn possessed instrumental works by Fuchs (Fux?),[252] and works by Biber[253] and J. C. F. Fischer. Each included works by Pachelbel, and both possessed a composition by Franz Rumpelnig, who was Kapellmeister at the Esterházy court c1702-04.[254] Altogether, then, one notes an early parity of musical interest between the Cistercians at Osek and Count Schönborn, whose collection has been described as characteristic of the repertory of the music-loving

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[251]The same collection is Op. 12, Motetti a voce sola con doi violini (RISM B 1195-1198). Schönborn also collected Bassani's Op. 10, Salmi di compieta; Op. 18 (20?), Messe concertate (RISM B1190 and B 1210-12); and Op. 32 Messe concertate (dated 1710, after Osek's inventory; RISM B 1224).

[252]Osek had a "Balletae à 9," and a "Parthia a duplici choro," (Inventory, page 380; Schönborn had a concerto (Collection, No. 563). All were in manuscript copies.

[253]Schönborn, like Osek, had Biber's printed works, not the same ones but similar genres. In Biber's case, Schönberg had eight Sonatas published in 1681 (RISM B 2616) and Harmonia artificioso-ariosa (RISM B 2617).

[254]Each had a different work by Rumpelnig. Fritz Zobeley, who compiled the Schönborn collection, was apparently unable to identify Rumpelnig and suggested that the name might have been a pseudonym (Die Musikalien, Teil I, Band 1, 158). For the identification of Rumpelnig with the Esterházy court, see Günter Thomas ("Esterházy," NG 6, 259). Rumpelnig was probably Bohemian ("Rumpeling, [sic] František," ČSHS II, 444).

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nobility at the time of J.S. Bach.[255]

The Inventory of 1720; Composers between 1706 and 1722

Between 1706, the date of the previous inventory, and 1720-22 when the second inventory was compiled, Osek continued to add new works, approximately 616, as shown in Table 3.14 (p. 272). Some of the new works were by composers already represented in the 1706 inventory. More than half of the composers named, or about sixty-four, were new to Osek, but few of them accounted for more than one or two pieces. Composers represented by three or more works among the acquisitions between 1706 and 1720 are listed in Table 3.22.[256]

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[255]". . . Vereinigung . . . die in ihrer Eigenschaft als nahezu unverändert erhaltenes Repertoire eine adeligen Musikliebhabers aus der Zeit J.S. Bachs einzigartig dastehen dürfte" (Zobeley, Die Musikalien, viii).

[256]All of the composers' names are in Appendix D, entered under each of the rubrics where their works appear, as well as in a full alphabetical list.

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TABLE 3.22.--Inventory of 1720, works added 1706-1722
Composers represented by three or more works

(# = composers whose works appeared in 1706 inventory.)
(* = not clear which of the two is the correct author.)

	No. of works	
# BASSANI, Giovanni Battista	6	
# BIBER, Heinrich	8	
BONONCINI, Giovanni (1670-1747)	13	
# BONPORTI, Francesco Antonio (1672-1749)	3	
BRENTNER, Johann Joseph (1689-1742)	18	
DUKAT, Josef Leopold Václav (1684-1717)	3	
# FIEBIG, Johann Christoph	8	
# FISCHER, Johann Caspar Ferdinand or Johann	6	*
FLAD(E), Ignatius (? - ?)[257]	11	
# GRÜNBERGER	11	
JACOB, Gunther (1685-1734)	62	
# JAHN, Josef Jan Adam	6	
# JAHN, Zacharias	25	
# KERLL, Johann Kaspar	3	
LINERT, Jacob (? - ?)[258]	10	
LOTTI, Antonio (c1667-1740	5	
# MAYER, Wenzel	11	
MUCK, Beda (d. 1724)[259]	3	

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[257]Flad, spelled alternately Flade, is completely unknown. It is likely that he was a member of the Cistercian Order, because one of his Masses and two of his Graduals are in honor of the Cistercian patron saint, Bernard. His works are not found anywhere but at Osek, and only during this period.

[258]Linert, spelled variously Lynert and Lünert, is unknown. Nettl, noting his "deutschböhmischer Name," classifies him as "native or local" ("Weltlicher Musik," Beiträge, 35). Linert's works are not found anywhere but at Osek, and only during this period. It is likely that Linert also was a member of the Cistercian Order because two of his Offertoria are in honor of the Cistercian patron saint, Benedict.

[259]Beda Muck was a member of the Benedictine Order, born in Černošín, Bohemia. He worked in Kladruby from 1709, later in Přestice as a choirmaster. Although none of his compositions from Osek have been preserved, his works are found in the Kuks castle collection ("Muck, Beda, ČSHS II, 127).

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TABLE 3.22, continued

PECELIUS, Joannes (2nd half 17th century)[260]	6
# POPPE, František Ludvík	11
PRÄSSEL (PRÁSL, PRESL; d. 1738)[261]	6
REICHENAUER, Antonín (?1694-1730)	12
SCHMELZER, Johann Heinrich (c1620/23-80)	8
SCHÜTZ, Petr Josef (? - ?)[262]	7
STÖLZEL, Gottfried Heinrich (1690-1749)	5

Several things are notable about this list of composers. One is the continued acquisition of what at this time might have been considered older works, exemplified in the names of Biber, Kerll and Schmelzer. It appears that the works of these three composers, exemplars of the middle Baroque concertato style,[263] were still highly valued at Osek, or at least their instrumental music, the genre that comprises almost all of

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[260]Pecelius is written alternately as Peceli. According to ČSHS (II, 266), a Joannes Pecelius, whose dates are unknown, was a member of the Augustinian Order who later became a Lutheran. He has often been confused with Johann Pezel (1639-94), also known as Pecelius, because both lived in Bautzen. Confusion between the two musicians is unlikely to be resolved. (Adrienne Simpson, "Pezel, Johann Christoph," NG 14, 608). The works in Osek's inventory by Pecelius are those for which Joannes Pecelius was known, and no instrumental works for which Pezel was famous.

[261]Dlabačž describes Andreas Prässel as violinist and choirmaster at the Servite church of St. Michael in Prague's Old Town (Künstler-Lexikon III, 496).

[262]The name Schütz, which appears in the inventory, is not easy to identify. It could be Heinrich Schütz, or one of the many Bohemians composing during the same time period. Němec indicates that a Petr Schütz was at the church of St. George in the Prague castle complex, probably as Chorregent around 1702 (Pražské varhany, 137).

[263]Manfred Bukofzer has used this general characterization to encapsulize the style of all three composers (Music in the Baroque Era [New York: Norton, 1947] 97).

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their new entries.[264] On the basis of their placement and sequence in the inventory, it is likely that these works were performed soon after 1706, but it is impossible to ascertain whether they continued to be in the active repertory by 1720.[265] Their acquisition by bequest or gift from an older priest-cantor, such as was seen in the 1706 inventory, cannot be ruled out and might explain the dissimilarity between these works and the more forward-looking works which comprise the rest of the new entries.

Also notable is the numerical domination of works by Gunther Jacob, a preference similar to that enjoyed earlier by Bassani. According to Milan Poštolka, Jacob, a Bohemian Benedictine, "was a renowned composer not only in his own country, but also in Austria, Hungary and Bavaria [and] . . . is one of the most remarkable figures of the late Baroque in Bohemia."[266] Exactly what part Jacob's popularity played in Osek's acquisitions and to what extent his personal presence at the nearby Lažanská court of Manětín (1719-?) played a role in Osek's musical life remains to be discovered. Jacob's style, more modern than that of Poppe's, encompassed a number of Bohemian folk-

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[264]Two Vespers works by Biber were acquired also.

[265]The pieces were entered toward the end of the first group of Genialia, following the last entry of pieces that had been in the 1706 inventory.

[266]"Jacob, Gunther (Wenceslaus)," NG 9, 442.

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like melodic and rhythmic features, such as can be observed in the later music of Johann Stamitz.[267]

Finally, as an initial observation, it appears that Osek's repertory is still plentiful in unknown or relatively unknown composers.

A division into national-ethnic groups consitutes a more tentative enterprise with this group of composers because of the number of unknown or little-known names. Nevertheless, an attempt can be made, with the results as follows:

Composers from Italy (4)
Bassani, Bononcini, Bonporti, Lotti.
(These account for 27 pieces.)

Composers from Austrian lands (2)
Pecelius, Schmelzer.
(These account for 14 pieces.)

Composers from German countries (2)
Johann Fischer, J.C.F. Fischer, Kerll, Stölzel.
(These account for about 17 pieces.)

Composers from Bohemian lands (12)
Biber, Brentner, Dukát, Fiebig, Jacob, Jahn (both), Mayer, Muck, Poppe, Prässel, Reichenauer, Schütz.
(These account for about 175 pieces.)

From the above tabulation, it appears that in the period from 1706 to 1722 , as in the previous period, Osek drew a

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[267]Poštolka, "Jacob, Gunther," 442. Rudolf Quoika states that Franz Benda, who was a choirboy at Jacob's church (the Benedictine church of St. Nicholas in Prague's Old Town), must have studied music under Jacob ("Jacob, Gunther Wenzel, MGG VI, 1604). Jacob was hired by Countess Lažanská as a tutor to her children. The exact dates, except for the beginning year, 1719, are uncertain. Quoika suggests 1719-20 without giving a reference (see Chapter II, p. 156).

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large part of its repertory from native Bohemian composers, half of which were new to its musical repertory.

With regard to the Italian composers, fewer works by the older generation, Bassani and Bonporti have been added, in comparison with those of the contemporaries Bononcini and Lotti. By extension, it might be conjectured that Osek was showing a slackening of interest in the middle Baroque style of Bassani and the conservative, contrapuntal style of Bonporti, both of whom were known widely through printed collections.[268]

Lotti and Bononcini are the first representatives at Osek of a different type of composer, one whose reputation is founded primarily on dramatic music, secular and sacred, which was being performed in courts and capitals outside of Italy.[269] In this respect, it is interesting to note that Osek's newly acquired works by Italian composers, almost without exception, are in the

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[268]Bassani's works continued to be reprinted until as late as 1710, Bonporti's to the middle of the second decade (see RISM A/I/1, 224-28; 374-75).

[269]Bononcini's works were produced at Berlin, Vienna, Paris and London, among other places. By 1706 his cantatas and operas were widely known and valued (Lowell Lindgren, "Giovanni Bononcini, NG 3, 30). Lotti traveled to the Dresden court where he produced a number of dramatic works, between 1717 and 1720 (Sven Hansell, "Lotti, Antonio," NG 11, 249). Productions of Lotti's works took place during this period in Vienna and in Prague (Dlabacž, "Lotti, Anton," Künstler-Lexikon II, 233).

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category "Gradualia" and thus are arias.[270] There is a strong suggestion that the arias by Bononcini and Lotti in Osek's collection may have been contrafacta based upon their secular works.[271] According to Tomislav Volek, "The practice of contrafacting successful opera arias for the church choir was common in Bohemia from about the 1720s, . . . This practice was certainly not peculiar to Bohemia, but in this country it reached an extraordinary extent." [272]

Among the German composers, only one is new to Osek, and that is Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel. Although Stölzel wrote numerous church works, Osek acquired only his arias (Gradualia). It is a fairly safe hypothesis

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[270]This is true even with respect to Bonporti, whose published collections (eleven out of twelve) were of instrumental works. Osek's three arias may have been copied from his Op. 3, Motetti a canto solo, con violoni... (Venezia, Giuseppe Sala, 1701; again in 1702) (RISM B 3648-49). Apparently all of Bonporti's works were disseminated in printed form.

[271]Among the Gradualia pro tempore is an entry that reads "Ariae 12 diversae. Bononcini." As Bononcini never published a set of church arias, nor are there reports of collections of church music for solo voice, the source of the 12 "diverse arias" may lie in the dozens of secular cantatas written by Bononcini. The same could be said of Lotti. This is one of the areas that the Union Catalogue of music incipits will be able to address.

[272]"Die Praxis der Übertragungen erfolgreicher Opernarien auf den Kirchenchor war in Böhmen etwa seit den zwanziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts gelaüfig, ... Diese Praxis war sicherlich keine böhmische Besonderheit, aber in diesem Raum erreichte sie einen ausserordentlichen Umfang" (Tomislav Volek, "Mozarts Kompositionen auf tschechischen Kirchenchören," Musica Antiqua Colloquium Brno 1967, ed. by Rudolf Pečman [Brno: International Music Festival, 1968] 149).

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that Stölzel, who in 1720 occupied the Kapellmeister position at the Lutheran court of Gotha, came to Osek's attention through his three-year stay in Prague, 1715 - 1717.[273] In Stölzel's music, Osek gained representative pieces from a major composer of the time.[274]

Together with Stölzel, Lotti and Bononcini of international fame, there is the group of Bohemian composers, ranging from the widely recognized Jacob, Brentner, and Reichenauer to the stictly local Cistercians (both Jahns). Brentner's music, like that of Jacob, was widely disseminated throughout Bohemian lands, including Breslau in Silesia, but not beyond.[275] Along with Jacob and Dukát, Brentner was one of the few Bohemian composers to have his works published. Performances of his works continued well into the nineteenth century.[276]

Antonín Reichenauer, represented by twelve pieces in Osek's new repertory, (some of them under the anagram

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[273] "He took a lively part in the musical activities there, and composed dramatic works, oratorios, masses and instrumental music" (Fritz Hennenberg, "Stölzel, Gottfried Heinrich," NG 18, 174).

[274] According to Hennenberg, Stölzel's superiority in the area of the recitative was "acknowledged by his contemporaries." Mizler rated him higher than J.S. Bach and Bach himself valued his work and may even have performed it at Leipzig ("Stölzel," NG 18, 174).

[275] "Brenntner, Josef Jan Ignác," ČSHS I, 132.

[276] The monastery of Strahov in Prague was still performing his works in the 1840s (Milan Poštolka, "Brentner, Johann Joseph Ignaz," NG 3, 260).

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"VERICHNARE"), wrote in the Neapolitan style. His sacred vocal and instrumental works were widely known and have been found in great numbers throughout Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, as well as in Dresden and Darmstadt.[277] Although Reichenauer apparently worked for the church as regens chori, he was not in orders.[278] Osek's acquisition of significant amounts of Reichenauer's music, along with that of Brentner and Jacob, placed the monastery well within the mainstream of musical life in Bohemian lands. Because these composers are represented by a larger than usual number of works, it seems that Osek was quick to discern and to participate in the newer style trends as they were emerging on Bohemian soil.

The relative importance of court versus church institutions had begun to change, as the following lists of composers show. (* refers to short commissions and tenures at these places.)

Active in Vienna, Imperial Court (2 living composers)
Bononcini*, Lotti.*

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[277]"Reichenauer, Antonín," ČSHS II, 408.

[278]Little is known about Reichenauer's life. He can be traced with certainty to the Dominican church of St. Maria Magdalena c1722. Jaroslav Bužga's assertion that Reichenauer was a choirmaster (Chorregent) at the Knights of the Cross in Prague is unsubstantiated ("Zelenkas Musikinventar aus der katholischen Schlosskapelle in Dresden," Fontes Artis Musicae 31/4 [1984] 200).

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Active in Other Aristocratic Households (8 living composers)
Bononcini* (Berlin, Count Gallas in Bohemia)[279]
Brentner* (Countess Lažanská in Manětín)
J. Fischer (Bayreuth, Scandinavia, Brandenburg-Schwerin)
J.C.F. Fischer (Schlackenwerth, Margrave of Baden)
Jacob* (Count Czernín, Prague)
Lotti* (Dresden, Prague)[280]
Reichenauer* (Counts Morzin and Czernín, Prague)
Stölzel (Breslau, Gera, Gotha)

Active at Osek, Cistercian Houses (4-5 living composers)
Grünberger, Jahn (both), poss. Flade (Osek)
Dukát (Želiv)

Active in Other Ecclesiastical Institutions (approx. 8 living composers)
Brentner (St. Nicholas, Little Quarter, Prague)[281]
Jacob (St. Nicholas, Old Town, Prague)
Mayer (St. Nicholas, Little Quarter, Prague)
Muck (choirmaster, Kladruby, Přestice)
Poppe (Knights of the Cross, Prague)
Prässel (St. Michael, Old Town, Prague)
Reichenauer (St. Mary Magdalene,? Little Quarter, Prague)
Schütz (St. George, Prague Castle complex)

The lists show that Osek's newer composers are as equally likely to be connected with a court as they are to a church. Only nine--five Cistercians and Jacob, Mayer,

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[279]Count Gallas was the imperial ambassador to Rome. No doubt Bononcini spent a great deal of time there, but it is also likely that Gallas spent some time each year at his palace in Prague. Bononcini served in Gallas' employ from 1717 to 1719.

[280]This cannot be proven with any direct information. Heinrich Benedikt mentions Lotti's visits to Prague between 1718 and 1720 (Franz Anton Graf von Sporck, 125). It is inconceivable that Lotti would have traveled to Prague without having some commission there. It is also possible that such a commission could have come from an ecclesiastical rather than an aristocratic establishment. The production of his dramatic works, for which his supervision would have been needed has been posited.

[281]Brentner was connected with a brotherhood at the church see Poštolka, "Brentner," 260).

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Muck, and Poppe--are in orders.

There is a curious absence of composers belonging to the Imperial Hofkapelle in Vienna. No new works by Fux had been acquired and only one each by Conti and Antonio Caldara.[282] The lack of works may have stemmed from a lack of connections through which music might have been acquired. As will be seen, the situation changed rapidly beginning in 1723.

No new works appear by the composers connected with St. Vitus in Prague, which, because of Osek's strong Prague connections and otherwise assiduous collection of works by Bohemian composers, may reflects a negative judgment about the composers, Gayer and Liehre. Prague more than any one center ontinues to be a major source for music in the years 1706 to 1722, but the vicinity around Osek and even Osek itself have dwindled in importance. Osek's desire for arias, as noted above, apparently could not be met or met adequately by the well-taught, in-house semi-professional. Osek continued to acquire works in small quantities by this type of composer, most of them Masses, apprently intended to fill

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[282]Caldara apparently began his service at the Imperial Court in 1716, although he had been in Vienna earlier, at least in 1712 (Robert Freeman, "Caldara, Antonio," NG 3, 613-14). The only work of his acquired by Osek at this time is an aria (Gradual), "Jesu mea spes," (fol. 11r). An aria, "Lauda Sion, di Conti" (Ignazio Maria Conti ?) was also acquired (fol. 26r).

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gaps in the repertory.

Comparisons with Other Inventories

Comparing Osek's second inventory (entries up to 1722) with that of the Piarist school at Slaný,[283] we discover a high commonality of composers: fifty-seven in all, including Osek's Zacharias Jahn and the Cistercian Mauritius Vogt. The name of the Bohemian composer Jan Dismas Zelenka also occurs in both inventories at about the same time.[284] These facts suggest that the two institutions, which were not far apart from each other , had some regular form of exchange.[285]

Comparing Osek's inventory to that of more distant Rajhrad in Moravia (1725), twenty-seven names are found to occur in both, among them the names of composers from an older generation (Gayer, Wentzely) and Prague-based

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[283]The comparison is made with that part of the Slaný inventory dating from 1712 to 1715, which includes Offertories, Gradual music, Vespers (including Litanies) and Sonatas. Unfortunately the Masses can only be dated as a group before 1745.

[284]At Osek, Zelenka is represented by only two works, and thus does not appear on the table. Both works are arias: "Venite ad me omnes," and "Te adoro te suspiro," the latter of which is in duplicate (Gradualia, fol. 10v, 10r). The possibility of a direct connection between Osek and Zelenka, who was at the Dresden court, remains to be explored.

[285]Physically, an exchange was feasible because Slaný is only about 72km from Osek.

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composers (Jacob, Brentner, Poppe, Reichenauer).[286] Lotti's name also appears in both. Correspondences between Osek and Rajhrad, which remain to be more fully studied, may be connected with the role of Osek's abbots as visitators to the Moravian convents, which lie in close proximity to Rajhrad.

At this point, only one comparison can be made with respect to the printed collection of the Chorregent at the parish church in Wallerstein, and it is a match. The only printed work acquired by Osek in this period, the Op. 1 of Rathgeber, also appears in Chorregent Schmid's collection.[287] Although a strong case cannot be built on the three published editions possessed thus far by both collections, there is some sense of a common direction of interest with respect to the simpler, tuneful music, able to be performed by amateurs.

Osek's new repertory has points in common with court inventories as well. A comparison with the 1721 inventory of the Esterházy capella at Eisenstadt shows a

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[286]Straková has constructed a table of composers' names from the Rajhrad inventory which are held in common with fifteen other inventories, among them Göttweig, Kremsmünster Herzogenburg, and Osek. Twenty-five names are shown to be in common on this table. The inventories listed on the table have widely-differing dates and so comparisons, while informative, are of limited usefulness ("Rajhradský inventář," 234-35).

[287]"Verzeichnis . . . vom Chorregenten Ferdinand Schmid," No. 4, "Octava musica clavium . . . a Val. Rathgeber." (Gertraut Haberkamp, Die Musikhandschriften Schloss Harburg, xvii).

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correspondence equal in number to that of Rajhrad--twenty-seven composers.[288] Osek, however, held different composers in common with the Esterházy court. These were primarily the Italians (Corelli, Albertini), composers working in aristocratic courts (J.C.F. Fischer), and the older generation of Imperial court composers (Bertali, Schmelzer, Thallmann, Zacher) as well as Fux. Caldara's name does not yet appear in the 1721 list at Eisenstadt.[289] Works by the Esterházy music director Franz Rumpelnig (1701-1704) and the organist Franz Zeller (left 1715) while not unexpectedly found in the Eisenstadt inventory, are also held by Osek.

Turning to Count Schönborn's collection, one finds twenty-eight composers in common with Osek (1720), including Rumpelnig from Esterházy's capella. As might be expected, the Italian correspondence is high, especially Bononcini and Lotti, but also Giovanni Battista Costanzi, Pietro Paulo Bencini, Giuseppe Maria Melvi, Bernardo Pasquini, Ottavio Pitoni, Agostino Steffani, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Giuseppe Valentini. Although Osek had

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[288]The 1721 inventory was the first inventory of the Esterházy music collection. A summary and outline of its contents was published by Janos Harich ("Inventar der Esterházy - Hofmusikkapelle in Eisenstadt," Haydn Yearbook 9 (1975), 11-21).

[289]The contents of the entire inventory bears a strong similarity to Osek's combined 1706 and 1720-22 inventory contents.

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acquired only one or two works by most of these composers, its attempt to build a music library reflective of contemporary aristocratic taste now becomes more apparent in this light.

Count Schönborn also, perhaps through his sojourns in Prague, had purchased music by the newer Bohemian composers, including printed collections of Gunther Jacob and Josef Brentner and manuscript copies of seven of Reichenauer's instrumental works.[290] He possessed many more compositions by Caldara, Fux and other Imperial Court composers, which, because it is impossible to date their acquisition, will be discussed in conjunction with Osek's later additions, to which they can be compared.

What can be concluded is that by 1722 Osek had a marked interest in the same repertories found in church institutions and at selected aristocratic courts. Moreover, the interest in arias, that derive from dramatic music, appears to be increasing.

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[290]The printed work is Brentner's Offertoria solenniora sex (Prag: Georg Labaun, 1717) (RISM B 4340). Zobeley, Musikalien Band I, No. 33, p. 24-25. There are six concertos for one or two violins and an occasional obbligato cello and one sonata (2 violins, viola, 2 trumpets, timpani and organ) by Reichenauer (Zobeley, Musikalien Band II, Nos. 709-15, p. 120-22).

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The Inventory of 1720: Composers between 1723 and 1733

A number of composers' names have already been mentioned in the discussion of the music acquired during this period. Italian composers, whose style might be termed "Neapolitan," were found as the sole contributors to a group of Missae "solennissimae" (p. 291), and German composers specializing in music for the parish churches were found represented in the printed collections (pp. 293-94). Both groups had been prefigured in the earlier list of acquisitions, as well as a group of Bohemian composers centered in and around Prague. All three trends appear to reach their peaks in the period from 1723 to 1733, as seen in the list of composers who contributed three or more works (Table 3.23, below).[291] During this period, Osek acquired about 895 items (see Table 3.14, p. 262).

TABLE 3.23.--Inventory of 1720, works added 1723-c1733
Composers Represented by Three or More Works

(# = composers whose works appeared in previous years)

	No. of works
ALBINONI, Tomaso (1671-1751)	14
BIONI, Antonio (1698-after 1739)	6
# BONONCINI, Giovanni	3
# BRENTNER, Johann Joseph	7

[291] All of the composers' names are entered in Appendix D.

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	BRIXI, Šimon ((1693-1735)[292]	5
#	CALDARA, Antonio (1670-1736)	111
#	CONTI, Francesco Bartolomeo (1681-1732)	11
	ECKERT (? - ?)	6
	FAGO, (Francesco) Nicola (1677-1745)	8
	FEO, Francesco (1691-1761)	10
#	FUX, Johann Joseph	10
#	GRÜNBERGER	5
	HANDEL, George Frideric (1685-1759)	3
	HASSE, Johann Adolph (1699-1783)	13
	HUNT (? - ?)[293]	6
#	JACOB, Gunther	46
	KERN, Marian Georg (1707-64)[294]	37

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[292]Šimon Brixi, father of the widely-known František Xaver Brixi and uncle and teacher of Franz Benda, occupied two prestigious church posts in Prague. His works were widely disseminated in Prague and various parts of Bohemia, with some examples found in Leipzig. In his music, primarily for the church, he demonstrated a good handling of counterpoint, a thorough conversance with the style of Fux and Caldara, and a love of the horn and trumpets, for which he scored extensively. He is the first of the Bohemian composers to integrate Bohemian folk music consistently into his works (see "Brixi, Šimon," ČSHS I, 134; also V. Novák, "Brixi. (1) Šimon Brixi," NG 3, 309f).

[293]The name "Hunt" does not appear in any other inventory. The composer remains unidentified, unless he is identical with Hunt, a violinist in the Dresden orchestra (Hans Schnoor and Karl Laux, "Dresden, II," MGG III, 774). Hunt contributed a Laurentian Litany to Osek (fol. 36 r) and four Marian antiphons set either for soprano or alto solo (Vesperae, fol. 36 r and 36 v; Gradualia, fol. 26 v).

[294]Kern was a member at Osek who apparently began composing for the choir while still a novice. (He took his first vows in 1729 and made his profession in 1731.) After studying at the College of St. Adalbert in Prague, he returned to Osek where he held a number of important teaching and administrative posts, becoming Prior, 1754-62. In Osek's records (see p. 207) he was noted as a "distinguished and excellent musician." His music is found almost exclusively at Osek, where it is entered in the inventory as "F. Mariano," "F. Marianus," etc. Trolda mistook his first name as "Maxian" ("Kern, Maxian," PHS II/1, 536).

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	KOLMSCHLAG (? - ?)[295]	3
#	LOTTI, Antonio	18
#	MANCINI, Francesco (1672-1737)	18
	PICHLER, Mauriz Joseph (1694-1731)[296]	3
#	POPPE, František Ludvík	5
	PORSILE, Giuseppe (1680-1750)	5
#	RATHGEBER, Johann Valentin (1682-1750)	6
#	REICHENAUER, Antonín	56
	REINHARDT, Johann Georg (1676/7-1742)	3
	RITTER, Carl (Carolus) (18th century)[297]	18
	SARRO, Domenico (Sarri; 1679-1744)	16
	STRAHL, Wenzel (? - ?)[298]	5

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[295]Nothing is known about Kolmschlag, whose music is found only at Osek. All three works are Offertories (fol. 23 r).

[296]The name "Pichler" is found at the Knights of the Cross and at Kosmonosy, in connection with which, Culka, using Trolda's previous research, connects them all together with the composer of a Laurentian Litany (dated 1727) found at the Cistercian monastery of Želiv. Osek member, P. Mauriz Josef Pichler, seems to fit the possibilities. In 1725 and 1726, Mauriz Pichler was in Prague, teaching at the College of St. Adalbert, where the Knights of the Cross might have acquired his works (Album Ossecense, No. 118).

[297]One Mass is attributed to "C. Carl," and one to "J." There is no surname on the 17 other pieces. Gerber's "Ritter, Carl" (3, 296) and Walter's "Ritter (Carolus)" (Musiklexicon, 529) are identical and refer to Augustinian Carolus Ritter who was Provost at the monastery in Sagan, Lower Silesia (at that time part of Bohemia). Carolus/Carl published a collection of six Masses in 1727 (RISM R 1752) and a collection of arias about 1729 (RISM R 1753). Osek owned both collections. Osek owned in addition, 8 Masses (not counting "J's"), 1 aria (Gradualia, fol. 17 r), 1 Te Deum and two Requiem Masses (Vesperae, fol. 36 r, 36 v), two Offertoria (fol. 7 v, 27 r), and one Oratorio (fol. 22 v).

[298]Dlabačž lists a Wenzel Strahl, who sang alto at St. Wenzel (Wenceslas) Church in the Little Quarter of Prague, and whose musical drama "Jephtias" was produced at the Prague Jesuit gymnasium in 1728. (Künstler-Lexikon III, 217). The libretto's title page information is reproduced and annotated by Milan Poštolka ("Libreta strahovské hudební sbírky," MM XXV-XXVI (1973), No. 9, p. 102-03). Nothing more is known about Strahl, who contributed five Parthias to Osek's Genialia (fol. 40 r,40v).

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	VINCI, Leonardo (c1690-1730)	9
	VIVALDI, Antonio (1678-1741)	4
#	VOGT, Mauritius	16
	WERNER, Gregor Joseph (1693-1766)	6
	WILL, Thaddeus Christian (1695-1766)[299]	4
#	ZELENKA, Jan Dismas (1679-1745)	17

The acquisitions in this time period are dominated by Antonio Caldara, whose works are more than double the number of the next nearest composer. Caldara's name exemplifies two strong musical factors which emerge clearly at Osek in this period: the dominance of the Imperial Court and the Italian composers. The native Bohemians continue to be represented, however, and in good quantity, as is shown in the national-ethnic groupings below.

Composers from Italy (13)
Albinoni, Bioni, Bononcini, Caldara, Conti, Fago, Feo, Lotti, Mancini, Porsile, Sarri, Vinci, Vivaldi.
(These composers account for 233 items.)

Composers from Austrian lands (3)
Fux, Reinhardt, Werner.
(These composers account for 19 items.)

Composers from German countries (3)
Handel, Hasse, Rathgeber.
(These composers account for 22 items.)

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[299]Thaddeus Will was a member of Osek, born in Bohemia. He was the librarian, 1733-34 at Osek and then at the parish church in Wteln beginning in 1735. To Osek's music collection, he contributed one Mass (fol. 2 v), one Offertory (for Quadragesima, fol. 23 r), and two Gradualia (fol. 33 v).

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Composers from Bohemian lands (13)
Brentner, Brixi, Grünberger, Jacob, Kern, Pichler, Poppe, Reichenauer, Ritter (Silesian), Strahl, Vogt, Will, Zelenka.
(These composers account for 218 items.)

The thirteen Italian composers represent Venice and Naples, the major sources from which Italian influence flowed to the Habsburg Empire and throughout Europe at the time. Five of the composers were from Venice: Albinoni, Bioni, Caldara, Lotti, Vivaldi; six were from Naples or studied there: Fago, Feo, Mancini, Porsile, Sarro, Vinci. To these might be added the names of three non-Italian composers who studied in both cities: Handel, Hasse and Zelenka. The reputations of these composers were based on their dramatic works: operas, oratorios, and the dramatic style embodied in secular and sacred cantatas.[300] According to Renata di Benedetto's reckoning of major figures in the Neapolitan "school," virtually every one is represented in this group of Osek's acquisitions.[301]

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[300]Lotti, Albinoni and Caldara were the principal representatives of the Northern Italian composers who began work at the end of the 17th century and whose focal point was at Venice. Vinci and Hasse were two of the dominant figures in the first bloom of opera seria from about 1720 to 1740 (Daniel Heartz, "Opera II. Metastasian Serious Opera," NG 13, 556). Heartz names three other dominant figures in this "first age" of opera seria: Leo, Porpora and Pergolesi. Leo and Porpora both are represented in Osek's acquisitions, 1723-33: Leo by one aria and Porpora by one aria and one Mass. Pergolesi's works were acquired during a later period (see below).

[301]Di Benedetto names in the first generation, Alessandro Scarlatti, Mancini, Sarri, Porpora, and Feo. In the generation established after 1720, di Benedetto

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With the exception of Zelenka and Vogt, both of whom also studied in Italy, the figures active in Italy and at the Imperial Court were composers primarily of operatic and dramatic music and only secondarily of church music.[302] In the case of Zelenka and Vogt, it seems that neither found opportunities consistent with their training and experience. Both were operating out of a Bohemian culture which was now engaged with several streams of music including the Italian operatic, the older, contrapuntal stile antico, the popular spiritual song and "recreational" dance pieces. They used all these styles as they were able and as they felt was appropriate. However, neither composer found the opportunity to express the full fruits of his training.[303]

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cites Vinci, Leo, Hasse, and Francesco Durante. All of the names are found in the new inventory entries with three or more works, except for Scarlatti, Porpora, Leo and Durante, who are represented by one or two ("Naples," NG 13, 26).

[302]For Vogt, see Poštolka ("Vogt, Mauritius," NG 20, 64). Zelenka fulfilled the duties of church music Kapellmeister at the Dresden court during the last years of the incumbent, Johann David Heinichen (1683-1729), and for some years thereafter. In 1735, Zelenka was appointed Kirchen-compositeur. There is no evidence that he participated in the activities of the royal opera theater (see Jaroslav Bužga, "Příspěvky k životopisu Jana Dismase Zelenky," HV XXI/2 [1984] 141-44; also Camillo Schoenbaum, "Zelenka, Jan Dismas," NG 20, 660).

[303]It appears that Zelenka was bitterly disappointed in not having an opportunity to compose other than sacred music. "The enthusiasm for Hasse in Dresden caused [him] to spend his last years in loneliness and disappointment because of his lack of recognition" (Schoenbaum, "Zelenka," 660). About Vogt, we know little, other than

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Bohemian composers still account for much of Osek's repertory, almost equalling the Italian contribution. More than the Italians, their works are spread across the whole spectrum of Osek's genres, filling in gaps especially among the Offertoria. The Italians, although contributing some Masses, tend to be concentrated among the Gradualia, where the arias are found. Although the lines of demarcation are by no means sharp, it seems that Osek deliberately acquired Italian far more than Bohemian arias and Bohemian motets far more than the Italian.

Of the composers who were not active in Italy or at the Imperial Court, most were engaged primarily in supplying sacred music, with the church or aristocratic capella as their basic center of activity, as seen below. (* refers to short commissions and tenures)

Active in Italy (14)
Albinoni, Bioni, Bononcini, Fago, Feo, Hasse,*
Lotti, Mancini, Porsile, Sarro, Vinci, Vivaldi.
(These composers account for 114 items.)

Active in Vienna, Imperial Court (6)
Caldara, Conti, Fux, Porsile,* Reinhardt, Vivaldi*.
(These composers account for 144 items.)

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to imagine what he might have attempted at Manětín court when he was there from 1711 onward. He also published a set of arias, Vertumnus vanitatis and included three others in his well thought-out music treatise, Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae (Prague, 1719) (Poštolka, "Vogt, Mauritius," NG 20, 64; also ČSHS II, 892).

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Active in Other Aristocratic Households (8)
Bioni* (Archbishop of Mainz, 1731-)
Handel* (Elector of Hanover)
Hasse (Dresden)
Hunt (Dresden, violinist)
Reichenauer* (Counts Morzin, Černín in Bohemia)
Vogt* (Countess Lažanská, Bohemia)
Werner (Prince Esterházy, Eisenstadt, 1728-)
Zelenka (Dresden)
(These composers account for 123 items.)

Active at Osek, Cistercian Houses (5)
Grünberger, Kern, Pichler, Will (Osek); Vogt (Plasy).
(These composers account for 65 items.)

Active in Other Ecclesiastical Institutions (9)
Brentner (St. Nicholas, Little Quarter, Prague)
Brixi (St. Martin-in-the-Wall, Prague)
Jacob (various monasteries in Bohemia, Moravia)
Poppe (Knights of the Cross, Prague)
Rathgeber (Banz, Bavaria)
Reichenauer (St. Maria Magdalena, Little Quarter, Prague)
Reinhardt (St. Stephen, Vienna)
Ritter (Sagan, Lower Silesia)
Strahl (St. Wenceslas and Jesuit Gymnasium, Prague),
(These composers account for 151 items.)

It is apparent that during this period Osek placed even less reliance on composers from within its own order than before, although it continued to draw the larger part of its repertory from composers connected exclusively or partially with ecclesiastical establishments.

The connection seen earlier between Osek and Prague continued to strengthen. Due to the increased activity connected with the visit of the Imperial Court, many more composers of international stature were present in Prague during this period than in the time periods for Osek's previous acquisitions, and many of these composers' works

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were performed there.[304] In addition, Prague was the scene of works performances by other famed composers who were not in the city at this time. The names are shown below.

Composers Active in Prague, c1723-33 (12) [305]
Brentner, Brixi, Caldara, Conti, Fux, Jacob, Poppe, Reichenauer, Reinhardt, Strahl, Vivaldi, Zelenka.
(These composers account for 286 items.)

Not in Prague, but Works Performed There, 1723-33 (6) [306]
Albinoni, Bioni, Lotti, Mancini, Porsile, Sarro.

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[304]Among the Vesperae (fol. 36 r) is a "Dixit Dominus" by Santo Lapis (fl. 1725-65), which may indicate that Lapis, whose whereabouts during this time are unknown, was in Prague also for the festivities. The position of the entry, among the first in this inventory group which begins in 1723, suggests that Lapis may have been in Prague about that time. There seems to be a common connection with Zelenka. J. Bužga highlights a Hymn by Santo Lapis in Zelenka's music inventory, noting it (erroneously) as the only known church composition by Lapis ("Zelenkas Musikinventar aus der katholischen Schlosskapelle in Dresden," Fontes Artis Musicae 31/4 (1984), 205). It may well be the same piece.

[305]Vivaldi appears to have been in Prague around 1730-32, according to Tomislav Volek and Marie Skalická ("Antonio Vivaldi a Čechy," HV 2 [1965] 425). See also Eric Cross, The Late Operas of Antonio Vivaldi (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981) 30-31. Osek's pieces by Vivaldi are three Genialia: "Concertus ex d. solem." (fol. 40 r), "Concertus à 6 voc." (fol. 40 v), and "Sonata à 2 ex C." (fol. [41] r).

[306]Documented opera performances: Albinoni (1725, 1728-29, 1731-32); Bioni (1724-25, 1731); Caldara (1723); Fux (1723); Lotti (1727-28, 1732); Mancini (1730); Vivaldi (1724, 1726, 1730, 1731-32) (Otakar Kamper, Hudební Praha, 243-44; also, P. Kneidl, "Libreta Italské Opery," No. 1, 100-27; and Oscar Teuber, Geschichte des Prager Theaters, T.I [Prag: A. Haase, 1883] 111-46). One performance of an oratorio by Lotti, (1724) is documented by Poštolka ("Libreta strahovské hudební sbírky," 99). Kamper also cites performances in the major Prague churches (Hudební Praha, 23-37). Riedel notes some church music, largely by Fux and Caldara, performed by the Imperial Hofkapelle in Prague, 1732 (Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI, 259-65).

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It is noticeable that the tremendous upsurge of interest at Osek in works by court musicians and Italian composers coincides precisely with the arrival in Prague of the Imperial Court, an event which attracted a good many of the best musicians in Europe. One inescapable conclusion is that Osek's representatives also were present and availed themselves of the opportunity to discover and to collect new music.[307] If such was the case, the importance of the availability of a major center for musical life is underscored. Osek was doing well in its music collection prior to 1723 with respect to European currents, but seemed to lack access to--or first-hand knowledge of--a number of Italian composers whose music was being heard in the courts of Europe and of the composers of the Imperial Court, whose works were being collected by aristocrats such as Schönborn. After 1723, this was no longer the case.

One of the visible results at Osek was an influx of music by the court musicians. That there was a Prague connection rather than a direct connection with Vienna, can be inferred by the dates of acquisition. Before 1723, Fux and Caldara, the principal court composers, were each represented in Osek's 1720 inventory by fewer than three

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[307]The abbot would have been present, as a member of the Bohemian Diet, together with his entourage.

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works,[308] yet both were highly represented among the new acquisitions beginning in 1723. In addition, Osek acquired some new works by other court musicians who were part of the Imperial Hofkapelle.[309]

Yet at the same time, Osek was continuing as much as before to collect (and presumably to perform) indigenous works by the best Bohemian composers and by those who were influential both through their presence and through the dissemination of their works. As already mentioned, some of these composers, especially Š. Brixi, Zelenka, and Reichenauer, incorporated the style elements of Bohemian folk music in some of their works.[310]

The musical connection between Osek and the nearby Dresden court tends to be overshadowed by the Prague

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[308]Fux had two pieces; Caldara one in the 1706-22 acquisitions.

[309]The additional composers were Ignazio Maria Conti (1699-1759), 2 pieces; and Timmer (probably Joseph Timmer, 1696-1750), 2 pieces. Matthias Oettel (1674?-1725) contributed 1 piece, but there is no evidence of his presence in Prague.

[310]Racek mentions Zelenka's use of a "folk musical tradition" (Česká hudba, 112). There is no reason to believe that this practice was unconscious on the composers' parts, as Georg Telemann makes clear, with reference to his use of folk elements which he had heard in Silesia. He liked what he heard and found a creative way to share his pleasure. "One can scarcely believe what bagpipers or fiddlers of this kind possess in the way of marvellous inspirations whenever. . . they improvise. . . I subsequently wrote divers concertos and trios in this style, which I dressed up in an Italian cloak. . ." (Mattheson, Ehren-Pforte, 94. Kinney trans.).

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connection, in that a number of composers active at the Dresden court were also represented in Prague to some extent. This is certainly true of Lotti, Hasse, and Zelenka. Yet, it seems that some kind of connection had been established between the Dresden court and Osek. First, there is the music of the composer named Hunt, who has been identified as a violinist at Dresden. Hunt's music can be found nowhere else in Bohemia except at Osek. Music by other Dresden musicians also found its way into Osek's inventory. There are one or two works by Johann David Heinichen (1683-1729), Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692-1753), August Uhlig (fl. first half 18th century), Balthasar Willicus (fl. first half 18th century), and Johann Christoph Schmidt (1664-1728). All of these composers were active in Dresden during this time.[311]

An examination of composer Zelenka's own music inventory for Dresden strengthens the hypothesis of a direct link between Osek and Dresden,[312] perhaps through

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[311]Ristori had been connected with the Dresden court since 1715. His appearance in Osek's inventories coincides with the time of his opera productions. Hasse arrived in 1731. Uhlig, like Hunt, served as a violinist in the court Kapelle (Richard Petzold, "The Economic conditions of the 18th-Century Musician," The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century, ed. by Walter Salmen [New York: Pendragon Press, 1983; trans. of 1971 edition] 168). Willicus is said to have been active in Dresden and Warsaw in the first half of the 18th century (Bužga, "Zelenkas Musikinventar," 205).

[312]In light of what seems to be a strong Dresden connection, the name of a certain composer written as

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Zelenka himself. Zelenka's music inventory, written between 1725 and 1735, lists pieces collected by him in Dresden, beginning 1711.[313] Consistent with Zelenka's position at the Dresden Roman Catholic chapel and no doubt reflective of his taste as de facto Kapellmeister, the inventory is comprised solely of sacred music and contains the names of sixty-one composers, thirty-one of which are the same as in Osek's new acquisitions of 1723-33. Among the ones which are not, several are duplicated in Osek's older group of composers, while others date back to the early seventeenth century, thus predating Osek's collection. The names held in common are the Italian composers (Table 3.23, above), the Dresden composers, the German Rathgeber, and the Bohemians Š. Brixi, Poppe, and Reichenauer. Like Osek, Zelenka has no music by Prague's St. Vitus composers.

Although a direct connection seems to be indicated,

"Bacht" among Osek's new acquisitions may actually be Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750). The piece is listed as "Miserere ex C elegans et Virtuosum ab Acatholico q. cositum Bacht." (Gradualia, fol. 27 r). It is found in a sequence of pieces by Dresden composers: Ulich (Uhlig) and Hasse. Although J. S. Bach did not receive his honorary title of "Hofkomponist" from the court until 1736, it is entirely possible that his works may have been known either directly or through the presence of his son, Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710-84), who served as organist of the Sophienkirche in Dresden, 1733-47. Alternatively, the piece may have been by Wilhelm Friedemann, himself also "Acatholico" (non-Catholic).

[313]The contents of the inventory are summarized by Bužga in "Zelenkas Musikinventar," 198, 204-06.

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a case can be made also for the growth of a common core of composers whose music was actively acquired by all choirmasters. In support of this hypothesis, it should be noted that by 1733 Osek had acquired a large number of pieces by Caldara in every general category of music. Compositions by certain other composers, either from the Viennese court or of "international" reputation, are found in significant quantity in these same general categories. These include works by Mancini, Ritter, Sarro, Conti and Lotti (no Offertoria), and Fux (not as many compositions). This phenomenon may well indicate a trend seen earlier in the case of Bassani, whose work also spanned all categories, hinting at a deliberate acquisition policy. Certain Bohemian composers also seem to have been deliberately acquired in all categories. This group includes Brentner, Jacob, Kern, Poppe, Reichenauer, Vogt, Zelenka, and Z. Jahn (no Masses).

As for the rest of the composers and the larger proportion of names, they can be divided into several groups with respect to an "acquisitions policy." One group would be comprised of composers whose works (more than a few) were acquired largely in one category. With respect to Gradualia (Arias), these would be Albinoni, Biber, Flad, Hasse, Lotti, Vinci, and for Masses: Eckert, Fago, Fiebig, Grünberger. Another group would be comprised of those whose works seem to have been acquired within a category more by a need, or even by chance,

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rather than by deliberate choice of composer per se. Such composers are those generally represented by one or two works in any given category. At Osek these composers are de Almeida (1 Gradual), Durante (2 Masses), Handel (2 Graduals), Heinichen (2 Graduals), and Öttl (2 Masses).

Whatever the fine points of Osek's acquisitions policy, it is clear from the inventory that the monastery was primarily interested in arias, particularly those by Caldara (86), Kern (26), Reichenauer (19) Lotti (16), Jacob ((14), Albinoni (11) and Hasse (11). Its Offertoria were largely supplied by four composers: Jacob (15), Vogt (15), Reichenauer (15) and Caldara (11). The Masses were supplied principally by Reichenauer (19), Caldara (15), Jacob (10) and Ritter (10).

After the tremendous popularity of Caldara's music in these three categories, the next most popular sources of arias at Osek were three Italian-trained composers, Lotti, Albinoni and Hasse, as well as three Bohemian-trained composers, Kern, Reichenauer, and Jacob, who had adopted the Italian manner with enough success to enjoy widespread popularity and the employ of Bohemian aristocrats.

Comparisons With Other Inventories

Comparing Osek's later additions with the additions to two other church institutions within Bohemia, Kosmonosy and Slaný, provides little information due to the

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sketchiness of their inventories. Although they lack the newer Italian music, with the exception of Lotti, they do contain the Bohemian composers Brentner, Š. Brixi, Jacob and Reichenauer, as well as Gayer and Liehre from St. Vitus. They also have a small representation of works by Caldara and Fux from the Viennese court, but no other modern names. From the little evidence, it seems that their acquisitions roughly paralleled Osek's and might have been at a slower rate.

Looking at contemporary court inventories, the one compiled 1737-38 by Gregor Werner, Kapellmeister at Esterházy, shows a pattern of acquisitions similar to Osek's, allowing for a certain preponderance of Werner's own compositions.[314]

In Werner's inventory we find Caldara's works in all the major categories. Similarly, we find in all major categories works by Fux, Reutter (Reiter), Baumann (Paumon), Reinhardt, Aufschnaiter, and Esterházy's older music director Zivilhofer, as well as Werner himself. Other composers are relegated to one or two general categories. These are Prustman, Pichler, Öttl, Schmidt,

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[314]The inventory is listed in its entirety by Harich ("Esterházy-Hofmusikkapelle," 22-31). Its categories are similar to Osek's, with a few exceptions, such as the addition of Advent Lieder and Weichnacht Lieder [sic]. It contains nine Pastorellas, one by Fux, five by Werner, and one each by Aufschnaiter, Stupan and Tibaldi. (p. 29) There is only one Mass category, as in Osek's original plan.

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Götzl, and Donberger. It seems that for Werner, as for Osek, the composers of the Viennese court were acquired "across the board," along with a few others, while still others were selected for certain categories alone.

Two Bohemian composers appear in Werner's inventory, both of whom are well-represented at Osek. These are Brentner (3 Offertories) and Kern, Osek's own composer (1 Marian antiphon, 1 Te Deum). The appearance of such a local composer as Kern in Werner's inventory inevitably raises the thought of connections between the two institutions through loans or the dissemination of copies.[315]

Wallerstein Chorregent Schmid's list of printed music (forty-two items, dating from 1745), when compared with Osek's acquisitions during the period 1723 to about 1733, yields four and perhaps more Rathgeber collections in common, which can be added to the two earlier works acquired at Osek:[316]

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[315]Osek also possessed Werner's works as well. Werner's inventory also contains a ferial Mass by Palestrina (as "Praenestini"). Thirty-four of Palestrina's works are present in Zelenka's inventory for Dresden. Both Werner and Zelenka were skilled contrapuntists, and thus had a deep interest in Palestrina's works, which enjoyed continuous favor throughout the eighteenth century (Ursprung, Die Katholische Kirchenmusik, 238). However, Palestrina's works are totally absent from Osek's repertory.

[316]Haberkamp, Die Musikhandschriften, xvii-xviii.

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		Schmid No.
Rathgeber, Op. 1	Masses	4
Rathgeber, Op. 3	Masses	1
Rathgeber, Op. 4	Offertories	5
Rathgeber, Op. 8	Requiems	6
(Osek, 1706-1722)		
Glettle, Op. 6	Lit. Lauretanae	35
Alauda coelestis	Motets	37

The parallel interest in works for parish use has been mentioned above. In this period, both Wallerstein and Osek have chosen Rathgeber's music to meet the demand.

Count Schönborn's collection yields almost as many parallels with Osek's newer acquisitions as before, most of them being Italian composers and Imperial court composers. Like Osek Schönborn also collected the works of Hasse and Handel, as well as two similar printed collections of trios by Sebastian Bodinus.[317] In addition, both Osek and Schönborn purchased copies of Gunther Jacob's Acratismus pro honore Dei (Prague, 1725), a collection of Masses[318] and copies of Johann Jacob Schnell's Missae neo-editae (Bamberg, 1729).[319]

At this point, a more meaningful comparison

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[317] Musikalischen Divertissements, Parts I and II (RISM B 3246, 3257) (Zobeley, Die Musikalien, Band I, No. 27, 28, p. 20-21). Osek owned Part IV.

[318] Schönborn owned the 1726 edition (RISM J 202) (Zobeley, Die Musikalien, Band I, No. 69, p. 57-58). It is not clear whether Osek owned the 1725 edition [RISM J 200] or the 1726.

[319] RISM S 1894 (Zobeley, Die Musikalien, Band I, No. 115, p. 100-01).

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concerns what Osek did not have in common with the Schönborn collection. Osek did not possess any works by the French composers Brossard, Campra (André), Cinque, de Courcelle, Dumont, Hotteterre, Le Bègue or Lully, and so it conceivably lacked knowledge of French orchestral music, church music and stage works, as well as the charming genre of the French noel (Le Bègue). Osek had no works by Kusser, whose operas were being performed in Germany. Compositions by the Imperial Court composers Nicola Matteis and Georg Reutter (Sr. and Jr.) were lacking at Osek, as well as the music of the Italian instrumental virtuosos Corelli, Geminiani and Pietro Locatelli. Georg Philip Telemann's works were not represented in the Osek collection nor, with one possible exception, were those of the Bach family.[320] And finally, the Olomouc cathedral composers Josef and Václav Gurecký were not in Osek's repertory.

Conversely, Schönborn did not collect many works by Bohemian composers, with the exception of Reichenauer (instrumental music only), Jacob and Brentner (printed music only). The Count did not own any works by Šimon Brixi, who was quite active in Prague church music. This lacuna leads to the observation that Schönborn collected the works of those Bohemian composers who moved in court

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[320]See note 315 above.

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circles; Brixi did not.[321]

Osek's repertory, in the years 1723 to 1733, was highly reflective of Neapolitan trends, as exemplified in the church music of Italian opera composers and of Bohemian composers who began to work in the same style. The influence of the Imperial Court and its Hofkapelle in Vienna brought a flood of music by Antonio Caldara, who dominated almost every category of Osek's music library with the possible exception of the Vesper Psalms, Hymns and Litanies and the instrumental music. Prague continued to serve Osek as the cultural center, but a close connection with the Dresden court through its church capella (perhaps through Zelenka himself) is discernible.

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[321]It is entirely possible that he could not. A biographical reference describes him as a "subject" (poddany) of the Servites at the church of St. Martin-in-the-Wall, where he was regens chori. He is said to have purchased his freedom ("Brixi, Šimon, ČSHS, I, 134).

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The Thematic Catalogue of 1753-54

As described earlier (pp. 198, 216), the thematic catalogue describes a music collection that was twice disrupted by war events and that probably suffered considerable losses. The different scribal entries serve to document three separate periods reflecting Osek's musical life in the rapidly changing political, social, religious and economic scenes.

One group of entries, by scribes A, B, and C (Sommer, Reinisch and Janke, respectively--see Table 3.4, p. 215) lists music that was either present or newly-acquired from about 1735 to 1766, the period encompassing the two foreign invasions. A second group of entries, by scribe D (Fischer) appears to have been made between 1767 and 1778. Scribes E and F (Knechtl? and Trautzl, respectively) entered later items, among them a large group of items that may have already been present at the monastery, but for which the catalogue had no categories until 1802 (Gradualia, Vespers, Litanies, Requiems). Because the later material is mixed with what may possibly have been earlier material in the 1802 entries, it will not be examined. The first two groups of entries, which extend from 1735 to about 1778, will be examined separately. Table 3.24, below, lists the composers entered in the catalogue from 1735 to 1766 and who are

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represented by three or more works, according to scribal entries.[322]

TABLE 3.24.--Catalogue of 1753-54: works added 1735 to 1766
Composers represented by three or more works

(# = composers whose works appeared in the 1720 inventory.)
(* = the same work; not certain which composer.)
(Scribal Dates: A = 1735-54; B = 1755-59; C = 1760-66)

	Composer	Scribes: A	B	C
	ANGSTENBERGER, Johann Michael (1717-89)[323]	16	-	-
	BENCINI, Pietro Paolo (ca. 1670-1755) and/or Antonio (fl. 1730-42)	5	1	-
	BRIXI, František Xaver (1732-71)[324]	1*	6	6
#	BRIXI, Šimon	1*	-	-
#	CALDARA, Antonio	15	-	-
#	COSTANZI (CONSTANZI), Giovanni Battista (1704-88)	3	1	-
#	CONTI, Francesco Bartolomeo (1681-1732)	6	-	-

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[322]All composers' names can be found in Appendix D.

[323]Angstenberger, Bohemian born and trained at the Knights of the Cross in Prague, later joined the Order (first vows 1738; first Mass 1743). He composed during his younger years, apparently while serving in Prague (until 1756) in a style variously described as "Neapolitan" or "in the taste [Geschmack] of Lotti." During this time he was regarded, along with Sehling, as one of the foremost composers in the city ("Angstenberger, Jan Michael," ČSHS I, 30; also Dlabačž, Künstler-Lexikon I, 51). In Osek's catalogue he has two Masses, one Credo, and thirteen Offertories.

[324]František X. Brixi has been mentioned briefly in Chapter Two with respect to St. Vitus where he was appointed Kapellmeister in 1759 (pp. 101-102). In 1749 he began working as an organist in a series of churches in Prague, where he "soon became one of the best-known composers" (V. Novák, "Brixi. (2) František," NG 3, 310). It is possible that Scribe A picked up one of his early works, but then, Šimon Brixi, František's father, died in 1735, which might mean that the work (a pastoral Mass) was by him. A thematic catalogue of Brixi works, being compiled by Vladimír Novák, may help in the complex matter of Brixi identifications. Osek acquired 12 Masses by Brixi in this early period, one a Pastoral Mass.

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	Composer	Scribes: A	B	C
#	DONBERGER, Georg Joseph[325]	5	-	-
#	FEO, Francesco	15	-	-
#	FUX, Johann Joseph	4	-	-
	GONELLI (GIONELLI), Giuseppe (1666-1745)	13	-	-
	GRAUN, Carl Heinrich (1703/04-59)	3	-	-
	HABERMANN, Franz (1706-83)[326]	9	-	-
#	HASSE, Johann Adolf	11	-	-
#	JACOB, Gunther	5	-	-
	KAYSER, Isfrid (1712-71)[327]	3	-	-
#	KERN, Marian	20	2	-
	KLÍMA (KLYMA), Benedikt (1701-ca.1756)[328]	10	-	-

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[325]Donberger, student of Caldara and regens chori at the Augustinian monastery of Herzogenberg, "was one of the leading composers in Austria between Fux and Haydn" (Raymond Hug, "Donberger, Georg Joseph," NG 5, 548). His works were widely found in Bohemia, especially during the period 1750-1766, and also at the church of St. James in Brno ("Domberger," PHS, Part II/1, 198). In the thematic catalogue are four Masses plus a set of separate Mass movements.

[326]After serving in foreign courts abroad, the Bohemian Habermann returned to Prague where he served as regens chori at the Knights of Malta and the Theatines, leaving the city in 1773. He was outstanding as a contrapuntist and taught a number of famous pupils, including Mysliveček and F.X. Dušek. His church works are found in quantity in Bohemian collections as well as in Rajhrad (Moravia) and in foreign archives (E. Trolda, "Habermann, František Václav," PHS II/1, 353; also M. Poštolka, "Habermann, Franz," NG 8, 10). He contributed eight Masses to Osek and one Pastoral Mass, with "Tuba pastoritia ex G,D,A oblig." (fol. 31 r, No. 7).

[327]"In his lifetime, Kayser was one of the best-known of the Bavarian church composers" (Elizabeth Roche, "Kayser, Isfrid," NG 9, 36). Kayser represents an elaborate style of church music, with contemporary melodic and harmonic characteristics, requiring considerable skill to perform in the vocal and string parts (but not the choral parts) (Ulrich Siegele, "Kayser, Isfrid," MGG VII, 768). His works at Osek consist of two Masses and a Pastoral Mass "germanica" (fol. 31 v, No. 8).

[328]Klyma, or Klíma, born in Moravia, was a Cistercian, connected with several Austrian monasteries, serving in particular as regens chori at Heiligenkreuz. His compositions saw a wide circulation in the Prague area and parts of Bohemia and in Moravia at Kroměříž, and Rajhrad ("Klíma, Benedikt," ČSHS I, 673; also see Alois

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	Composer	Scribes: A	B	C
#	LEO, Leonardo	5	-	-
#	LOTTI, Antonio	7	-	-
#	MANCINI (MANCHIJ), Francesco	13	-	-
	NOVÁK, Jan František (d. 1771)[329]	8	1	-
	PINZGER, Romanus (d. 1755)[330]	-	4	-
#	PORPORA, Nicolo	3	-	-
#	REICHENAUER, Antonín	16	-	-
#	RISTORI, Giovanni Alberto	3	-	-
#	SARRO (SARRI), Domenico	8	-	-
#	SCHMID, Ferdinand (c1694-1756)[331]	6	-	-
	SCHWENDTNER (fl. 2nd half 18th century)[332]	14	-	-

Niemetz, "Heiligenkreuz," MGG XVI, 630). In Osek's catalogue there are nine Masses and one Pastoral Mass by Klíma.

[329]Novák's music, composed mainly in stile antico, did not see wide circulation and basically is found in the St. Vitus archive. (Forty items are in the catalogue Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis, comp. J. Štefan.) Dlabacž reports hearing one of his Masses in Prague in 1810 (Künstler-Lexikon II, 399; also "Novák, Jan František," ČSHS II, 189). Four of Novák's Masses are in Osek's catalogue plus two Offertories and two Pastoral Offertories.

[330]"Pinzger" is the composer of four Masses at Osek and is assumed to be the Benedictine Romanus Pinzger, Kapellmeister at Seeon (Upper Bavaria), some of whose works were published in 1748 and 1750 in Augsburg. Whether these correspond to any of his compositions at Osek is not known. All are called "Missa integra" and scored for four voices, 2 violins, 2 Waldhorns or 2 trumpets ad lib, and organ (see Robert Münster, "Seeon," MGG 12, 459; also Eitner QL VII, 453).

[331]The identification on the six Masses (all entitled "Missa integra") is only "Schmidt," without a surname. On the basis of the placement of the works, early in the catalogue, and because of the presence of Ferdinand Schmidt's works in other Bohemian choir collections, this identification has been made. The three Masses for the highest ceremonial grade are scored for two trumpets and two trombones obligato. Schmid was Kapellmeister at the shrine of Maria Pötsch in St. Stephen's cathedral, Vienna. Eva Badura-Skoda describes his style as Baroque at times and galant otherwise. His music saw a wide popularity ("Schmid, Ferdinand," NG 16, 670).

[332]Dlabacž cites a Schwendtner who was organist and Schulrektor close to Gabel (Czech: Jablonné) in North

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	Composer	Scribes: A	B	C
	SEHLING, Josef Antonín (1710-56)[333]	22	1	-
#	SWOBODA (SVOBODA), Antonín (1709-after 1745)[334]	11	-	-
	TŮMA, František Ignác Antonín (1704-74)	3	-	-
	ZACH, Jan (1699-1773)[335]	5	-	-
#	ZELENKA, Jan Dismas	4	1	-

As will be shown in the tabulations below, pieces

Bohemia (Künstler-Lexikon, III, 80). Schwendtner, written alternately as Schwerdtner, contributed two Masses and twelve Offertories to Osek's repertory.

[333]Sehling was active at several institutions in Prague, and was court musician and composer to Count Morzin. "His Christmas motets, pastoral masses and pastorellas are among the most important specimens of the genre in Bohemia before F. X. Brixi" (M. Poštolka, "Sehling, Josef Antonín," NG 17, 109). Three of his motets at Osek are for Christmas, one a pastorella, "Mottetto Pastorale cum Aria et Alleluja," scored for "2 Clarinis, Tromba Pastorati oblig." (fol. 41 v, no. 13). Osek also has 10 additional Offertories by Sehling as well as 10 Masses ranging through all categories. Three arias were added in 1802.

[334]This is probably the same Antonín Swoboda whose father petitioned for permission that he be allowed to attend the Jesuit college at Jičín. He entered the Jesuit Order as a novice in 1728 and was known then as a musician. He served as prefect of music at Olomouc (1740), at the Clementinum in Prague (1740) at Breslau (1743) and in Kladsko (1745). In the catalogue, Swoboda has 4 Masses, 6 Offertoria and 1 Offertorium pastoritium, probably a pastorella.

[335]The Bohemian-born Zach began his career in Prague, studying organ under Šimon Brixi. After holding several church positions, he left Prague in 1740 and then returned sporadically, in 1747 and possibly 1752 when he was commissioned to write the Musica navalis for St. John of Nepomuk festivities. In 1773 he was at the Öttingen-Wallerstein court ("Zach, Jan," ČSHS II, 964-65; also M. Poštolka, "Zach, Jan," NG 20, 612-13). Although his musical output was vast, and ranged over every genre, Osek acquired only five Masses between 1735 and 1754, followed by later acquisition of two Masses and a Requiem.

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by Bohemian composers account for the largest proportion of the works listed by A (1735-54), almost all the works listed by B (1755-59), and all of those by C (1760-66).

Composers from Italy (12) (12 by A; 2 by B)
Bencini, Caldara, Costanzi, Conti, Feo, Gonelli, Leo, Lotti, Mancini, Porpora, Ristori, Sarro.
(These composers account for 98 pieces.)

Composers from Austria (3) (3 by A; 0 by B)
Donberger, Fux, Schmid.
(These composers account for 15 pieces.)

Composers from Germany (4) (3 by A; 1 by B)
Graun, Hasse, Kayser, Pinzger.
(These composers account for 17 pieces.)

Composers from Bohemia (14) (14 by A; 10 by B)
Angstenberger, Brixi (Š. and /or F.X.), Habermann, Jacob, Kern, Klíma, Novák, Reichenauer, Schwendtner, Sehling, Swoboda, Tůma, Zach, Zelenka.
(These composers account for 161 pieces.)

The above tabulation shows that although Bohemian composers were about equal to the Italians in numbers, they accounted for some sixty-three more pieces, a clear indication that Osek was relying more heavily on domestic music around mid-century than it had before. In view of the possibility that some of the pieces entered by "A" may have already been listed in the 1720 inventory, not all of these pieces can be considered new.

With respect tc the Italian composers, only two new names actually appear: Bencini and Gonelli. In fact, a consideration of composers' dates reveals that most of the Italian composers would have been at the end of their careers when their works were acquired by Osek. There is

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no particular pattern in the acquisitions "policy" of Osek other than to find "more of the same" (works having strong similarities to those in earlier inventories). In contrast, nine of the fourteen Bohemian names are new to Osek: Angstenberger, F. X. Brixi, Habermann, Klíma, Novák, Schwendtner, Sehling, Tůma, and Zach. Thus Osek seems to have had knowledge of contemporary musical developments in Bohemia.

Although his name does not appear in Table 3.24, above, because only two of his pieces had been acquired at this time, Pergolesi's music appeared posthumously at Osek, just about the time his comic operas appeared in Prague.[336] Among the composers listed from Austria, Fux also is at the end of a long career, representing a firm, perhaps almost archaic tradition.[337] Schmid and Donberger both were connected with church institutions and their music was widely popular within church circles..

Two of the three German composers, Graun and Kayser, are new to Osek. Both, along with Hasse,

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[336]The first of Pergolesi's stage works to be performed in Prague were the intermezzos L'Amor fa l'uomo cieco and La Serva padrona, both performed in 1744 by Angelo Mingotti's company. In 1748 Philipp Nicolini produced Il Finto Pazzo (P. Kneidl, "Libreta italské opery," Strahovská knihovna, (1967), nos. 72, 73, 78). Pergolesi is represented by two Masses (fol. 3v, nos. 37, 38) in Osek's catalogue and by an 1802 entry, a Stabat Mater (fol. [88v], no. 6).

[337]The catalogue contains one Mass and 3 Offertories by Fux. The brief general descriptions make them impossible to identify with certainty.

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composed demanding music for solo voice. Although Hasse was known to Osek and Kayser was known i.. church circles, it is of some interest to speculate on how Osek came to know Graun's music. Was it during the Prussian occupation of Prague? Graun's music together with Hasse's continued to be of interest to Osek beyond 1754.[338]

In the final entries of the 1720 inventory, it appeared that an increasing number of the composers known to Osek were active in aristocratic households. This catalogue continues to show the same connection, according to the tabulations below which indicate the sphere of composers' activity. (+ indicates a composer who had died before 1753 when the initial entries were made in the catalogue; * refers to short commissions and tenures.)

Active in Italy (9) = (72 pieces A; 2 B)
Bencini, Costanzi, Feo, Gonelli,+ Leo,+ Lotti,+ Mancini,+ Porpora, Sarro.+
(These account for 74 pieces.)

Active in Vienna, Imperial Court (4) (30 pieces A; 0 B)
Caldara,+ Conti,+ Fux,+ Tůma.
(These account for 30 pieces.)

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[338]In the first entries, Graun is represented by three Offertories, Hasse by one Mass and three Offertories.

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Active in Other Aristocratic Households (11)
(91 pieces A; 2 B)
Graun (Berlin)
Hasse (Dresden)
Mancini*+ (Naples: Royal Court)
Porpora* (Dresden)
Reichenauer*+ (Prague: Counts Morzin, Czernín)
Ristori+ (Dresden)
Sarro*+ (Naples: Royal Court)
Sehling* (Prague: Count Morzin)
Tuma* (Vienna and Prague: Count Kinský)
Zach* (Mainz, et al.)
Zelenka+ (Dresden)
(These account for 93 pieces.)

Active at Osek, Cistercian Houses (2) (30 pieces A; 2 B)
Kern (Osek), Klíma (Heiligenkreuz).
(These account for 32 pieces.)

Active in Other Ecclesiastical Institutions (13)
(121 pieces A; 7 B; 6 C)
Angstenberger (Prague: Knights of the Cross)
Brixi F. X. (Prague:St. Gallus, St. Martin, St. Vitus)
Brixi, Š.+ (Prague: St. Martin-in-the-Wall)
Donberger (Herzogenberg: Augustinian monastery)
Habermann (Prague: Knights of Malta, Theatine churches)
Jacob+ (various Bened.monasteries in Bohemia, Moravia)
Kayser (Marchtal: Premonstratensian monastery & parishes)
Novák (Prague: St. Vitus)
Reichenauer+ (Prague: St. Maria Magdalena)
Schmid (Vienna: St. Dorothea, Shrine of Maria Pötsch)
Schwendtner (vicinity of Jablonné v Podještěd/Gabel)
Sehling (Prague: various churches)
Swoboda+ (Olomouc, Prague:Clementinum, Breslau, Kladsko - all Jesuit institutions)
Zach (Prague: various churches).[2-12.3]
(These account for 134 pieces.)

As outlined above, the largest number of pieces in the first two decades of entries into the thematic catalogue were by composers connected with ecclesiastical establishments. Composers at Osek (Kern) or other Cistercian houses (Klíma) were fewer in number than before and accounted for fewer works. Interest in works by composers connected with the Imperial Court in Vienna, now the court of Maria Theresia, was sparse; Tuma was the only

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living representative whose name appears on Table 3.24 above.

Like the Imperial Court, Italy also had faded as a source of new music for Osek. The two Italian composers new to Osek (Bencini and Gonelli), were working in Italy. Neither these nor any living Italian in the above tabulation were connected with any court. Prague still proved to be an important source for Osek's music at this time; eight of the composers were working in Prague ecclesiastical establishments. A few worked as well for Bohemian aristocrats whose palaces were in Prague.[339] With the exceptions of Pergolesi and Hasse, the entries in the thematic catalogue do not include the names of composers whose operas were being produced in Prague during this time.[340] The reason for this may be connected with the promulgation of the Papal encyclical "Annus qui" (1749) which forbade "theatrical music" in the church. Of all the courts listed in the tabulation above, Dresden provided, as before, the greatest number of composers and the most durable connection, its influence being stronger

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[339]Tůma's patron, Count Kinsky, as Chancellor of Bohemia, maintained a lavish palace in Prague.

[340]Hasse is an exception, if contemporary opera performances were the key to Osek's acquisitions--a matter that is questionable at this time. Hasse's opera, La Semiramide riconusciuta, was produced at the Theater "in Kotce" in 1746 (Kneidl, "Libreta italské opery," Strahovská knihovna 2 (1967), no. 72).

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than that of the Imperial Court, where the Hofkapelle was now in decline.[341]

In terms of contemporaneity, it is remarkable that, of the thirty-five composers represented on Table 3.24 above, fifteen were dead by the time scribe A was writing the initial entries of the catalogue in 1753. The works of these composers accounted for more than a third of the items listed by scribes A, B, and C. It is probable that the interrupted contacts during the war years contributed in no small part to the tendency to rely on older, known composers whose works were already in Osek's repertory. Indeed, it might well have been difficult then to keep in touch with contemporary developments in other countries. Another possibility is that in the turmoil of the war years, fewer copies of music could be ordered, executed and delivered.

Aside from the older composers, it was the Prague-based composers serving in ecclesiastical establishments (Sehling, Angstenberger, Habermann, Novák) and the two Cistercians (Kern, Klíma) from whom works were obtained in the greatest numbers. Hasse and Feo continued to supply a large number of works, but the emphasis upon domestic output, as seen in other aspects of the catalogue, remains

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[341]The reorganization undertaken by Maria Theresa had a "wholesome influence" on the Vienna theater, although the church music continued to shrink until its radical curtailment under Joseph II (Richard Schaal, "Habsburg," MGG V, 1207-08).

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clear. Moreover, domestic composers were drawn from within a restricted region of Bohemia, centering in Prague and extending from Prague northwest to Osek.[342]

This domestic trend accelerated and narrowed in focus from about 1755 to the 1770s, as seen in the entries made by scribe D. Table 3.25 below, shows the composers represented by three or more works.[343]

TABLE 3.25.--Inventory of 1753-54; works added 1755-1778
Composers represented by 3 or more works

(# composers whose works already appear in the catalogue)

	Composer	Scribe D's Entries
#	BRIXI, František X.	74
	DITTERSDORF, Carl Ditters von (1739-1799)	3
	FILTZ (FILS), (Johann) Anton (1733-1760)	4
	LOHELIUS, cf. Oehlschlägel	
	LOOS, Karel (c1724-1772)[344]	13

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[342]With the exception of one piece by P. Simone (Václav Kalous) (see Appendix D) Osek had no pieces by Moravian composers, not even by well-known court composers, like František Václav Míča (1694-1744) at Jaroměřice, nor by well-known church composers, like Jan Brixides (c1712-72). Not even an apparently well-known Cistercian composer, P. Alan (Ignác Plumlovský, 1703-59, of the Velehrad monastery) was represented in Osek's inventory. Jiří Ignác Linek (Linka, 1725-91), active in Bakov nad Jizerou, about 92 km. east of Osek, also does not appear.

[343]A full list of composers is in Appendix D.

[344]Loos was a Bohemian choirmaster and organist in the town of Tuchoměřice near Prague from 1747 until his death. Famous for his comic operetta in the Czech vernacular, Opera bohemica, he used Bohemian folk melodies, rhythms and stylistic elements in his music, which was widely circulated among church choirs in Bohemia ("Loos, Karel," ČSHS I, 840). The Opera bohemica was published in the series, Musica bohemicae anthologia, No.

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	Composer	Scribe D's Entries
#	LOTTI, Antonio	4
	MOLIERI, ---	4
	MYSLIVEČEK (MISLIWECZECK), Josef (1737-1781)	4
	OEHLSCHLÄGEL, Franz Joseph, (LOHELIUS, Joannes; 1724-1788)[345]	19
	PICHL, Václav (1741-1805)	4
	ŠENKÝŘ (SCHENKIRZ), Augustin (Václav, 1736-1796)[346]	4
	SCHÜRER, Johann Georg (c1720-1786)[347]	5
	SOJKA (SOYKA), Matěj (Matthia, 1740-1817)[348]	4

53. Osek's catalogue contains five Masses and eight Offertories by him.

[345]Oehlschlägel worked in Prague as an organist from 1741. Most of his compositions carry his Premonstratensian monastic name, Joannes Lohelius. He was outstanding as an organ builder, and, according to Milan Poštolka, he was "one of the most authoritative and prolific composers of Bohemian church music in the second half of the 18th century" ("Oehlschlägel, Franz Joseph," NG 13, 506). His works were widely disseminated in manuscript. Osek possessed in 1778, 22 Offertories and two Pastoral Offertories. One of his arias "pro omni tempore: Ama, o anima," for alto was copied from Osek's collection by Emil Trolda (Trolda No. 275).

[346]Šenkýř was a Benedictine and regens chori at the monastery of Emmaus (Czech: Emauzy) in Prague from 1764. An organist, as well as violinist and gambist, he wrote a treatise on the gamba, Fundament für die Viola di Gamba (n.d.). His church compositions were widely disseminated in Prague and the neighboring area. His style resembles that of F.X. Brixi and Lohelius ("Šenkýř, Augustin," ČSHS II, 686-87). Osek had acquired two Masses and two Offertories by him.

[347]Schürer was born in Bohemia, at Roudnice. He succeeded Zelenka as director of church music at the Dresden court. In Bohemia his church music was widely disseminated. Osek possessed four Masses and one Offertory by him.

[348]Sojka, spelled variously Sogka, Soyka, Soicka, et al., was a Bohemian-born composer who is said to have studied with J.S. Bach. He was Kapellmeister for Count Millesimo, and composed a large body of church music which saw wide dissemination in Bohemia. His style resembles that of Haydn ("Sojka, Matěj," ČSHS II, 562). By 1778 Osek possessed four of his Masses.

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Striking is the small number of composers who contributed three or more works; in fact, few contributed more than five. Thus the sources of Osek's music seemed to be becoming fewer in number and narrower in scope. This increased selectivity also is evident in the origins of the twelve composers represented above: eight were Bohemian: Brixi, Loos, Mysliveček, Oehlschlägel, Pichl, Schürer, Šenkýř and Sojka. The combined total of their works, 119, far exceeds any other national-ethnic contribution. As in the earlier collected entries of A, B, and C, many of the composers were connected with Prague, either as their workplace, or, as in the case of Mysliveček, through visits and performances of dramatic works there.[349]

Active in Prague
Brixi, F.X. (St. Vitus and other churches)
Loos (Tuchoměřice, near Prague)
Oehlschlägel (Strahov monastery)
Pichl (Count Hartig)
Šenkýř (Emauzy monastery)
Sojka (Count Millesimo),
and possibly Molieri.[350]

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[349]Mysliveček's oratorio La Passione di Gesù Cristo, with a libretto by Metastasio, was written for Prague in 1773 (David DiChiera, "Mysliveček, Josef, NG 13, 8). Three of his operas were in the repertory of Giuseppe Bustelli's company when it played in Prague: Bellerofonte (1767), Semiramide riconosciuta (1768), and Il Farnace (1768) (Kneidl, "Libreta italské opery," Strahovská knihovna 2, nos. 198, 218, 221).

[350]Four of Molieri's works appear in the choir collection of the Prague Loreto. Of these four, none of which corresponds to the four pieces in Osek's catalogue,

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The name of František X. Brixi tops the list of Osek's acquisitions in this period and continues to dominate through 1802. Brixi's overwhelming presence is a phenomenon that was duplicated throughout Bohemia and parts of Austria and South Germany, despite Brixi's relatively early death in 1771 at the age of 39.[351] The sheer numbers of Brixi's works, disseminated entirely in manuscript, testify to an astounding popularity, which resulted in a deep and lasting influence in Bohemia.[352]

Brixi, Oehlschlägel, and Loos contributed the most compositions to Osek's collection in this period. Their works, written in a style that incorporated preclassical

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at least two are manuscripts written by Jan Josef Strobach (1731-94), director of music at various Prague churches. One of the pieces bears the following inscription: "Del Sig. Molieri Comp. [1]769. [1]773 Ex. Mus. Jos. Strobach," indicating a reasonably close connection. As Strobach was also first violin of the Prague Opera, and as Molieri is unknown except for the Osek and Strobach manuscripts, it is possible that Molieri was also in the Prague Opera orchestra. (O. Pulkert, Domus Lauretana Pragensis, "Molieri," nos. 446-49).

[351]Robert Münster enumerates 167 Brixi compositions in the collection of the Cistercian monastery at Ottobeuren ("Franz Xaver Brixi in Bayern," De Musica Disputationes Pragenses, II [Prague: Academia] 68-71). Brixi's compositions are found in quantity throughout Bohemia and Moravia, for example, 191 at the Strahov monastery in Prague, 85 at Třebon. They are also found in foreign collections, among them Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Vienna, Florence, Modena ("Brixi, František Xaver," PHS II/1, 108-09).

[352]None of Brixi's works (about 500) was printed in his lifetime. According to Jan Racek, "Brixi's compositions became extinct in Czech churches only at the end of the last century under the influence of the Cyrillic reform movement" (Česká hudba, 118).

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elements, were widely disseminated throughout Bohemia and Moravia. Brixi has been described as the "significant representative of Czech musical preclassicism . . . [who] . . . already wrote his compositions on a new classical melodical basis." [353] Loos has been called "an epigon of Brixi."[354] J. Němeček says of Oehlschlägel that "in his later years, he was already a witness to the transformation of preclassicism into classicism. This fusion of baroque with classicism is clearly pictured [in his works]."[355] Šenkýř also has been identified as one of the notable Bohemian "precursors of classicism."[356] Antonio Lotti, of a slightly older generation, wrote music that also represents a bridge between the Baroque and Classical styles.[357]

All five of the above-mentioned composers (Lotti, Loos, Brixi, Šenkýř, and Oehlschlägel), wrote primarily

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[353]Racek, Česká hudba, 117.

[354]Němeček, Nástin české hudby, 151.

[355]Nástin české hudby, 168. Racek agrees that Oehlschlägel effected a synthesis of baroque and classic musical elements (Česka hudba, 119). Oehschlägel's compositions were widely disseminated throughout the countryside of Bohemia and Moravia, and Loos' works have also been found in Bohemian and Moravian collections and also in Slovakia and Breslau ("Lohelius, Jan," and "Loos, Karel," PHS II/21, p. 55, 56).

[356]"Šenkýř," ČSHS II, 687.

[357]"Perhaps better than any other composer of his time, he bridged the late Baroque and early Classical periods" (Sven Hansell, "Lotti, Antonio," NG 11, 250).

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for the church,[358] as did Schürer and Sojka. The remaining composers wrote church music incidentally or secondarily to other pursuits. They are better known for dramatic works (Mysliveček, Dittersdorf) or for instrumental pieces (Filtz, Pichl, and Dittersdorf). The music of all these composers is widely found in late-18th-century collections.

From the composers represented in the thematic catalogue to 1778, it can be concluded that Osek attempted to keep abreast of popular composers, insofar as their works were available and suitable for liturgical purposes. However, the range and scope of acquisitions, as mentioned above, was far narrower than in the decades prior to 1750. Even before the Josephinian reforms severely limited the frequency and splendor of liturgical observances, Osek's repertory had gradually become more concentrated on fewer composers and on works that could be produced with more modest means. The collection, however changed it had become, showed that Osek was keeping abreast of contemporary fashion, as it had in the past.[359]

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[358]Although Lotti saw great success as an opera composer in his early years, after his return to Venice from Dresden (1719), his career centered on the basilica of St. Mark's, where he was first organist (1704-36) and then primo maestro di cappella (Hansell, "Lotti," NG 11, 249).

[359]Osek would continue to acquire current music, as seen in the 1802 entries: 9 more works by Dittersdorf, 8 by Joseph Haydn, 11 by Michael Haydn, 17 by Koželuch, 21

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Comparisons with other Inventories

In Bohemian lands, only one other church inventory of the time is available for comparison with Osek's thematic catalogue: the inventory from the parish church of Kvasice, in Moravia. The Kvasice inventory was compiled in 1757, with additions in 1768 and 1772. Like Osek's thematic catalogue, it contains church music genres and a group of Christmas pastoral pieces. It also has a section devoted to "Symphonia," that lists works by Holzbauer, Wagenseil, Richter, Dittersdorf and Haydn, which Osek added in its own catalogue at a much later date.[360]

The Kvasice inventory identifies about seventy-five composers, about half of which are held in common with Osek's thematic catalogue and the later entries in the 1720 inventory. The difference lies mainly in Kvasice's collection of music by Moravian composers, none of which are present at Osek. Composers at Osek that are lacking in Kvasice tend to be the Neapolitan composers, along with Osek's members and musicians from the Prague churches.

For contemporary court collections within Bohemia, there is no comparison possible with that of Bishop

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more by Mysliveček, 10 by Mozart, and 42 by Vaňhal.

[360]The inventory and its contents are described by Theodora Straková ("Kvasický Inventář," ČMM XXXVIII (1953) 105-149).

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Leopold Egk, whose inventory (1758-60) was confined to instrumental music and a few oratorios.[361] However, the inventory of the Counts Collalto from Brtnice (German: Pirnitz) castle offers a possibility. The inventory, dated about 1752-1769, contains sinfonias, concertos, divertimentos, cassations, and church music. About 130 composers are named for approximately 600 compositions.[362] Here there is a strong correlation of composers, Italian as well as the major Prague- and Vienna-based ones, the difference resides, as at Kvasice, with the Moravian composers lacking at Osek and the local Bohemian composers lacking at Brtnice.

Moving outside Bohemian lands, Osek's thematic catalogue can be compared to the catalogue of the Wallerstein Chorregent Franz Ignaz Schreiber (1765).[363] Schreiber's categories, often unnamed, are practical as well as liturgical: "Missae cum clarin: et tymp.," "Missae sine clarinis," "Offertoria--Mottetta in plaeno vel solo," "Edliche Arien," "Sonata," [Vesperpsalmen]," "[Marianische Antiphonen]," "[Litaneien]," "[Miserere],"

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[361]See J. Sehnal, "Das Musikinventar des Olmützer Bischofs Leopold Egk aus dem Jahre 1760 als Quelle vorklassischer Instrumentalmusik," AMW XXIX (1972) 285-317.

[362]The contents of the inventory are described in detail by Straková in "Brtnický hudební inventář," 199-234.

[363]Haberkamp, Die Musikhandschriften, xviii-xxiv.

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and several miscellaneous items, including Pergolesi's Stabat Mater.[364] With respect to composers, the two inventories have much in common: the Imperial Hofkapelle composers Fux, Caldara, and Reutter (two compositions each at Osek), the Vienna-based Schmid, Tuma and Holzbauer (one composition each at Osek), plus works by Pergolesi, Zechner, Wolff and Handel, as well as composers that appear in Osek's 1720 inventory (Corelli and Carissimi). The Wallerstein inventory's reliance on Vienna is far greater than that of Osek.

Only a brief comparison can be made with Schönborn's collection, which had ended its acquisitions before the writing of Osek's thematic catalog. Basically there is no change from the observations noted for Osek's previous inventory except that Osek had added a few more composers which Schönborn either possessed already or was also adding at the same time. Falling into this category would be works by Reutter (father and son) and by David Perez, Johann Heinichen, Gaetano Carpani and Ignaz Conti. In effect, with the exception of the French composers, Osek kept abreast of the same repertory as Schönborn.

Summary

From the evidence in the inventory of 1706, the North-Bohemian Cistercian monastery at Osek at the turn of

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[364]Haberkamp, Die Musikhandschriften, xxiv.

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the seventeenth century was an institution relying in large part on native Bohemian composers for its music. To a lesser extent it performed music of selected Italian masters, primarily those connected with Bologna. Giovanni Battista Bassani formed the single most influential composer at Osek in terms of numbers and variety of works. At this time, the works of the Viennese court composers were in Osek's library but were mostly of "ancient lineage" and poorly represented. Austrian and German composers, in ecclesiastical or aristocratic establishments, tended to be few and to be those whose works were printed and widely disseminated in central Europe--Aufschnaiter and Glettle being the most notable representatives.

When compared with the other church institutions and the courts, Osek had strong resemblances in repertory, modified only by the genres it needed (less emphasis on dance music, for example), local possibilities (acquiring music from its own members), and direct connections (with other Cistercian houses and with Prague). The published music provides firm evidence to show that although Osek's collection included many older, less "fashionable" works, the monastery endeavored to keep abreast of the times and to acquire new works as quickly as possible.

Not unexpectedly, Osek's repertory centered on the Ordinary of the Mass, observing the ceremonial distinctions adopted by the Imperial Court. The

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incidental music for the Mass and for Vespers, because of the age of most of the works, relied largely on either the stile antico or the concertante style. Secular music, both vocal and instrumental, was very much in use at Osek, especially as "table music," but no firm evidence supported its possible incorporation in worship settings. The number of vernacular pieces and the presence of pastoral music suggest that popular pious observances were supported and encouraged by the monastery.

By about 1720, the earlier entries of the second inventory showed a changed picture. The operatic aria had clearly swept the field, and the older Masses had been laid aside. As before, the younger composers who appeared in this inventory, were predominantly Bohemian, but Osek had begun to rely increasingly on the internationally-popular Italian opera and oratorio composers. Seemingly in pursuit of the new and the famous, Osek's collection included a selection of composers whose reputations were earned both in aristocratic and ecclesiastical circles. In 1720, instrumental music presented a somewhat archaic profile.

Although the Imperial Court was still not a direct influence on Osek's musical culture in 1720, the grand imperial style certainly was. The list of instruments (Mantissa, Appendix I) and the instrumentation and voicing for many of the musical works suggest a remarkably rich,

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even lavish level of musical performance, in which the Italian opera and oratorio formed the stylistic norm. In this aspect, Osek was remarkably close to the taste of the aristocratic courts.

The popular pious observances were stylized into special feast-day observances, primarily through the pastorella during Advent and Christmas and through the Passion-Easter liturgical events, with the vernacular still playing a strong part at that time.

Between 1723 and about 1735, the Italian musical tide reached its peak at Osek, in numbers of composers, in their contemporaneity and international repute, and in the numbers of their works. The repertory was dominated by Antonio Caldara, Vice-Director of the Imperial Hofkapelle. As a composer of dramatic works, as well as of liturgical works, he was also probably the model for many of Osek's newly-acquired composers. The Imperial Court composers clearly formed a focus of Osek's interest, as well as did a few composers at the glittering court of Saxony in Dresden. Yet Bohemian musicians continued to be a steady source of Osek's music, supplying almost half of the new works.

The 1720 inventory, in its entirety, testifies to a pinnacle of brilliant musical cultivation at Osek, one that did not last for long. The fortunes of war and of economics appear to be the causes of a severe decline in the numbers of new acquisitions after 1735, as well as in

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the number of performers needed for their production. From 1735 to 1760 there is an attempt at contemporaneity, but through more restricted avenues of supply than before.

What had dimly been seen as a possible trend beginning in 1706 was more clearly shown by the 1770s; that is, a steady decline in reliance on composers from the surrounding area, as well as on composers from the Cistercian Order and other Orders. A steady increase in the number of Italian composers and the number of their works up to 1735 was followed by a decline in favor of Bohemian composers who had formed their own style out of the Neapolitan tradition, flavored with some Bohemian folk music traits. A burst of interest in the Imperial Court musicians, notably Caldara, between 1723 and 1735, was followed by a decline thereafter. The great interest in arias, together with obbligato solo instruments, beginning after 1706, culminated in the noticeably operatic works of František X. Brixi and his contemporaries. After about 1760, there was a trend toward standardized choral and instrumental settings.

By this same period the sources of Osek's music became fewer and narrower in scope, increasingly reliant for the major part of the repertory on composers of repute in central Europe, especially those of Bohemia and Moravia, and particularly F.X. Brixi. By 1802, Osek relied on a core group of famous composers like

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Dittersdorf, Joseph and Michael Haydn, and W. A. Mozart.[365]

At every point in the eighteenth century, Prague formed the principal and abiding influence on Osek's musical culture, in composers, repertory and connections. Although evidence is available to connect Osek directly with other church institutions and courts, the prevailing influence of Prague as a source of music cannot be ignored. It is Prague's influence which, more than any other factor, shaped the profile of Osek's musical culture, and accounted for the major differences between Osek's repertory and that of the Schönborn court.

At every point along the way, throughout the eighteenth century, a musician at Osek would have had a fairly clear idea of the latest in contemporary music with respect to composers and style trends. What was missing was the contact with staged opera, although operatic elements and even whole arias were in Osek's repertory. In the second half of the eighteenth century the instrumental virtuoso element was missing, as well as the repertory intended for a finely-tuned symphonic ensemble. Here, too, elements were present in Osek's repertory, albeit in the instrumental interludes and "symphonies" which preceded some of the Masses. A musician who wished to gain fuller experience with either the opera or

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[365]Although the inventory entries of this later period have been referred to, the period around 1802 is outside the scope of this study.

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symphonic instrumental music would have needed additional experience that Osek could not provide. However, at Osek, any musician would have gained a firm foundation in current style and repertory on which further training could rapidly be built. In addition, certain Bohemian indigenous musical traits and traditions would have been transmitted as well, but probably without systematic cultivation.

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THE MUSICAL CULTURE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOHEMIA, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE MUSIC INVENTORIES OF OSEK AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS

Volume II

by

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CHAPTER IV

THE MUSIC INVENTORY OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS WITH THE RED STAR, PRAGUE

The importance of musical life in Prague to musical life at the monastery of Osek has already been observed. One of the leading musical institutions in Prague was the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, whose public liturgies at their church of St. Francis Serafin, were performed by excellent musicians and attended by the highest nobility.

A Brief History of the Knights of the Cross

Although some of the exact details are uncertain, it is clear that in 1237 the Order of the Knights of the Cross was confirmed under the rule of St. Augustine by Pope Gregory IX. It was founded as an order devoted primarily to the care of the sick, with the mother house (including hospital and chapel) situated at the foot of the Prague Bridge (now the Charles Bridge, on the Old Town side). In 1250 the pope permitted the order to distinguish itself from other military Orders of the Cross with a red six-pointed star, thus enlarging its title to Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (Czech: Křížovníci s červenou hvězdou; German: Kreuzherren mit dem rothen

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Stern; Latin: Ordo militaris crucigerorum cum rubea stellis).[1]

The order grew rapidly within Bohemia during the thirteenth century, successfully combining within itself two identities, that of a military secular priesthood as well as a brotherhood of hospitalers.[2] The Knights spread rapidly to Moravia and Silesia, and then early in the eighteenth century to Poland, Hungary, and finally Austria. They received large donations of wealth and estates for the founding and maintenance of its hospitals, orphanages and for support of its charitable work.[3] As it grew, the canon members of the order were awarded supervision (and income) of a number of parishes. By the 18th century, the Knights, under their general and

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[1]Two similar military orders were founded in Prague during approximately the same time period: the Knights with the Red Cross and the Knights with the Red Heart. Both were dissolved in the latter part of the 18th century. See Josef Svátek, Organizace řeholních institucí v českých zemích a péče o jejich archivy. Published as a special supplement to Sborník archivních prací XX/2 (Prague, 1970) 522-23.

[2]Founded basically as a hospital order of canons and lay brothers, the general aspiration of the order was to become a knightly order in every sense of the word, a goal that was finally achieved in 1675, according to Franz Jacksche (Geschichte des ritterlichen Ordens der Kreuzherren mit dem roten Sterne [Prag: Rohliček und Sievers, 1904] 13).

[3]Václav Bělohlávek, "Dějiny," Kniha památní na sedmisetleté založení českých křížovníku s červenou hvězdou (1233-1933), ed. by Václav Bělohlávek and Josef Hradec (Prague: Published by the Order, 1933) 53-54.

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grandmaster in Prague, owned 158 parishes, houses, and hospitals in Bohemia and Moravia and 24 in the rest of central Europe (see Map 2). Its entire holdings were almost equal to that of the Knights of Malta, and the Premonstratensian abbey of Strahov (Prague) which together were the richest in Bohemia.[4] Among the Knights' largest houses were Hradiště sv. Hippolyta at Znojmo (German: Znaim, in Moravia), Cheb (German: Eger), Most (German: Brüx), Chlum Sv. Maří and Vienna.[5]

The widespread influence of the Knights of the Cross came not only from increasing wealth, but also from the activity of its members, many of whom served in the administration of the archdiocese of Prague.[6] Some

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[4]Jiří Fukač, "Křížovnický hudební inventář: Příspěvek k poznání křížovnické hudební kultury a jejího místa v hudebním životě barokní Prahy." (Ph.D. dissertation, Brno: J.E.P. Purkyně University, Brno, 1959) I, 68-69. However, Jean Bérenger states that the Knights of the Cross were not as wealthy as the Jesuits of the Prague University ("The Austrian church," Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century, ed. by William J. Callahan and David Higgs [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979] 95). Material on the history and culture of the order is deposited in the Cs Pa and in Cs Bsa.

[5]Bělohlávek, Kniha památní, 305. Most (Brüx) is the neighboring town to Osek, and Cheb is close enough to have had early musical contact with Osek (see page 253). Jacksche gives a complete list of the Knights' holdings, including all of the villages and estates (Geschichte, 103-04).

[6]The important administrative posts devolved upon the order for two reasons: 1) Its strong counter-reformatory role during the Hussite rebellion; 2) The archbishop of Prague automatically held the post of grandmaster from 1561 to 1694, an award made originally to

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members occupied especially influential posts, as, for example, the Commendator of Cheb who was the father confessor of Friedrich August II, King of Poland.

In religious and national politics, the order had a primary role through its general vicar, called Grandmaster (German: Grossmeister; Czech: velmistr). In the church hierarchy, the Knights' Grandmaster ranked just below the officials of the metropolitan cathedral of St. Vitus. He also held a seat in the Bohemian Diet. In recognition of this status, the Grandmasters were granted the use of pontifical rites, thus ensuring that the highest degree of solemnity (hence the highest degree of splendor) could be observed in the public liturgy. The summit of the order's power was reached when Emperor Charles VI granted it the right of supervision over the splendid, newly-built Karlskirche in Vienna (decree in 1733; possession in 1738).[7]

Beginning in 1679, the increasing fame and fortune of the order encouraged the mother house in Prague to rebuild its church at the foot of the Prague bridge (now

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enhance the archbishop's personal revenues (Jacksche, Geschichte, 104).

[7]This magnificent edifice, "one of the most original and monumental Baroque churches in Europe," was commissioned by Charles VI in honor of his patron saint Charles Borromeo. The church was designed by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and completed by his son in 1737 (Ernst Wangermann, The Austrian Achievement [New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1973] 15, 29-30).

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the Charles bridge), according to plans by Jean Baptiste Mathey (?1630-1695/96).[8] The square-shaped structure, named in honor of St. Francis Serafin and judged by some to be the most beautiful church in the Italian style in Prague, was completed in 1688, but continued to be remodeled and decorated through the 1730s with artworks commissioned from the best artists of the day; among them the painter Wenzel Rainer (Václav Reiner, 1689-1743) and sculptor Ondřej Philip Quitainer (1679-1729).[9]

The position of Grandmaster of the order was held by the Prague archbishops from 1561 to 1694, among them the powerful Counter Reformation leader Cardinal Ernst Graf Harrach (served 1623-1667) and Johann Friedrich Graf von Waldstein (served 1668-1694). They were followed by a series of well-educated aristocrats (mainly from Czech families) who were passionate men of letters and assiduous patrons of the arts: Georg Ignaz Pospíchal (1694-1699), Johannes Franz Franchimont von Frankenfeldt (1699-1707), Martin Konstantin Beinlich (1707-1721), Franz Mathias Böhmb (1722-1750), Julius Franz Waha (1750-1754) and Anton Jakob Suchánek (1755-1795).[10] The supervisors, or

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[8]Mathey also was the architect for the Thun palace and the Šternberk summer palace of Troja in Prague as well as of Osek's pilgrimage church Maria Radčice.

[9]Jacksche, Geschichte, 78, 87.

[10]Dějiny českých křížovníku s červenou hvězdou, ed. by Václav Bělohlávek and Josef Hradec (Prague: published by the Order, 1930) 121, 232.

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Commendators, at the Karlskirche in Vienna were also noted men of letters and arts, beginning with Josef Hauer (served 1738-1754) and the fine musician, Michael Angstenberger (served 1767-1775).[11]

The Knights' library, founded by Grandmaster Pospíchal, grew to 50,000 volumes, encompassing all subjects and including 200 incunabula, unique manuscripts about Bohemian history, and printed cantionals.[12] Several scholars of note were among the Knights' members over the years, including the published historians, Grandmaster Pospíchal and Jan František Beckovský (1658-1725) and the theologian Johann Burkhardt (d. 1784). The Knights maintained a steady tradition of preserving and furthering the use of the Czech language, contributing in no small measure to the rebuilding of its grammar, vocabulary and syntax in the nineteenth century.

The order, founded for the assistance of the poor, continued to pursue that task. It distributed food and clothing daily at each of its institutions and supported poor orphans, enabling them to obtain an education. Its

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[11]Jacksche, Geschichte, 85, 89.

[12]The library is still at the Knights of the Cross in Prague, under the management of Cs Pu. The printed cantionals are Mathesius' Bergpostilla (1578), Eber's Psalterium Davidis (1565), Braun's Marianischer Psalter (1664), Spee's Trutznachtigall (1683), Alte und neue kath. Kirchengesänge (Prague, 1652), Steyer's Český kancionál (Prague, [? possibly a first edition]), and Holan Rovenský's Kaple královská (Prague, 1693).

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hospitals were regularly staffed and operated for the indigent and aged.

At the peak of its favor both in Prague and Vienna, the fortunes of the Knights began to reverse during the War of Succession in the 1740s. First came the occupation of Prague by Franch eand Bavarian troops, with the consequent depredations. Between 1742 and 1747 payments amounting to about 95,000 florins were extracted from the order by foreign armies.[13] This financial loss came at a time when the order was subsidizing the entire Karlskirche in Vienna, including its distributions to the poor, waiting vainly for the grant promised by Maria Theresia.[14] The drain on the Knights' treasury continued through the havoc of the Seven Years' War in the 1750s and the demands of the Imperial Treasury for large contributions to rebuild and refortify the country.

The reforms of Joseph II, which gradually incorporated the order's hospitals into the state-run institutional system, served to diminish further the Knights' power and prestige. The order never again regained the glories of the peak years of the 1730s, and gradually lost most of its possessions. Today, a few members continue its diminished functions in Prague and in

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[13]Jacksche, Geschichte, 87.

[14]Jacksche, Geschichte, 89, 107.

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Znojmo.[15]

Musical Life and Musical Personnel

The building of the church of St. Francis Serafin (1679-1688) both signaled and enhanced the order's aspirations toward a position of cultural leadership in Prague, one that was not bound by monastic regulations or limited by pedagogical duties. The Augustinian rule under which the Knights were organized and from which their discipline derived, promoted a strong cultivation of music as well as providing its own special liturgy.[16] The Knights' intention with respect to music, is evident in the plan of the church of St. Francis, where the choir loft, situated at a height of about 15 feet over the eastern side of the chancel and under a finely-decorated dome of classically-balanced proportions, is so placed as to afford excellent acoustics. The right to pontifical celebration (1701, above) allowed for the production of powerful and brilliant vocal and instrumental music.

The Knights' liturgical calendar included not only the standard feasts of the church year, but feasts that celebrated the Holy Cross and the range of Marian days as well--the Blessed Virgin having been adopted by all

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[15]Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the members of the order concentrated on teaching in the upper-level schools, on linguistics, and on archival work.

[16]H. Häschen, "Augustiner," MGG I, 843-844.

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Bohemian orders as special protectress (through the Habsburg-inspired Pietas Austriaca).[17] These additional feasts were:[18]

St. Fabian and Sebastian
Purification of B.V.M.
Blessed Anna (founder of the original hospital)
Annunciation of B.V.M.
Discovery of the Holy Cross
St. John of Nepomuk
The Visitation of of B.V.M.
The Assumption of B.V.M.
St. Augustine
The Birth of B.V.M.
The Elevation of the Holy Cross
St. Francis Serafin
The Sacrifice of B.V.M.
The Immaculate Conception of B.V.M.

The Knights of the Cross were among the greatest patrons of music in Bohemia, if not the greatest among them, according to historical records. "Foreigners, visiting Prague, did not fail to name their performances a specialty of Prague musical life."[19] The music program (see below) was strongly supported by several successive Grandmasters who were highly knowledgeable in music. Both

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[17]Friedrich W. Riedel, Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711-1740)(München-Salzburg: Emil Katzbichler, 1977) 26.

[18]J. Hradec, "Nynější stav řádu," Kniha památní, 311.

[19]Quoted by Otakar Kamper ("Hudba v řádu," Kniha památní, 103. A sound basis for Kamper's conclusion is found in the size and contents of the existing collection, by far the largest in Czechoslovakia, even though incomplete; the accounts in the annals of the order for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the music inventory.

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Archbishops Ernst Graf Harrach (served 1623-67) and Johann Friedrich Graf von Waldstein (served 1668-94), instituted reforms in music at the Knights of the Cross and laid the foundation of the music collection. Jiří Ignác Pospíchal continued the development. J. C. F. Fischer dedicated his Vesperae of 1701 to Johannes Franz Franchimont von Frankenfeldt.[20] Martin Konstantin Beinlich (1707-21) and Franz Mathias Böhmb (1722-50), both assiduously expanded the music collection, the latter by his personal selection.[21]

The church of St. Francis was served by a series of excellent organists and regens chori. Among the latter were the composers Mikuláš F.X. Wentzely (before 1688); Jan František Ludvík Poppe, a member of the order whose compositions were already encountered at Osek; Daniel Milčinský (1706-1735), a member of the order and a student of Poppe; Jan Michael Angstenberger (1717-1789); and Josef Bleylebel (d. 1762).[22] Continuing beyond 1775, Johann

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[20] Vesperae seu psalmi vespertini pro toto anno ..., (RISM F 985). The collection appears in the Knights of the Cross inventory.

[21] A number of pieces that were entered in the inventory had been procured by Böhmb himself directly from Vienna (Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář," I, 118).

[22] Vladimír Němec, Pražské varhany (Prague:František Novák, 1944) 135. According to Kamper, Angstenberger was, in the 1740s, "among the best of the composers in Prague" ("Hudba v řádu," 203-04). Wentzely's and Poppe's compositions were widespread in Bohemia; Poppe's also in Dresden and in Vienna, where they were favored at the Imperial Court ("Poppe, František Ludvík," ČSHS II, 344-

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Antonín Koželuch (1738-1814) served in the years 1781-1784 and Václav Praupner (1745-1807) served in the years 1794-1807. His musical estate forms part of the present archive of the Knights of the Cross.[23] Among the organists were Jan Adam Besnecker (fl. ca. 1700); František Josef Dollhopf (d. 1743) who served for 30 years, and Josef Ferdinand Norbert Seger (1716-1782) who served in the years 1745-82 and simulataneously at the Týn church.[24]

St. Francis hired outstanding musicians for its capella, both to play and to teach. One of these was the composer-theorbist Nicolò Cecherini (d. 1758), a member of the order and reportedly the last of their theorbists.[25]

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45). Some pieces by Wentzely and a large number by Poppe were found in Osek's inventories of 1706 and 1720; some by Angstenberger in 1753. Bleylebel was in contact with Osek regarding copies of music (see Chapter III).

[23]Kamper, "Hudba v řádu," 205.

[24]Němec, Pražské varhany, 135. Dollhopf was an organist of some reknown. In the order's record of his death we find this tribute: "Musici e triurbe plerique convenere ad contestandum affectum erga pie defunctum in Musica magnum artificem, cui Praga quo ad Organum parem hoc tempore non habuit" (Bělohlávek, Kniha památní, 100n. Seger's music is well-represented in collections throughout Bohemia. About him Charles Burney said, "he is the best player in this city . . . and I found him to be a sensible man, as well as an excellent performer" (Dr. Burney's Musical Tours, II, 134).

[25]"Cecherini, Nicolò," PHS II/1, 139. Dlabacž states that he was "ein Italiener, war bis 50 Jahre Tiorbist ... starb 1758 ... und mit ihm ist auch dieses Instrument abgestorben" (Künstler-Lexikon, 270). Dlabacž lists him as "Anton Ceccherini." Fukač suggests that Cecherini may indeed have been the last theorbist in Prague; ("Křížovnický inventář," I, 91). A Mass and a Gradual by Cecherini are in Osek's 1720 Inventory, and one

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Franz Joseph Werner, the celebrated violoncellist (1710-1768) was another. Concomitantly with his post at the church, he also served in the capella of Count Morzin.[26]

A new organ was installed at the church of St. Francis at the close of the seventeenth century. The builder has been variously identified as Abraham Stark or Leopold of Loket.[27] Together with the instruments at St. Vitus, the Strahov monastery and the Týn church, it has been judged one of the best in Prague, although it was not as large as the one built at Osek. Its specifications are:[28]

Offertory in the 1753 thematic catalogue.

[26]"Werner, Franz Joseph," ČSHS II, 948. Among his students were Joseph Fiala and Anton Kraft.

[27]Němec identifies the builder as Leopold of Loket, who was active both in Prague and the outlying area in the years 1685-1721. Bohumil Plánský identifies the builder as Abraham Stark (1659-1709) in the year 1702 ("Minulost a současnost svatojakubských varhan v Praze," Hudební nástroje (Hradec Králové) XIX/3 (June 1982) 92). Lubomír Tomší declares that the builder is Stark ("Loketská varhanářská škola," HV XXVI (1989) 127); also Rudolf Quoika ("Lohelius Oelschlegel und der Prager Orgelbau," Musik des Ostens 2, 101). All writers give the organ's specifications.

[28]Němec gives not only a technical description but one drawn from experience (Pražské varhany, 89-90). Plate 3 shows a photograph of the case. This writer has had occasion to play the organ and testifies to its sweetness and clarity. Its tonal design and voicing is Italian-Austrian.

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Hauptwerk			
Principal	8	Flauta	4
Bourdon	8	Quinta	3
Octava	4	Mixtur	2 (VI)
Rückpositiv			
Copula major	8	Principal	2
Copula minor	8	Mixtur	2 (IV)
Pedal			
Subbas	16	Quintbas	6
Octavbas	8	Superoctavbas	4

As for other instruments, no inventory is available, but on the basis of the prescribed instrumentation of the choir music, it is evident that the Knights had a good-sized orchestra available, made up of in-house musicians, students and hired professionals.[29]

Unlike other orders, the Knights of the Cross had no school in which musical plays and other musical performances might take place. Nevertheless, the order in Prague (as well as a number of its houses) had a regular custom of generous support for poor students without requiring that they take religious vows. In 1736, for example, the Prague house gave full or partial support to twenty-eight students, drawn from both native and foreign

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[29]Fukač has compiled a summary list as follows: "at least 4 violins ... some with mutes, 2 violettas ..., 4 violas, 2 violas da gamba, 2 violoncellos ..., contrabass (the theorbo falling into oblivion by degrees), 2 flutes ... 2 oboes ..., bassoons, ... horns, 2 Waldhorns (cornets, zinks), 4 trumpets ... perhaps as many as 5, 3 trombones, timpani and organ ... The orchestra thus did not differ from those of other important churches, interpretationally however, it belonged to the best in Prague" ("Křížovnický inventář," I, 93).

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families, some of them not even Roman Catholic but Lutheran.[30] All students who had the voice and talent were required to sing in the choir and were given instruction.

There were also a number of choirboys who received full scholarships and instruction. Records show as many as ten at one time.[31] Josef Reicha (1752-1795), later to become a fine cellist and composer, was a boy soprano at St. Francis and received lessons from Werner while he was there.[32] In addition to choirboys and scholarship students, the regens chori hired additional singers with a view to the highest quality.[33] As a result, the choir of the Knights of the Cross was famous for its music performances, some of which were sung in Italian.[34] From the 1730s the order's annals testify that the Church of St. Francis could not hold all of the nobility and invited guests, "particularly on Good Friday when Italian

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[30]Bělohlávek, Kniha památní, 98-99. The records show students of philosophy, logic, medicine, and various levels of upper and lower schools, with time periods from a few months to many years. For example, Theofil Koch, son of a Lutheran who had died in their hospital was given complete support (food, clothing, lodging) from primary school to the completion of his studies in philosophy.

[31]Jacksche, Geschichte, 108.

[32]Peter Eliot Stone, "Reicha, Josef," NG 15, 702.

[33]It is reported by Bužga that students at the Jesuit Clementinum were hired by St. Francis' capella for oratorio productions ("Musiker und musikalische Institutionen," 357). Gluck, during his student days in Prague, also performed there (Racek, Česká hudba, 144).

[34]Bělohlávek, Kniha památní, 100.

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oratorios were produced."[35]

Elaborate musical services took place at the church of St. Francis particularly on the feast days of the church and of the order's patron saints, during visits of high dignitaries, and on special festive occasions, such as celebration of a priest's first Mass, a priest's jubilee year (50th), elections of Grandmasters and other officials.

In view of the lustre of St. Francis' reputation, it is not surprising that well-known composers, such as Francesco Feo, dedicated some of their works "to the congregation of the Fathers of the Cross in Prague."[36] Whether members of the Imperial Court sent special works by gift or by commission is not certain. From Fux there is a Missa St. Ludmilae and from Caldara a Mass for St. John of Nepomuk and one for St. Wenceslas. Other works appear by J. C. F. Fischer, Pietro Paolo Bencini, Gonelli,

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[35]Bělohlávek, Kniha památní, 101. A record from March 1736 reads: "Oratorio: Elena al Calvario. Oratorium solemnissimum intitulatum Elena al Calvario etc. idiomate italico-productum fuit, durant ultra duas horas et omnes Virtuosi Musici convenerunt totaque Nobilitas Pragensis occurrit, ita ut Ecclesia nostra plena fuerit hominibus de singulari extractu." Ibid, 101n. The oratorio was by Caldara, and is listed in the inventory among the oratorio productions 1724-59.

[36]The oratorio was "La distruzione dell' esercito dei Cananei con la morte di Sisera," (1739) (Hanns-Berthold Dietz, "Feo, Francesco," NG 6, 467).

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and Fischietti.[37]

But not all was liturgical. In May students threw musical "merendas" (balls) in the garden of the order.[38] Although there was no tradition of school plays such as the Jesuits produced, at least one occasion, the name day of grandmaster Böhmb, in 1724, saw the production of various stage works.[39]

Not without reason was the high, oval-domed church of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star called by its admirers, castra stellata (tower of stars).[40]

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[37]Kamper, "Hudba v řádu," 197.

[38]Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář, I, 96.

[39]Kamper, "Hudba v řádu," 207.

[40]Kamper, "Hudba v řádu," 298.

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The Source: The Music Inventory of c1737-38

It is not certain why or when an inventory was made of the choir collection at St. Francis in Prague. Nevertheless, on the basis of the format and contents, Fukač has offered an estimated date of 1737-38, the period in which the Knights were at the peak of their musical production.[41]

A single scribe wrote the inventory, but there were some later additions by two other scribes between the years 1738 and 1759, plus a list of thirty-one oratorios, one performed each year at the church of St. Francis during this same time period (see Appendix L for an outline of the contents of the inventory, and Appendix M for the oratorios).[42]

The document measures 220 x 350 mm and consists of 57 folios. Although the bottom part of each page and several loose pages were cut off some time earlier, the inventory is complete. It lacks a title page and may never have had one. The original leather binding is heavily damaged. The volume has been decorated with some care: pages edged in coin gold, decorated initials and

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[41]Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář," I, 114-15.

[42]Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář," I, 6, 114-15. The inventory itself was found in the archive of the Knights of the Cross church of St. Hypolita in Hradiště, near Znojmo (Moravia).

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ornaments - all done in a uniform manner throughout. Some tabs have been glued in at the beginning of three of the five sections; probably there were five originally. The writing is in cursive Latin script with printed titles in capital letters; the German titles and names are in Kurrentschrift.[43]

The basic organization of the inventory provides a catalogue of the choir collection according to physical location, which was evidently in large cupboards or closets divided into compartments or shelves. The five principal divisions of the inventory are called Ordos, each referring to a cupboard. Each Ordo is subdivided into a series of scrinia (boxes) and within each scrinium the music is numbered sequentially beginning with 1, except for those which continue a sequence from the previous scrinium. The number does not indicate those items which consist of more than one piece, but on the basis of the numbering, 2,933 entries were made by 1737-38, to which were added later 50 new works and the 31

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[43]The format is in columns: Item number/category and title/"Instrumenta singulariores"/key/author/remarks on performance, number of performances, sometimes also the location of performances. On the first pages, there is one unidentified column in which the scribe noted the quality of the work or of the performance, usually with the words "Bene" or "Mediocr:" According to Fukač, the scribe "evidently felt more impatient as the work progressed, because comments disappear and items become increasingly terse and abbreviated. Titles become general rather than specific, precluding precise identification [of pieces]" (Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář," I, 112).

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dramatic works as follows:

TABLE 4.1--Basic organization and numerical contents of the Knights of the Cross inventory

ORDO	NO. OF SCRINIA	NO. OF ITEMS	NO. ADDED LATER
I	50	1057	4
II	32	611	5
III	31	790	10
IV	26	415	29
V	20	60	2
		—	+ 31
	TOTAL	2933	81

The total of 3,014 items (a number which is far short of the separate pieces) makes this the largest eighteenth-century music inventory extant in Bohemian lands.

By means of this inventory, it is possible to trace the development of the music collection of the Knights of the Cross from its earliest acquisitions, probably in the 1660s, through the 1730s and 40s.[44] It is also possible, from the scribal notations, to trace some shipments of music from the Prague collection to several other houses of the order, notably to Vienna, and in Bohemia to Hradiště and Doxsany.[45]

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[44]Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář." I, 119. Kamper suggests that the earliest acquisitions were compositions by G. P. Colonna (1637-95), Francesco Foggia (1605-88) and B. Graziani (1605-64) ("Hudba v řádu," 218).

[45]Nineteen shipments were recorded: nine to Vienna, eight to Hradiště and two to Doxsany. The notations were made by two different scribes, the second of which consistently mentioned names of persons who were involved in some manner with the expedition of the shipment. By these names it is possible to date these records. (Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář," I, 117).

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The inventory has additional historical value in that it contains intact the musical estate of Karel Gayer, Kapellmeister at the cathedral of St. Vitus. Gayer, who died in 1734, possessed a large collection of music, a substantial part of which he obtained in 1717 from Baltazar Knapp, who had spent more than eight years in Naples and Rome as secretary to Count Stephen Kinsky, and who had acquired there many pieces by Italian composers.[46] When the cathedral refused to purchase Gayer's estate, grandmaster Böhmb authorized the purchase for the choir of the Knights of the Cross, evidently sometime between 1734 and 1737. Gayer's collection was kept as a unit; it comprises all of the original entries in Ordo I, amounting to 1,057 items. Thus it appears that the Knights of the Cross music collection in 1737-38 consisted of about 1,876 items, to which Gayer's estate appears to have been a significant addition. As will be seen, the "Knapp purchase" may have been the least useful part.

For the purpose of comparison with Osek's inventories, the Knights' inventory will be examined in four groupings: 1) the collection amassed to 1737-38,

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[46]Knapp had originally offered the entire set to St. Vitus, through Gayer. The cathedral choir could not afford Knapp's price of 300 florins, but did purchase 200 florins' worth. Apparently Gayer acquired the rest (Anton Podlaha, Catalogus Collectionis operum artis musicae quae in bibliotheca capituli metropolitani pragensis asservantur [Pragae: S. F. Metropolitani Capituli Pragensis, 1926] xvi-xvii).

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excluding Gayer's estate; 2) Gayer's collection; 3) the new additions, 1738-59; 4) the oratorio productions, 1724-59.

Musical Repertory

The Knights' Collection to 1737-173?

The inventory scribe apparently had a set of large general categories in his mind within which the music was arranged physically into closet compartments and literally in subcategories based either upon the liturgical year or upon the type of musical setting (see Appendix L).[47] Thus, as in Osek's inventories, the initial category is that of the Mass, subdivided by degree of solemnity, but in this inventory systematically also by voicing, the obligatory or ad libitum use of ceremonial instruments, and according to special seasons. A separate category was given to independent settings of the Credo.

Offertoria were organized according to the liturgical year and special feast days, with some subcategories referring to musical genres: "cantata," "aria," "concertus," "motet." Separate subcategories were given to such liturgical items as Introit, Te Deum, Requiem and allied music, Miserere, Lamentations, Litanies, Rorate, each of the Marian antiphons, Vespers,

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[47]Gayer's collection is arranged essentially in the same way.

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Completoria, Antiphons, Hymns, certain Vespers Psalms, and Oratorios.

As in Osek's Inventory of 1720, the category "Gradualia" is not used, except in Gayer's collection, which consists of a few titles in one subcategory of "Offertoria." Separate subcategories were constructed in the Knights inventory on the basis of non-liturgical requirements, such as language (arias in Italian) and format (scores rather than parts). Printed music usually appears in a separate category, but there are exceptions. A summary of the major categories is given in Table 4.2

TABLE 4.2.--Knights of the Cross Inventory
Summary of Genres according to Collections

Category	Approx. Totals: Knights Coll.	Gayer Coll.
Missae	232	189
Offertoria	156	159
Cantatas	144	106
Arias	630	202
	c 1162	c 656

In Gayer's collection, a mixture of motets and arias can be found under the heading "Offertoria," suggesting that Gayer kept to the older, less-strictly differentiated usage of terms as in Osek's Inventory of 1706. Nevertheless, even with the best estimate at the number of arias acquired by Gayer, as can be seen in Table 4.2, above, the Knights of the Cross had a much greater interest in acquiring arias than Gayer's collection supported.

The Knights were not only interested in arias, per

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se, they were interested particularly in the new Italian arias of the Neapolitan composers, as seen in an entire scrinium of "Ariae Italicae Recentiores" ("New Italian Arias," fol. 25r), forty-nine pieces by Porpora, Vinci, Hasse, Sarri, Feo, Porta and a few others.

As at Osek, the greatest number of arias by far in the Knights collection were for canto (soprano) voice, with the bass the least favored, as shown in the tabulation below. In addition, almost all combinations were for either two sopranos or soprano and alto.

Arias for canto	=	c 411
Arias for alto	=	c 101
Arias for tenor	=	c 40
Arias for bass	=	c 29

Instrumental Music

Although it is clear from the annals of the order in Prague that instrumental music was played, the inventory lists no specific examples.[48] Two scrinia of Gayer's music are described as containing "Symphonias & Concertus," with no titles or authors specified (fol. 18 v).[49]

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[48]Speculative reasons for this omission could be that the collection of instrumental music was kept in a separate place, and thus not part of the cataloguing scheme; or that the music was the personal property of the regens chori.

[49]It is particularly disappointing that these pieces were not listed, the more so as the surviving music collection is not complete and no study of it has yet been undertaken. Kamper gave only a brief overview of the existing collection, based on a catalogue that was

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Bohemian Musical Customs

Despite the prevalence of Italian composers (see below) and Italian-style music, the Knights were not indifferent to Bohemian customs, as is shown by fifty-seven items for Christmas, among which are pastorale masses, "arias germanicis," and other pastorale pieces. Although instrumentation is not always specified, we do find among the citations some typical pastorale instrumental scoring: two flutes and even "chalumeaux et oboe sola."[50] Gayer's collection also contained one Mass "In pastorale" by an unknown author (fol. 4 r) and several "Arias Natalitias," three with German text (fol. 11 r - 11 v). A total of eighty-one arias in all categories is set in German.

The Knights' support of Bohemian culture is in evidence as well by the number of musical works dedicated to Bohemian saints, beginning with the Knights' patroness, the blessed Anna (compositions mainly by composers who were members of the order), St. Wenceslas (Václav) (by Brustmann, Gayer, Caldara), St. Ludmila (by Fux and dedicated to the Knights), St. Vitus (patron saint of the Prague cathedral; by Caldara, Ristori, Poppe) and most of

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incomplete at the time ("Hudba v řádu," 193-94).

[50]These are from the Knights' collection, Ordo II, Scrinium VIII, "Per la Nativita, seu de Nativitate Domini" fol. 34 r - 35 v.

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all dedicated to Bohemia's newest saint, John of Nepomuk (by Caldara, Aufschnaiter, Sarro, Gayer, Lotti, Pisani, et al.) There is also a "Missa Pragensis" by Stöltzel, which may have been written during the composer's stay in Prague.[51]

The overwhelming number of items pertaining to St. John of Nepomuk reflects the current culture of Prague society. Beginning around 1715, huge celebrations took place in the city on the saint's feast day. "On no other day in the year did Prague have as many visitors from the provinces as on the 16th of May."[52] On the evening before, evening devotions were held in German and in Czech, with great crowds attending, both at the statue of the saint on Charles bridge as well as at many other statues and squares in the city.[53] And then there was the famous Musica navalis, also on the evening before, performed from boats on the river near the bridge, lighted by torches and floating candles: "Water Music," commissioned from among the best of the Bohemian composers.[54]

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[51]Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář," I, 234-35, n.109.

[52]Emil Valasek, "Der heilige Johannes von Nepomuk," AKG IV (1976), 190. The day remained a significant day in Bohemian culture, to the extent that it was chosen for the opening of the Czech National Theater in 1868.

[53]The Knights' church and main house is immediately at the foot of Charles bridge on the bank of the Vltava river (German: Moldau).

[54]Some of the composers have already been encountered: Šimon Brixi (1720, 1722-29); František Brixi

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In connection with Bohemian customs, the inventory describes three entire scrinia of Rorate pieces (fol.31 r - 31 v). Fifteen items are designated as "Rorate"; two of them are collections of seven; plus seven Missae breves and nine Offertories, seven with German texts. Two of the Rorate pieces were added after 1738, suggesting that the Knights' interest in this local genre continued at least through the first half of the eighteenth century.

Printed Works

Like Osek, both the Knights and Gayer supplemented their musical libraries with printed collections of staple liturgical works, but to a proportionately smaller degree. The majority of the Knights' printed acquisitions date from before 1700, and with only two exceptions, all of them originated from Italy (see Table 4.3, below). Beginning in 1701, the source of origin shifted to Germany, with an additional three items from Bohemia, signalling a turn to Northern European composers as a source, especially for Vespers and Litanies. The common factor for all of these collections is the simplified, less elaborate style, suitable for smaller parishes, such as the Vespers by Rathgeber, but also the works Tschortsch and Vaňura (both Bohemian composers), and by Teller, Spiess and Aufschnaiter. Whether these works were

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(1757-1771); Jan Zach (1739, 1752), and František Poppe (from the Knights of the Cross, 1725).

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destined for use at St. Francis Serafin in Prague, or whether they were meant for the smaller churches supervised by the Knights, is not certain. Table 4.3 summarizes the printed items in the inventory, separating the Gayer and Knights' collections and indicating the dates of printing, city, type of work and composer for both (see Appendix N for a detailed listing.)

TABLE 4.3--Knights of the Cross, Printed Works

Gayer or Knights	Date	City	Type of Work	Composer
K	1605;08?	Venice	Masses	Palestrina
K	1613	Antwerp	Offertories	Palestrina
K	1663	Rome	Masses	Foggia
K	1671	Bologna	Litanies	Passarini
K	1672	Bologna	Completoria	Passarini
K	1680	Bologna	Masses	Piazzi
K	1681	Bologna	Motets	Colonna
K	1682	Bologna	Litanies	Colonna
K	1684	Regensburg	Vespers	Reichwein
K	1686	Bologna	Completoria	Cherici
K	1687	Bologna	Completoria	Colonna
K	1688	Bologna	Masses	Bononcini
K	1690	Bologna	Masses	Passarini
K	1691	Bologna	Masses	Colonna
K	1691	Bologna	Cantatas; Motets	Albergatti
K	1692	Bologna	Litanies	Vannini
K	1693	Bologna	Masses	Grandi
K	1694	Bologna	Vespers	Colonna
K	1698	Bologna	Litanies	Vannini
K	1699	Venice	Vespers	Bassani
K	1699	Bologna	Completoria	Vannini
K	1701	Bologna	Completoria	Bassini
K	1701	Augsburg	Vespers	J.C.F. Fischer
G	1703	Augsburg	Vespers	Pez
K	1703	Bologna	Cantatas	Bassani
G & K	1706	Augsburg	Masses	Pez
K	1706	Rome	Motets	Casini
K	1709	Augsburg	Vespers	Aufschnaiter
K	1710	Augsburg	Masses	Bernabei
K	1711	Augsburg	Litanies	J.C.F. Fischer
K	1717	Konstanz	Vespers; Offert.	Spiess

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Gayer or Knights	Date	City	Type of Work	Composer
K	1719	Passau	Offertories	Aufschnaiter
K	1720	Hradec Králové	Vespers; Offert.	Einwald[55]
K	1721	Venice	Mass; Vespers	Albergatti
G	1723	Mendelheim	Offertories	Spiess
K	1723	Augsburg	Vespers; Litanies	Rathgeber
K	1725	Augsburg	Litanies	Tschortsch
K	1726	Augsburg	Litanies	Spiess
G	1726	Augsburg	Offertoria	Teller
K (2)	1728,29	Augsburg	Vespers; Offert.	Aufschnaiter
G	1729	Augsburg	Vespers	Münster
K	1731	Prague	Litanies	Vaňura
K	1732	Augsburg	Vespers; Offert.	Rathgeber
G	1733	Augsburg	Offertoria	Tschortsch

Composers

The sheer size of the Knights of the Cross inventory necessitates restricting the discussion of composers to those who contributed five or more works rather than three, as in the case of Osek.[56] The oratorio compositions and composers will be discussed separately, as well as the composers in Gayer's collection. Table 4.4 below lists the composers whose works were acquired by the Knights up to 1738, together with their representation in Gayer's collection.

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[55]Einwald, an Austrian, worked in Moravia. This published set, his Op. 1, probably is, like most of his works, "contrapuntally conceived, with largely static vocal parts and instrumental parts which, when not doubling, are more lively" (Jiří Sehnal, "Einwald, Carl Joseph," NG 6, 87.

[56]See Appendix L for the complete list of names in the inventory.

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TABLE 4.4--Knights of the Cross Collection to 1738: Composers Represented by Five or More Works

Composer	No. of Works	(Gayer)
ALBERGATTI, Pietro (1663-1735)	8	0
ALBINONI, Tomaso Giovanni	8	0
ALBRICI, Vincenzo	12	1
ANDROVANDINI, Giuseppe	5	3
ANGSTENBERGER, Jan Michael (1717-1789)[57]	22	0
ARIOSTI, Attilio	14	5
AUFSCHNAITER, Benedikt Anton	13	34
BASSANI, Giovanni Battista	46	14
BATTISTINI, Giacomo (c1665-1719)	6	0
BENEDETTI, Francesco Marie (1683-1746)	6	1
BESNECKER, Jan Adam (fl. beg. 18th c.)[58]	34	1
BIGAGLIA, Diogenio (c1676-c1745)	7	2
BONPORTI, Francesco Antonio	9	1
BONONCINI, Giovanni	46	7
BREVI, Giovanni Battista (c1650-after 1725)	8	0
CALDARA, Antonio	107	95
COLONNA, Giovanni Paolo	8	0
CONTI, Francesco Bartolomeo	7	6
CONTINI (CONTI), Ignazio	40	13
COSTANZI, Giovanni Battista	5	2
DEGLI ANTONI, Pietro (1645-1720)	6	0
DELLA CIAIA, Azzolino Bernardino (1671-1755)	27	0
DURANTE, Francesco	6	12
FEDELI, Ruggiero (c1655-1722)	8	0
FEO, Francesco	21	7
FINALI (Padre FINALE ? n.d.)	10	1

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[57]Angstenberger has already been mentioned as Commendator of the order in Vienna from 1768 until his death in 1789. He was regens chori at St. Francis Serafin beginning about 1737 (Němec, Pražské varhany, 135). One of Angstenberger's Offertories from the Knights' collection was copied by Emil Trolda. It is in Cs Pnm, (Sign. XXVIII F 97) (Trolda, No. 9, p. 16).

[58]Besnecker was a University professor and Doctor of Law who served as organist at St. Francis Serafin around 1700. Until at least 1788, according to Dlabačž, the Knights possessed his manuscript copies of Palestrina's music (Künstler-Lexikon I, 147). His own style was contrapuntal, with a solid technique; in other respects, it shows the influence of the Venetian composers of the seventeenth century ("Besnecker, Jan Adam," ČSHS I, 93; also see Němec, Pražské varhany, 135).

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Composer	No of Works		(Gayer)
FISCHER J. C. F., FISCHER, Jan (& probably others)[59]		63	10
FOGGIA, Francesco		7	6
FUX, Johann Joseph		77	47
GASPARINI, Francesco		7	3
GAYER, Jan Křystof Karel	8	20	
GIANETTINI, Antonio (1648-1721)		5	0
GRANDI, Alessandro		12	0
GRASSI, Francesco Romano		5	0
HASSE, Johann Adolph		15	1
HEINICHEN, Johann David		5	1
HÖNEL (HÖNL, Anselm (early 18 c.)[60]		15	2
LEO, Leonardo		7	7
LONATI, Carlo Ambrogio ("GOBBO;" c1645-c1710/15)[61]		10	0
LOTTI, Antonio		109	10
MAGGIORE, Francesco (c1715-1782)		14	0
MANCINI, Francesco		14	29

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[59]At least two solemn Masses were commissioned by the Knights from J. C. F. Fischer (Kamper, Hudba v řádu, 197). See also his dedication of the Vespers, Op. III (1701) to Grandmaster Franchimont (text, above). Jan Fischer (d. beginning 18th c.) was a member of the Knights of the Cross whose compositions were reportedly played in Cheb, but of whom little else is known (Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář I, 85). Other possibilities include Jan Kryštof Fischer who took vows in the order in 1671, František Matern Fischer, a Prague organist c1737 and Jan Václav Fischer, cantor and regens chori at the Prague Týn church from 1705 until his death in 1719 (Němec, Pražské varhany, 145, 146, 141).

[60]P. Anselm Hönel, a Piarist, was an "extern" from the school at Kosmonosy, serving as chaplain to the Margrave of Baden at Schlackenwerth. He is described as a bass singer and string player (Alois Neuman, Piaristé a český barok [Přerov: Společenská knihtiskárna, 1933] 143). This placed him in the same court with J.C.F. Fischer.

[61]Carlo Lonati, whose music is entirely under the sobriquet "Gobbo" in the inventory, "was one of the most brilliant violinists of his time. . . His cantatas command admiration and are worthy to rank with those of Stradella and Alessandro Scarlatti" (Michael J.A. Doran, "Lonati, Carlo," NG 11, 141). Doran suggests that Lonati may have had some contact with Vienna. The ten works in the Knights' inventory strengthen the possibility of a direct connection, perhaps through Count Czernín, who was the Habsburg envoy to Milan. Lonati's works are not found in any other Bohemian collection or inventory.

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Composer	No of Works	(Gayer)
MARCELLO, Benedetto (1686-1739)	5	1
MILCZINSKY, Daniel (b. 1706 ?)[62]	48	0
NOVÁK, Jan František	42	5
ORLANDINI, Giuseppe Maria (1675-1750)	8	0
OTTEL, Mathias	15	32
POLLAROLO, Carlo Francesco (c1653-1723) or Antonio (1680-1746)	13	6
PISANI, Nicola (fl. 1720-58)[63]	12	3
PITONI, Giuseppe Ottavio	24	9
POPPE, František Ludvík	153	7
PORPORA, Nicola	35	6
PORSILE, Giuseppe	7	4
PORTA, Giovanni Battista	7	0
PREDIERI, Luca Antonio (1688-1767)	8	0
REICHENAUER, Antonín[64]	63	0
REINHARDT, Johann Georg	8	33
RISTORI, Giovanni Alberto	11	9

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[62]Němec records P. Daniel as a member of the Knights of the Cross, student of Poppe and regens chori at St. Francis, with his dates as 1706-1735 (Pražské varhany, 135). Trolda mentions this same Daniel Milčinský, but also a Daniel Alois born in the same place as the first but with the dates 1732-1808. In addition, Trolda reports a Florian Milčinský also born in the same town, c1745-1770, who also was a member of the order and whose music is found in the collection at St. Vitus in Prague ("Milčinský, PHS, II/36, 152).

[63]The St. Vitus cathedral collection contains seven works by Gaetano Pisani (Jiří Štefan, comp. Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis, 2 vols., CAM IV, Vol. II, No. 1037-1044). On one Mass (1039) is a notation, "Composta nel mense d'Ottobre A. 1714." Two other Masses bear notations of later performance, one in 1736 and one in 1756. Both are described as "bona." Perhaps it is the same composer as in Gayer's and the Knights' inventories. A Concertus de Tempore by a "Pisony" appears in the Kosmonosy inventory; conceivably by the same composer (Zdeněk Culka, "Inventáře, hudebních nástrojů a hudebnin piaristické koleje Kosmonosích," Příspěvky k dějinám české hudby II [1972] 15). A Nicola Pisano (Pisani; fl. Naples, 1720-38), may be identical (James L. Jackman, "Pisano, Nicola," NG 14, 773).

[64]Jaroslav Bužga states that Reichenauer was a regens chori at the Knights of the Cross, along with Poppe ("Zelenkas Musikinventar aus der katholischen Schlosskapelle in Dresden," Fontes Artis Musicae XXXI/4 (1984) 200). This might explain the high number of his compositions in the inventory.

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Composer	No of Works	(Gayer)
RUMPELNIG, Franz (fl. early 18 c.)[65]	45	10
SARRO (SARRI), Domenico	6	27
SCARLATTI, Alessandro	20	10
STADLMAYR, Johann (c1575-1648)	18	0
STÖLZEL, Gottfried Heinrich	15	0
STEFFANI, Agostino	9	2
TONINI, Bernardo (c1666-after 1727`	12	0
URIO, Francesco Ant. (1631/32-1719 or later)	7	2
VINCI, Leonardo	10	2
WENTZELY, Mikuláš F.X.	33	8
ZELENKA, Jan Dismas	7	4
ZIANI, Marc´ Antonio	12	34

The dominant name on the table is, of course, František Poppe, the Knights´ regens chori, whose personal musical estate forms a large part of the collection. After Poppe, the names of Caldara and Lotti surpass all others. By national-ethnic origins, the Knights drew on the following groups:

Composers from Italy (50+)

Albergatti, Albinoni, Albrici, Aldrovandini, Ariosti, Bassani, Battistini, Benedetti, Bigaglia, Bonporti, Bononcini, Brevi, Caldara, Colonna, Conti, Contini, Costanzi, Degli Antoni, Della Ciaia, Durante, Fedeli, Feo, Finale, Foggia, Gasparini, Gianettini, Grandi, Grassi, Leo, Lonati, Lotti, Maggiore, Mancini, Marcello, Orlandini, Pisani, Pitoni, Pollarolo, Porpora, Porsile, Porta, Predieri, Ristori, Sarro, Scarlatti, Stephani, Gonini, Urio, Vinci, Ziani, Italiano.
(These composers account for 833 items)

Composers from Austria (2-3)
Fux, Öttel (?), Reinhardt.
(These composers account for 85 or 100 items.)

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[65]Little is known about Rumpelnig other than his presence as Kapellmeister at the Esterházy court c1702-04 (see above). Six of his works are in the St. Vitus collection in manuscript copies made by Görbig and Novák (Štefan, Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis II, No. 1161-67). Conceivably he was in Prague after leaving Eisenstadt.

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Composers from Germany (6)
Aufschnaiter, Fischer, J. C. F. (at least 2), Hasse, Heinichen, Stadlmayr, Stölzel.
(These composers account for 66-129 items.)

Composers from Bohemia (11)
Angstenberger, Besnecker, Fischer, Jan (uncertain, but fewer than 62), Gayer, Hönel, Milčinský, Novák, Poppe, Reichenauer, Rumpelnig, Wentzely, Zelenka.
(These composers account for 425-86 items.)

The above tabulations show that the taste for Italian composers and music is predominant at the Knights of the Cross in the years from the late seventeenth century through 1738. Comparing the tabulations with the numbers on Table 4.4, above, it appears that fully 70% of the composers, accounting for more than half of the compositions in Table 4.4, stemmed from Italian composers. The strongest secondary source was on local Bohemian composers. Although they represented only 15% of the names, they nevertheless contributed about 30% of the items. Most of these Bohemian composers in the inventory were members of the order, or served it as professional musicians, as shown in the tabulations of the active work areas of each of the composers, below. (# indicates a known member of the Knights of the Cross; * refers to short commissions and tenures.)

Active in Vienna, Imperial Court (13)

Ariosti*, Bononcini*, Caldara, Conti, Contini, Fux, Lotti*, Ottel, Porpora*, Predieri, Reinhardt, Porsile*, Ziani*. (These account for 483 items.)

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Active at Knights of the Cross (6-7)

#Angstenberger, #Besnecker, #Jan Fischer(?), #Milčínský, #Poppe, Reichenauer*, Wentzely*.
(These account for 353 and probably more items.)

Active at other Ecclesiastical Institutions (5-6)

Albrici (Prague: St. Augustine)
Aufschnaiter (Passau, cathedral)
Gayer (Prague: St. Vitus)
Jan Václav Fischer (?) (Prague: Týn church)
Novák (Prague: St. Vitus)
Reichenauer* (Prague, Jindřichův Hradec)
Wentzely (Prague: Loreto, sv. Vít).
(These account for at least 163, possibly more items.)

Active in Aristocratic Households (22); 499 + up to 61
Ariosti* (Berlin)
Bononcini* (Rome, Prague: Count Václav Gallas),
Fedeli* (Berlin, Cassel)
J.C.F. Fischer (Marquis of Baden, Schlackenwerth/Ostrov)
Foggia* (Cologna, Munich, etc.)
Hasse (Dresden)
Heinichen (Dresden)
Hőnel (Marquis of Baden, Schlackenwerth/Ostrov)
Lonati* (Queen Christina of Sweden, Rome; Milan, etc.)
Lotti* (Dresden, Prague)
Porpora* (Dresden, etc.)
Porsile* (Barcelona, etc.)
Porta* (Munich)
Reichenauer* (Prague: Counts Morzin, Czernin)
Ristori* (Dresden)
Rumpelnig (Esterházy)
Scarlatti (Queen Christina of Sweden, Rome),
Stadlmayr (Salzburg, Innsbruck)
Stőlzl (Gera, Gotha, etc.)
Steffani (Hanover, Munich)
Wentzely* (Count Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn)
Zelenka (Dresden; Prague, Count Hartig)
(These account for at least 499 items)

The above tabulations point up the strength of the musical connection to Vienna and the Imperial Court in number of items. Although the number of items from composers connected with aristocratic households seems equally high to those connected with the Imperial Court, a quick comparison shows that a relatively high proportion

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of items stems from a few composers such as Lotti and Porpora, whose relationship to the Knights might have been just as likely through Vienna or even through Prague, than any other locale. Nevertheless, the "aristocratic profile" of the music inventory is plain, whether the composers were Italian or other; the Knights selected their repertory from among the same composers who were supplying the various courts.

The presence of several of Dresden's composers highlights a special connection. It is now definitely known that Zelenka, who had long acquaintance with the Prague musical institutions from his student days, exhanged compositions of his own and other Dresden composers with the Knights' regens chori.[66] Also, the Knights were far more interested in the musicians at the metropolitan cathedral of St. Vitus than they were in any other Prague church. They possessed compositions in quantity by almost every regens chori from the end of the seventeenth century, and not simply through Gayer's collection.[67]

There are absolutely no compositions by Cistercian

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[66]Bužga, "Zelenkas Musikinventar," 198.

[67]Antonín Görbig, who served between Gayer and Novák is represented by only three works, and thus does not appear on the table. Two more were added through Gayer's collection. During Novák's tenure, most of his work was carried on by Josef Antonín Sehling. One item is in the inventory by a "Schling", who, otherwise unknown, might well be Sehling.

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composers that were found in quantity at Osek: Breunl, Grünberger, Kern, and Vogt, despite the certain traffic in music between the two institutions, and even though Osek possessed many compositions by Knights' musicians. Also, Bohemian composers from other ecclesiastical institutions which were found in quantity at Osek: Brentner, Haüsler and Jacob, were not acquired by the Knights.[68]

Bohemian musicians who occupied notable positions in Prague, with the exception of the Cathedral composers, are noticeably absent (in quantity) from the Knights' inventory as well, particularly Šimon Brixi, who was well-known, as the disseminated copies of his music attest.[69]

The composers most represented in the Knights' collection up to the purchase of the Gayer collection in 1734 were their own Regentes chororum, Poppe, Milčinský, Reichenauer, Angstenberger, and their own organist Besnecker. The subsequent concentration of works by the Imperial court musicians Caldara, Fux, Conti, Contini, and especially Antonio Lotti suggests the Knights' interest not only in quality, but also in the aspect of prestige. The cultural function of the Knights of the Cross as a

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[68]The correspondence may have occurred after the formation of the Knights' inventory, but even among the later additions (see text) there are no composers from Osek. It appears that the Knights' regens chori may have been interested in Osek's music from the Dresden court.

[69]Two pieces appear in the Knights' inventory by "Brixi," attributable at this date to Šimon Brixi.

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musical showplace takes on more definite form as we examine the contents of its repertory. The Knights appear to have concentrated to a lesser extent on the newer Neapolitan-type composers than on proven Imperial court reputations, despite the less contemporary style of composition favored at the court.

Gayer's Collection

Gayer's collection was purchased by the Knights after his death in 1734. The nucleus of the collection was supplied by a bulk purchase from Baltazar Knapp, himself a musician, who had spent some time in Italy, as noted above. However, it contained a great number of stylistically "old-fashioned" pieces.[70] Many Italian names found in this collection are either unknown or from small, obscure locales, certainly not representative of the best Italy had to offer in the first part of the eighteenth century. Gayer's collection, offered first by his widow to the cathedral he had served until his death, was refused, surely because of its marginal utility.[71] Why

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[70]"...zdá se, zě do Prahy byla přivezena řada zastaralých a "nemoderních" věcí" (Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář I, 198, n. 60).

[71]Knapp's original offering to Gayer contained many pieces by Neapolitan composers, who at that time were uncommon in Prague. Gayer valued the entire offering at 300 florins. The cathedral, through Gayer, purchased the Neapolitan pieces for a sum of 200 florins and Gayer purchased the remainder which had been refused by the cathedral (Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář I, 48; 198, n. 60;

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then, in view of their own preferences, as seen above, did the Knights purchase it? A partial answer can be found in Table 4.5 below, which lists the Gayer collection according to composers who are represented by three or more items.[72]

TABLE 4.5.--Gayer's Collection: Composers represented by three or more works

Composer	No. of Works	(Knights)
ALDROVANDINI, Giuseppe	3	5
ARIOSTI, Attilio	5	2
AUFSCHNAITER, Benedikt Anton	34	13
BASSANI, Giovanni Battista	14	46
BENCINI, Pietro Paolo (c1670-1755)[73]	6	0
BIFFI, Antonio (1666/67-1733)	5	3
BONONCINI, Giovanni	7	46
BRUSTMANN, Ignaz (n.d.)	6	1
CALDARA, Antonio	95	107
CHELLERI, Fortunato (1686-1757)	3	2
CONTI, Francesco Bartolomeo	6	7
CONTINI (CONTI), Ignazio	13	40
COZZI, Carlo (d. 1658)	3	0
DURANTE, Francesco	6	12
FAGO, Nicola (1677-1745)	14	1
FEO, Francesco	7	21
FIOCCO, Pietro Antonio (c1650-1714)[74]	10	0
FIORINO (FIORINI), Giovanni Andrea (1704-79)	3	0
FISCHER (Jan, J.C.F. ?)	10	63
FOGGIA, Francesco	6	7

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also Podlaha, Catalogus collectionis, iii-ivf).

[72]A complete list of composers is found in Appendix L.

[73]Antonio Bencini (fl. 1730-42) is probably too late to be a possibility; like Pietro Paolo, whose works are found throughout Bohemia, he worked in Rome (Hans Joachim Marx, "Bencini, Antonio," "Bencini, Pietro Paolo,"NG 2, 461).

[74]Or possibly either of Pietro Antonio's sons, Jean Joseph (1686-1746) and Joseph-Hector (1703-1741) (Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune, "Fiocco," NG 6, 597).

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Composer	No. of Works	(Knights)
FUX, Johann Joseph	47	77
GASPARINI, Francesco	3	7
GAYER, Jan Křystof Karel	20	8
LEO, Leonardo	7	21
LOTTI, Antonio	10	109
MANCINI, Francesco	29	14
NEGRI, Marc´Antonio (d. c1621)	3	0
NOVáK, Jan František	5	42
OREFICE, Antonio (fl. 1708-34)	3	0
ÖTTEL, Mathias	32	15
PEZ (PETZ), Johann Christoph (1664-1716)	4	1
PISANI, Nicola	3	12
PITONI, Giuseppe Ottavio	9	24
POLLAROLO (PALLAROLI), Carlo Francesco (c1653-1723)	6	13
POPPE, František Ludvík	7	153
PORPORA, Nicola	6	35
PORSILE, Giuseppe	4	7
REINHARDT, Johann Georg	33	8
REUTTER, Georg von (1656-1738)	6	2
RISTORI, Giovanni Alberto	9	11
RUMPELNIG, Franz	10	45
SARRO (SARRI), Domenico	27	6
SCARLATTI, Alessandro	10	20
VIGNATI, Giuseppe (end 17 c.-1768)	15	1
VIVALDI, Antonio	5	3
WENTZELY, Mikuláš F.X.	8	33
WERNER, Gregor Joseph (1693-1766)	4	0
ZELENKA, Jan Dismas	4	7
ZIANI, Marc´ Antonio	34	12
TOTAL	619	

Although the Knights possessed no compositions by many of the lesser-known Italian composers, represented by Negri, Fiorini and Cozzi, they would hardly constitute a basis for the Knights´ interest in Gayer´s collection. It is more reasonable to consider that the Knights wished to increase their own large holdings of music by composers already in their collection, for example, those connected with the Viennese court. Gayer´s collection was strongest in precisely this area and thus its contents greatly

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enhanced the Knights' repertory, notably with respect to Caldara (95), Fux (47), Ziani (34), Reinhardt (33), and Öttel (32).

In addition, Gayer's collection contained a significant group of works by Neapolitan composers who were also favored by the Knights: Mancini (29), Sarri (27); as well as a number of works by composers who were poorly represented in the Knights' collection: Fago (14), Vignati (15) and Durante (12).

Finally, Gayer's collection offered a large group of works by Aufschnaiter (34), whose music has been found widely distributed throughout Bohemia, Austria and Germany.[75] In view of the Knights' musical interests, it would seem that, on the whole, Gayer's collection was a useful purchase, and probably a bargain.

Later Additions

The fifty pieces added to the inventory were in all likelihood acquired soon after 1738.[76] As a group, they

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[75]"Aufschneider, " PHS II/1, 23.

[76]Of the three new names: Pezeli, Sehling, Ceslai [Česlav Vaňura], Pezeli is unknown, but both Sehling (1710-1756) and Vaňura (1694-1736) were active in Prague and had just come to wide public notice in the 1730s. Vaňura, the principal organist at St. James beginning in 1734, published two sets of sacred works, one in 1731 and one in 1736. Sehling active at St. Vitus by 1737, had several of his musical dramatic works performed in Prague, beginning at least as early as 1739 (M. Poštolka, "Sehling, Josef Antonín," NG 17, 109, and "Vaňura, Česlav," NG 19, 527-28). As Vaňura died in 1736, it is

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conform with the acquisitions policy of the Knights of the Cross in the 1720s and 1730s. Of the twenty-two names listed, all but three were already found in the inventory and, at most, one or two works were added under their names (three works by Pražak, four by Caldara, and fifteen by Angstenberger, the Knights' new regens chori in 1737).[77]

The efforts of the Knights of the Cross to obtain music by composers of highest internaticnal repute, continued through the next decades. The performances of this music, which were of the highest calibre, according to witnesses, continued as well, until the social, religious and economic situation changed in the 1740s, as it did for Osek.

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likely that the group was acquired soon after that time.

[77]Němec, Pražské varhany, 135. Angstenberger's predecessor, Jan Jiří Hessler, died in 1737, apparently after no more than two years of service. As Angstenberger was only twenty years old at that time, his talent must have been considerable to merit the highest musical position in the most prestigious musical institution in Prague.

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Oratorio Productions, 1724-1759

The musical dramatic works listed in the Knights' inventory (Ordo V), consist of the following groups:

-- scores (Scrinio III);

-- opera & oratoria parts, mostly by Fux (Scrinio XIX);

-- oratorio scores, most by Fux, related to the preceding group (Scrinio XX);

-- oratorios produced during Lent in the church of St. Francis Serafin listed by year of production from 1724 to 1737 (Scrinio XVI, XVII, XVIII);

-- several addenda, including a German oratorio from Gayer's collection (XIX, 6) and an oratorio score by Porpora, obtained by Grandmaster Böhmb in 1740 (XX, 7);

-- a list of oratorios produced annually between 1738 and 1759 (XX).

A short summary of the annual productions is given in Table 4.6 below; a complete transcription of all oratorio listings is given in Appendix M, together with dates and places of original productions when ascertainable.

As the list of oratorios indicates, the annual productions, given on Good Friday, proceeded without a break. The Knights' consistency in this respect is remarkable, matched by no other Prague church. Moreover, as shown by Table 4.6, the Knights performed music by well-known composers of high calibre rather than commissioning one of their members or one of the students. This, too, was remarkable, in contrast to other

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institutions.[78] Also, for the most part, the Knights' productions were up-to-date. Within a few years after the original productions, the Knights were offering performances in Prague. But they did more than reproduce works written for other places. The oratorio by Feo (below) was given its first-known performance by the Knights, suggesting that they had commissioned the work.

TABLE 4.6.--Oratorios Produced at St. Francis Serafin, 1724-1759

Year	Composer	Title
1724	Stölzel	Jesum patientem libelli
1725	Hönel	Fides, spes charitas
1726	Stölzel	Die büssende Magdalena
1727	Butz	Deus propter scelera populi
1728	Porsile	Esaltatione d' Salomone
1729	Bigaglia	Passione d' Abele
1730	Contini	Il Davide perseqvitato
1731	Butz	Jesus Christus Pastor bonus
1732	Porsile	L'Ubdenza à Dio
1733	Porsile	Iddio Giusto, e Misericordiae
1734	Contini	La Constanza del Christiano patiente
1735	Porsile	Giuseppe venduto
1736	Caldara	Sant'Elena al Caluario
1737	Kreutzberger	Christo nel Orto
1738	Zelenka	Il penitenti al sepolcro del Redentore
1739	Feo	La distruzione Zizara
1740	Porpora	Il Gedeone condotore
1741	Gonelli	Misere novum et Stabat Mater (2 works)
1742	Lotti	Thobia (produced also in 1732)
1743	Bigaglia	Adamo (produced also in 1729)
1744	Umstadt	La Vittima d'amore
1745	Jommelli	La Vittoriosa Giuditta

[78]Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář" I, 98. Preserved librettos, music and annals give no evidence of other than occasional performances elsewhere, and even less evidence of a systematic effort to acquire works by first-rate authors, as the Knights did. See Vladimír Helfert, Jiří Benda (Brno: Filosofická Fakulta, 1929) I, 54-56; and Otakar Kamper, Hudební Praha v XVIII. věku (Prague: Melantrich, [1935]) 236-39, for lists of Prague oratorio productions.

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Year	Composer	Title
1746	Galuppi	L'invitta costanza
1747	Wassmuth	St. Helena al Calvario
1748	Ristori	Nicodemio et Josepho
1749	Fux, Porpora, Graun	Caduta de Pietro (part I)
1750	Fux, Porpora, Graun, Contini, Lotti	Giesù Christo negato (part II)
1751	diverse authors (unnamed)	La Deposizione dalla Cruce (part I)
1752	(unnamed)	La Sepoltura (part II)
1753	Sammartini	3 Cantatas
1754	Sammartini	2 Cantatas
1755	Ristori, Habermann	Sacrificio d'Abelle (part I)
1756	Ristori, Zachow	La Morte d'Abel (part II)
1757	Hasse, Jommelli, Galuppi, Zachow	Il Martirio sofferto... Macabei (part I)
1758	Hasse, Graun, Zachow	La Madre de' Macabei (part II)
1759	Galuppi	Il sacrifizio de Jefte

The oratorio performances at the church of St. Francis were not founded on didactic aims, but out of a tradition of musical cultivation. The Knights' productions did not originate in a pedagogical atmosphere but in one with professional intent. That these sacred music dramas served a prestigious social, as well as musical function, is shown by the strong support of the Bohemian aristocracy, whose individual patrons are noted in the inventory and on the preserved printed librettos.[79]

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[79]A collection of opera and oratorio librettos has been preserved at the State Archive of Literature in the Strahov monastery, Prague. References have already been made to a list of libretti of the oratorios performed in Prague that was compiled and published by Milan Poštolka, "Libreta strahovské hudební sbírky." The librettos from

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Members of the nobility sponsored and even loaned or obtained the music. The oratorio performances offered to the elite of Prague first-class musical dramatic works performed by an excellent ensemble and ranking soloists in a premier setting, at a season when, for religious reasons, opera was not available.[80]

Beginning modestly in 1724, the Knights obtained first one, then a second, oratorio by Stölzel, through a Baron von Adlersfeldt.[81] Each of the works had been performed in Prague about ten years before (see Appendix M.) The works by Hönel (from the court of the Marquis of Baden) and Tobias Butz (from the Dresden Hofkapelle),[82] were set to texts by a member of the Knights, and possibly were commissioned. With the appearance of the first of Porsile's oratorios in 1728, only one year after its first

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the Knights of the Cross are deposited at Cs Ps, under the signatures B 4032-4042.

[80]The only systematic cultivation of oratorio was by the Jesuits at St. Salvator, who used musical-dramatic means consistently for educational purposes. In other words, oratorio was a functional part of official religious propaganda. By the 1740s, the Jesuit productions had ceased to represent contemporary musical developments (Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář I, 99).

[81]Fukač suggests that, of the several possibilities for the identity of the noble von Adlersfeldt, the most likely may have been Jan Maximilián Fritz, who received a knighthood in 1721 (Ibid, I, 240, n.126).

[82]The name "Putz" also appears. It is likely that both "Butz" and "Putz" are Tobias Butz (d. 1760), a composer of sacred music (Kirchenkomponist) at the Dresden court (Dieter Härtwig, "Schürer, Johann Georg," MGG XII, 192).

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performance at the Vienna Hofkapelle, the Knights began to rely heavily on Italian composers and strongly on those connected with the Imperial court in Vienna.

Conti's works (1730, 1734) were obtained by Count Hartig, as well as the works by Zelenka (1738), Gonelli (1741; from the Count's estate), and Sammartini (1753, 1754). Other noble sponsors included Baron de Pechin (1745, 1746); Countess de Golž (1741, 1748, 1755); and Count Johann Wenzel Josef Sporck (1759). Count Questenberk loaned Caldara's Sant'Elena al Calvario (1736) which had been performed at his residence at Jaroměřice in Moravia in 1733 and 1734[83] It appears that the Knights deliberately sought out music from aristocratic courts to ensure a kind of social imprimatur in advance. Umstatt's oratorio was purchased from a tenor named Beer, but Umstatt (Joseph) himself was the Kapellmeister of Count Dietrichstein in Moravia. The oratorio by Wassmuth was brought by a Komárek, a court virtuoso; Wassmuth was a member of the capella of the prince-bishop at Würzburg. Graun's music was obtained from Berlin by a Václav

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[83]Vladimír Helfert, Hudební barok na českých zámcích (Prague: Ceské Akademie Císare Františ̌ek Josefa, 1916) 312. Helfert suggests that this oratorio is identical with Caldara's, by the same name and on a text by Metastasio. Caldara's oratorio was produced in Vienna at the Habsburg Court in 1731.

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Schödel.[84]

The peak seems to have been reached with the triumphal first performance of Feo's oratorio in 1739. After this time the list shows occasions of less lustrous productions. In 1742 and 1743 two older works were borrowed, from other Prague churches, together with the printed librettos. Beginning in 1749, a series of two two-part works were offered, one part per year; each a pastiche of several composers' works compiled by the Knights' music director Josef Bleylebel (d. 1762) and for which he supplied the text.[85] The same type of productions occurred in 1755-58. All of these performances reflect the strained situation of the war years. In 1742-43 Prague was an occupied city; in the 1750s the Seven-Years' War again put the city under siege. Even under straitened conditions and disruptions, the Knights attempted to continue the annual tradition with as much musical quality and prestige as possible.

Although the list ends at 1759, with a ten-year-old work by Galuppi, the Knights continued to attempt to supply an annual work of first-class quality, and succeeded, in the main, if the preserved librettos indicate audience popularity. The information is sketchy,

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[84]Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář," I, 104-05.

[85]This is the same Bleylebel who corresponded with Osek (see Chapter III, note 35).

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but a few further productions are known:[86]

1763	Galuppi
1764-67	Hasse
1768	Holzbauer
1769	Hasse
1770-73	Mysliveček
1775	Mysliveček (commissioned)
1776-77	J.A. Koželuh
1778	Mysliveček
1779	Hasse
1780-81	Antonio Ferradini
1782	Mysliveček

By 1784, the Josephinian reforms curtailed oratorio productions of this nature at St. Francis and in all Austrian lands.[87]

The Knights of the Cross and Osek

Compared with Osek, which, as was seen, had a large music collection and supported a musical establishment of fairly large size and good calibre, the Knights of the Cross had an even more lavish program, on a consistently large scale and for a consistently upper-class set of patrons.

The two music collections reflect the two different social-economic settings, as well as the two different social-cultural functions, particularly in the genres

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[86]Fukač, "Křížovnický inventář," I, 106-07; also M. Poštolka, "Libreta," Nos. 53, 69, 72.

[87]Although the Josephinian reform did not ban oratorios, it confiscated the bequests that had provided the payments for the vocal and instrumental capellas. "When these ceased the material means for performances virtually had disappeared" (Reinhard G. Pauly, "The Reforms of the Church under Joseph II," The Musical Quarterly XLIII/3 [July 1957] 377).

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represented. Although the Mass naturally formed a staple item for both repertories, Osek attempted to meet the needs of the smaller parishes with their modest resources and popular pious observances. Thus we find at Osek a continuous collection of pastorellas and liturgical dialogues, as well as supporting instruments for performances in church and out of doors (in processions, pilgrimages, etc.) Not having a teaching responsibility, nor an audience for large dramatic productions, Osek collected only a few representatives of these genres.

The Knights of the Cross, situated in the center of Prague's Old Town "at the foot of the [Charles] bridge," directly opposite the Jesuit Clementinum, enjoyed Imperial and Episcopal favor, and attracted the nobility both as members and as patrons of charity. The enormous size of the music inventory of 1737-38 serves as an indicator of the richness of the musical liturgy which must have taken place almost daily. The excellent quality of the performances as well as the quantity drew the attendance and the additional patronage of the aristocracy from their nearby Prague palaces and from beyond. The collection reflects the Knights' acquisitions of the contemporary and the famous, most clearly seen in the list of oratorios.

In spite of the differences in musical functions and emphases and economical considerations, the two repertories have much in common. Although the Knights may

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have had works by more individual composers, there is no well-known composer whose works are not found at Osek as well, as the selected list in Table 4.7 shows.

TABLE 4.7.--Comparison of Composers in the Inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross

(* signifies St. Vitus composer-director of music)

Composer	Knights Total	Osek 1720-33	
ALBRICI, Vincenzo	13	22	
ANGSTENBERGER, Jan Michael	22	13	(1753 inv.)
AUFSCHNAITER, Benedikt Anton	47	1	
BASSANI, Giovanni Battista	60	52	
BONONCINI, Giovanni	53	4	
BRENTNER, Josef	1	23	
CALDARA, Antonio	202	82	
CONTI, Francesco Bartolomeo	13	12	
CONTINI (CONTI), Ignazio	53	1	
DURANTE, Francesco	18	2	
FEO, Francesco	28	1	
FUX, Johann Joseph	124	13	
*GAYER, Johann Křystof Karel	28	8	
HASSE, Johann Adolph	16	13	
HEINICHEN, Johann David	6	2	
JACOB, Gunther	0	108	
LEO, Leonardo	14	1	
LOTTI, Antonio	119	16	
MANCINI, Francesco	43	18	
*NOVÁK, Jan František	47	10	(1753 inv.)
PITONI, Giuseppe Ottavio	33	10	
POPPE, František Ludvík	160	29	
PORPORA, Nicola	41	2	
REICHENAUER, Antonín	63	47	
SARRO (SARRI), Domenico	33	14	
SCARLATTI, Alessandro	30	1	
VINCI, Leonardo	12	9	
VOGT, Mauritius	1	27	
*WENTZELY, Mikuláš F.X.	41	8	
ZELENKA, Jan Dismas	11	18	
ZIANI, Marc´ Antonio	46	1	

As seen from the Table, the Knights tended to obtain many more works by the St. Vitus composers, whose

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style, in general, required more experienced soloists and larger performing ensembles, such as were found at the cathedral. Osek, on the other hand, obtained more works by other Prague composers, Vogt, Brentner and Jacob, who were working in a simpler, more derivative style, yet fully reflective of international trends.

Both institutions turned to Imperial Court composers, and notably to Caldara, whose music appears to have taken Bohemia by storm in the 1720s. However Osek never acquired a proportionate number of works by Fux, which again, like the cathedral composers, required larger ensembles. The same reason may hold true for the music of Ziani. The Knights also collected music by a wider range of Court and Court-related composers, as seen by the relative presence of the two Contis. This breadth may have resulted from the Knights' direct connection to Vienna, which Osek lacked.

Both institutions sought the newest from Italy, as seen in the continuous acquisitions from the late seventeenth century. The Knights, even more than Osek, collected large amounts of solo works as well as motets and Masses by Scarlatti and Lotti, and led in the acquisition of works by the Neapolitan composers Durante, Leo, Vinci, Sarro and Porpora.

Both the Knights and Osek drew heavily from their own ranks for music, much as an aristocratic court drew on its own capella members and directors. This fact in

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itself points to the compositional proficiency among members of the clergy in Bohemia. Osek acquired a large number of works by the Knights' composers Poppe, Reichenauer and Angstenberger, but the compositions from Osek's members and other Cistercians apparently did not travel to Prague. Whether this one-way traffic is because Osek's musicians were unknown in Prague or because their music was less useful to the Knights is uncertain. The lack of representation from Moravian composers in both repertories is also noticeaable. With the exception of Zelenka, who is more highly represented in Osek's music library than in the Knights' collection, neither institution was performing works by Bohemian musicians who were working outside of the country.[88] Beginning in the 1770s this situation begins to change to some extent, for example, with the works of Mysliveček.[89]

Finally, both Osek and the Knights of the Cross founded their basic music libraries on printed collections and gradually abandoned their use in favor of manuscript materials (with the exception of the collections for parish use).

In the overall comparative picture between Osek and

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[88]The Knights have two works by Tuma, who was often in Prague; Osek had three. Each had some works by Biber from the late seventeenth century.

[89]Mysliveček also appears in Osek's 1802 inventory entries, but with works that had been acquired earlier.

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the Knights of the Cross, there was a fair amount of uniformity in genres (allowing for a greater proportion of larger works in the Knights' inventory). There were some parallel interests in selection of composers, but also some divergence. Whether the differences were due to varied accessibility or to practicality of performance is not certain. Despite geographic, social, ecclesiastical and economic differences, there was considerable similarity in the timetable of acquisitions, and both institutions, in different ways, continued Bohemian musical traditions. A musician at Osek would have had experience with most of the Knights' repertory; a member of St. Francis' choir or capella would have had no difficulty recognizing Osek's music.

Comparisons with Other Inventories

The same comparative factors noted with respect to Osek also exist between the Knights' inventory and those of Slaný, Kosmonosy and Rajhrad (1725). Even allowing for the later date of the Knights' inventory, several similar points stand out. Foremost among them is the greater proportion of more elaborate works for the St. Francis choir--although each of the institutions could produce a full orchestra and vocal complement. The second great difference is in the proportion of Italian composers, which is considerably larger in Prague and more representative of contemporary trends. The difference in

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repertories may be more a result of the time difference between the inventories rather than one of deliberate selection. As was the case with Osek, all three of the smaller institutions possessed works by the Knights' regens chori, Poppe and Reichenauer, but the composers from the Piarist Order and in the area of Rajhrad do not appear in the Prague inventory. More than the Knights, the other institutions relied on Bohemian composers' works for the mediation of Italian style trends.

The situation is different with respect to the 1727-28 inventory of Anton Taubner, the director of music at the Prague Loreto. Taubner listed all of the works purchased in the course of one year for use at the Loreto church.[90] Although modest in size (c118 items) there is much greater agreement with the prevalent tendencies of the Knights' inventory. Taubner owned music not only by Caldara (18 items), but also by Durante, Mancini, Ristori, Pitoni, Porpora and Lotti, as well as Contini from Vienna. Taubner also collected works by Poppe and Reichenauer (12), as well as the Bohemian composer Jacob who was neglected by the Knights. Like them, Taubner did not collect the works of Brentner or Vogt, but he had more works by Šimon Brixi (7) than either the Knights or Osek.

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[90]The Taubner inventory is printed in its entirety by Oldřich Pulkert (Domus Lauretana Pragensis, 2 vols., CAM I, Vol. I, 43-60).

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The choir collection from St. Vitus shows a not unsurprising similarity in repertory and composers of the Knights of the Cross. Having a large group of vocalists and instrumentalists at its disposal, the cathedral could be expected to perform more massive and brilliant works. A comparison of the two repertories suggests that the Knights were in conscious competition with St. Vitus, whose spires tower above the dome of St. Francis from the heights of Hradčany hill across the river Vltava.

St. Vitus amassed a large group of Italian works, including Durante, Feo, Leo, Mancini, Porpora, Sarro and Scarlatti and there are almost 100 works by Caldara. The cathedral did not neglect the Knights' composers, Poppe, Reichenauer, and Angstenberger, and in addition, acquired a few works by Brentner. The works of the Habsburg court composers are not lacking as well as those from the Dresden Hofkapelle. Twenty-four compositions by Tuma, ten by Zelenka, seven by Jan Zach as well as one by Stamitz, speaks for St. Vitus' interest in the emigrant Bohemian musicians. And, like the Knights, there is little in the way of domestic ecclesiastical composers. Both the cathedral choir and the choir of St. Francis were striving for a repertory of contemporary sophistication by aristocratically-accepted norms.

These norms are visible also in the Brtnice court inventory from mid-century. Here again, because of the differences in time as well as genre (the high proportion

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of secular music at Brtnice), an exact comparison cannot be made. Some factors are common to both the Knights and the Counts Collalto at Brtnice: a large number of works by Caldara, works by Italian composers in the Neapolitan tradition (Leo, Pergolesi, Porpora, Sarro, Vinci), a mixture of Bohemian (and Moravian) composers who worked within the country (F. X. Brixi, Míča) and outside (Gassmann, Stamitz, Vaňhal). Although some of the composers are not the same, the selection process seems to be similar, dependent more on genre for some composers than on style.

A brief comparison with the Esterházy inventory of 1721, which is somewhat early, shows that the Knights of the Cross possessed works by seventeen of its fifty composers, with the highest correlation between the composers of the Imperial Court and those of Italy. From Kapellmeister Gregor Werner's own catalogue, made at Esterházy in the years 1737-38, twenty-three out of forty-one composers are the same.[91] The higher correlation has not a little to do with Werner's primary interest in church music. Held in common are not only those composers of the Habsburg court (Caldara again ranking highest, with Fux second) and of Italy, but the Esterházy court composers, Rumpelnig, Zivilhofer, and Werner himself.

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[91]Janos Harich, "Inventare der Esterházy-Hofmusikkapelle in Eisenstadt," Haydn Yearbook IX (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1975) 22-31.

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As with Osek, few comparisons can be made with respect to the printed collection of the parish church Chorregent in Wallerstein. The basic reason for this is the nature of Ferdinand Schmid's collection, which is built around the needs of a modest choir. The collection is anchored by eleven of Rathgeber's printed volumes, with four of Glettle's, two of Eisenhut's and individual volumes by Reichwein and others--giving it more in common with Osek, which supplied its parish churches. Yet one printed work is common to both the Knights and to Wallerstein: Rathgeber's Op. 2 (Augsburg, 1723).[92] The Knights possessed one additional volume by Rathgeber, but overall, the bulk of its printed collections pre-dated 1721 (the year of Rathgeber's Op. 1) and stemmed from Italy. Its later printed pieces were less suitable for the average parish choir.

The collection of music by Wallenstein Chorregent Franz Ignaz Schreiber, dated 1765, shares a number of similarities with the Knights' inventory, despite its modest size of 109 items.[93] It places strong emphasis on Masses with trumpets and tympani (16 items) as well as

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[92]Cornu-copiae versperarum diversarum, (RISM R 296). The same volume is in the St. Vitus collection as well.

[93]"Catalocus [sic] Meiner sowohl bey Hof, als Pfarkirch in das 25.ste Jahr gebrauchten Musicalien. Wallerstein den 10:ten May 1765/ Fr: Ig: Schreiber/ Reg: Chori" (Haberkamp, comp., Die Musikhandschriften, xviii-xxiv.

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Arias (11 items). All of its arias are by Caldara, as well as five of its festive Masses. The other festive Masses as well as the Masses "sine clarinis" are mainly by Reutter and Fux, also composers from the Imperial court. There are Offertories by Aufschnaiter. Porta, Traetta, as well as the Viennese composers. Among the twelve sonatas are found the names of Corelli (4 works), Locatelli (1), Handel (1), and the Bohemian Tuma (3). There is even a "Pastorella à 2." Viennese composers again account for the Vespers psalms as well as the Marian antiphons, Litanies and Miserere. A copy of Pergolesi's Stabat Mater can also be found. In sum, the musical taste is suited to an aristocratic chapel ("bey Hof"), and, although slightly later than the Knights' inventory, has enough in the way of parallel sources and composers to indicate parallel interests.

The same can be said with respect to the Schönborn collection, with which the Knights of the Cross inventory has about fifty-five composer names in common. Both collections are founded around published volumes from the printing presses of Bologna, with a selection of the same composers--Bononcini, Albergatti, Grandi and Bassani--although not the same titles. Both purchased different editions by Bernabei and J. C. F. Fischer that came from the Augsburg presses in the early part of the eighteenth century. They also have one volume in common, a set of

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six Masses by Johann Christoph Pez (Augsburg, 1706).[94]

With few exceptions, Count Schönborn was purchasing the same genres that interested the Knights of the Cross: Masses, Vespers (Psalms), motets and litanies. In addition, Schönborn acquired parthias and sonatas, which, although allowed space in the Knights' inventory, do not appear. In his manuscript collection of sacred music, Schönborn concentrated almost equally on Masses and motets, but even more upon settings of psalms, litanies and Marian antiphons--which were suitable for his private chapel, although less congruent with the total needs of the Knights of the Cross. As with Knights, the pieces for solo voice are overwhelmingly for soprano.

Among the Masses, Schönborn acquired a broad spectrum of settings which parallel in smaller numbers what the Knights of the Cross performed: works for double choirs, for concerto and ripieno groups, for eight voices and for four and five vocal parts; Masses for a cappella choirs, for organ accompaniment, for strings with wind pairs and some for trumpets and timpani.

In the vocal music where solo voices are prominent, Schönborn favored the composers of the Imperial Court: Fux, Reinhardt, Reutter, and especially Caldara. He also selected works by the Neapolitan composers found in the

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[94]Jubilum missae sex-tuplex, a quatuor vocibus concert . . . (Augsburg: Johann Christoph Wagner, 1706), (RISM P 1681).

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Knights' inventory: A. Scarlatti and Sarro, as well as other Italian composers famed for operatic works: Lotti, Bononcini and Vivaldi. (From the latter, Schönborn also had instrumental works.)

Schönborn collected the scores of dramatic works, both sacred and secular, oratorios (20) and operas (19), among which are found the names of Bononcini, F. Conti, Handel, Pasquini, Porti, G. Reutter (son), A. Scarlatti, Steffani, and Caldara. Although the Knights did not possess opera scores, they did own the scores of oratorios, one by Caldara. However, the Knights had acquired many arias and cantatas by these same composers, which supplied, in the field of sacred music, some of the genres present in opera.[95]

Schönborn's collection has a few additional small points in common with the Knights' inventory. There are some Laurentian Litanies and a chorus by Caldara set in German. There is pastoral music and one pastorella, but of an Italian type (by Bononcini). The Knights' regens chori, Reichenauer also appears, with six works, all of them instrumental, and written with the same style traits as a work by Rumpelnig (who was also represented in the

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[95]The use of contrafacta at the Schönborn court is not indicated.

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Knights' inventory).[96]

Schönborn, in the course of his sojourns in Prague, undoubtedly knew the music program at St. Francis Serafin, and very probably attended there. From the number of correspondences between his collection and the Knights' inventory, it is also likely that he would have found the repertory much to his taste.

Summary

In keeping with its status as a favored order of the Imperial Court and a recipient of high honors and gifts from the Bohemian nobility for its works of charity, the church of the order in Prague developed an elaborate musical-liturgical program. It is likely that there was some sense of rivalry between St. Francis Serafin and the neighboring Jesuit Clementinum, which also enjoyed the support and favor of the same patrons. The cathedral of St. Vitus also provided an alternate setting of splendor, which, by its very size and ecclesiastical position, was difficult to match. Yet, the Knights, whose Grandmaster could officiate at Mass with pontifical status just as the archbishop, had a opportunity to rival the cathedral's impressive liturgy. As a wealthy and privileged order, with musically-knowledgeable leaders, the Knights could and did afford a cosmopolitan outlook coupled with lavish

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[96]Zobeley, Die Musikalien, Band 2, No. 737, p. 129.

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display.

For many years, the greatest difference between the cathedral and St. Francis lay in the talents of their respective regens chori. After the departure of Mikuláš Wentzely from St. Vitus in 1705 (he had served at the Knights' church of St. Francis prior to taking that post), the calibre of St. Vitus' music directors did not equal that of the Knights' directors: Poppe, Milčinský, Reichenauer and Angstenberger.

The purpose of the order, which was to serve the poor and the orphans, also served to develop a system of student subsidies in exchange for musical services. Choirboys as well as instrumentalists were trained by the talented and often famous members of the order. For special services, the order could afford to hire the best soloists as well as instrumentalists, as needed. Testimonies about the crowds of nobility attending the musical liturgy and especially the annual oratorio productions are plentiful.

The nucleus of the inventory began in the seventeenth century around a series of printed collections from Italy, most from Bologna. Acquisitions of manuscripts followed soon, drawing on composers connected with the Imperial Hofkapelle (mainly Fux, at first) and especially from the environs of Prague, notably St. Vitus. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, the acquisition of Italian music began to increase, reaching

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flood proportions in the 1720s. The works of Caldara took a commanding place in the Knights' repertory about this time. Music of repute was gathered as swiftly as possible. Sarro's work's, for example, had entered the collection as early as 1719, and Handel's Utrecht Te Deum (1713) appeared five years later in the Knights' collection.[97] The choir of St. Francis also commissioned works from leading composers, whose music was also found in the aristocratic courts: Fux, J. C. F. Fischer, Gonelli, and others. As an order that originated and developed in Bohemia, the Knights always maintained forms and traditions of Bohemian music, together with the aristocratically influenced repertory.

When the Knights' inventory is compared with other Bohemian and Moravian inventories, its Italian contents are distinctive, especially with respect to the lesser quantity of music by domestic composers--yet, they are there in goodly number. Not only was the choir of St. Francis influenced by musical currents from Italy and the Imperial Court and the contemporary scene in Prague, the choir itself became one of the influences on others.

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[97]Kamper, Kniha památní, 194.

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CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was begun from the observation that Bohemian musicians in great numbers were very successful in foreign lands during the eighteenth century. Not only were they successful, but they were admitted to have been, as a group, of significant influence on the musical life of Europe and on stylistic developments there from at least mid-century onward. This observation led to the question "How did Bohemian musicians learn their art?"

In addressing that question, three theses were advanced: that Bohemian musicians received their basic training in music within Bohemia; that they gained their knowledge from foreign models, primarily Italian and German; and that conditions within Bohemia not only produced a great number of trained musicians, but contributed to their dispersion outside of the country.

The conditions in the country of Bohemia were examined first. It was shown that Bohemian residents, for political reasons, were subject to severe political, social, religious and economic restrictions, more severe than in surrounding countries. These restrictions were promulgated by the reigning Habsburg monarchy, which was

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able to enforce its wishes through a radical replacement of most of the landowning nobility. Within Bohemia, the power of its aristocracy was absolute, but with respect to the Habsburg Empire, that power was subject to the designs of the Imperial court.

The fabric of society in Bohemian crown lands, which had been totally torn apart during the early seventeenth century, began to rebuild itself by the end of that century. However, it lacked the strong presence and economic network of what can be called a "bourgeoisie" or burgher class. Most of the populace consisted of serfs, who were bound to the land, with little freedom of movement of any kind. Social movement was almost impossible, or at best, was extremely difficult.

Bohemia, a rich land, became a heavily-taxed one. The burden of taxation was passed to the lower levels of society, such that little was left for simple existence. Life was hard and difficult for many. Ways of improving one's lot lay, for the average person, through the twin avenues of the aristocratic courts and the Church, either in some kind of service or by taking orders. For the nobility, the route to betterment was through the favor of the Habsburg court--in Vienna.

In the religious sphere, the Counter Reformation, spearheaded by the Jesuit Order, was brought into Bohemia. To at least 1770, the movement, as well as the Order, was

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totally supported by the Habsburgs, who were, as a dynasty, noted for their devotion to the Roman Catholic Church and for the promotion of personal piety. Every level of society, from the highest nobilty to the lowliest serf was placed under the religious supervision and tutelage of the Catholic Church. Liturgical attendance was strongly mandated and enforced by Imperial favor as well as Imperial power. Religious observances included daily Mass, Vespers, and celebration of the festivals of the Church year. Additional pious activities such as pilgrimages, processions, and school plays required public participation by all levels of society. The immediate result was to increase the number of liturgical services attended by each person. But in addition, the Jesuit strategy was to enrich those services not only through the beauty of architecture, painting and sculpture, but especially through the beauty of vocal and instrumental music, specifically, the new "figural music" that had developed as the stile moderno in Italy.

The Jesuits did their major work through education, quickly developing free secondary schools in which religion was a major component. Music was strongly cultivated in order to provide active participation in the liturgy, and because it was noted that the Bohemian populace responded eagerly to music.

The nobility joined the educational effort by promoting and enforcing a general music education for

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every child, not primarily to raise musicians, but to increase the piety of the populace and show proof of their own. The secondary bonus of obtaining musically able and literate servants was not overlooked. To enforce musical training, all advancement in schooling (admittance to a Jesuit or other religiously-run secondary school), all enhancement of economic opportunities (through learning a trade or admittance to the staff of a noble household), and all possibility of entering a religious order, hinged on one's ability to sing and play at least one instrument.

Within one generation, the effects of this policy could be seen in the gradually rising level of musicianship among the monks and priests, among the local schoolmasters (cantors) and in the cultivation of highly technical music in the secondary schools (colleges), as reported in the school plays. Some nobles had begun to build their own domestic capellas.

Within three generations, by the early eighteenth century, the decentralized system designed to produce dutiful and pious clerics, servants and workers was producing a superior "product"--the Bohemian musician. Precisely at the same time economic prosperity and social taste combined to support a huge expansion in brilliant entertainments and public displays both by the Church and by the aristocratic courts. Music played a dominant role in both spheres. As choirs and capellas developed and

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expanded, there was a pressing need for more music of all genres, and an equally pressing need for musicians.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the prospect had changed. An economic downturn gradually forced a growing population to seek new avenues of earning a living at a point when the two traditional routes to success in Bohemian lands--the courts and the Church--were becoming less open. New esthetic as well as practical considerations contributed to the slowing of the growth and development of aristocratic capellas in the second half of the eighteenth century. As for the Church, beginning in the 1770s, political decrees forced a reduction in the orders and in the number of their monastic houses. Prior to that, politico-religious legislation had already begun a process that steadily altered the nature and number of liturgical observances and markedly reduced the need for musical personnel in the larger churches and cathedrals. The resulting limitation of the market for musicians in Bohemia, combined with growing numbers of opportunities outside Bohemia's borders under better living conditions had the effect of promoting a "musical emigration."

This study considered the way in which the interactions of several aspects of Bohemian life: political, economic, religious and social, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, served to create a system of musical training that produced many musicians of

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excellent calibre. The nature of that training was examined in broad perspective through a consideration of musical life in the social institutions of Church, school and court. Musical education was in large part carried out through the daily performance of music as it functioned within these and other social institutions, and through the preparation for performance.

The nature of the music repertory cultivated in Bohemia, and which formed the basis of musical education, was examined in the broad sense with respect to genres and representative composers. For detailed study, the music inventories of two Church institutions, the Cistercian monastery at Osek and the monastery of the Knights of the Cross in Prague were selected. Each of the inventories was analyzed with respect to musical genres, composers (including their nationalities), and special Bohemian features. Comparisons were made with inventories of other contemporary musical centers in Bohemia and Moravia and with those connected to two German courts that employed Bohemian musicians. Reference was made also to the Esterházy court at Eisenstadt and to the Dresden court.

At Osek, through its three music inventories of 1706, 1720 and 1753, (the latter two with dated additions), it was possible to discern the musical development of a single institution during most of the eighteenth century.

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In 1706, Osek was beginning to benefit from a second generation of Bohemian musicians, a number of whom could compose and many of whom played and sang. Music was used not only for the liturgy, but for lively entertainment as well. The availability and use of the "noble" ceremonial instruments, trumpets and timpani, was noted as well as the early presence of Waldhorns. The number of instruments in the monastery's possession and the notations in the inventories as to their personal use by the members of the order, all testified to an active musical life at Osek, fully on a level with that of other Church institutions and courts.

The core repertory was formed by the Mass and its related additional music (motets, vocal and instrumental concertos, songs in the vernacular). Printed music from Italy formed a solid core of Osek's repertory, which was then rapidly growing by manuscript additions not only from Italy (particularly Bologna, Rome and Venice), but also from Germany and parts of Austria. Although "figural music" (stile moderno) was performed to an increasing extent in all its developed and developing forms, the stile antico was still present.

Two centers of influence stood out with respect to composers in Osek's repertory at the beginning of the eighteenth century, two centers of influence stood out: Prague and the Habsburg court in Vienna. Even at this point, however, an affinity with the music of the small

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German parish was evident, as well as with the music of the German courts, particularly Dresden. In this period, Osek relied greatly for its music on the surrounding area of Bohemia and on the mediation of Italian styles through Bohemian musicians based in Prague (who also worked in the courts of the nobility). Osek's musicians were familiar with local popular music as well as the music of well-known and lesser-known Italian, German and Austrian composers; they cultivated all national styles except that of France, and all genres except opera.

The year 1723 marked a change at Osek, probably stimulated by the prolonged visit of the Imperial Court to Prague, the increasing presence of Italian opera companies, and the subsequent cultural "fallout." Compositions by Antonio Caldara, the Italian Vice-Kapellmeister at the Habsburg Court, took a commanding presence in Osek's repertory. Among the large number of music acquisitions, the newly-fashionable Neapolitan style predominated, especially in the music of contemporary Italians, most of whom were opera composers. Osek also acquired a substantial number of works from Germany, and had close repertorial features in common with the Dresden court capella. A number of new printed music collections offered the monastery a familiarity with the simpler style for parishes that was then being developed in Germany. With the simultaneous expansion of its instrument

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collection, fully representative of modern orchestral tendencies, Osek had entered into an international phase.

The monastery, however, still maintained Bohemian musical traditions and continued to acquire a substantial proportion of its repertory from the works of the most fluent and creative Bohemian composers. Osek's development was similar to that of other religious centers in Bohemia and Moravia, notably the Piarist schools of Kosmonosy and Slaný, and the Benedictine monastery at Rajhrad. Osek also had points in common with the parish church at Wallerstein and with Count Schönborn's collection, through the same or similar printed music and through the same composers' works, With these congruencies of repertory, an Osek musician would have been equipped to function well in many parts of Europe. Two lacunae existed: a practical experience with French music and with staged Italian opera. The latter lack was partially filled by the appearance of arias in Osek's repertory, especially of contrafacta arias from operas.

By 1753-54, Osek showed signs of economic strain. The music acquired during the decades from 1740 to 1770, less in quantity than in the decades immediately preceding, was by living composers with the emphasis on those based in Prague. In the course of the rest of the century, the composers whose works Osek acquired were decreasingly involved with the Church. Many composed to good effect in a derivative yet creative Italian-German

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style. Although trumpets and drums continued to be used (despite Imperial edicts to the contrary), the musical style became more modest in numbers of participants. The presence of opera loomed large in the ubiquitous arias kept in the repertory. Together with this, Bohemian musical traditions persisted, and French music still was not to be found.

By the 1770s, the symphony composers made their appearance at Osek (although not attested to until 1802). From comparison with other inventories and collections, it is clear that an Osek musician would have been fully aware of the European scene with the exception of the French repertory. The same observation could be made about musicians at some comparable centers in Moravia where music was cultivated, for example, the Brtnice court or the parish of Kvasice (the latter to a lesser extent).

The Knights of the Cross inventory, in its vaster dimensions, indicated the same kind of growth and development as at Osek. Frankly aristocratic in its leaning, the Knights' inventory fully represented the Italian trends as well as a selection of German and Imperial Court composers. In addition to a program of dramatic works, the monastery seemed to maintain some aspects of Bohemian tradition. The congruence of the inventory's contents with many aspects of selected German court collections and inventories, coupled with the fact

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of its broad influence at home, gives credence to the assertion that Bohemian musicians were able to develop their "marketable" skills inside of Bohemia and then sell them outside the country.

All of the inventories, and the Church inventories to which they were compared, suggested a lack of opportunity for practical experience with French music (apart from German composers' mediation) and with opera (aside from school plays, staged oratorios and contrafacta arias), that might well have limited the creative foundation for Bohemian composers who had only Church-based and Church-related training. Only by entering the service of a noble who had the needed repertory or who afforded his capella a chance to play and/or hear performances, could a Bohemian musician gain the requisite experience in either field. It is entirely probable that noble service, however short the duration, was a needed pre-requisite to a good position. Also, it is evident that composers (not instrumentalists) needed additional training in order to be as proficient as possible with all genres. That this was often the case is shown by Zelenka, who, although highly skilled and trained at the Jesuit Clementinum in Prague, nevertheless benefitted from being sent to study in Vienna and Italy with the best composers, although he already had obtained a good post at the cosmopolitan Dresden court.

As a result of interactions and changes in several

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aspects of Bohemian life, the Bohemian musician as a distinctively-trained type was created and all but catapulted into the cities and courts of Europe. On the basis of the evidence found in the musical inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross, it is concluded that the Bohemian musician, whether performer or composer or both, was obviously acquainted with a wide range of contemporary music. Either directly from the works of the composers or indirectly through the works of Bohemian composers the music of Italy and Germany formed the basis of the Bohemian musician's training and experience--an experience made broader through participation in popular musical traditions. The Bohemian musician's development shaped a kind of "mixed taste" that delighted many, stimulated some, and brought a unique dimension to music-making not only in Bohemia, but through the whole of Europe.

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INTRODUCTION TO APPENDICES

In the course of investigation, the amount of material useful to the reader either to illustrate a point of discussion or to give additional details was so great as to necessitate a series of appendices. With the exception of appendix P, all of the appendices are referred to in the text.

Appendix A offers a representative, but by no means exhaustive list of Bohemian musicians who worked primarily outside of Bohemia, together with information about where they were born and where they worked. Taken in total, the list shows that there was no one center from which musical emigration took place and no single center to which significant numbers emigrated.

Appendix B gives details about inventories and collections of aristocratic music capellas in Bohemia and Moravia. The assembling of this information in one place will be useful to those who wish to undertake further research.

Appendixes C, D, and E reproduce the format of each of the Osek inventories, together with a complete list of composers found in each.

Appendixes F and G reproduce the exact contents of the Osek inventory pages describing Tafel-Musik for the purpose of correcting some errors and omissions in these

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contents that were published by Paul Nettl.

Appendixes H, I, J, and K offer a chance to examine in detail the contents and changes in Osek's Instrumentarium from 1706 to 1802. Errors and omissions in the publications of Paul Nettl have been noted and corrected.

Appendix L reproduces the format and contents of the inventory of the Knights of the Cross. It includes a full list of composers found in the inventory.

Appendix M reproduces the exact text of the oratorio descriptions in the Knights of the Cross inventory with additional information.

Appendix N places in one complete list the printed works found in all four of the inventories, together with coordinate RISM and Göhler numbers, when available.

Appendix O indicates the location of composers' works in any of the twelve Bohemian and Moravian music inventories dating between 1695 and 1775. Not all composers found in those inventories have been listed, generally only those found in more than two, or those whose names are of broader interest.

Appendix P offers a Czech-German bilingual dictionary of geographical place names which can serve the reader as a quick reference. Part I gives the Czech name first, Part II gives the German name first.

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APPENDIX A

BOHEMIAN MUSICIANS, BORN 1660-1770, WHO WORKED PRIMARILY OUTSIDE OF BOHEMIA

Sources: When one source refers to the others, only that one is given.
1 = NG; 2 = ČSHS; 3 = Dlabacž, Künstler-Lexikon; 4 = Sterling Murray, "Bohemian Musicians in South German 'Hofkapellen' during the late 18th century," HV XIII/3, 1978.
* is a special reference to Horace Fitzpatrick's The Horn and Horn Playing (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Name /alt. form/	Dates	Birthplace	Court/City	Position/Function	Source
AMBROŽ, Josef Karel	1754-1822	Český Krumlov	Hamburg, Hanover, Vienna, Berlin	composer, tenor	2
BEČVAŘOVSKÝ, Antonín /Beczwarzowsky/	1754-1823	Mladá Boleslav	Brunswick, Bamberg, Berlin	composer, organist	1
BENDA, Anna /Bendová/ /HATAŠ(ová)/	1728-1781	Staré Benátky	Potsdam, Gotha	soprano	1 (Hataš) 1
BENDA, František /Franz/	1709-1786	Staré Benátky	Dresden, Vienna, Warsaw (Suchachewsky) Potsdam	violinist, composer, Konzertmeister	1,2
BENDA, Georg /Jiří Antonin/	1722-1795	Staré Benátky	Potsdam, Gotha	composer, violinist, Kapelldirector	1,2
BENDA, Johann /Jan Jiří/	1713-1752	Staré Benátky	Dresden(?), Berlin	violinist, composer	1,2
BENDA, Joseph	1724-1804	Staré Benátky	Potsdam, Berlin	violinist, composer, Konzertmeister	1,2
ČART, Jiří /Tzarth, Czarth, Zarth, Zardt, Georg/	1708-after 1778	Vysoká(Hochtanov), near Havlíčkův Brod	Warsaw, (Suchaczewsky), Mannheim	violinist, composer	1,4
CAUPEK, Johann	unknown	unknown	Würzburg (1740)	bassoonist	4
ČERNOHORSKÝ, Bohuslav /Czernohorsky/	?1684-?1742	Nymburk	Assisi, Padua	composer, organist	1,2

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Name /alt. form/	Dates	Birthplace	Court/City	Position/Function	Source
ČERNÝ, Václav /Czerny, Wenzel/	1752-1832	Nymburk	Vienna, Poland	teacher, pianist	2,3
CIBULKA, Matouš Alois /Czibulka, Alajos/	1768-1845	Prague	Pest, Hungary	composer, conductor	2
CLIER, Gottfried Joseph /Klier, Glier/	1757-1800	Prague	Wallerstein	oboist	4
CONTI, Anton	1705-1796	Deutsch-Böhmen (region)	Munich	bassoonist	4
Czarth, see Čart					
Czernohorsky, see Černohorský					
Czerny, see Černý					
CZERWENKA, Franz /Cservenka, Červenka Zerwinka/	1746/47-1801	Benadek /Benátky	Wallerstein, Pressburg (Bathiany), Esterháza, Vienna	bassoonist, violinist	4
DUSÍK, Jan Ladislav /Dussek/	1760-1812	Čáslav	Mechelin, Bergen op Zoom, Paris, London, etc.	pianist, composer	1,2
FIALA, Joseph	?1748 or 1754-1816	Lochovice	Wallerstein, Munich, Salzburg	composer, oboist, cellist, gambist	1,4
FINGER, Gottfried /Godefroy, Bohumír/	c1660-1730	?Olomouc	Munich, London, Breslau (Neuburg), Mannheim	composer, instrumentalist	1,2
FISCHER, Franz	unknown	unknown	Würzburg (Bishop) (1794)	oboist, composer	4
FRITSCH, Joseph /Fryč, Frič/	c1725-post 1806	unknown	Wallerstein, Thurn- und Taxis	low horn player	4
GASSMANN, Florian L.	1729-1774	Brüx /Most/	Venice (Veneri), Vienna	composer	1
GAYER, Johann Joseph Georg/Andreas Jakob/	1746-1811	Andělská Hora nr. Karlovy Vary	Homburg (Hesse)	composer, violinist	1

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Name /alt. form/	Dates	Birthplace	Court/City	Position/Function	Source
GELINEK, Josef/ Jelínek, Gelineck	1758-1825	Sedlec	Vienna (Kinsky)	composer, piano teacher	1
GLÖCKNER, Franz Joseph	1734-c1800	Grünwald	Dresden, Cologne	horn player	4
GRUND, Christian	1722-1784	Prague	Elector of Bavaria, Margrave of Ansbach, Würzburg(Bishop)	harpist	4
GRUND, Eustach (brother of Christian, above)	unknown	?Prague	(same as above) + Tettnang am Bodensee (Montfort)	harpist	4
GYROWETZ, Adalbert /Gürowitz, Gyrowez, /Jirovec, Vojtěch Matyáš/	1763-1850	České Budějovice	Vienna, Italy (Rus-poli), Paris, London	composer, conductor	1,2
HABERMANN, Franz /František Václav/	1706-1783	Kýnžvart, near Cheb	Condé, Florence (Duke of Tuscany)	composer, choir-	1
HAMPEL, Anton Joseph /Hampl, Hampla/	c1710-1771	Prague	Dresden	horn player, teacher	1
HATAŠ, Dismas /Thaddeus/ /Hatasch, Hatass/	1724-1777	Vysoké Mýto /Hohenmaut/	Gotha	violinist, composer, Konzertmeister	1
Hataš(ová), Anna, see Benda, Anna					
HAUDEK, Carl /Karel/	1721-after 1800	Dobříš	Dresden	horn player, teacher	1
HELLER, Gaudenz	1750-post 1791	Pölnitz	Munich, Bonn	cellist	4
HOSA, Georg /Jiří/	c1718-1787*	Mělník	Brussels (Prince of Lorraine)	horn player	2
HOSA, Thomas /Tomas/ (brother of Georg)	c1715-1786*	?Mělník	Brussels (Prince of Lorraine)	horn player	2
HŮRKA, Friedrich /Bedrich František/	1762-1895	Merklín, nr. Plzeň	Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin	tenor, composer	2
HŮRKA, Josef Martin	1756-?	Chudenice	Spain, Portugal	tenor, composer	2

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Name /alt. form/	Dates	Birthplace	Court/City	Position/Function	Source
JANDOFFSKY, Joseph /Jantovski, Janatowski/	1748/49-1788	unknown	Wallerstein	bassoonist	4
JANITSCH, Anton /Janič, Antonín	1753-1812	unknown	Elector of Trier, Wallerstein, Vienna (Palffy), Hamburg, etc.	violinist	4
JANITSCH, Jan Gottlieb /Janič/	1708-c1760	unknown	Potsdam, Berlin	composer, contrabassist	2
JAWUREK, Josef/Jaworek, Javůrek/	1756-1840	Benešov(2) or Konopiště(1)	Poland (Radziwill), Warsaw	pianist, conductor, composer, teacher	1,2
Jelínek, see Gelinek					
Jírovec, see Gyrowetz					
JOSEPH, Joseph	1727-1804	Nová Paka /Neo-Packa/	Wallerstein, Clemens Wenzeslaus (Bishop of Friesing, Elector of Trier)	hunting-horn	4
KAFFKA, Joseph /Karoka, Kawka/	c1730-1796	unknown	Prince of Thurn und Taxis	violinist	4
KAMMEL, Antonin /Kamel, Kammell, Kamml, Khaml, Cammell/	1730-by 1787	Běleč	London	violinist, composer	1
KARASEK, ____ /Karoušek/	fl. c1780	unknown	Thurn und Taxis, later a Carmelite(2) or Cistercian(4) monk	violinist, composer, cellist	4,2
KAUER, Ferdinand	1751-1831	Klein-Thaya /Tayax; Dyákovice, nr. Znojmo	Vienna	composer, conductor	1,2
KLAUSECK, Ignaz /Ignac/	c1714-post 1760	Rakovník /Rakonitz/	Prince von Löwenstein-Wertheim, Pfedelback (Hohenlohe), Wallerstein, Mainz	composer, oboist, flautist	2,4
KLOPP, Stephan /Klop, Štěpán/	latter part 18th c.	unknown	Regersburg (Thurn und Taxis)	violist, composer	2,4

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Name /alt. form/	Dates	Birthplace	Court/City	Position/Function	Source
KNISCHEK, Wenzel/Kněžek, Knieschek, Václav/	1743-1806	Prague	Poland (Palm), Regensburg (Thurn u. Taxis)	bassoonist, composer	2,4
KOCŽWARA, František /Kotzwara, Kočvara/	c1750-1791	?Prague	London	composer, instrumentalist	1
KOHAUT, (Wenzel) Josef /Kohout, Kohault/	1738-?1793	Žatec /Saaz/	France (Conti)	composer	1,2
KOMAREK, Joseph Anton	c.1740-?	unknown	Würzburg (Prince-Bishop)	cellist, music director	4
KOZELUCH, Leopold /Kotzeluch, Koželuh/	1747-1818	Velvary	Vienna	composer, pianist, teacher, publisher	1
KRAFT, Anton	1749-1820	Rokycany	Esterházy, Grassalkovich, Vienna (Lobkowitz)	cellist, composer	1,2
KROMMER, Franz (Vinzenz) /Kramář, Kramarz, Františ̌ek	1759-1831	Kamenice nr. Třebíče	Vienna, Hungary (Styrum, Pécs Cathedral, Karolyi, Grassalkovich)	composer, Kapellmeister	1,2
KRUMPHOLTZ,Jean-Baptiste /Krumpholz, Jan Křtitel/	1742-1790	Budenice nr. Zlonice	Esterházy, Paris	harpist, composer	1,2
KRUMPHOLTZ, Wenzel (brother of Jan, above) /Krumpholz, Václav/	c1750-1817	?Budenice nr. Zlonice	Esterházy, Vienna	violinist	1,2
LOUSKA, František Ignác /Lausca, Lauska/	1764-1825	Brno	Berlin	pianist, composer, teacher	2
MARA, Ignac Frantisek /Mára/	1709-1783	Německý Brod	Berlin	cellist	2
MAREŠ, Jan Antonín	1719-1794	Chotěboř	Berlin, Russia (Count Bestuzhev-Ryumin, Prince Narushkin)	horn player	1
MAŠEK, Pavel Lambert /Maschek, Machek/	1761-1826	Zvíkovec, nr. Rokycany	Vienna	composer, conductor	1
MAŠEK, (Václav) Vincenc /Maschek, Machek/	1755-1831	Zvíkovec, nr. Rokycany	travelled widely	composer, conductor	1

Name /alt. form/	Dates	Birthplace	Court/City	Position/Function	Source
MATUSKA, Johan	c1725-post 1800	unknown	Duke of Württemberg	horn player	4
MIDLARZ, ____	c1730-post 1800	prob. in Bohemia	Württemberg-Ludwigsburg	horn player	4
MOLENDA, Wenzel	unknown	Písek	Linz, Vienna, Hungary, Paris, Mainz	violinist, composer	4
MÜLLER, Wenzel /Václav/	1767-1835	Tyrnau /Trnava/	Vienna	composer, Kapellmeister	1,2
NAGEL, Joseph	1751-1802	Rossitz /Rosice/	Dresden, Vienna (von Palm), Wallerstein	horn player	4
NERUDA, Johann Baptist Georg/Jan Křtitel Jiří/	c1707-c1780	?Rosice	Dresden	violinist, composer	1
NIKODIM, František /Nikodem, Nicodami/	1764-1829	Vilémov	Vienna, Paris	pianist, composer	2
ONDRÁČEK, Jan /Ondratschek, Johann, Ondratschel, Ondratschett/	1680-1743	Sruby, nr. Choceň	Mainz	horn player, Kapellmeister	2
PECHÁČEK, František Martin /Pechatschek, Pechaczek/	1763-1816	Ústi nad Orlicí	Vienna, Karlsruhe	violinist, composer	2
PICHL, Václav /Pichel, Venceslaus, Wenzel/	1741-1805	Bechyně	Grosswardein(Bishop) Vienna, Milan, etc.	composer, violinist, music director	1
POKORNY, Franz Ignaz (same as below?)	1728-1794	Městec Králové /Königstadt/	Wallerstein, Regensburg (Thurn und Taxis)	violinist, keyboardist, composer	4
POKORNÝ, Franz Xaver /František/	1729-1794	Mies/Stříbro/	Wallerstein, Regensburg (Thurn und Taxis)	composer	1,2
POKORNÝ, Joseph	fl. late 18th c.	?Bechyně	c1789, Pont-à-Mousson, France (near Metz)	organist	1,3
PRÁČ, Jan /Ivan/	? - 1818	Silesia	St. Petersburg, Russia	teacher	2

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Name /alt. form/	Dates	Birthplace	Court/City	Position/Function	Source
PROCHAZKA, Mathias /Prohaska, Prokaska, Perhasca/	unknown	unknown	Munich	horn player	4
PUNTO, Giovanni /Stich, Johann Wenzel, Jan Václav	1746-1803	Zehušice, nr. Čáslav	travelled widely	horn player	1,4
REICHA, Antoine /Rejcha, Anton, Antonín/	1770-1836	Prague	Bonn, Hamburg, Paris, Vienna	composer, teacher	1
REICHA, Josef /Rejcha/	1752-1795(1) 1746-1796(4)	Chudenice, nr. Klatovy	Wallerstein, Bonn	cellist, composer, conductor	1,4
RICHTER, Franz Xaver	1709-1789	?Holešov	Mannheim, Strasbourg (Cathedral)	composer, violinist	1,2, 4
RÖSLER-ROSETTI, Franz Anton (Giovanni)/Rosety, Rössler, Rossetti, František Antonín/	1750-1792	Leitmeritz /Litoměřice/	Wallerstein, Mecklinburg-Schwerin	contrabassist,	1,4
RUDOLPH, Johann Anton /Rudolff, Rodulphe, Rudolf/	1742-c1810	Türschau	Stuttgart, Regensburg	high horn player	4
RŮŽIČKA, Václav Apollinarius /Rucziska, Ruczizka/	1757-1823	Jaroměřice	Vienna	organist, teacher	2
SCHACK, Benedikt Emanuel /Žák, Zák, Cziack, Schak, Ziak, Zach/	1758-1826(1,2) c1758 (4)	Mirotice	Vienna, Graz, Munich	tenor, composer	1,2, 4
Scheck, see Ondráček					
SCHINDELARŽ, Johann /Sindelarz/	c1715-1775?	unknown	Mannheim, Munich	horn player	4
SCHMID, Johann Michael /Schmidt, Schmitt/	1720-1792	Pernartitz	Kleinheubach, Augsburg, (Prince-Bishop), Mainz	composer, horn player, Kapellmeister	1,4
STAMITZ, Johann (Wenzel) /Stamic, Steinmetz, Jan Václav/	1717-1757	Německý Brod	Mannheim	composer, violinist	1

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Name /alt. form/	Dates	Birthplace	Court/City	Position/Function	Source
STEINMÜLLER, Thaddäus	c1725-1790	unknown	Esterházy	horn player	*
ŠTĚPÁN, Josef Antonín /Steffan, Steffani, Stephan, Stephani, etc/	1726-1797	Kopidlno	Vienna (Schlick)	composer, keyboard virtuoso, teacher	1
STIASTNY, Johann /Stiasey/	1764-c1799	Prague	Mainz	cellist, composer	4
Stich, see Punto					
THALMANN, Franz David /Talman/	late 17th-early 18th c.	unknown	Vienna	composer	2
TŮMA, František Ignác Antonín /Thuma, Tuma/	1704-1774	Kostelec nad Orlicí	Vienna (several)	composer, instrumentalist	1
TÜRRSCHMIDT, Johann /Thürrschmiedt, Dürschmied, Thursmit, etc./	1725-1800	Leschgau	Wallerstein	horn player	4,*
Tzarth, see Čart					
VANČURA, Arnošt (Ernest) /Wanczura, Wanzura, Wanskyra/	c1750-?1801	Vamberk	Russia	composer, teacher	1
VAŇHAL, Johann Baptist /Vanhal, Wanhal, etc./	1739-1813	Nové Nechanice	Vienna, Italy	composer, teacher	1
Vranický, see Wranitzky					
WALTER, Johann Ignaz /Walther, Walderth/	1755-1822	Radonitz bei Kaaden /Radonice nr. Kadan/	Vienna, Mainz, other opera houses	tenor, composer	4
Wanczura, see Vančura					
Wanhal, see Vaňhal					
WEISBACH, Franz	unknown	Klösterle /Klášterec/	Dresden	horn player	4
WENT, Johann Nepomuk /Vent, Wend, Wendt/	1745-1801	Divice	Vienna (Schwarzenberg)	oboist, english hornist, composer	1

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Name /alt. form/	Dates	Birthplace	Court/City	Position/Function	Source
WODICZKA, Joseph /Vodička, Wodozky/	1726-1794	unknown	Munich	violinist	4
WODICZKA, Wenzel, Wenceslaus /Wodozky, Vodička, Václav/ (perhaps brother of above)	c1715/20-1774	unknown	Munich	violinist, composer	1,2, 4
WRANITZKY, Paul /Vranický, Wraniczky, Wranizky, Pavel/	1756-1808	Nová Říše	Vienna	composer, conductor, violinist	1
ZACH, Jan	1699-1773	Čelákovice	Augsburg, Mainz (Elector), various courts	composer, organist	1
Žák, see Schack					
ZELENKA, Jan Dismas	1679-1745	Lounovice	Dresden	composer, contrabassist	1
ZIWNI, Jacob /Ziwiny, Zwiny, etc./	18th century	unknown	Mannheim	horn player	4,*
ZIWNI, Joseph (brother of above)	18th century	unknown	Mannheim, Württemberg	horn player	4,*
ZIWNI, Wenzel /Vaclav/ (brother of above)	18th century	unknown	Mannheim	horn player	4,*
ŽIWNY, Wojciech (Adalbert) /Živný, Vojtěch, etc./	1756-1842	unknown	Poland (Sapieha), Warsaw	piano teacher, composer	1
ZWIERZINA, Franz /Zwierwina, Schwersena/	1750-1825	Krast(4) /Chrast/	Wallerstein	horn player	4,*

* Fitzpatrick, The Horn and Horn Playing.

Fitzpatrick gives many more names of horn players in foreign courts and cities not on the above list, including: Bradacž, Bremner, Czermak brothers, Fischer, J.A., Horžizky, Hrdličžka (four brothers), Hubaček, Kuczera, Macjoweczky, Patatschny, Prameyer, Reichel, Reichelt, Samm, Schindler, Andreas and Johann, Schmidt, Seydler, Steinmüller, Syryyneck (Širineck), Vedulang, Zahradničžek, Želenka.

APPENDIX B

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NOBLE RESIDENCES, BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA: INVENTORIES, COLLECTIONS, AND LITERATURE-- A SELECTED LIST

Each residence is listed in alphabetical order. If the residence was occupied by more than one family in the course of the eighteenth century, material for each family or owner is described separately, in chronological order, according to the following outline:

1) Inventory (if one exists), date of inventory
   a) general contents (music manuscripts, librettos, instruments, etc.)
   b) location (using RISM C rubrics)
2) Collection (if one exists), approximate dates
   a) general contents (music manuscripts, librettos, instruments, etc.)
   b) location (using RISM C rubrics)
3) Literature (selected)

Note: The dates given for each noble refer either to their biographical data (in parentheses) or the dates of their reign (without parentheses).

List of Family Names With Corresponding Residences

Family (Czech form)	Residence
Chotek	Kačina
Clam-Gallas	Frýdlant
Collalto	Brtnice
Colloredo-Waldsee	Kroměříž
Eggenberg (Eggenberk)	Český Krumlov
Egk	Kroměříž
Gellhorn	Blansko
Hamilton	Kroměříž
Lažanská	Manětín
Kolovrat	Radenín
Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn	Kroměříž
Lobkowitz (Lobkovic)	Roudnice
Magnis	Strážnice
Pachta	(Prague)
Questenberg (Questenberk)	Jaroměřice
Rottal	Holešov
Salm	Tovačov
Schwarzenberg (Švarcenberk)	Český Krumlov, Hluboká
Sporck (Špork)	Kuks
Thurn-Valessassin	Olomouc
Vrtba	Křimice
Waldstein (Valdštejn)	Doksy

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B L A N S K O (M o r a v i a)

Count Ernst Leopold Gellhorn, 1694-1702

Inventory, 1702.
a) Instruments.
b) CS OLa; lenní dvur Kroměříž, kart. 100 (Sign. T, odd. 12, fasc. 1, Nr. 4).

Literature
Sehnal, Jiří. "Nové příspěvky k dějinám hudby na Moravě v 17. a 18. století," ČMM LX (1975) 164-65, 175. Brief description and full list of inventory.

BRTNICE (Moravia)

Counts Collalto:
Antonín František, c1680-1696.

Inventory, 1697.
a) Instruments.
b) CS Bsa (Sign. C 2, Tribunal-Verlassenschaften).

Literature
Straková,Theodora. "Brtnický inventář," ČMM XLVIII (1963) 199-234. Entire inventory is transcribed.

Counts Antonín Rombald (1696-1740), Tomáš Vinciguerra (1740-1769). Vinciguerra's first wife was Marie Karolina (1712-1750), daughter of Count Adam Questenberg at Jaroměřice (below).

Inventory, c1752-69 (Straková).
a) Thematic catalogue: 1,059 incipits of sacred and secular music, 95 leaves, damaged, incomplete.
b) CS Bm (Sign. G 84).

Literature
Brook, Barry S. Thematic Catalogues in Music. Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 1972. No. 194, p. 44, List of composers' names.
Straková, Theodora. "Brtnický hudební inventář," ČMM XLVIII (1963) 199-234. Background, physical description of inventory, biographical material on composers.
Straková, Theodora. "Hudba u brtnických Collaltu v 17. a 18. století." Ph.D. dissertation, University J. E. Purkyně, Brno, 1967.
Straková, Theodora. "Das Musikalieninventar von Pirnitz," Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university F 9 (1965) 279-87.

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ČESKÝ KRUMLOV (Bohemia)

Prince Jan Kristian Eggenberg (1649-1710)

Inventory, 1706 (3)
a) Three lists: one of 68 Masses, one of sacred and instrumental music, in total more than 400 pieces; and one of more than 25 instruments.
b) CS K, Eggenberg family archive (Sign. III 3H 2i).

Literature
Záloha, Jiří. "Eggenberská zámecká kapela v Českém Krumlově," HV VI/2 (1969) 234-40. Descriptive list of instruments, partially itemized, partially summarized list of music.
Záloha, Jiří. "Českokrumlovský soupis hudebnin z počátku 18. století," HV VI/3 (1969) 365-76. Complete list of second music inventory (1706) and of instruments.

Prince Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg (1732-82)

Inventory, 2nd half eighteenth century, most 1769-70.
a) Thematic catalogue of 167 balletti, 25 opèra comique, 6 opera serie, 23 opera buffe.
b) CS K, Velkostátek Český Krumlov I 7Bb 10-11; Schwarzenberk ústřední kancelář (Sign. Český Krumlov A 6Bb 2a.

Literature
Záloha, Jiří. "Českokrumlovský inventář hudebnin z druhé poloviny 18. století," Příspěvky k dějinám české hudby II (1972) 45-70. Includes a list of the inventory's contents and the thematic catalogue (in different format).
Záloha, Jiří. "The First Opera Repertoire of the Castle Theater in Český Krumlov," Current Musicology XV/1 (1973) 64-72. Describes the theater works from the above inventory and gives the signatures of each work in the present collection.
Šimáková, Jitka and Eduarda Macháčková. Teatralia Zámecké Knihovny v Českém Krumlově, 3 vols. Prague: Knihovna Národního Muzea, 1976.

Prince Jan von Schwarzenberg (1782-1789); married Marie Eleonora of Oettingen-Wallerstein (1768).

Inventory, Castle Theater of Hluboká (Frauenberg), 1798
a) Quartet arrangements of operas (9); 2 ballets; 34 quartets, 25 quintets; list of instruments, apparently all violins.
b) CS K (music collection, without signature).

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ČESKÝ KRUMLOV, continued.

Literature

Záloha, Jiří. "Zámecké divadlo v Hluboké nad Vltavou, p. 141-50, Jihočeský Sborník Historický XLI/3 (1972). Includes complete list of contents with corresponding signatures from present collection.

Šimáková, see above.

Collection, 2nd half of 18th century to beginning of 19th century.

a) Ballets, chamber music, opera arrangements, parts, scores, librettos.

b) CS K music collection (Sign. 1-198 K 10-20, 32; No. 1-76 K I; No. 1-183 K II.

DOKSY (Bohemia) [Collection assembled at DOKSY castle from DUCHCOV, ITOMYŠL, etc.]

Counts Waldstein (Czech: Valdštejn). The counts lived at the family seat in Duchcov (German: Dux) and also owned estates with castles at Doksy (German: Hirschberg; later the family seat), Litomyšl (German: Leitomischl) where a theater was installed, and at Mnichovo Hradiště (German: Münchengrätz), among others, all of which are in Bohemia. Rutová believes that the collections were later partially merged ("Valdštejnská hudební sbírka", see Literature, below).

Duchcov: Ernst Joseph (d.1708); Jan Joseph, 1708-1731; Emanuel Philipp, 1731-1775; Josef Karl, 1775-1814.

Litomyšl: Franz Joseph Georg (1709-1771); Georg Joseph, 1771-1825.

Mnichovo Hradiště: Ernst (1707-1748); Vinzenz Ferrerius, 1748-1797.

Doksy: Franz Joseph (1680-1722) + others.

Inventory, c1943, of collection as it then existed; now missing. A copy was made in 1943 and is deposited with the collection. (Rutová)

Collection, c1740-1800; with a second part, 1800-1930.

a) Chamber orchestral works: symphonies, concertos, divertimentos, overtures, etc.

b) CS Pnm.

Literature

Brook, Barry S. Thematic Catalogues in Music (see above), No. 989, p. 204-05. List of names in Rutová's thematic catalogue of the collection (see below).

Rutová, Milada. "Valdštejnská hudební sbírka." Ph.D. dissertation, Charles University, Prague, 1970. Contains a thematic catalogue of the entire collection. A microfilm copy is in my possession.

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DOKSY, continued.

Rutová, Milada. "Valdštejnská hudební sbírka," Sborník Národního Musea v Praze XXVIII/5 (1974) 173-227. Describes contents of collection and gives titles and composers' names only.

FRÝDLANT (Bohemia)

Count Christian Clam-Gallas, Countess Caroline, end 18th century-beginning 19th century.

Inventory: (two), variously dated.
a) Thematic catalogues: one belonging to the Count, containing instrumental pieces: symphonies, trios, parthias, etc. Dated "beginning 1768-69" (Landon), c1770 (Fukač), c1810 (Brook); one belonging to the Countess, containing arias. Dated "beginning 1768-69" (Landon), c1770 (Fukač), c1810 (Brook).
b) CS Pnm. A microfilm copy of each is in my possession.

Literature
Brook, Barry S. Thematic Catalogues in Music (see above), No. 987, 988, p. 204.
Fukač, Jiří, "Inventáře, hudební," ČSHS I, 550.
Landon, H.C. Robbins, Supplement to the Symphonies of Joseph Haydn. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 15-18.

Collection, incomplete; late 18th - 19th century.
a) Arias from operas, instrumental pieces; manuscript and printed.
b) CS Pnm. A microfilm copy of the shelf list is in my possession.

HLUBOKÁ (see ČESKÝ KRUMLOV, above)

HOLEŠOV (Moravia)

Count Franz Anton Rottal (1717-1762). The castle contained a theater. The peak of musical activity was 1733-39 (Sehnal).

Literature
Palečková, Věra. "Hudba na Holešovském zámku," ČMM XXXIV (1949) 232-43. Description of musical life and connections with other music institutions.
Sehnal. Jiří. "Das Musikinventar des Olmützer Bischofs Leopold Egk" (see above), 299.

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JAROMĚŘICE (Moravia)

Count Johann (Jan) Adam Questenberg (1678-1752), 1699-1752.

Literature

Helfert, Vladimír. Hudební barok na českých zamcích. This was written as part I of a two-part study.

Helfert, Vladimír. Hudba na Jaroměřickém zámku. Part II, a continuation of the study above.

Plichta, Alois, ed., O Životě a Umění. Listy z Jaroměřické Kroniky 1700-1752. Jaroměřice: Místní Osvětová Beseda, 1974. Among the several individual studies of history, art, architecture, is Theodora Straková's article, "Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou a jejich význam v hudebním vývoji Moravy," 393-404.

KAČINA (Bohemia)

Counts Chotek, late 18th century.

Inventory (four) I. Thematic catalkogue, c. 1809 (Brook) with non-thematic Verzeichnis dated 1813; II, II., IV, no date, probably early 19th century.

a) I. Operas, oratorios, arias, choruses, instrumental ensemble music, church music, etc.
II. Church music
III. Operas, oratorios, choral works, arias, instrumental works.
IV. Operas, ballets, arias, partitas.

b) CS Pnm.

Collection

b) CS Pnm.

Literature

Brook, Barry S. Thematic Catalogues in Music (see above), No. 990-993, p. 206.

Landon, H.C. Robbins. Supplement to the Symphonies of Joseph Haydn (see above), 14-15.

KŘIMICE; KONOPIŠTĚ (Bohemia)

Counts Vrtba: Jan Josef (elder) (1669-1734); Jan Josef (younger) (1713-1782). The original library was at Konopiště, which was purchased by Franz Eugen Lobkowitz in 1888. The Lobkowitz family had purchased Křimice prior to this.

Collection, 17th-19th centuries.

a) Opera librettos, plays, other theater materials; 1,878 pieces.

b) CS Pnmk, Kladruby u Stříbro.

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KŘIMICE, continued.

Literature

Šimáková, Jitka and Eduarda Macháčková. Teatralia Zámecké Knihovny z Křimic, 2 vols. Prague: Divadelní Ústav and Knihovna Národního Muzea v Praze, 1970. A catalogue of the entire collection.

Kneidl, Pravoslav. "Libreta italské opery v Praze, v 18. století," Strahovská knihovna I-IV (1966-1969). Includes the portion of the collection pertaining to the Prague opera theaters in the 18th century.

KROMĚŘÍŽ (Moravia). Residence of Bishops.
(also OLOMOUC)

Prince-Bishop Karl Count Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn, 1664-1695.

Inventory (two), c1695-1696.

a) I. Consignatio Instrumentorum, list of instruments;
II. Consignation Authoris Instrumentorum, list of instruments with makers' names.

b) CS KRa.

Collection in three sections, of mixed provenience; arranged and catalogued by Antonín Breitenbacher, archivist in the 1920s. Since that time, some works have disappeared.

a) Section A. 415 printed works, 1545-1891.
Section B. 1,045 items from the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn collection.
Section C. c700 sacred works in manuscript, most from 1770-1900.

Literature

Moldovan, James B., "Kroměříž," pp. 41-43 of Directory of Music Research Libraries, Vol. V, ed. Lilian Pruett. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985. A selected bibliography pertaining to the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn collection.

Otto, Craig A. Seventeenth-Century Music from Kromeriz, Czechoslovakia. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Libraries, 1977, xv-xvii + Bibliography xxvii-xxviii.

Bishop Leopold Egk (1696-1760), 1758-1760

Inventory, 1758-60.

a) 226 compositions; symphonies, partitas for wind instruments, concertos, oratorios, trios; 30 instruments.
b) CS OLa (Sign. II C 504).

Literature

Sehnal, Jiří. "Das Musikinventar des Olmützer Bischofs Leopold Egk aus dem Jahre 1760 als Quelle vorklassischer Instrumentalmusik," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft XXIX (1972) 285-317.

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KROMĚŘÍŽ, continued.

Bishop Maximilian Hamilton, 1761-1776.

Literature

Sehnal, Jiří. "Die Musikkapelle des Olmützer Bischofs Maximilian Hamilton (1761-1776)," Die Musikforschung XXIV (1971) 411-17.

Archbishop Anton Theodor Colloredo-Waldsee

Inventory, 1811

a) 25 instruments, some with the makers' names; music: symphonies, concertos, quartets, ballets, Masses, cantatas, arias, Deutsche Tänze, etc.--over 200 items.

b) CS Bsa Katalog der Handbibliothek zu Cremsier, C9, 13 B, 70.

Literature

Sehnal, Jiří. "Die Musikkapelle des Olmützer Erzbishofs Anton Theodor Colloredo-Waldsee 1777-1811," Haydn Yearbook X (1978) 132-50. Inventory described and contents listed.

KUKS (Bohemia)

Count Franz Anton Sporck (1662-1738), 1684-1738.

Sporck also owned the estate of Lysá na Labem (German: Lissa) with its castle residence as well as other estates and a palace in Prague.

Collection, basically from the Compassionate Brothers (Czech: Milosrdných bratři) monastery at Kuks, c1760-1860. (Sporck's collection does not exist.)

a) Sacred music: Masses, etc., arias; operas, oratorios; instrumental music.

b) CS Pnm.

Note: Libretti from performances at the Sporck theater in Prague are deposited at CS Ps. They are not from Sporck's library.

Literature

Benedikt, Heinrich. Franz Anton Graf Von Sporck. Vienna: Mainz Verlag, 1923.

Poštolka, Milan. "Sporck, Franz Anton," NG 18, 25-26. Bibliography.

Preiss, Pavel. Boje s dvouhlavnou saní: František Antonín Sporck a Barokní Kultura v Čechách. Prague: Vyšehrad, 1981.

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LEŠNÁ (u Gottwaldová) (Moravia)

Inventory, second half 18th century.
a) Thematic catalogue of chamber ensemble works; 78 numbered items: concertos, parthias, trios, divertimentos, sonatas, quartets.
b) CS Bm (Sign. G 85).

Collection, 19th century.
a) Instrumental chamber ensemble pieces and clavier pieces of a "salon character."
b) CS Bm (Sign. A 25 926 - A 26 062).

Literature
Straková, Theodora, et al. Pruvodce po Archivních Fondech. Brno: Ústav dějin hudby Moravského Musea v Brně, 1971, No. 54, p. 58.

MANĚTÍN (Bohemia)

Countess Marie Gabriela Lažanská, née Černín(ová), 1711-1738.

Literature
Sehnal, Jiří. "Hudební život v Manětíně v první polovině 18. století," Opus Musicum I/5-6 (1969) 147-54. Description of instruments purchased, musical life.

OLOMOUC (Moravia)

Count Johann Mathias (Jan Matyáš) Thurn-Valessassin (1683-1746), 1731-1746. Prelate of Olomouc Cathedral Chapter.

Inventory, 1747 (A listing and evaluation of his estate after his death.)
a) Music manuscripts: operas, oratorios, instrumental ensemble pieces: serenades, symphonies, parthias, concertos; solo pieces for flute, violin, keyboard; sacred music. Most items listed in generic groups without composer names. About 29 instruments.
b) CS OLa, kapitula Olomouc, kart. 870.

Literature
Sehnal, Jiří. "Nové příspěvky k dějinám hudby na Moravě v 17. a 18. století," ČMM LX (1975) 165-70; 175-76.

[PRAGUE] (Bohemia)

Count Pachta, second half 18th century.

Collection, second half 18th century, some early 19th century.
b) CS Pnm.

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RADENÍN (Bohemia)

Count Leopold Kolovrat (1727-1809), purchased the estate and castle after 1763, after it had had a quick succession of owners (Rutová). The collection is mainly connected with Leopold's son, Philipp Franz (1756-1836). The family owned a palace in Prague, from which only a fragment of a collection remains.

Inventory (three; described by Rutová)
a) A. thematic catalogue, Verzeichniss aller Musikalien Ihro Hochreichs Gräphlichen Gnaden Herrn Herrn Philipp Krakowsky Grafen von Kollowrath. Instrumental works: concertos, symphonie concertante, serenades, symphonies, quartets, etc. (Brook), plus a list of plays, from the Count's personal collection.
B. Violin concertos, non-thematic.
C. Non-thematic; operas, overtures, small pieces from second half of 19th century.
D. Catalogue of collection, running list of numbers.
E. Catalogue of collection, arranged in alphabetical order by composer.
b) CS Pnm.

Collection (two Kolovrat collections), second half of 18th century-19th century.
a) I. Prague palace: c2000 items.
II. Radenín: orchestral and chamber music; theater programs and librettos.
b) I. One part in CSJIa; another part in Červená Lhota collection now in CS Pnm (Sign. čj. 1 248/59 ř. XII. 1959/ dne 8 ledna 1960/ čj. 32/60/. 906 volumes of music, of which 538 are manuscripts (Rutová).
II. Music in CS Pnm. Theater material in CSPs.

Literature

Brook, Barry S. Thematic Catalogues in Music (see above), No. 994, p. 206-07.
Kneidl, Pravoslav. "Libreta italské opery," (see above).
Kneidl, Pravoslav. Teatralia Zámecké Knihovny z Radenína, 3 vols. Prague: Národní Muzeum v Praze, 1962.
Rutová, Milada. "Instrumental Koncerty Kolovratské Hudební Sbírky ze Zámku Radenínského (výběrový tematický katalog)," ČMM CXLII/1-4 (1973) 26-63.

ROUDNICE (Bohemia)

Princes Lobkowitz:
Philipp Hyazinth (1680-1734); Ferdinand Philipp (1724-1784); Joseph Franz Maximilian 1772-1816, first Duke of Roudnice (Blažek). In addition to Roudnice, the family seat, the Lobkowitz' owned a palace in Prague, in Vienna, and two others in north Bohemia.

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ROUDNICE, continued.

Collection, 17th-19th century; some earlier works.
a) Instrumental music, vocal music, lute tablatures, opera scores; large collection of instruments.
b) CS Pnm, also instruments.

Literature

Blažek, Vlastimil. Bohemica v Lobkovském Zámeckém Archivu v Roudnici n. L., Vol. I: Pavel Vranický a Antonín Vranický. Prague: Knihovna Hudební Výchovy, No. 14 (1936). Thematic catalogue of the works of both Wranitzkys in the collection.

Brook, Barry S. Thematic Catalogues in Music (see above), No. 1024.1, p. 214. Brief note.

Nettl, Paul. "Musicalia der Fürstlich Lobkowitzschen Bibliothek in Raudnitz," p. 60-70, Beiträge zur böhmischen und mährischen Musikgeschichte. Brno: Rohrer, 1927. Description of tablatures, seventeenth-century items, unique manuscripts, theoretical works.

RYCHNOV NAD KNĚŽNOU (Bohemia)

Collection
b) CS Pnm.

STRÁŽNICE (Moravia)

Count Franz Anton Magnis (1773-1848)

Inventory, approx. beginning of 19th century.
a) Older part mainly instrumental music for chamber ensemble; younger part contains printed salon music for piano and for solo instruments and piano.
b) CS Bm (Sign. G 7).

Collection, last third of 18th century-beg. of 19th century.
a) See Inventory.
b) CS Bm.

Literature

Straková, Theodora, et al., ed. Pruvodce po Archivních Fondech. Brno: Ústav dějin hudby Moravského Musea v Brně, 1971, No. 89, p. 87-89.

TOVAČOV (Moravia)

Count Ferdinand Julius Salm (1650-1697), 1671-1697.

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TOVAČOV, continued.

Inventory, 1697

a) Sacred music, instrumental pieces, primarily balletti; instruments (9).

b) CS Bsa, copy in CS Bm (Sign. G 45).

Literature

Racek, Jan. "Inventář hudebnín tovačovského zámku z konce 17. století," Musikologie I (1938) 45-68.

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APPENDIX C

OSEK, INVENTORY OF 1706: FORMAT AND COMPOSERS

pages

3 Opera Bassani

5 Introitus
R.P. Antonio, Cist. (Edelmann); Jahn (Zacharias); Schmidt; Thallmann; J.S.S.J.

"N.B. Introitus seu quasi Introibus, pro Primitijs, ut sunt, Venic\ Sancti Spiritus, et hic Similia, inveniendi sunt inter Offertoria et Concertus de S. Spiritus, tempore Pentecostes."

6 Partes Missarum/ in 3 Classes, scribuit in Meliores, Medio/cres, et antiquiores divisae.

6 Missae Meliores
Albrici; Anonymous (2); Artophaeus (2); Fiebig (4); Görbig; Grassi; Grünberger (2); Jahn (6); Jungg (3); Kriedl; Liehre; Passarini; Platzer (2); Poppe (4); Richter; Rosenberger; Thallmann (2); Vogt; Wentzl.

7 Missae Mediocres
Erbstein; Ernest; Foggia (2); Glettl; Wentzl (2); Zacher; Zacherle.

8 Missae Antiquiores
Abersbach (2); Anonymous; R.P. Antonij [Edelmann]; Barthali; Brückner (2); Ernest; P. Josephi Jahn; Kleiner; Siegl; Skurba; Wentzl.

8 Sequentur Missae defun/cti Patris Antonij
Anonymous (2); Antoni [Edelmann]; Ardensbach; Artophaeus (3); Baal; Barthali; Bittner (2); Draghi; Edelmann (7); Fischer (2); Geyer (4); Götzl; Grandi; Grünberger; Jungg; Kriedl (2); Sig. R.; Richter; Rumpelnig; Schwartzkopff; Sperling; Vogt; Voita; Wolff; Zacher (5); Zeller.

10 Sequentur Missae in typo
Colonna; Fiebig; Gazzati [Cazzati]; Grandi; Kerl (2); Oeler; Schwartzkopff.

11 Offertoria/ Pro varietate festorum et temporum in clas/ses distributas/

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11 Offertoria de B. Virgine
Albrici; Anonymous; Artophaeus; Haug; Heisler; Jahn; Pittoni.

12 Offertoria propria de Sanctis
Breunl; Jahn (3); Kriedl (2); Poppe; Sartorij; Thallmann; Vogt (3).

13 Offertoria comunia de Sanctis
Anonymous (7); Artophaeus; Breunl; Görbig; Heisler; Jahn; Kriedl (2); Pittoni; Platzer; Sanzes; Vogt; Wentzl.

14 Offertoria pro praecipuis Anni/temporibus;/ De Nativitate Domini.
Anonymous (2); Fedeli; Timmer.

Pro Quadragesima et Sancta/Cruce.
Anonymous; Heusler; Vogt (2).

15 Pro Paschate
Artophaei.

De Sancto Spiritu, tempore/ Pentecostes.
Christian, O.C. [Erbstein]; Görbig; Vogt (3).

16 Offertoria de Venerabili
Abersbach; Albrici (2); Anonymous; Anton; Breunl; Majer, S.J.; Thallmann.

Offertoria pro Primitijs.
Bruno, S.J.; Görbig; Grünberger; Jahn; Sartorij; D. T.

17 Offertoria pro Dominicis/ per Annum.
Albrici (2); Anonymous (2); Bohaty; Breunl, O.C.; Fiebig; Görbig; Korp; Monaca in Pavia; Pelican, S.J.; Sax, O.C.; Vogt, O.C. (2).

18 Offertoria defuncti P[at]ris Antonij,/ Similiter in classes distributa:
De B. Virgine
Auffschneyder; Brückner; Geyer; Heusler; Rochus; Tychian; Voita.

De Alijs varijs Sanctis
Anonymous; Caesar (2); Fischer (2); incerti Aut** (2); Opelt; Richli.

De temporibus praecipuis
Bavlovsky; incerti Aut**; Liebl; Voita (3).

19 De Venerabili
Anonymous (5); Bittner.

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Pro Dominicis per Annum
Geyer; Görbig; Heusler; Jahn, O.C.; Jungg; Philippi; Poppe; Schwartzkopff (3); Thallmann.

19 Sequentur Concertus, sive Cantus à 3,/ 2, et Sola voce; pro diversitate festorum/ et temporum in classes dispositii,/
Concertus de B. Virgine.
Anonymous (2); Artophaei; Kriedl; Monaca in Pavia; Pelican; Pittoni; Thallmann; Vogt, O.C.

20 Concertus de Alijs Sanctis
Anonymous (5); Baal; Breunl, O.C.; Cherici (3); Di Katana; Felsner; Glettl; Liehre; Machaonsky; Pittoni; Rauscher; Vogt, O.C. (3).

21 Concertus de praecipuis/ Anni temporibus,
De Nativitate Domini
Abersbach; Albrici (2); Anonymous (3); Charissimi; Eisenhuet; Melaranzi; Rabovij, S.J.; Romani; Tychian.

22 Pro tempore Paschali
Anonymous (3); Cherici (2); Jahn.

23 Concertus de S. Spiritu,/ SS. Trinitate, et Ascensione/ Domini.
Artophaeus; Breunl, O.C.; Cherici; Jahn (2).

De Venerabili, et Primitijs
Albrici; Anonymous (5); Bruno, S.J.; Wencel.

24 Concertus per Annum
Abersbach; Albrici; Anonymous (16); Artophaeus; Brückner; Bruno, S.J.; Cherici; Dollar; Fedeli (2); Fiebig; Glettl; Monaca in Pavia; Pittoni; Voita; M.J.S.S.J.

25 Concertus de Tempore
Albrici (5); Anonymous (6); Buoni; Cherici; Fidler, O.C.; Kerl; Pachelbel (3); Peresio; Pittoni (3); Stephan.

26 Concertus defuncti P. Antonij
Albrici; Anonymous (4); Bruno, S.J.; Cherici; Felner; Fischer; Grieninger (2); Heusler; Horraeus; Italo (2); Melvi, Dom.; Pittoni; Rabovius, S.J.; Scalmani.

26 In Typo/ tam de Concertibus, quam Offertorijs, sunt Sequentia
Colonna, Eisenhueth; Glettl (2); "Hercin." Sylvae (Black Forest); Rauch.

27 Ariae, sive Cantilena variae/ tempore Gradualis et

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Communionis/ producendae/
De B. Virgine Maria
Anonymous (12); Breunl; Geyer; incert. Auth**; Liehre; Oppelt; Thallmann; Voita (2); Wentzel; Zeller; Zinck (10); M.J.S.S.J.

28 De Venerabili Sacramento
Anonymous (7); Fedeli (2); Melani; Pietro Zuoli; Sartorij, O.C.; Siegl; Vogt; Wentzel.

29 Ariae de diversii temporibus/ Anni.
Alberici; Albrici; Anonymous (26); Geyer (2); Jahn (2); Liehre; Piedro Zuoli; Zinck.

30 Ariae de tempore
Albrici; Anonymous (11); Geyer (2); Herberg; Heusler; Kriedl; Liehre; Reichwein (2); Vogt, O.C.

Ariae defuncti P. Antonij
Anonymous (7); Fischer; Trojerwitz; J.S.S.J.; M.W.S.J.(or, W.M.S.J.).

31 De Arijs noviter accesserunt (blank)

Vesperae et Psalmi pro Vespe/ris
Alberici; Anonymous (4); Fedeli; Kriedl (2); Passerini (2); Poppe; Reichwein; Timmer; Wollrab.

32 Vesperae in Typo
Fischer

Hymni pro Vesperis
Anonymous (2); Breunl, O.C. (5); Fibig; Görbig; Heusler; Stehling; J.S.S.J.

Salve, Ave, Alma et Regi-/na Caeli, post Vesperas producenda
Anonymous (9); Barthali; Capellini; Fiebig; Germani; Jahn Sen.; Kyrschner; Lamb; Liehre (3); Mayer, S.J.; Meissner; Poppe (2).

33 Vesperae, Hymni, Salve, Ave,/ Alma, Regina Caelil, defuncti P. Antonij.
Anonymous (2); Barthali (2); Cesti; Geyer; Heusler; incerti. Auth**; Jopf; Kerl (2); Liebl; Meissner; Meltzl; Schober; Thallmann; Voita; Zuoli (2).

34 Vesperii, Hymnii, Salve, Ave, etc. de novo accesserunt Sequentiam (blank)

Litaniae, Miserere, Tribu-/tores vel maximae tempore/ Quadragesimae usitandae.
Anonymous (4); Jahn (2); Oborsky; Rosenberger.

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Defuncti P. Antonij
Brückner; Edlmann, O.C.(2); Franck; Ignoto; Meltzl; Vogt, O.C.

35 In Typo
Anonymous; Florimi (3); Glettl.

36 Taffel Music/ id est Cantus aliquot jucundi tempore tabulae et Recreationis producendi
Anonymous (21); Bieber; Glettl; Sartorij.

38 Partes Recreativae pro Musica Instrumentali
Anonymous (9); Artophaeus; Aufschneidter (2); Biber (2); Fuchs (2); Geyer; Kohnhauser; Lux.

39 Noeniae,/ sive Cantus pro Defunctis
Anonymous (4); Brückner; Bulovski; Edelmann (4); Fedeli; Fischer; Glettle; Incerti Aut**; Kertzinger; Rethel; Rosenberger.

41 Appendix/ Continens quaedam Partes/ à R.P. Alberico comparatus/ Missae
Anonymous; Oeler; Poppe; J.C.B.

Offertoria
Bassani (2)

Concertus
Anonymous (3); Colonna.

Ariae
Anonymous (4); Götzl; Reichwein.

Psalmi pro Vesperis
Anonymous; Bassani; Passerini (2); Sitter, S.J.

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Full List of Composers in Inventory

(No. of works in parentheses; key to Religious Order at end of list.)

ABERSBACH, Johann (5)
Alanus de Rupe, see Felsner
ALBRICI, Vincenzo (20)
Antonius Ossecensis, see Edelmann
ARDENSBACH, Vaclav (1)
ARTOPHAEUS, Ferd.Bern.OFrMConv(12)
AUFSCHNAITER, Benedict Anton (3)
BAAL, CARMELITE, OCarm (2)
BASSANI, Giovanni Battista (49)
BERTALI, Antonio (5)
BIBER, Heinrich (3)
BITTNER (3)
BOHATY, Jan (1)
BONPORTI, Francesco Antonio (1)
BREUNL, Franz Zacharias (12)
BRÜCKNER, Heinrich Alois (7)
BRUNO, Wolfgang, SJ (4)
BULOVSKY, SJ (1)
CAESAR, Johann Melchior (2)
CAPELLINI, Carlo (1)
CARISSIMI, Giacomo (1)
CAZZATI, Maurizio (1)
CESTI, Marc'Antonio (1)
CHERICI, Sebastian (9)
Christian, P., see Erbstein
COLONNA, Giovanni Paolo (3)
DI KATANA (1)
Dollar, see Tolar
DRAGHI, Antonio (1)
EDELMANN, Antonius, OC (18)
EISENHUT, Thomas (1)
ERBSTEIN, Christian Hyacinth,OC(2)
ERN[E]ST (2) (Ernest Lux, O.C.?)
FEDELI, Ruggiero (7)
FELSNER, "Dom." (2) [poss. Ferdinand Alanus de Rupe]
FIDLER, "Cist." OC (1)
FIEBIG, Johann Christoph (8)
FISCHER, Johann Caspar Ferdinand
FISCHER, Johann](18)
FLORIMI, Giov. Andrea, OSM (1)
FOGGIA, Francesco (2)
FRANCK, Augustin (1)
FUX, Johann Joseph (2)
GAYER , Johann Chr. (Karel) (14)
GERMANI, Paulus (1)
GLETTLE, Johann Melchior (7)
GÖRBIG, Johann Anton (7)
GÖTZL, Gabriel, SJ (2)
GRANDI, Alessandro (2)
GRASSI, Francesco (1)
GRIENINGER, Augustin, OC (2)
GRÜNBERGER, Johann, OC (4)
Grüninger, see Grieninger
HAŬSLER, Antonin (9)
HAUG, Praed. (prob.) Josef, SP (1)
Heisler, see Haŭsler
HERBERG (1)
HORRAEUS (1)
JAHN, Josef Jan Adam, OC
JAHN, Zacharias, OC](22)
JOPF (1)
JUNGG, Johann Ludwig (5)
KERLL, Johann Kaspar (4)
KERTZINGER, Augustin, OSB (1)
KLEINER, Georg (1)
KOHNHEUSLER (1)
KORP, Procopius (1)
KRIEDEL, Johann Christoph (11)
KYRSCHNER, Richard Andreas (1)
LAMB (1)
LIEBL, Karl Friedrich (2)
LIHRE, Tobias Ernestus (8)
LUX, Balthasar (?) OC (1)
MACHAONSKY, Simon Josef, SJ (2)
MAYER, Wenceslas (?), SJ (1)
MEDA, Bianca Maria, OSB (3)
MEISSNER, Konrad Johann Georg, OC (2)
MELANI (1)
MELARANZI (1)
MEL[T]ZEL, Georg Melcelius, OPraem(2)
MELVI, Francesco Maria, OFrMConv? (1)
OBORSKY, Daniel (1)
OELER, Konrad (2)
OPELT (Oppelt, Anton?) (2)
PACHELBEL, Johann (3)
PASSARINI, Francesco (5)
PAVLOVSKY, Václav (1)
PEDERZUOLI, Giovanni Battista (4)
PELIKAN, Carolus, SJ (2)
PERESIO (1)
PHILIPPI, Johann Georg (1)
PITONI, Giuseppe Ottavio (9)
PLATZER, Johann Albrecht (3)
POPPE, František Ludvík, OCr (12)
RABOVIUS, Karel, SJ (2)
RAUCH, Johann Georg (1)
RAUSCHAR, Andreas (?) (1)
REICHWEIN, Johann Georg (4)
RETHEL, Malachios, OC (1)
RICHTER, Ferdinand Tobias (2)
Rochus, see Schneeburger

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List of Composers, continued.

ROMANI, Steffano (1)
ROSENBERGER, (Christoph?) (2)
RUMPELNIG, Franz (1)
RYCHLY (1)
SANCES, Giovanni Felice (1)
SARTORIUS, Augustin (4)
SAX, Joannes, OC (1)
SCALMANI, Giuseppe (1)
SCHMIDT (2)
SCHNEEBURGER, Franz Rochus (1)
SCHWARTZKOPFF, Theodor (5)
SIEGEL, Jacob, OC (2)
SITTER, Jacob, SJ
+ J.S.S.J.](4)
SKURBA, P. Ludwig, OPraem (1)
SPERLING, Johann Peter Gabriel (1)
STEHLING (1)
STEPHAN (1)
THALLMANN, Franz David (9)
TIĒS (an abbreviation), A. (1)
TIMMER (2)
TOLAR, Jan Křtitel, SJ (1)
TROJERWITZ (poss. Philipp Troyer) (1)
TYCHIAN, Johann Anton (2)
VOGT, Mauritius, OC (20)
VOITA, Johann Ignaz Franz (9) (8)
WENTZELY, Mikuláš Františ̌ek Xaver
WOLFF, F. OSB (1)
WOLLRAB (1)
ZACHER, Johann Michael (6)
ZACHERLE (1)
ZELLER, Franz (2)
ZINCK (2)

D.T. (1)
J.C.B. (1)
M.J.S.S.J. (Sitter?) (2)
M.W.S.J. (1)
R. (1)

Key to Religious Orders:

OA	Augustianian
OC	Cistercian
OCarm	Carmelite
OCr	Knights of the Cross with the Red Star
OFRMConv	Minorite
OPraem	Praemonstratensian
OSB	Benedictine
OSM	Servite
SJ	Jesuit
SP	Piarist

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APPENDIX D

OSEK, INVENTORY OF 1720: FORMAT AND COMPOSERS

folio

1 r Missae, Anno 1720, in Ordinem
Alberici; Artophaeus; Baal. Carmelita; Brentner; Collona (2); Czervencka, Wen. (2); Dukat (3); Edlmannn; Erbstein, Cister.; Fiebig (11); Flad(t), Ign. (2); Geyer; Glettle; Grünberger, Cister. (8); Ignotus; Incertus (3); Jacob(us) (17); Jahn, Franc.; Jahn, Jos. Cister.; Jungk (3); Kridel (3); Linert, Jacob (2); Lotti, Ant.; Muck, Beda, Ord. B. (2); Peceli(us) (5); Pellegrini, Ferd.; Platzer; Poppe (8); Rathgeber (1); Reichenauer (2); Schütz (3); Schwarzkopff, Joan.; Stengel; Thallmann; Vogt, Maur., Cister. (3); Wentzl, Nicolaus; Zacher.

2 v Missae ab A: 1723
Amandus; Anonymous (6); Bioni; Breunich; Brixi; Caldara (15); Charlotti (2); Conti (4); Czekerini; Donberger; Durante (2); Eckert (4); Fago (4); Faschi; Feo; Fux (5); Ganspackta; Grünberger (5); Haas (2); Italo; Jacob (10); Kern Ord. Cist. (2); Kirchbauer; Lotti germanicus (3); Loyler; Mancini (5); Mariano [Kern]; Mayeri; Mettinoti; Muck (3); Oestler; Oet(t)l (2); Poppe (3); Parpora; Porsille; Quidam O.S.d.d.; Rathgeber (2); Reichenauer (19);Ristori (2); Ritter (9); Ritter, C. Carl; Ritter, J.; Rofeld (2); Rosini; Rosneti; Santo Lapis; Sarri (3); Schmidt, Vienn.; Schmit, D.; Schnell; Swoboda (2); Swoboda juni (2); Tedesco; Teller; Tunski; Ursini; Vinci; Will; Zelenka (7).

6 r Missae Absoletae [laid aside]
Abersbach (2); Anonymous (10); Antoni [Edelmann] (2); Ardensbach; Artophaeus (4); Bassani; Bassetto; Berthali (2); Bittner (2); Brückner (2); Colonna; Edlman, A. Cist. (4); Ernest(us) (2); Fiebig; Fischer (2); Flad; Gazzati; Geyer (3); Görbig, G.; Götzl; Grandi, Alexandro, Drestanych (2); Jahn (6); Kerl; Kleiner; Kridel; Liehre; Oeler (2); Passarini; Platzer; poris Di Capello; Richter (3); Rosenberger; Rumpelnig; Schwartzkopff; Siegl; Sperling; Skurba, Praem; Traghi; Voita; Wentzl (3); Wolf, F., Bened.; Zacher (4); Zacherle; Zellier.

7 r Offertoria de omni tempore
Alberici (7); Anonymous (3); Bassani; Bohaty; Brentner (2); Cherici; Fiebig; Geyer; Herzmanebus; Heusler;Jacob; Jahn, Jos., Cist.; Kerl; Korp,

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Procop; Kridl (2); Majer, S.J. (2); "da donnatrice Maria Meda Monaca"; Pelicanus, Carolus, S.J.; Pittoni; Platzer; Poppe; Reichenauer; Sax, J., Cist.; Schutz; Schwartzkopf; Thallmann; Vogt, Cist. (4); no citation (1).

7 v [Offertoria de tempore] ab 1723
Anonymous (2); Bonnonzini; Brentner (1)[later crossed out]; Caldara; Eckert; Jacob (2); Mancini; Reinhart; Ritter; Teller; Vogt, Mauritz, Cist. (4).

7 v Missae solennissime
Anonymous; Bencini (2); Conti; Conti, jun.; Fago; Feo (4); Mancini (3); Romano; Sarri (4).

10 r Gradualia, Ariae, Solus et Concertus de omni tempore
Alberici (3); Amadoni; Anonymous (33); Anonymous It. (2); Artophaeus; Attilio; Auth. Varii; Baal; Bassani (16); Bononczini; Brentner (7); Brückner; Buon Porta; Caldara (2); Cassiani; Cecherini, Nic., It.; Cherici; Collonna; Comporthi [Bonporti]; Constanizi (1); Dollar, S.J.; Fiebig; Fischer (2); Flad(e) (4); Frank; Glettle; Jacob (5) Kriedl; Langelwaldt; Lotti; Mayr, S.J.; "da Donna Bianca Maria Meda Monaca"; Passaquini; Pecelius; Pittoni (3); Platzer; Poppe (2); Presl; Preunl, Cist.; Raymuntus, Cist.; Reichenauer (4); Roggeri; Rozwazier (1); Schütz; Steltzel (3); Stephani (1); Voita (1); Zelenka (2); no citation (9).

11 v [Gradualia de tempore] Ab Anno 1723
Albinoni; Anonymous (21); Bioni (3); Bononcini; Brentner (4); Caldara (7); Conti; Flad; Fux (2); Haasse; Handel; Italus (7); Italus Romanus; Jacob (3); Lotti (2); Pietro [zuoli]; Porsille; Reichenauer; Sarri; Tunsky; Vinci (2); Willicus.

14 r Offertoria de Communi Sanctorum et Sanctarum
Anonymous (12); Artophaeus; Bassani; Bomporthi [later crossed out]; Brentner (3); Caesar, M. (2); Cherici; Felsnerius; Giansetti; Görbig, G.; Grünberger, Cist. (5); Heusler; Jacob (7); Jahn, Zach (2); Koller, Dominicus; Koret, Bern.; Liebl; Linert; Mayer, S.J. (2); Philippi; Pittoni (3); Preunl (3); Reichenauer; Retustus; Richli; Vogt, Cist. (2); Wentzl; no citation (2).

14 v [Offertoria] Ab Anno 1724
Amando, P.; Anonymous (9); Anonymous/Italus (2): Caldara (3); Faschi. Romano; Garbi; Jacob (4); Leo Nardo [Leo?]; Mancini (2); Reichenauer (3).

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16 r Gradualia et Ariae et Concertus de Communi Sct. & Sct.

Anonymous (17); Bassani (7); Bomporthi; Borri; Colonna; Ernest; Feslnerif; Flad; Grüninger; Italo (2); Jacob (9); Jahn, Z. (2); Liehre; Lotti; Langelwaldt; Mayer, S.J. (2); Presl; Preunl; Reichenauer (2); Reichwein; Stehling; Stöltzl; no citation (2).

16 v [Gradualia de Sct. & Sct.] ab Anno 1724

Albinoni (4); Anonymous (12); Anonymous, Italus (2); Attilio; Caldara (9); Casparini; Faratelli; Garbi; Haasse; Heinichen; Jacob (2); Kallascka; Kerri; Parpura; Pietro[zuoli]; Porta; Ritter (2); Vinci; Willkorn, Ord. Cist. (2).

20 r Gradualia Concertus et Ariae de Sanctis

Anonymous (7); Bassani; di Katana; Flad (2); Horraeus; Ignotus, S.J. (2) Jacob (2); Jahn; Machaonski, S.J.; Rauschehar; Steiner; Vogt, Cist.

20 r [Gradualia] Ab Anno 1724]

Anonymous (2); Caldara (9); Conti (2); Domesticus; Hasse; Kerri, R.J.

20 v Offertoria de proprio Sanctorus et Sanctarum

Anonymous (4); Brixi; Caldara (2); Eisenhut; Fago; Feo; Jacob (6); Jahn, Zach. (15); Kratoqvile; Kridel (2); Linert; Mancini (2); Opelt; Pavlowski; Poppe (2); Preunl, Cist.; Rathgeber (2); Rauch; Reichenauer; Renisch, Ant.; Sanczes; Sartorius, Cist.; Thallmann; Thomista; Vogt, Cist. (5); no citation (9).

22 r Offertoria pro Festis Solemn. Anni

Abersbach; Alberici (3); Anonymous (15); Antonii, P. [Edelmann]; Artophaeus (2); Autoris; Bittner; Bruno, S.J.; Camenae, Benedict.; Cherizci; Eisenhut; Erbstein, Christianus, Cist. (2); Fedeli; Glettle; Görbig (2); Grünberger, Cist. (2); Hein; Heisler; Jacob (6); Jahn, Zach. (3); Junck; Lunert; Philippi; Preunl, Cist; Sasrtoris, Cist.; Schütz; Schwartzkopf (2); Thalmann; Tychian; Vogt, Cist. (4);Voita (2); no citation (1); 1 unclear.

22 v Offertoria . . . ab Anno ´23

Anonymous (9); Caldara (5); Eckert; Feo, Francis (2); Fux; Haasse, Dresdenti (2); Italo/us (3); Jacob (5); Kern, Marianus, S.J. (7); Kolmschlag (3); Mancini (2); Marianus [see Kern]; Pichler; Poppe; Rathgeber; Reichenauer (3); Ritter (2); Sarri; Vogt, Maurit. (2); Will, P.F. Thadd.;

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Zelenka.

25 r Gradualia seu Concertus et Ariae pro festis solemn.
Abersbach; Alberici (3); Anonymous (37); Authores Divisorum (2); Bassani (6); Brentner; Bruno, S.J. (5); Carissimi; Cassiani; Cherici (3); Conti; Corelli; Eisenhudt; Fidler; Flad; Glattle; Italo; Jacob (6); Jahn, Zach. (3); Linert; Mayer, S.J. (2) ; Melaranzi; Pavlovskycz; Pietrazuoli; Platzer; Poppe; Preunl, Cist. (2); Rabovis, Carolus, S.J.; Rauch; Reichwein (2); Romanus; Sartoris, Augustinus, Cist; Sencri; Steiner; Telner; Vogt, Cist; Wenzelius. no citation (5).

26 r [Gradualia ab A: 1723]
Albinoni (5); Anonymous (26); Bacht; Bicini; Bologna; Brixi; Caldara (20); Conti; Fux; Hasse, Caj. Majst. Drase. (6); Heinichen Hunt; Italus (2); Jacob, P. (7); Kern, R. F. Marianus (4); Lotti (6); Mancini (2); Piacomelli; Pichler; Piselli; Pra´sl; Reichenauer (4); Sarri (2); Ulich; Vinci (5); Will, G. Thadd.; Zelenka (6).

30 r Offertoria de B. V. M.
Alberici; Anonymous (3); Artophaeus; Auffschneider; Bassani (2); Bruckner; Franck; Geyer; Jahn, Z.; Libl; Lunert; :da donna Bianca Maria Meda Monaca"; Muk, Beda; Pittoni; Ratovium, S.J.; Rochus; Schütz; Tychian; Voita; Wenzelius; no citation (1).

30 v [Offertoria de B. V. M.] ab Anno 1723
Altrovandini; Anonymous (2); Brentner; Brixi; Fago, Nicolao Torrentino; Feo; Kern, F. MArianos; Muck, P.; Vogel, A.F., O.C..

33 r Gradualia, Concertus, Ariae de B. V. M.
Anonymous (11); Anonymous Italo; Artophaeus; Ballarotte (2); Bassani (5); Bomporthi; Brentner; Diversi Authorum; Grienninus; Jacob (2); Jahn; Lotti; Melvi, It.; Pederzuoli; Pelican; Pithoni; Reichwein (2); Rutha; Scalmanus; Verichnare, E.A.; Vogt, Cist: Voita; no citation (1).

33 v [Gradualia de B. V. M.] Ab Anno 1723
Albinoni; Anonymous (15); Anonymous, Ital.; Bioni (2); Bononcini; Brentner; Caldara (6); Fago; Feo, Francisco; Giacomelli; Hendel; Jacob; Kern, F. Marianus (4); Lotti; Mancini; Mariano [cf. Kern]; Prozack; Recaredi, Frederico; Sarri; Ursler; Vogt, A.P.; Werner; Will, P. Thadd.; Zelencka.

35 Vesperae, Antiphonae, Litanei, Hymni, Requiem,

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Rorate

Albrici (3); Anonymous (22); Antonius, Cist. [Edelmann} (2); Artophaeus; Bartel; Barthali (2); Bassani (3); Biber (2); Breunl, Cist. (2); Brückner (2); Bulovski; Capellini; Cesti; Claviger; Edelmann, Cist. (4); Fedeli; Fiebig (2); Fischer (2); Franck, Canon (3); Fux; Gebelt; Geyer; Glettle, Mesch. (2); Görbig; Heisler; Incertus; Jäckl; Jacob (3); Jahn, Zach. (8); John, Adamus; Kerl; Kertzinger; Kyrschner (2); Kridel (3); Lamb; Lünert (2); Lyhre (2); Mayer, Ecclesi, S.J. (3); Meisner (3); Meltzl(ius), Praemont. (2); Passerini (2); Paulus, Germani; Pietoni; Poppe (7); Rathgeber; Reichwein (2); Rethel, Malachios, Cist.; Rogeri; Rosenberger (2); Ryli, Franciscus; Schmid; Schober; R.M.; Steiner, Thallmann (3); Theobaldus, P. Cap.; Ziani; Zuoli, Pietro; no citation (1).

36 r [Vesperae, Lytaniae, Hymni...] Ab Anno 1724

Albinoni (3); Anonymous (12); Alexio; Altrovandini; Borri; Chiti; Ducat; Ganspeck; Girolamo, D.; Hunt (3); Jacob (7); Kern; Poppe; Rathgeber; Reichenauer (4) Reinharth; Ritter (3); Rutha; Sandoni; Santo Lapis; Sarri, Italo (2); Scarlatti; Schmid; Schnell; Tham (2); Uliga; Vivaldi; Werner (2); Zelenka.

39 r Genialia seu Cantus recreativi

[Edelmann]; Artophaeus; Bassani; Berthali; Biber (5); Bodino, Sebastiano; Brentner; Caldara (3); Conti (2); Diversum Authorum; Dolar; Eyger; Faber; Finger; Fischer; Fux/Fuchs (3); Geyer; Glettle; Heusler; Hlinenski; Hylmareck; Italo (2); Jahn, Z. (4); Kalazcka; Kerl; Mitschka; Petz; Pichler (4); Plassentius, Pr. Carolus; Poppe (2); Porath; Porsille (3); quarum Authores; (2); Reinhart; Reudtschmid (2); Scaccia, Angl: Maria; Schmeltzer (5); Schuch; Strahl (4); Thallmann; Timeri (2); Valentini; Vivaldi (3); Voita (2); Wentzl; Zacher (2); Zacherle; Zinckwardt.

41 r Notations on music loaned.

42 r Bookkeeping accounts, 1754-57.

47 r Mantissa Instrumenta Musica Specificans

47 r Bookkeeping accounts, 1754, 1756, 1757.

48 r Festa quibus Musici Majores de Gratiosa Permissimi D. D. Abbatio dispositione prandium percipiunt

48 v Ordo Titulorum in suis folijs et Numeris quaerendendorum [Table of Contents]

49 r Consignatio Instrumentorum pro Choro figurali

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Full List of Composers in Inventory

(letters following name refer to the respective Orders of the Roman Catholic Church; the key is at end of list.)

ABERSBACH, Johann
ALBERTINI, Thomas Anton
ALBINONI, Tomaso Giovanni
ALBRICI, Vincenzo
ALDROVANDINI, Giuseppe Antonio
ALEXIO, P. Joan. (Alexius)
ALMEIDA, Francisco Antonio de
AMADONI, poss. Giuseppe Amadori
AMANDUS/AMANDO
Antoni, Antonius Cist.,see Edelmann
ARDENSBACH, Vaclav
ARIOSTI, Attilio
ARTOPHAEUS, Ferdinand Bernard
Attilio, see Ariosti
AUFSCHNAITER, Benedict Anton
AUTORIS
BAAL. CARMELITE, OCarm.
BACHT
BALLAROTTI, Francesco
BARTEL
BASSANI, Giovanni Battista
Bassetto (1), see Francesco Grassi
BENCINI, Pietro Paulo
BERTALI, Antonio
BIBER, Heinrich
BICINI
BIONI, Antonio
BITTNER
BODINUS, Sebastian
BOHATY, Jan
BOLOGNA
BONONCINI, Giovanni
BONPORTI, Francesco Antonio
BORRI, Giovanni Battista
BRENTNER, Johann Joseph
BREUNICH, Johann Michael
BREUNL, Franz Zacharias
BRIXI, Simon
BRÜCKNER, Heinrich Alois
BRUNO, Wolfgang, SJ
BULOVSKY, SJ
CAESAR, Johann Melchior
CALDARA, Antonio
CAPELLINI, Carlo
CARISSIMI, Giacomo
Carolus, see Plassentius, Carol
Casparini, see Gasparini
CASSIANI (Giov. Maria Casini?)
CAZZATI, Maurizio
CECHERINI, Nicolo
CERVENKA, Vaclav Norbert
CESTI, Marc'Antonio
CHARLOTTI
CHERICI, Sebastian
CHITI, Girolamo
CLAVIGER, Frantisek
COLONNA, Giovanni Paolo
COMPORTHI
CONSTANIZI
CONTI, Francesco Bartolomeo
CONTI, Ignazio Maria
CORELLI, Arcangelo
Czekerini, see Cecherini
Czervenka, Wenc., see Cervenka
DI KATANA
Dolar, see Tolar
DOMESTICUS
DONBERGER, Georg Joseph
DRAGHI, Antonio
DUKAT, Joseph Leop. Vaclav, OPraem
DURANTE, Francesco
ECKERT
EDELMANN, Antonius, OC
EISENHUT, Thomas
ERBSTEIN, Christian Hyacinth,OC
ERNESTUS (Ernest Lux, OC ?)
EGGER
FABER, Mikulas Frantisek
FAGO, Nicola
FARATELLI
FASCH, Johann Friedrich
Faschi, Romano, see Fasch
FEDELI, Ruggiero
FELSNER, FELSNERIUS (poss. Ferdinand Alanus de Rupe)
FEO, Francisco
FIDLER
FIEBIG, Johann Christoph
FINGER, Gottfried
FISCHER, Johann Caspar Ferd.
FISCHER, Johann
FLAD(E), Ignatius
FLORIMI, Giov. Andrea, OSM
FOGGIA, Francesco
FRANCK, Augustin
FUCHS
FUX, Johann Joseph
Ganspackta, see Ganspeckh

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GANSPECKH, Wilhelm, OA
GARBI
GASPARINI, Francesco
GAYER, Johann Chr. (Karel)
GEBEL, Georg
GERMANI, Paulus
GIACOMELLI, Geminiano
GIANSETTI, Giovanni Battista
GIROLAMO, D.
GLETTLE, Johann Melchior
GÖRBIG, Johann Anton
GÖTZL, Gabriel, SJ
GRANDI, Alessandro, "Dresd."
GRASSI, Francesco
GRIENINGER, Augustin, OC
Grienninus, see Grieninger
GRÜNBERGER, Johann, OC
Grüninger, see Grieninger
HAAS
HÄNDEL, HENDEL, Georg Fred.
HASSE, Johann Adolph, "Dresd."
HAUG, Praed. (prob.) Josef, SP
HAÜSLER, P. Antonin
HEIN
HEINICHEN, Johann David
Heisler, see Haüsler
HERZMANEBUS
HLINENSKI
HORRAEUS
HUNT
INCERTUS
JÄCKL
JACOB, Gunther, OSB
JAHN
JAHN, Franc.
JAHN, Josef Jan Adam, OC
JAHN, Zacharias, OC
JUNGG, Johann Ludwig
KALAZCKA, KALLASCKA, Joanne
KERLL, Johann Kaspar
KERN, Marian Georg, OC
KERRI, R.J.
KERTZINGER, Augustin, OSB
KILMANSECK
KIRCHBAUER, Alphons, OSB
KIRSCHNER, Richard Andreas
KLEINER, Georg
KOHNHEUSLER
KOLLER
KOLMSCHLAG
KORET, Bern.
KORP, Procopius
KRATOCHVILE, Frantisek
Kratoqvile, see Kratochvile
KRATZER, Raymund Joh. Anton, OC
KRIEDEL, Joseph Christoph
LAMB
LANGENWALTER, Emerio
LAPIS, Santo
LEO, Leonardo
LIEBL, Karl Friedrich
LIEHRE, Tobias Ernestus
LINERT, Jacob
LOTTI, Antonio
LOYLER
Lühre, see Liehre
LUX, Balthasar, OC
Lyre, see Liehre
MACHAONSKI, Simon Josef, SJ
MANCINI, Francesco
Mariano, see Kern
MAYER/MAJER/MAYERI, Wenzel, SJ
MEDA, Bianca Maria Meda
MEISSNER, Konrad Joh. Georg, OC
MELARANZI
MELTZL, MELCELIUS, Georg, OPraem.
MELVI, Franc. Maria, OFrMConv. (?)
MENDLITZKA
METTINOTTI
MITSCHKA
MUCK, Beda, OSB
OELER, Konrad
OESTLER
OETTL, Mathias
OPELT (Anton Oppelt ?)
ORSCHLER, Johann Georg
PASQUINI, Bernardo
Passaquini, see Pasquini
PASSARINI, Francesco
PAVLOVSKY, Vaclav
PECELIUS, Joannes, OA
PEDERZUOLI, Giovanni Battista
PELIKAN, Carolus, SJ
PELLEGRINI
PEZ, Johann Christoph
PHILIPPI, Johann Georg
PICHLER, (P. Placidus ?)
PIETRO
PISELLI (Pisenelli ?)
PITONI, Giuseppe Ottavio
PLASSENTIUS, CAROLUS, SP
PLATZER, Johann Albrecht
POPPE, Frantisek Ludvik, OCr
PORATH
Poris di Capello, see Capellini
PORPORA, Nicola

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PORSILE, Giuseppe
PORTA, Giovanni
PRASSEL, PRA'SL, PRESL
PROZACK
QUIDAM, O.S.d.d.
RATHGEBER, Johann Valentin
RABOVIUS, Karl, SJ
RAUCH, Johann Georg
RAUSCHAR, Andreas
Raymuntus, see Kratzer
RECARDEI, Frederico
REICHENAUER, Antonin
REICHWEIN, Johann Georg
REINHARDT, Johann Georg
RENISCH
RETHEL, Malachios, OC
Reutschmid, see Augschnaiter
Richli, see Rychly
RICHTER, Ferdinand Tobias
RISTORI, Giovanni Alberto
RITTER, C. Carl
RITTER, J.
Rochus,see Schneeburger
ROFFELD, P. Amando, OA
ROGERI, ROGGERI
ROMANI, Steffano
ROSENBERGER, (Christoph ?)
ROSINI
ROSNETI
ROZWAZIER (?)
Rupe, Ferdinanc Alanus de, see Felsner
RUMPELNIG, Franz
RUTHA
RYCHLY
RYLI, Franciscus
SANCES, Giovanni Felice
SANDONI, Pietro Giuseppe
SARRO,Domenico
SARTORIUS, Augustin, OC
SAX, Joannes, OC
SCACCIA, Angelo Maria
SCHMELTZER, Johann Heinrich
SCHWARTZKOPFF, Theodor
SCHWARZKRAFT
SENCRI
SIEGEL, Jacob, OC
SITTER, Jacob, R.M., SJ
SKURBA, Ludwig, OPraem.
SPERLING, Johann Peter Gabriel
STEFFANI, Agostino
STEHLING
STEINER, Richard
STENGEL
STÖLZEL, Gottfried Heinrich
STRAHL, Wenzel
SWOBODA, Antonin, "juni" SJ
SWOBODA, Joannes
TEDESCO
THAM, Francisco/Joanne Georgio
THEOBALDI, OCap.
THOMISTA
TIMMER
TOLAR, Jan Krtitel
TUNSKY
TYCHIAN, Johann Anton
ULICH, Johann
UHLIG, Augustin
Uliga, see Uhlig
URSINI
Ursler, see Orschler
VALENTINI
Verichnare, E.A., see Reichenauer
VETUSTUS
VINCI, Leonardo
VIVALDI, Antonio
VOGEL, OC
VOGT, A.P.
VOGT, Mauritius, OC
VOITA, Johann Ignaz Franz
WENTZELY, Mikulas Frant. Xaver
WERNER, Gregor Joseph
WILL, P.F. Thaddeus
WILLICUS, Balthasar
WILLKOMM, Eugen, OC
WOLFF, F. OSB
ZACHER, Johann Michael
ZACHERLE
ZELENKA, Jan Dismas
ZELLER, Frnz
ZIANI, Marco Antonio
ZINCKWARDT

Key to Religious Orders:

OA	Augustinian
OC	Cistercian
OCarm	Carmelite
OCr	Knights of the Cross with the Red Star
OFrMConv	Minorite
OPraem.	Premonstratensian
OSB	Benedictine
OSM	Servite
SJ	Jesuit
SP	Piarist

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APPENDIX E

OSEK, THEMATIC CATALOGUE OF 1753/54: GENERAL FORMAT AND COMPOSERS

folio	Category (* = 1802 entries)	Numbered items
1 r	Missa Solennissimae sub litera B	1 - 81
77 v		82 - 95
78 v	"1802"	96 - 97
79 r	"1802"	[98-145]

Angstenberger (1); Anonymous (4,*1); Bach Schmid (1); Ballabene (2); Bencini (3); Brixi (16); Cartililieri (*1); Costanzi (1); Conti (2); Ditters (3,*1); Fago (2); Fancka, R.P. Placidus (1); Feo (5); Fils (2); Gionelli (9); Graun (1); Guglielmi (1); Hasse (1); Haydn (*1); J. Haydn (*6); M. Haydn (*3); Hendel (1); Hsyden (1); Kohl (1); Koprživa (*2); Koželuch (*2); Lang (1); Lotti (8); Majo/Maji (1,*1); Mancini (4); Manno ex Italia (1); Martino (1,*1); Molieri (1); Mozart (*3); Müller (*1); Naumann (*1); Oersler (1); Peres (1); Pergolesi (2); Pichl (1); Prachinsky (*1); Rutini (1); Sacchini (*1); Sarro/i (4); Schubert (*5); Schürer (*5); Sehling (3); Seidelmann (1); Simone, R.P. Piarum Scholaris (1); Söcka/Soycka/Soyka (4,*4); Tordella (1); Vogl (*8); Walter (*2); Wanhall (*12); Wolff (1); Zanetti (1); Zimmermann (*3).

7 r	Missa Sollenniores sub litera B	1 - 60
11 r	"1802"	61 - 63

Anonymous (3); Bencini (2); Brixi (8); Caldara (1); Carpani (1); Conti, juniores (2); Costanzi (2); Debuini (1); Eckert (1); Feo (3); Fils (1); Habbegger (1); Habermann (1); Jos. Haydn (*2); Heinichen (1); Koprživa (*1); Koželuch (1,*1); Landfelt (1); Leo (2); Loos (5); Lotti (1); Mettinoti (1); Mollieri (1); Mozart (*3); Müller (1); Novac (1); Perisi (1); Pignatelli (1); Porpora (1); Prazak (1); Rosin (1); Sarcuni (1); Schenkirsch (1); Sehling (2); Soyka (*1); Swoboda (3); Vignati (1); Wanhall (*2); Zach (1); Zechner (1); Zelenka (2); Zimermann (1).

13 r	Missa Solennes sive festivales sub litera C	1 - 45

Anonymous (1); Bencini (1); Brixi (4); Clemente (1); Conti (1); Costanzi (1); Debuini (1); Domberger (2); Duma (2); Galerini (1); Kern, Ord. Cist., Os. Prof. (4); Kohaut (1); Mancini (3); Neruda (1); Novack (1); Petrucci (1); Porpora (2); Rautani (1); Reichenauer (5); Scheibl (1); Schmidt (3); Sehling (1); Swoboda (1); Synicžek (1); Umstadt (1); Vinci (1); Zach (1); Zelenka (1).

19 r	Missa Dominicales sub litera D	1 - 66

Anonymous (2); Brixi (11); Caldara (1); Domberger (2); Duma (1); Ehrenhardt (1); Fils (1); Gionelli (1); Haan/Hahn (3); Jacob, O.S.B. (1); Kayser (2); Klyma (6); Koželuch (1); Laube

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(1); Linek (1); Manschinger (2); Molieri (2); Moraweczek (1); Müller (1); Nobis (1); Pinzger (1); Reichnauer (2); Reipert (1); Reütter (1); Ristori (2); Schenkirsch (1); Schmidt (2); Schürer (3); Schwentner (1); Sehling (1); Senati (1); Simone, R.P. (2); Terbettj (1); Zach (2); Zechner (1); Zelenka (2).

25 r — Missae breves seu communes sub litera E — 1 - 35
27v — "1802" — 36 -[48]

Anonymous (*1); Brixi (10); Brunetter (1); Fux (1); Gsur (1); Habermann (2,*1); Heyden (*1); Holtzbauer (1); Hozat[?] (*1); Klyma (3); Königsberger (2); Mozart (*2); Novac (2); Pinzger (3); Preindl (*2); Reinhard (1); Reütter (1); Ristori (1); Sapadex [?] (*1); Schiedermajer/mayr (*3); Schmidt (1); Sehling (3); Vogl, C.B. (*1); Zach (2).

31 r — Missae pastorales sub litera F — 1 - 25
32 v — "1802" — 26 - 28

Angstenberger (1); Anonymous (4); Brixi (9,*1); Habermann (1); Kayser (1); Klyma (1); Kern (2); Liberti (1); Loheli o/us (1,*1); Püschel (1); Reichnauer (1); Soyka (*1); Taubner (1); Umstadt (1).

35 r — Missae partes Solitariae sub litera G — 1 - 10

Angstenberger (1); Caldara (1); Conti (2); Domberger (1); Feo (1); Gionelli (2); Kern (1); Viennensis (1).

33 r — "1802" Missae de Requiem Solennes — 1 - 11

Anonymous (*2); Brixi (*2); Czerni (*1); Gonelli (*1); Gozzeniga, Giuseppe (*1); Kraus (*1); Zach (*2); Zechner (*1).

41 r — Offertoria propria de Nativitate Christi Domini. sub litera N.C. — 1 - 24
42 v — "1802" — 25 - 26
62 r — "1802" — 9

Anonymous (5); Absolon, R.P. (*1); Brixi (5); Kern (2); Loheli/o/us, R.P. (2,*1); Novak (3); Reichenauer/Reichnauer (2); Rolle (2); Sehling (3); Simone, R.P. Sch. Piar. (1).

44 r — Offertoria propria pro Resurrectione Christi Domini. sub litteris R.C. — 1 - [6]

Brentner (1); Kern (3); Schürer (1); Sehling (1).

46 r — Offertoria propria pro sacro die Pentecostes sive Veni Sancti Spiritus quae etiam pro Primitijs adtudentur. sub literis P. — 1 - 9
"1802" — 10

Angstenberger (1); Anonymous (1,*1); Czecherini (1); Karaužeck, R.P. (1); Kern (3); Swoboda (2).

48 r — Offertoria et Te Deum laudamus pro festo S.S. Trinitatis. sub lit. T. — 1 - 6
62 r — "1802" — 11 -[13]

Angstenberger (2); Anonymous (*2); Emmert (*1); Jacob (2);

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Kern (1); Pichler (1).

50 r Offertoria propria pro festo Corporis Christi. sub literis CC 1 -[8]
Angstenberger (1); Feo (2); Kern (2); Loos (1); Mancini (1); Reichnauer (1).

54 r Offertoria propria de B:V: Maria et alijs Sanctis. sub literis P.S. 1 - 35
56 v "1802" 36 -[55]
61 v "1802" 1 - 8
Angstenberger (4;*1); Anonymous (3,*3); Brixi (7,*8); Caldara (1); Fago (1); Feo (1); Giacomelli (1); Graun (1); Jancka (1); Kern (2); Koprživa (*1); Koželuh (*1); Lohelio (1,*6); Loos (*3); Mancini (4); Petro, R.P. (*1); Pichl (1); Reichenauer (2); Sarri (2); Schenkirsch (1); Sehling (1); Vinci (1); Wanhall (*4).

58 r Offertoria communia de tempore sive pro Dominicis. sub lit. C.T. 1 - 31
60 v "1802" 1 -[14]
62 r "1802" 10
Anonymous (2,*1); Brentner (1); Brixi (6); Caldara (6); d'Dittersdorf (*2); Feo (1); Fux (3); Haas (1); Hasse (1); Michael Haydn (*3); Jacob (1); Kern (1); Koželuch (*1); Lohelio (3); Lotti (1); Monsy (*1); Nitsch (*1); Pichl (*1); Reichenauer (3); Rosetti (*1); Schretteri (1); Schwerdtner (1, collect. of 12); Walter (*1); Wanhall (*3).

64 r Offertoria de Sanctis communia, et omni festivitate. sub litteris C.S. 1 - 65
68 v "1802" 66
Absolon, R.P. (2); Angstenberger (1); Anonymous (4); Brixi (5); Caldara (1); Conti (1); d'Dittersdorf (*1); Durante (1); Feo (3); Graun (1); Hasse (2); Jacob (1); Kern (1); Leo (3); Lohelio (12); Loos (4); Lotti (1); Majer (2); Majo (1); Mancini (2); Manchij (1); Novak (1); Pichl (2); Prazak (1); Rautani (1); Rofeld (1); Sarri (2); Schenkirž (1); Schwerdtner (1); Seeliger (1); Sehling (8); Swoboda (4); Techetti (1).

76 r "1802" [Offertoria] Pro Octava S.S. Corporis Christi ante vespertinam benedictionem 1 - 12
Anonymous (*3); Brixi (*2); Micheli Haydn (*1); Loheli (*1); Misliweczeck (*4); Piccini (*1).

88 r "1802" [Offertoria] Pro Quadragesima ante Benedictionem vespertinam et aliae hocce tempore producibilia (# = arias) 1 - 32
Anonymous (2, #4, *1); Bach.Milano (#1); Bach-Schmid (1); Brixi (2); Galuppi (1); Gonelli (1); Händl (1); Hasse (#3); Michael Haydn (*2); Koželuch (#4); Misliweček (#2); Pergolesi (1); Ponto (#1); Preunich (1); Schürer (2); Soyka (1).
36 r "1802" Ariae seu Gradualia moderno Stylo producibilia 1 - 70

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70 r "1802" 71 -101
43 r "1802" 1 - 10

Anonymous (*27); Belli (*2); Boroni (*7); Brixi/y (*13); Brunetti (*1); Calberrino (*1); Ditters/d'Dittersdorff (*3); Fiebig (*1); Fischietti (*1); Galluppi (*2); Gazaniga (*1); Hasse (*4); Jomelli (*1); Karauschek (*4); Kluch (*1); Kohl (*1); Koly (*1); Koželuch (*3); Koželuch, Leopoldo (*1); Lineck (*2); Loheli (*1); Majo (*1); Martino (*1); Misliweczek (*12); Mozart (*1); Paesello (*1); Piccinni (*1); Pilaja (*1); Sacchini/Sachini (*2); Salieri (*1); Scarlatti (*1); Schuster (*2); Terradella (*2); Traetta/Trajetta (*5); Vannhall (*1); Walter (*1); Zappis (*1).

Full List of Composers in Inventory

(Letters follwing name refer to the respective Orders of the Roman Catholic Church; the key is at the end of Appendix C.)

ABSOLON, R.P.
ANDRÈ, Louis
ANGSTENBERGER, Johann
BACH "Milano," Johann Christian
BACHSCHMIDT
BALLABENE, Gregorio
BELLI
BENCINI, Pietro Paulo
BORONI, Antonio
BRENTNER, Johann Joseph Ignaz
BREUNICH, Johann Michael
BRUNETTER, BRUNETTI
CALBERRINO (?)
CALDARA, Antonio
CARPANI
CARTILLIERI, Anton Casimir
CECHERINI, Nicolo
CLEMENT, Johann Georg
COCHLER
CONSTANZI
CONTI, Francesco Bartolomeo
CONTI "juniores," Ignazio Maria
COSTANZI
Czecherini, see Cecherini
CZERNY, Sanctus
DEBUINI
DITTERSDORF, Karl Ditters von
DONBERGER, Georg Joseph
Duma, see Tůma
DURANTE, Francesco
ECKERT
EHRENHARDT
EMMERT, Johann Joseph
FAGO, Nicola
FEO, Francesco
FIEBIG, Johann Christoph
FILS, FILTZ, (Johann) Anton
FISCHIETTI, Domenico
FUX, Johann Joseph
GALERINI
GALUPPI, Baldassare
GAZZANIGA, Giuseppe
GIACOMELLI, Geminiano
Gionelli, see Gonelli
GONELLI, Giuseppe
GRAUN, either Karl or Johann
GSUR, Tobias
GUGLIELMI, Pietro
HAAN, Václav
HAAS (several possibilities)
HABBEGGER
HABERMANN (several possibilities)
Hahn, see Haan
HÄNDL
HANDEL, Georg Frederick
HASSE, Johann Adolph
HATAŠ, Dismas
Hatasch, see Hataš
HAYDN
HAYDN, Joseph
HAYDN, Michael
HEINICHEN, Johann David
Hendel, see Handel
Heyden, see Haydn
HOLZBAUER, Ignaz
HOZAT
JACOB, Gunther, OSB
Jancka, see Janke
JANKE, Placidus Johann, OC
JOMMELLI, Niccolo

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Osek, Inventory of 1753/54, List of composers, continued

KALOUS, Václav, SP
Karauschek/Karazeck, see Karousek
KAROUSEK, Vendelin (Wendeline)
KAYSER, Isfrid
KERN, Marian Georg, OC
KLIMA, Benedikt, OC
KLUCH (Gluck?)
Klyma, see Klima
KOHAUT (Karl ? Joseph ?)
KOHL, Franz
KOLY
KÖNIGSPERGER, Marianus, OSB
KOPRŽIVA (prob. Václav)
KOŽELUCH
KOŽELUCH, Leopold
KRAUS
LANDFELT
LANG, Johann Georg
LAUBE, Anton
LEO, Leonardo
LIBERTI
Linek, see Linka
LINKA, Jiří Ignác
Lohelius, see Oehlschlägel
LOOS, Karel
LOTTI, Antonio
MAJER, Joseph Friedrich Bern.
MAJO (Giuseppe or Gian Franc.)
Manchij, see Mancini
MANCINI, Francesco
MANNA, Gennaro
Manno ex Italia, see Manna
MANSCHINGER
MARTINI, Padre Giovanni Battista
Martino, see Martini
MEDERITSCH, Johann
METTINOTTI
MOLIERI
Monsy, see Monza
MONTSCHEL
Moraweczek, see Morawetz
MONZA, Carlo Antonio
MORAWETZ/MORAVEC (Václav/Wenzel or Giovanni/Johann)
MOZART (prob. Wolfgang Amadeus)
MÜLLER
MYSLIVEČEK, Josef
NAUMANN, Johann Gottlieb
NERUDA, Johann Baptist Georg
NITSCH, Ignaz
NOBIS
NOVÁK, Johann (Jan)
OEHLSCHLÄGEL, Joh. Lohelius,OPraem
Oersler, see Orschler
ORSCHLER, Johann Georg
PAISIELLO, Giovanni
PEREZ, David
PERGOLESI, Giovanni Battista
PERISI (Perez?)
PETRO
PETRUCCI (Angelo? Brizio?)
PICCINI, Niccolo
PICHL, Václav
PICHLER (P. Placidus?)
PIGNATELLI
PILAJA (poss. Catharina)
PINZGER, Romanus, OA (?)
PONTO
PORPORA, Nicola
PRACHENSKY, Jan (?)
PRAŽÁK, Václav, OP
PREINDL, Joseph
Preunich, see Breunich
PÜSCHEL
RAUTANI
REICHENAUER, Antonín
REINHARDT, Johann Georg
REIPERT
REUTTER, Georg
RISTORI, Giovanni Alberto
ROFFELD, P. Amando, OA
ROLLE
ROSETTI, Franz Anton (Rösler)
ROSIN (Carlo Maria Rosini?)
RUTINI, Giovanni Mario
SACCHINI, Antonio Maria
SALIERI, Antonio
SAPADEX (?)
SARCUNI, Giacomo
SARRO, Domenico
SCARLATTI, Alessandro
SCHEIBL, Johann Adam
Schenkirsch, see Šenkýř
SCHIEDERMAYR, Johann Baptist
SCHMIDT (Johann Michael ? Johann Christoph ?)
SCHRETTERI
SCHUBERT, Jos.
SCHÜRER, Johann Georg
SCHUSTER, Joseph
Schwentner, see Schwertner

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Osek, Inventory of 1753/54, List of composers, continued

SCHWERTNER, Joseph
SEELIGER
SEHLING, Joseph Antonin
Seidelmann, see Seydelmann
ŠENKÝŘ, Augustín, OSB
SEYDELMANN, Franz
SENATI
Simone, R.P. Piarum Scholares, see Kalous
Sŏcka, see Soyka
SOYKA, Matěj
SWOBODA, Antonín
SYNICZEK
TAUBNER, Antonín
TECHETTI (Teghetti)
TERBETTI
TERRADELLAS, Domingo
TORDELLA (Terradellas?)
TRAETTA, Tommaso
TŮMA, František
UMSTATT, Joseph
VAŇHAL, Jan Křtitel
VIENNENSIS
VIGNATI, Giuseppe
VINCI, Leonardo
VOGEL, Kajetan, OSM
WALTER, (Johann) Ignaz
Wanhall, see Vaňhal
WOLFF, Ernst Wilhelm
ZACH, Jan
ZANETTI, Francesco
ZECHNER, Johann Georg
ZELENKA, Jan Dismas
ZIMMERMANN, Anton
ZOPPIS, Francesco

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APPENDIX F

OSEK, TAFELMUSIK, INVENTORY OF 1706

[Inventory, p. 36-38]

(* indicates correction or addition to the list published by Paul Nettl in "Weltliche Musik," ZfMw IV (1921-22) 354-55, and Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 36-37.)

TAFFEL MUSICK

Id est: Cantus aliquot jucundi,/ tempore tabulae, et Recreationis/ producendi.

Venerabilis Pater; vel: Illustrissime Comes; 4 Voc.	_____
A, a, a; triumphet Austria; 2 Voc.	_____
A, a, a, Ossecum jubila; 4 Voc.	_____
* Exotische Klag fantasey der frantzosen; A[ltus] o B[assus]	_____
Ein lustiges lied von Müller, und sing Kunst, C.A.T.B.	_____
* Der Weber gesang; C.A.T.B.	_____
* Schöne Gesellschaft, 4 Burgern von Ambsterdamb; A.T.B.B.	_____
* Schungbettler, oder Schlosstreger Haderkunz; C. o A.T.B.	_____
Schmiedgesang, oder Hammer Klang; A.T.B.	_____
Storch, Storch, Stoina; C.A.T.B.	_____
* Cantus recreativ[us] von deng Schlasingern; B.1. V.1	_____

TAFFEL MUSICK

Schön undt wohlgefällige fragstuck; T.1.	_____
Requiem quodlibeticu[m]; C.A.T.B.	_____
* Quodlibet a 5, Eins und zwey, sind unserer drey, A.T.B.VV.	_____
Frantzösisches Hössl; C. o T.	Sartoriy[1]
Eygensinniger Kopff in leben; C. o T.	_____
Der grosse Georg der lange, isst gerne Sauerkrauth;	_____
Koch und Keller; 2 Voc:	_____
Lectinus Cantor, cum Succantore etc: C.T.B.	_____
Du Mauschell, wo kombst her? C.A.T.B.	_____
Honor Bacchis sive: propter salus multi periere; 4 Voc:	_____
Quodlibeticum eines Bassistens; B.1. 2 VV.	Bieber[2]

---

1. P. Augustin Sartorius (1663-1717), member of Osek. Served as sub-Prior, Professor of Philosophy and Theology, Vicariate Secretary and as priest at Maria Radčice.

2. Possibly Heinrich Biber (? Not found among his works.)

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Tafel-Musik, Inventory of 1706, continued

Musicalisches Leuthen Spiegel: id ist 12 lustige Gesängen aus/ dem tractat: Judas der Ertz-/Schelm, zusammen gezogen. T.1	[3]
Pigra Luna; sive Cantus Comoediastic[us], cu[m] textu Italico	
Musica Genialis Latino=germanicae classis 2; id est: 13 lustige teutsche und latinsche Concert[us]	in typo; Glettl.[4]

Partes Recreativae/ pro Musica Instrumentali	Nomen Authoris
Fidiciniu[m] Sacro-profanu[m]; 12 Sonatae in typo;	Biberi[5]
* Sonatae 10. conscripta et compositae, ab Antonio	Lux[6]
Balletae a 9	Fuchs[7]
Balletae a quadro	Kohnhäuser[8]
Balletae Bacchi a 4;	Artophai[9]
Balletae a 6	Poppe[10]
Balletae a 4 Instrumentis;	
Balletae Miscellanae a 3;	
* Balletae a 6; supra il qu, qu.	Biber[11]
* Parthia Marche, 2 Hauboe, 1 Basson;	Auffschneyder[12]

3. Anonymous. Musicalisches Leuthen Spiegel. [RISM AN 1867]

4. Gletle, Johann Melchior. Op. 8. Musicae genialis latino-germanicae (Augsburg, 1684). [RISM G 2622]

5. Biber, Heinrich. Fidicinium sacro-profanum (Nürnberg, [1681]). [RISM B 2617]

6. P. Balthasar Lux (1655-1696), member of Osek.

7. Possibly Johann Joseph Fux.

8. Trolda reads this as "Kohnheusler," a name common to Chomutov ("Tote Musik," 141.)

9. P. Bernard Artophaeus (1651-1721), member of the Minorite Order, magister musices, teacher of Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský, and supplier of music to the Knights of the Cross in Prague while he was at St. James church. In 1703 he was at Most, near Osek (Bohadlo, "Bernard Artophaeus.")

10. Johann František Ludwig Poppe, regens chori at the Knights of the Cross, Prague and member of the Order there.

11. Heinrich Biber. The work has not been found.

12. Benedict Anton Aufschnaiter (1665-1742), in 1705 succeeded Georg Muffat as court Kapellmeister in Passau. Was in Vienna prior to that.

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Tafel-Musik, Inventory of 1706, continued

Parthia a 4	Poppe
* Parthia a 2 Hauboe, con Bassouns	_____
* Parthia a duabus flautnis et Basso;	_____
Parthiae Quatuor	_____
* Parthia a quatuor; Dessus, Contre, Lattaille, Bassouns	_____
Parthia a duplici Choro	Fuchs
* Ouverture a Quadro	Auffschneyder
Ouverture avec les quatres parties	Geyer[13]
* Ouverture Les quatres Parties;	_____

NB Plurimae similes Partes adhuc/ adsunt, sed quia moderni tempo-/ris stylo valde dissimiles sunt, et/ cum exiqua gratia producibiles,/ eas specificare omitto.

Noviter accesserunt; [blank]

---

13. Johann Christoph Karl Gayer (?1668-1734) cappellae magister at St. Vitus cathedral, Prague.

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APPENDIX G

OSEK, TAFELMUSIK, INVENTORY OF 1720

[Inventory, fol. 39 r - 41 r]

(* indicates correction or addition to the list published by Paul Nettl in "Weltliche Musik," ZfMw IV (1921-22) 355-57, and Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 37-39.
Δ indicates a work that appeared in the 1706 inventory, insofar as it can be identified.)

Genialia seu Cantus recreativi

Δ Pigra luna C. Italici	Anon.
Δ Ossecum Jubila. pl. choro	Anon.
Δ Storch, storch, Stoina. pl. choro	Anon.
Δ Illustrissime Comes. 4 voc.	Anon.
Δ Lectinus Cantor cum succantore a Mendlitzka[1]	Idem.
Ubi cantus et dilectio	Zinckwardt[2]
Lamento missi captivi	Zach: Jahn[3]
Nova laeta pifareta. Tragoedi a Cremonensis.	Anon.
Δ Schöne gesellschaft Schneider, Schuster, Tischler, Bindter	Anon.
Δ Smidgesang und Hammerklang	Anon.
Valet gesang fransia	Anon.[4]
Che viva. Es lebe Wohl	Anon.
Dreyerley haderndes Lumpengesindel	Anon.
Δ Der Weber gesang	Anon
Verliebtes Empfang	Zach: Jahn
Benedicte Voll Tugendter Nahm	" "
Flügen ohne F[liegen]	Anon.
Libellus in quo conscriptae ariae Italicae	Anon.
Δ La Musa Armonica. C in Typo	Bassani[5]
Δ Musica Genialis latino=Germanica/Classis 2. in typo ATB	Glettle
Balletae a 4	Wentzl[6]
Sonata	Anon
Parthia 2. a 4 et altera a 5.	Faber[7]
Parthia a 4.	Anon.
Balletae a 3	Antoninus[8]
Sonata	Zacher[9]
Sonata	Jahn[10]
Balletae a 4	Anon.
Δ Overture avec [les 4 parties]	Geyer
Δ Overture Les quatre Parties	Anon.
Balletae a 4	Mayer[11]
Sonata a 9	Dolar[12]
* Δ Parthia	Poppe
Parthia Amabilis	Voita[13]
Balletae a 4	Fischer[14]
Balletae	Finger[15]
* Sonata 3. Violinis est altera[16]	Biber

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Δ	Musicalischer Leuthen Spiegl T.S./ Bis 1. 2da	Anon.
	Parthiae 4 in uno involucro	Anon.
Δ	Balletae a 6/ Item. Sonata a 4. Item ex C [not in 1706]	Biber
	Parthia a 4	Anon.
Δ	Parthia a 2plici choro	Fuchs
Δ	Sonatae 10 in uno involucro	Lux
	Parthiae majales	Linert[17]
	Parthiae ex G	Thallmann[18]
	Balletae a 3	Voita
Δ	Balletae a 4./Item Balletae Bacchi/Item. aliae a 4	Artophaeus
	Balletae a 5 par.	Egger[19]
	Sonata V:/Item alia a 8. C	Schmeltzer[20]
	Balletae 2ae. Red[]a discordatia[16]	Schmeltzer
	Balletae a 4./ Item aliae a 4	Porath[21]
Δ	Fidicinium Sacro-Profanum in typo.	Biber
*	Sonata	Zacher
	Sonata a 4. It[em] alia a 5/ Item alia a 4	Kerl[22]
Δ	Propter salus multi periere. pl. choro.	Anon.
Δ	Balletae a 6	Poppe
	Balletae a 4	P. Carolus Plassentius[23]
	Marlebourg ou Tallard	Anon.
	Aria et Ciaccona	Dno Kielmannseck[24]
*	Sonata di Natalii a 13/ Item alia a 18.	Berthali[25]
	Parthia a 5 ex B.	Retz[26]
* Δ	Balletae a quadro	Kohnhauser
	Balleti a 4. Hornatzky a Papolsik	Anon.
	Allemande	Lühre[27]
	Balletae 3. a 5.	Albertini[28]
	Balletae diabolicae	Schmeltzer
	Balletae	Heugler[29]
Δ	Ouverture 2. a Quadro	Aufschnaidter
Δ	Parthia. Marche	"
	Sonata antiqua in una. cum alia a 3	Schmeltzer
Δ	Eigensinniger Kopff	Anon.
Δ	Requiem Quodlibeticum.	Anon.
Δ	Koch und Keller	Anon.
	Balletae	Alberici[30]
	Parthia a 5 ex D	Kalazcka[31]
	Sonata o Lyra	Schmeltzer
	Menuettae variae. Intrada ab initio pro Missa[rum].	Anon.
	Balletae ex B	Fischer
	La Favorita	Zacherle[32]
	Balletae mansuetae	Anon.
*	Balletae Asininae	Anon.
	Serenata et/ Item Overtura	Fischer
	Balletae Christiani Zettler	Anon.
	Balletae diversae 14. divers. Authorum	Anon.
	Sonatae " 13. " "	"
*	Parthiarum et ouverturarum cum Praeludio/et Parthia 9.	Anon.
	Miscellanea tum in Menuetto, tum Parthiis/16. 2ples.	Anon.
*	Allemande a Violino S: cum Viola di Gamba	Anon.

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	Sonata a Violino Solo bis artificiosa[16]	Biber
*	Item. Sonata varias aria et animalculorum imitaris voces	Biber
*	Varia pro organo artificia/Dnis Antonii	diversorum Authorum
*	Item. Pro fidibus exercitia varia	Anon.
	Saltus diversi; diversorum Nationum.	Anon.

[End of entries made before 1723]

	Sonatae impressae. . . sculptae 12. trio	Sebastiano	Bodino[33]
	Parthia a 3 ex C		Mitschka[34]
	Sonata a 3 ex b		Schuch[35]
	Parthia a 3 ex g		Strahl[36]
*	Parthia solem. ex C		Anon.
*	Concertus ex f		Anon.
	Parthia solem. ex g.		Caldari[37]
*	Concertus a 3 ex C		Pichler[38]
	Concert. a 3 Sub lit. A	Anon.[crossed out];	Conti[39]
*	Concertus Camerales sex a 4 ex g		Brentner[40]
	Sonata a 4 ex a		Reinhardt[41]
	Parthia a 4 ex a		Strahl
	Accordo peramoeno a 3		Fux
	Parthia a 4 ex g		Strahl
*	Concertus a 3 ex b sub signo B.		Anon.
	Canzon a 3: ex f		
*	Concert: ex g a 3 sub signo C.		Anon.
*	Concertus a 3 ex d		Anon.
	Sinfonia a 3 Ex E		Caldara
	Concertus a 3 ex a		Anon.
*	Sinfonia a 3 ex f		Caldara
*	Parthia ex D a 3		Richter[42]
	Parthia a 3 ex C		Anon.
*	Parthia a 3 ex C		Pichler
	Concertus ex d solem:		Vivaldi[43]
*	Concertus solem. ex b	Angl: Maria	Scaccia[44]
	Sinfonia ex d		Anon.
	Parthia ex f sub signo E.		Anon.
	Synfonia a 3 ex a. Vienn: sub Num. A:		Anon.
	Parthia ex d		Anon.
	Parthia ex C. sub sign. F.		Strahl
	Concertus, ex b. sub G.		Anon.
	Parthia ex A. sub H.		Anon.
	Parthia a 3 ex C sub I.		Anon.
	Concertus a 3 sub K.		Anon.
*	Concertus ex D sub signo L.		Anon.
	Parthia ex f sub signo M.		Anon.
	Ouverture ex f " " N.		Reichenauer[45]
	Parthia ex f " " O.		Anon.
	Parthia pro Viola di Amor ex f. sub signo P.		Anon.
	Concert: a 4 ex g		Anon.
	Concert. ex g a 3 sub signo Q ["ex N. 10" crossed out]		Anon.
	Parthia ex B. solem.		Anonym.
	Sinfonia a 4 ex g.		Anon.
	Capriccio ex C sub signo R.		Anon.

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	Parthiae a 3 ex d sub N:13	Richter
	Concertus a 6 voc.	Vivaldi
	Parthia a 5 ex g.	Anon.
	Parthia ex d	Reichenauer
	Parthia ex d	Hlinensky[46]
	Concertus ex dis sub Num. 5 ["N.9" crossed out] a 3	Anon.
*	Concertus ex b a 3 sub Num. 2	Anon.
*	Concertus ex a sub N:9	Anon.
	Synfonia a 3 ex C	Anon.
*	Concertus a 3 ex D Sub N:8	Anon.
*	Concertus a 3 ex b Sub Nulla OO elegans.	Anon.
*	Concert. a 3 vel Capric: ex d. sub litera S	Anon.
*	Parthia ex g a 3	Strahl
*	Concertus a 3 sub N. 12	Anon.
	Sinfonia a 3 ex ...	Porsille[47]
	Sinfonia a 4 ex C. elegans.	Porsille
	Sinfonia ex d a 4.	Porsille
	Sinfonia ex f. a 4. elegans Sub N:6	Conti
	Concert ex g. sub signo T	Anon.
	Sonata del camera sub ["Sig." crossed out] N:7 a 2	Timeri[48]
	Sonata a 2 ex e	Valentini[49]
	Sonata a 2 ex e sub signo V.	Anon.
	Sonata a 2 ex b sub signo X.	Tim[m]er
*	Sonata a 2 ex g. sub signo Y.	Anon.
	Sonata a 2 ex C sub signo Z.	Vivaldi
	Concertus a tre ex d	Anon.
	Concertus a 5 ex d.	Anon.
*	Cantus recreativus ex d. O Lune Raritae	Italo.
	Cantus alii recreativus. Wurm Schmied	Italo.
*	Parthia ex F	Anon.
*	Parthia ab 8 Instrum: Ex C	Anon.
*	Concertus ex G a 4.	Anon.

NOTES

1. Unknown. The name Mendlitzka did not appear in the 1706 inventory.

2. Unknown.

3. Zacharias Jahn, member of Osek and composer of at least 46 pieces listed in the 1720 inventory.

4. The entire line was later crossed out.

5. In 1706 inventory, entered under Bassani's works "in typo."

6. Probably Mikuláš Wentzely (c1643-1722), capellae magister at St. Vitus cathedral, Prague.

7. Uncertain identity. Dlabacz lists two Fabers, Andreas and Friedrich. More likely this is Mikuláš František Faber (d. 1673 or 1672), who was Dean of the collegiate chapter at St. Maurice, Kroměříž (ČSHS I, 301).

8. Probably P. Anton Edelmann (1650-1704), member of Osek, Prior, organist, historian, composer of at least 15 works listed in the 1720 inventory.

9. Possibly Johann Michael Zacher (1651-1712), Kapellmeister at

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St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna.

10. Uncertain identity. There are several Jahns connected with Osek.

11. Perhaps Rupert Ignatius Mayr (late 17th - early 18th century), Kammer-Musikus, Violinist and Kapellmeister (1706), Bavarian court; some printed works.

12. Johann Křtitel Tolar (fl. 2nd half of 17th century), Jesuit composer of Bohemian or Moravian origin. Member of the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn capella at Kroměříž with a number of works in the collection. It is not certain whether he was at Osek (Smithers, "Tolar," NG 19, 28).

13. Johann Ignaz Franz Voita (fl. 17th century), Doctor of Medicine and musician at the Benedictine church of St. Nicholas in Prague. Music published by Prague University (Trolda, "Tote Musik," 144; QL X, 135).

14. Possibly Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer (?c1670-1746).

15. Gottfried Finger (c1660-1730), Moravian composer, serving in various courts.

16. Probably indication of scordatura.

17. Or Länert; unknown.

18. Franz David Thalmann, priest and composer at Hofkapelle, Vienna, 1696-1711 (QL IX.388); music in Kosmonosy and Slany inventories.

19. Unknown; possibly referring to composer at Eger (Czech: Cheb).

20. Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c1620-1680).

21. Unknown. Nettl designates as native ("Weltliche Musik," 34-35).

22. Johann Kaspar Kerll (1627-1693).

23. "Plassentius" refers to the Cistercian monastery at Plasy. Composer unknown.

24. Heinrich Gottfried Kilmansegge, musical dilettante and composer, lived in Vienna about 1681. Geminiani dedicated his Twelve Sonatas, Op. 1 (1716) to him. Whether this is the same person is not certain (Racek, "Tovacov," 55).

25. Antonio Bertali (1605-1669).

26. Unknown.

27. Tobias Ernestus Liehre (c1644-1727), tenor and organist at St. Vitus, Prague (ČSHS I, 833). Music also at Kosmonosy.

28. Thomas Anton Albertini (c1660-1735), Kapellmeister at Olomouc cathedral. Four Ballettae are in the Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn collection.

29. Unknown. The orthography is unclear; could be Antonin Hašsler, priest and organist at the Jesuit Clementinum, Prague, whose works are found also at Kosmonosy.

30. Vincenzo Albrici (1631-1696).

31. P. Joanne Kalaška (Kallascka, etc.), unknown. In Slaný inventory: 1 Mass, 4 Offertories, and 2 arias.

32. Unknown; unless Michael Zacher (see note 9).

33. Sebastian Bodinus, Musicalisches Divertissement, oder in das Gehör gerichteter Trio, vierter Theil, bestehend aus XII. Sonaten. . . Augsburg, n.d. [1726 or later]. [RISM B 3249]

34. Unknown.

35. Unknown.

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36. Probably Wenzel Strahl at St. Wenceslas, Prague, Little Quarter, whose play, Jephtias, was produced at the Jesuit college in 1728 (Dlabacz III, 217). The name was later crossed out.

37. Antonio Caldara (c1670-1736).

38. Unknown; works by Pichler at Želiv and Knights of the Cross.

39. Frances Bartolomeo Conti (1681-1732).

40. Johann Joseph Ignaz Brentner, Horae pomeridianae seu [6] Concertus cammerales (Prague: Labaun, 1720) (Milan Poštolka, "Brentner," NG 3, 260).

41. Johann Georg Reinhardt (1676/7-1742).

42. Ferdinand Tobias Richter (1651-1711).

43. Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741).

44. Angelo Maria Scaccia (c1690-1761).

45. Antonin Reichenauer (?1694-1730).

46. Unknown.

47. Giuseppe Porsile (1680-1750).

48. Probably Joseph Timmer (1696-1750), tenor in the Imperial Hofkapelle.

49. Probably Giuseppe Valentini (c1680-after 1759), but could be Giovanni Valentini (1582 or 83-1649) who was a member of the Imperial Hofkapelle.

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APPENDIX H

OSEK, INVENTORY OF 1706[1]

Specificatio/ Instrumentorum Musicalium

Regale, unum;
Clavicordia duo; NB; Unum habet R.P. Secretarij;
alterum Fr. Petrus;[2]
Testudines duae; NB: Unam habet R.P. Hieronymus[3]
* Violon, Unum; cum 2 plectris, et 1 ferreo[rum]
attractorio[rum];
Fides pro Violino Majores, quatuor;
* Fides pro Violino minores, vulgò, Piculae, duae;
* Fides pro Viola, quatuor,
Chorus fidicularum hubaisticarum, id est quatuor;
Gamba, una,
* Alae, sive Instrumenta, vulgò, Spinetl, duo,

Tubae Campestres { ex clavi C, quinq[uae] / ex clavi D, duae } cum dependentijs

Tubae ductiles, tres, Alt: Tenor: et Bass: sive Quartuba;
Orificia pro tubis Campestribus, duo majora
Orificia pro tubis ductilibus, duo minora, et unum majus
Quartuba;
* Tympanoru[m] unu[m] par, cum ferreo[rum] attractorio[rum],
sive Spanner;
Chorus hubarum ex tono B
* Item una huba et Basson ex B
Chorus hubaru[m] ex C
Chorus Tibiaru[m] ex C, vulgo, Teutsche Schallmey;
Chorus Flautarum, vulgò, flothussen, sinẽ una;
Flautae antiquae, vulgò, Teutsche flotten, duae,

Cornuae, vulgò, Zinckhen, duo { unum mai[us] Grosser Zinckhen, / alterum min[us], Cornetin,

Litui, vulgo, Waldthörner, duo, ex tono G;
* Tromba Marina, vulgo, Marien Trompet[um], una;

---

1. * = addition or correction to the list published by Paul Nettl, "Weltliche Musik," ZfMw, 357; Beiträge, 39-40.

2. August Sartorius; Petrus Eser, priest-monks of Osek.
3. Hieronymus Besnecker, who later became abbot of Osek.

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APPENDIX I

OSEK, INVENTORY OF 1720

Mantissa/ Instrumenta Musica Specificans

(fol.[47]r)

Legend *. . .* = crossed out at a later time.
[. . .] = added at a later time, different hand.
⁄. 1.= later change of number.
x = non-instrumental items belonging to the choir.

Scribe's numbering

1. Regale.

2. Cymbalum 1.

3. Clavichordia tria. 2.

4. Testudines ⁄. 3.

5. Violon Majus et minus cum attractorio 2.

6. Violonzell ⁄. 1 [cum plectro novo ex ligno indico]

7. *Mandora 1.*

8. Fides pro Violino ⁄. ⁄. 9 cum suis futralibus, et plectris 2 ex ligno indico novissimis. [NB. 5]

9. Fides minores vulgo di Picolo 3.

10. Fides pro Viola ⁄. 3 vulgo Bratsche. *Item una Novissima.*

11. Viola di Amor 1 novissima, *et alia antiqua*

12. Gamba 1.

13. *Alae 2ae sive instrumenta, unum tantum est usui.*

14. Tubae campestris ex clavi C *quinqae* 4. cum suis dependentijs. *ex clavi D duae.*

15. Tubae ductiles tres Alt. Tenor et Bassi sive Quartuba. *cum Orificium.*

16. Tympanorum paria 2. cum suis tripedibus Kesseln et 2 attractorio.

17. *Chorus Tibiarum ex C. Schallmey* sed o[mn]ia confracta.

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18. Flautnarum duae cum sue Basson 1. [aliud novum a Rdis:Dno Cajet. donatum.]

19. *Cornet 2. Zincken.*

20. Lituorum Waldhorn 1 par, ex G, alterum par ex F. *Tertium par etiam ex F, Novissimum habetur in Abbatia.*

21. Tromb. Maria. Marien Trommeten 1.

22. Sartinulae 5.

23. *Lyra 1.*

24. Dulcion 1.

25. Fagott: *3 et* 1 *novissimi empta.*

26. *Appositoria pro tubis Krum bogen 2.*

27. *Etiam Lituorum paria duo habent requisita appositona o[mn]ia.*

28. Candelabra ferrea in Rorate 4. cum uno emunctorio.[x]

29. Parva Lucerna pro Organo cum 1 emunctorio.[x]

30. In utroq. Organo ferreum candelabrum.[x]

31. Parnassus seu Liber pro Compositione Auth: Fux in folio[1]

32. Galizona 1. Nova.

33. Positivum Organum 1 in Sala majori.

34. Fidiculae Huboisticae 3.

35. Houboarum ex buxo ℥. 1.

36. Houbarum ex ligno ordinario 3.

37. Houboae majores vulgo Cornua Anglica 2.

38. Sistrum seu Crepitaculum vulgo Klingel-beutel.[x]

39. [Anno. 1734. Tubae campestres ex clavi C duae novae cum dependentijs.

---

1. Johann Joseph Fux, Gradus ad Parnassum (Vienna, 1725).

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APPENDIX J

OSEK, INVENTORY OF 1720

Consignatio Instrumentorum Pro Chori Figurali

(fol.[49]r)

Legend *. . .* = crossed out at a later time.
[. . .] = added at a later time, different hand.
ℨ. 1.= later change of number.
x = non-instrumental items belonging to the choir.
(Numbers in parentheses are the corresponding Mantissa numbers. See Appendix I.)

Scribe's numbering

1. (33) Positivum organum in Sala Majori.

2. (8) Fides ℨ. 8. pro quibus plectra ℨ. 7. ex ligno indico, requa ex ordinario ligno 4.
Futralia pro fidibus 7.

3. (9) Fides minores vulgo piccolo cum suis futralibus ex 2 plectris.

4. (11) Viola di amour una nova cum futrali ex plectro.

5. (10) Alto-Viola un nova cum futrali ex plectro. Alia antiqua.

6. (6) Violonczello unum novum cum plectro ex ligno indico, ac alio ex ordinaris ligno.
Alterum antiquum cum plectro.

7. (25) Fagotta una bona. Duae altae antiquae.

8. (4) Testudines 3.

9. (2) Cymbalum 1.

10. (3) Clavichordia 2 [abest]. Tertium vulgo Spinettel. [deseunt]

11. (18) Flautnarum unum par ex buxo a Rdis: ac Amplis: Dno donatum.

12. (32) Galizona 1.

13. (12) Gamba 1.

14. (35) Hoboa una ex buxo, alter ex ordinario ligno. 2 est busto.

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Consignatio (1720), continued

15. (37) Hoboae majores 2.

16. Flautravers 2.

17. (5) Violone *unum* 2 cum duplici plectro et attractoriis.

18. (15) Tubae ductiles 3.

19. (14) Tubae campestris 4 novae, 4 antiquae, pro quibus 4 appositoria.

20. (20;26;39) Lituorum paria duo nova unum ex tono F, alterum ex tono G, pro quibus 8 appositoria prava cum *duobus* orificijs.

21. (16) Tympanorum 2 paria cum suis tripedibus et duplici attractoria.

22. (38) Sistrum seu crepitaculum vulgo Klingel-beuttel.[x]

23. (28) Candelabra ferrea pro Rorate 9 cum *uno* 2 emunctorio. [x]

Candil -- Cand

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APPENDIX K

OSEK, THEMATIC CATALOGUE OF 1753

Consignatio Instrumentorum Pro Chori Figurali

1. Positivum Organum in Sala Majori.

2. Violone unum cum plectro Factoris Joan[n]is Udalrici Eberll.

3. Violonczello, Factoris Joannis Eberll, cum duplici plectro, unum ex ligno indico, alterum ex ordinario.

4. Fides novae tres, Factoris Joannis Meisl.

5. Fides novae quatuor Factoris Christophori Rauch.

6. Fides tres, Factoris Joannis Rauch.

7. Fides 1 Factoris Sebastiani Rauch.

8. Fides 1 Factoris Jacobi Steiner in Absam. +

9. Fides 1 Factoris Martini Fichtl in Wien.

10. Fides 1 Factoris Ludovici Guersan ex gallia. +

11. Fides 1 Factoris Sebastiani Kloz in Mittenwald.

12. Fides 1 Factoris Jacobi Steiner in Absam.+

13. Fides tres Sine inscriptione Factoris.

14. Alto-Viola 1 Factoris Joannis Rauch.

15. Alto-Viola 1 Sine inscriptione Factoris.

17. Viola di amour nova. +

18. Viola di amour Sine inscriptione Factoris. +

19. Mandora antiqua.

20. Fides minores 1, vulfo di Picolo. +

21. Gamba antiqua.

22. Tromba Marina.

23. Plectra pro fidibus meliora novem ex ligno indico.

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24. Plectra pro fidibus septem ex ligno ordinario.

25. Tubae campestres sex pro quibus appositoria majora sex, minora 16. +

26. Sartinulae quatuor pro tubis ad Requiem.

27. Tympanorum duo paria cum suis tripedibus, et duplici attractorio.

28. Orificia sex pro Tubis. +

29. Lituorum duo paria, unum ex Dis, alterum ex A, pro quibus appositoria majora sex, minora quatuor.

30. Fagotta novissima cum futrali et duplici asso.

31. Fagottae-antiquae pro qualibet unum asso. +

32. Hoboae duae ex buxo.

33. Flauto-Traversae duae.

34. Taleae duae antiquae, pro qualibet unum asso.

35. Flautnae duae ex buxo.

36. Testudines duae fractae et una bona seu integra.

37. Cymbalum. +

38. Lyra antiqua.

39. Attractorium pro Violone.

40. Sartinulae pro fidibus decem.

41. Candelabra ferrea pro Rorate sex et unum emunctovium.

De tubis ductibilibus tantum partes Adsunt, ex integro nihil.

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Addendum to Consignatio Instrumentorum, 1802 (p 117-19)

d'anno 1802: Annotatis supra accesserunt:

1. Ala cum malledo, sella et pulpito.

2. Monocordium cum theca.

3. Violone unum cum plectro, Authore Rauch.

4. Violonczello cum theca. P. Anton . . . [unclear]

5. Tympanoria majora cum attractorio, loris perticis, clavis cochleatis, et tegumento. Porro accessio facta.

6. Cornubus in C alto.

7. Cornibus in Dis novis 2 cum appositionibus 2.

8. Cinke 1.

9. Clarinettis novis 2 cum mutationibus.

10. Flautis militaribus est busto 2. Demum accessere.

11. Tympanorum militare 1.

12. Tamburino 1.

13. Pulpitum est ligno duro.[x]

14. Lucerna est ligno ord. est aperturarum.[x]

15. Instrumenta 2 pro chordis testendis.[x]

16. Sordinulae pro Fidibus 9 plus 10.

17. Rotulae 4 cum filo metallino pro chordis testendis.[x]

18. [Tres] [Duo] Unum instrumentęum antiquęum quaerum [unclear] cujus nomen ignoratur.

19. Destructa Mandora.

20. Clavi cochleati lignei - 2.

21. Sinfoniae 9 authore Jos. Haydn.

22. Sinfoniae 6 Authore Stamitz.

23. Symphonia 1 Auth: Pleyel.

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24. Symphoniae 12 Auth: [unclear] Rickert S: Cist.

25. Divertimenta 6 Auth: Rickert Soc. Cist.

26. Parthia Campestres 18. Auth: Wanhall/

27. Parthiae Campestres 8. Auth D´Dittersdorff.

28. Parthiae Turcicae circ: 4.

29. Variorum Authorum copsissumae Symphoniae et Quartettae obsoletiora.

30. Divertimenta sest 8 instrum: Jos. Haydn.

31. Plectra pro fidibus amodo 5 meliora de ligno indico. Ordinario est ligno 10.

32. Alto Viola, FactorisJoannis Rauch.

33. Partiturae 7, variorum Authorum.

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APPENDIX L

KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS, INVENTORY OF 1737: FORMAT

Folio	Scrinium	Classification/Description	No. of items
1r-19r	I - L	ALMARI Imo	
1r-13v	I - XXXVI	MUSICALIUM GAYERIANORUM OMNIUM	
1 r	I, II	Missae Solemnissimae a 2bus Choris	13
1 v	III	Missae 8 vocum	7
1 v	IV	Missae 5 vocum cum tubis	12
2 r	V	Missae 5 vocum sine tubis	9
2 v	VI	Missae 4 voc. cum tubis Solenniores	6
2 v	VII	Missae Solennes 4 voc. cum tubis	9
3 r	VIII	Missae Solenn. 4 voc. cum tubis ad lib.	13
3 r	IX	Missae Solennes 4 vocum sine tubis	8
3 r	X - XI	Missas Domenicales	42
4 r	XII	Credo Diversorum Authorum	16
4 v	XIII-XIV	Cantatas de Sanctis, de Tempore	33
5 r	XV-XVII	Offertoria de Sanctis, de Tempore,de BVM	108
7 r	XVIII	Arias "diversas"	39
7 v	XIX	Dixit Primae Classis	7
7 v	XX	Dixit Secundae Classis	18
8 r	XXI-XXII	Psalmos	38
8 v	XXIII	Cantic. Magnificat	19
9 r	XXIV	Vesperas de Dominica, BVM & Confessore	15
9 r	XXV	Lytanias Lauretanas	16
9 v	XXVI-XXVII	[Marian antiphons]	55
10v	XXVIII	Offertoria de Resur. & Ascensione Dom. ("Aria")	17
11r	XXIX	Offertoria & Arias Natalitias	31
11v	XXX	Offertoria & Arias de Passione Domini	13
12r	XXXI	Missas & Offertoria impressas	4
12r	XXXII	Vesperas impressas	3
12r	XXXIII	Missas Quadragesimales	16
12v	XXXIV	Requiem & Offertoria	34
13r	XXXV	Hymn: TE DEUM Laudamus	14
13r	XXXVI	Lamentationes	25

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Folio	Scrinium	Classification/Description	No. of items
13v-19r	XXXVII-L	1mo APPENDIX IN ORDINEM 1mum MUSICALIUM	
13v	XXXVII-XXXVIII	Missae Solemniae a voc. 8 [some printed]	33
14r	XXXIX	1am Missarum minus Solennium & Antiquarum [some printed]	15
14v	XL	TE DEUM laudamus, Requiem, Lytanias, Antiphonas	37
15r	XLI	Psalmorum	28
15v	XLII	Supplementum Offertorium [some printed]	51
16v	XLIII	Supplementum Ariarum [extra parts, etc.]	--
16v	XLIV	Supplementarum Cantatarem [some printed]	55
17r	XLV-XLVI	Partituras Solemniores, Solennes	50
18r	XLVII	Partituras minus Solennes [arias, motets]	15
18v	XLVIII-XLIX	Symphonias & Concertus	--
18v	L	Supplementum Vesperarum impressarum	6
20r-30v	I-XXXII	ALMARI 2do	
20r	I	Missae Solennissimae a 2bus Choris	6
20r	II	Missae 8	16
20r	III-IV	Missae Solennes 5 vocum cum tubis	22
20v	V-VI	Missae 4 vocum Solennes cum tubis	24
21r	VII	Missae 4 vocum cum tubis ad libitem	11
21r	VIII-IX	Missae 5 vocum sine tubis	16
21v	X	Missae solennes 4 voc. sine tubis	11
21v	XI-XII	Missae Dominicales & per Rorate, 4 voc.	44
22v	XIII	Offertoria de Omni tempore	24
23r	XIV	Offertoria Propria de Sanctis	27
23v	XV	Offertoria de Sanctis in Communi	28
24r	XVI	Cantatae de Sanctis [arias]	35
24v	XVII	Cantatae de Tempore [arias]	32
25r	XVIII	Ariae Italicae Recentiores	49
25v	XIX	Ariae de Communione a Canto Solo	88
27r	XX	Ariae per la Communione; A,T,B Solo	54
27v	XXI	Ariae de Tempore	30
28r	XXII	[Arias & Motets] de Venerabili Sacramento	13
28v	XXIII	Introitus	31
29r	XXIV	Offertoria etc. de S. Cruce	13
29v	XXV	Credo	17
29v	XXVI-XXVII	Te Deum laudamus, Primae Classis, Secundae Classis	17
30r	XXVIII-XXIX	Missas Impressae	6
30v	XXX	Requiem & Missae	2
30v	XXXI	Cantatae, Mottettae & Antiphonae	4
30v	XXXII	Missae Quadragesimales	6

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Folio	Scrinium	Classification/Description	No. of items
31r-44r	I-XXXI	ALMARI 3tio	
31r	I	Rorate	15
31r	II	Missae breves pro Rorate a 4 voc.	7
31r	III	Offertoria de Adventu pro Rorate	9
31v	IV	Ariae de Elevation in Adventu	44
32r	V	Ariae pro Commun. im Adventu item in Meditationibus Solemnitat: Sctae Crucis de SSmo Sacramento	40
32v	VI	Ariae de Beata Virgine	32
33v	VII	Concertus sue Offertoria de B.V.& Cantatae	22
34r	VIII	[Concertus] per la Nativita [arias]	57
34v	IX	[Concertus per la Pasque de Resurr.Dom.	27
35r	X	[Concertus] de Sancto Spiritu ad Pent.	17
35v	XI	Missae Defunctorum & Offertoria	18
35v	XII	Missae & Offertoria/Ariae pro Quadragesima	55
36v	XIII	Miserere	24
37r	XIV	Lamentationes pro Sacra Hebdomada	12
37v	XV	Intonationes, Responsoria pro S. Hebdomada	6
37v	XVI	Appendix in Introitus	10
37v	XVII	Missae a 2bus Choris	10
38r	XVIII	Missae cum tubis	10
38r	XIX	Missae sine tubis	14
38v	XX	Appendix in Missas	14
38v	XXI	Appendix in Credo	6
39r	XXII	Appendix in Offertoria	15
39r	XXIII	Appendix in Cantatas	57
40r	XXIV	Appendix 1 in Arias	97
		[XXIV-XXVI, Arias numbered consecutively]	
41r	XXV	Appendix 2 in Arias pro Communione	57
42r	XXVI	Appendix 3 in Arias Italicas Recentiores	33
42v	XXVII	Appendix in Arias/Cantatas & Offert. BVM	20
43r	XXVIII	Appendix super ferias Natalit., Passione, Resurrect. & Ascen. Somini	21
43r	XXIX	Appendix de S. Cruce & SSmo Sacramento	18
43v	XXX	Offertoria impressa	2
43v	XXXI	Ariae a due a tre sine Instrumentis; "Passio secundam Lucam"	28

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Folio	Scrinium	Classification/Description	No. of items
45r-53v	I-XXVI	ALMARI 4to	
45r	I	Lytaniae impressae	3
45r	II	Lytaniae scriptae de B.V.M.	46
45v	III	Salve Regina	59
46v	IV	Alma Redemptoris Mater	19
47r	V	Regina Caeli	21
47v	VI	Ave Regina Caelorum	23
48r	VII	Domine ad adjuvandum	10
48r	VIII	Dixit Primae Classis	9
48v	IX	Dixit 2dae Classis	13
48v	X	Psalm: Confitebor Tibi Domine	15
49r	XI	[Psalm]: Beatus Vir	15
49v	XII	Psalm: Laudate Dominum	6
49v	XIII	Psalm: Laudate Pueri/Secundae Classis	16
50r	XIV	[Psalm]: Laudate Pueri/ 1mae Classis	16
50r	XV	Psalm: Laetatus, Nisi Dominus, Lauda Jerusalem, In Exitu, Memento Domine	18
50v	XVI	Magnificat &c	19
51r	XVII	Hymno pro Sacra Nocte & Vesperis	26
51v	XVIII	Vesperae Completae de Conf., Dom., BVM	5
52r	XIX	Psalmi impressi	3
52r	XX	Lytaniae impressae	5
52r	XXI-XXII	Vesperae impressae pro toto Anno	4
52v	XXIII	Completoria & Requisita ad ea	9
52v	XXIV	Completoria impressa	6
52v	XXV	Antiphonae impressae totus Anni...	1
53r	XXVI	Appendix Psalmorum pro Vesperis	44
54r-57r	I-XX	ALMARI 5to	
54r	I	Partiturae Poppianae, item Partiturae diversarum Operarum	--
54r	II	Partiturae Sequentes [Masses, Motets,etc]	29
54v	III	Partiturae ab Operis & Arijs	5
	IV-XV	[empty]	
54v	XVI	Oratoria producta [numbered consecutively in reverse order]	13
55v	XIX	Opera & Oratoria descripta	7
56r	XX	Partiturae ab Oratorijs non restitutae	7
		[+ a list of oratorios, 1738-1759]	22

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KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS, INVENTORY OF 1737: LIST OF COMPOSERS

Name of Composer (as written)	Total Items	Gayer's Collection
Albergatti	8	
Alberti	1	
Albertini	1	
Albicanti	1	
Albinoni	8	
Albrici (Alberici)	13	1
Aldrovandini (Adrovandini, Altro..)	8	3
Allegri	2	
Altamuro	1	1
Amadori (Amadoni)	1	1
Angelmeyer (Angel Meyer)	1	
Angstenberger (Axenberger)	22	
Antoni (Antonini)	2	1
Ariosti (Attilio, P. Attilio)	19	5
Assiago	1	
Aufschnaiter (Aufschneittr, et al)	47	34
Bachschmidt	1	
Bassani	60	14
Bassetti	1	
Battestini (Battistini)	6	
Baumann	2	2
Bayer	1	1
Bencini	6	6
Benedetti	7	1
Bernabei (Bernabel)	2	1
Bernardi	1	
Bertali (Bartalli, Bertalli)	2	
Besnecker	35	1
Biber (Bibern)	2	
Biffi	8	5
Bigaglia	9	2
Bioni (Pioni)	2	
Bleylebl (Bleileb)	1	
Bononcini (Bononcino)	53	7
Bonporti (Bomporti)	10	1
Bouni	1	
Brentner	1	
Brevi (Brevij)	8	
Brixi [Simon]	2	
Brustmann	7	6
Buz (Butz, Putz)	4	
Caesarini	3	1
Caldara	202	95
Callegari (Calligari)	3	1
Casparo Canonico	1	1
Cassiani	1	
Cassini	4	
Castrato Fran.	1	

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Name of Composer (as written)	Total Items	Gayer's Collection
Cecherini (Czecherini, Czekerini)	3	
Cenami	1	
Ceslai	1	
Chelleri	5	3
Cherici (Chierici)	2	
Chiti	1	1
Colombani Quirino	1	1
Colonna	8	
Conti	13	6
Contini (Contino)	53	13
Contumaci	1	1
Costanzi (Constanzi)	5	2
Cozzi (Gozzi)	3	3
Cozzian	1	
Czernohorsky, P.	1	
Czerwenka	4	
Della Caia (Czaija, Czajia, Czaja)	27	
Dollhopf (Dolhoph)	4	
Donberger (Domberger)	1	
Durante	18	12
Eberlin (Eberle)	3	
Einwald (Einvaldt)	2	1
Ennio	1	
Fago	15	14
Fasch	1	
Fedeli (Fideli)	8	
Feo (Feo Napol.)	28	7
Ferdinando Sige.	1	1
Finali (P. Finale, P. Finali)	11	1
Fiocco	10	10
Fiore	1	
Fiorentino	1	
Fiorino (Fiorini)	3	3
Fischer	73	10
Fischietti	1	
Foggia	13	6
Fossi	1	
Fusai	1	1
Fux	124	47
Gabelloni	1	
Gabrieli	1	
Galassi	1	1
Galuppi	3	
Garaglire	1	
Gasparini (Casparini)	10	3
Gayer (Geyer)	28	20
Gianettini	5	
Gigli	1	
Gonelli	3	
Görbich	5	3
Grandi	12	

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Name of Composer (as written)	Total Items	Gayer's Collection
Grassi (Crassi)	5	
Graun	3	
Graziani (Gratiani)	3	1
Greber (?)	1	
Habermann (Haabermann)	1	
Hasse	16	1
Haüsler (Heisler)	3	
Heinichen (Heynigen)	6	1
Hoffmann	1	
Hoefelinus (Hoeffele, Heffele)	3	
Hönel (Hönnel)	17	2
Hubatka	2	
Hussmann	1	
Italiano/Italo	16	
Italo Veneto	1	
Jaroslao a Matre Dei (P. Jar.Piar.)	4	
Jomelli	2	
Kayser	4	
Kirchbauer	1	
Kolberger	1	
Kreutzberger	1	
Krigler	2	
Kurtzinger (Kurzinger)	4	
Langenvalter	1	
Lapi (Lappi) [Santo Lapis?]	2	
Laurenti	2	1
Leo	14	7
Leonarda Monaca	1	
Lichtenauer	1	
Lonati (Gobbo)	10	
Lotti	119	10
Lucchini (Luchini)	2	
Ludovico	4	1
Maggiore	14	
Mancini	43	29
Manfredini	3	
Marcello	6	1
Martini	4	
Mayer	2	1
Melani (Mellani)	3	
Mellini	1	1
Menichetti (Menachetti)	4	
Milczinsky (P.)	48	
Mincacen (?)	1	1
Minissani	1	1
Moratelli (Morattelli)	2	
Münster	1	1
Neapolitano	1	1
Negri	3	3
Nicolini	4	

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Name of Composer (as written)	Total Items	Gayer's Collection
Novak (Nowak)	47	5
Orgiano	1	1
Orefici (Orifici, Arefici)	3	3
Orlandini	8	
Orsolero	1	1
Öttel	47	32
Palestini (Pallestini)[Palestrina?]	2	1
Palestrina (cf. Praenestini)		
Pallota	1	
Parthalli (Bertali?)	2	
Pashian (?)	1	
Pasquini	1	1
Passeini	1	
Passarini (Passerini)	4	
Pattislini	1	1
Pellegrin	2	2
Peranda (Beranda)	1	
Perroni	2	1
Perugino	1	1
Petri	1	1
Petruci	1	1
Petz (Pez, Pezeli)	5	4
Pfleger	1	
Piazzi	2	1
Pichler (Bichler)	4	2
Pietrobelli	1	
Pignataro	2	2
Pignati	1	1
Piocchi	1	1
Piossalli	1	
Pisani	15	3
Pitoni	33	9
Pohl	3	
Polifrano	1	
Poppe	160	7
Porpora	41	6
Porsile (Porsille)	11	4
Porta	7	
Praenestini	1	1
Pražak (P. Prazak, Praziak)	4	
Predieri (Bredieri, Brederi)	8	
Prusa (Brusa, Brusa)	2	
Rathgeber	1	1
Reichenauer (Reichenaur)	63	
Reichwein	2	
Reinhardt (Reinhard)	41	33
Reütter	8	6
Richter	3	2
Ristori	20	9
Romano	2	

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Name of Composer (as written)	Total Items	Gayer's Collection
Ruggiero (Rottgiero)	3	
Rumpelnig (Rumpelnik, Rumpenikl...)	55	10
Saccioni, Mario	1	
Sadeczky	1	
Samaritani	1	
Samartino (San Martini)	4	
Sarcuni	2	2
Sarro (Sarri Neapol)	33	27
Sarsini	1	
Scalmani		21
Scarlatti (Scharlatti)	30	10
Schling (Sehling?)	1	
Schmid (Schmid. Vien., Ferdinand)	4	
Silvani	1	
Spies (P. Spies)	6	2
Stadlmeyer (Stadlmayer, et al)	18	
Stölzel (Stelzel, Steltzel)	15	
Stephani (P. Stephani)	11	2
Stulik	2	
Swoboda, P. Wend.	1	
Taliano, Aut (Italiano?)	1	
Thallmann (Talmann)	2	
Tarantini Neap.	1	1
Teller	1	1
Tonnini	12	
Torri	4	
Tschortsch (Tshortsh)	2	1
Tuma	2	
Turini	1	1
Ulich (Uliq. Dresden)	1	
Umstadt	2	
Urio	9	2
Ursini	3	2
Valentini	3	
Vannini	5	1
Vicieri	1	1
Vignati (Vignatti)	16	15
Vignola	1	
Vinacessi	1	
Vinaci	1	
Vincenti	2	
Vinci	12	2
Vivaldi (Wivaldi)	8	5
Vogt. Cisterc.	1	1
Wasmuth	1	
Wellisch	1	
Wentzely (Wentzeli, Wenczeli)	41	8
Werner (Vernero)	4	4
Wilderer (Vildrer)	2	
Zacher	3	2
Zachow (Zachhow)	3	

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Name of Composer (as written)	Total Items	Gayer's Collection
Zelenka	11	4
Ziani	46	34
Zitter	1	
Zivilhofer (Zuvilhofer)	1	
Zuccari (Zuggari)	3	
Anonymo	2	
"Diversi Authores"	127	
Ignoto	344	?02
Incognito	28	7
Vienna Allatae	1	
[not given]	16	8

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APPENDIX M

KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS, ORATORIOS PRODUCED

[Inventory of 1737-38, fols. 54r-57r]

Scrinio III: "Partiturae ab Operis & Arijs"

1. Partiturae Operarum - Hönel
2. Partiturae Operarum - Lotti
3. Partiturae ex diversis Arijs - diversi Itali
4. Un decim Ariae ex opera Novae domus in Natali Imperatricis Elizabethae A. 1721 productae, Non est latinus textus super Arias - Caldara
5. Lytaniae de SSS... Viennâ allatae.

Scrinio XIX: "Opera, & Oratoria descripta"

Composer	Title	First Perf.	Provenience
Bononcini	Opera Italica de Cajo Gracco	1710, Vienna	Grandmaster [Böhmb?]
Fux	[Il fonte della Salute],K293	1716, Vienna	P. Milčinský
Fux	Christo nel Orto, K 296	1718, Vienna	P. Milčinský
Fux	Decolatione Scti. Joannes Baptistae [prob. La fede sacrilega...S. Giovanni Battista, K 291]	1714, Vienna	R.D. Wenceslao Feiler
Fux	Giesu Christo negato da Pietro, K 297	1719, Vienna	R.D. Wenceslao Feiler
diverse	Oratorium Germanicum: Die von Perseo Vorfreßte Andromeda	--	Gayer's collection
* Caldara	S. Giovanni Nepomuceno	?1726, Vienna	--

(* = new entry after 1737-38)

Scrinio XX: "Partiturae ab Oratorijs non restitutae"

	Fux	La donna forte, K 292	1715, Vienna	--
	Fux	Il fonte della salute, K293 (see above)	1716, Vienna	--
	Fux	Christo nel Orto, K 296 (see above)	1718, Vienna	--
	Fux	Decolatione S. Giov. Battista, K 291 (see above)	1714, Vienna	--
	Fux	Giesu Christ negato da Pietro, K197 (see above)	1719, Vienna	--
	Fux	Il disfacimento di Sisara, K 295	1717, Vienna	--
*	Porpora	Il Gedeone	1737, Vienna	Grandmaster Böhmb, 29 January 1740.

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Scrinio XVIII "Oratoria producta" [numbers in reverse]

No. Composer	Entry	First perf.
1. Stöltzel	Oratorium Primum productum sine libello Sequenti Anno ad petitionem Dni de Adlerfeldt Anno 1724 reproductum praestulit Jesum patientem libelli cum fructi Auditorij et honore Dei, Liberaliter distributi. [P 3; K][1]	1715,16, Prague
[] Hönel	Oratorium latinum Fides, Spes, Charitas peccatorum ex contemplatione Passionis ad poenitentiam invitantes. Textus R.P. Caroli Korzinek,[2] Aria Domini Hönel, productum Anno 1725. [P 6; K]	--
2. Stöltzel	Oratorium Germanicum, die Büssende Magdalena, Concessum ad produc: a Domino Adlersfeldt 1726. [P 7; K]	1716, Prague
3. Putz[3]	Oratorium Latinum. Deus propter scelera populi sui mortuus, textus a R.Pre Korzinek Compo: productum 1727. [K]	--
4. Porsille	Oratorium Italicum Esaltatione d Salomone Figliolo di Davide, produratum a R. Pre Korzinek, productum Anno 1728. [K]	1727, Vienna
5. Bigaglia	Oratorium Italicum. Passione d Abele inocente prima figura di Giesu Christo, a Dno Comite Hartig donat: 1729 product. [K]	n.d., Bologna
6. Contini	Oratorium Italicum. Il Dauide perseqvitato, la Figura del Salvatore Nostro, liberalita te/Comitis Hartig donatum, 1730 productum. [K]	1723, Vienna
Scrinio XVII	[in reverse order]	
7. Butz	Oratorium latinum. Jesus Christus Pastor bonus textus compositus a R.P. Korzinek, productum Anno 1731. [P 11; K]	--

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1. The "P" reference in parentheses followed by a number, refers to the list by M. Poštolka, "Libreta strahovské hudební sbírky," MM XXV-XXVI (1973), 79-150. The "K" reference is to the list of oratorios by Otakar Kamper, Hudební Praha v XVIII. věku. 251-53.

2. Karel Kořinek (1697-1759), a member of the Order, born in Bydžov.

3. Tobias Butz (d. 1760), Kirchenkomponist from 1735 in the Dresden Hofkapelle (Eitner, QL II, 254). Gerber says from 1755 and that he died in 1763 (I, 253).

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8. Porsille	Oratorium. L'Ubidenza a Dio, procuratum a R:Pre Korzinek, productum 1732. [K]	1730, Vienna
9. Porsille	Oratorium Iddio Giusto, e Misericordiae nel punire due Re: Roboamo, e Geroboamo, procurat a P: Korzinek, productum 1733. [K]	1731, Vienna
10. Contini	Oratorium La Constanza del Christiano patiente per il Suo Redentore paragonato nel Martirio di San Lorenzo don. a Comite Hartig, productum Anno 1734. [K]	--
Scrinio XVI	"Oratoria producta" [numbers in reverse]	
11. Porsille	Oratorium Giuseppe venduto da Suoi fratelli[4] procuratum Vienna à R.P. Korzinek, productum 1735. [K]	--
12. Caldara	Oratorium Sant'Elena al Caluario dono a Comite Quaestenberg, producium 1736. [K]	1731, Vienna
13. Kreutzberger	Oratorium Christo nel Orto inchinato agli voleri Paterni, productum 1737. [K]	--

Scrinio XX [entries of annual productions after No. 13, above]

Zelenka	Anno 1738. Oratorium productum Auth: Domini Zelenka. ab Il penitenti al sepolcro del Redentore. Illustrst. D.D. Comite Hartik gratiosi concessum et productum. [K]	1736, Dresden
Feo	Anno 1739. Oratorium di Zizara et Jehale. Authore Feo, a Domino Knapp[5] Secretario Camer productum. [K, "La destruzione dell' esercito de' Cananei, etc."]	1739, Prague
Porpora	Anno 1740. Oratorium Gedeone condotore de populo de Dio procuratem a Reverendissimo ac Ampl. Generali Magro Magistro Vienna. Authore Nicolo Porpora. Solemnitem eodem Anno productum. [K]	1737, Vienna
Gonelli	Anno 1741. Miserere novum, et Stabat Mater, ab	--

4. Not among oratorios listed by Lawrence Bennett, "Porsile, Giuseppe," NG 15, 128-29.

5. Probably Baltazar Knapp, Secretary to Count Stephen Kinský, who sold the collection of Italian pieces to Gayer and St. Vitus.

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	Ill. D.D. Hartik productum. Authore Gonelli. [K]		
Lotti	Anno 1742. Oratorium Italicum de Thobia sine libellis ex Hereditate Ill. D.D. Comitis Hartig ab Ill. Comitessa Kolt. productum author Lotti ad S: Annam cum libellis Anno 1732.[6]	1723, Bologna	
Bigaglia	Anno 1743. Oratorium reproductum de Adamo. Authore Bigaglia.[7] Sine libellis, qvod productum erat Anno 1729.[8]	1729, Prague	
Umstatt[9]	Anno 1744. Oratorium cum libellis La Vittima d'amore emptum 7f: 30x a D: Tenorista quondam Beer. Authore Umstadt apud Principem Dittrichstein in Moravia Capela Magistro. [K]	--	
Jommelli	Anno 1745. Oratorium cum libellis solemniter productum ab Illm'o Barone de Pechin, La Vittoriosa Giuditta. Auth: Jomelli.	1743, Venice[10]	
Galuppi	Anno 1746. Oratorium cum libellis solemniter productum a Barone de Pechin, L'invitta costanza in morte S: Maurizio, coram magna nobilitate et operistis. Auth: Galuppi. [K]	1743, Bologna	
Wassmuth	Anno 1747. Oratorium Patheticum de S. Helena al Calvario, bone productum, procuratum a P:D: Comarek. Auth: Wasmuth, Capellae Magistro apud Principem et Episcopam Herbippoli. NB: cum libellis reimpressis. [K]	--	

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6. The entry states that the oratorio was produced by Lotti in Prague at St. Ann church in 1732. O. Kamper, referring to Dlabacž as a source, gives the place as St. Anne but the date as 1734. Cf. Hudební Praha, 238.

7. Probably Diogenio (padre Benedettino) Bigaglia (c. 1676 - c. 1745) (Sven Hansell, "Bigaglia, Diogenio," NG 2, 699-70).

8. This is a repeat performance of the 1729 production at St. Francis Serafin of "Passione d'Abele," originally produced in Bologna. Kamper lists a different production: "Il David perseguitato," by Fr. Conti (Hudební Praha, 251). Prague, being under occupation by foreign troops until that time, might have found Conti's subject more interesting. That oratorio was produced in Vienna in 1730.

9. Joseph Umstatt (1711-62); by 1749 he was musical director for Count Brühl in Dresden.

10. The date is correct if, as is likely, the oratorio was identical to "La Betulia liberata."

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Ristori	Anno 1748. Oratorium breve cum libellis bonum de Nicodemo et Josepho ungendo et sepeliendo Corpus D:N:J: Christi. Dresd Authore Ristori. procuratum ab Illma D:D: Comitissa Golč, secunda pars.	--[11]
(diverse)	Anno 1749. Oratorium collectum ex diversis Authoribus, Fux, Porpora, Graun, coram operistis et nobilitate plene bene productum a Joseph Bleileb cum libellis, Caduta di Pietro prima pars.	--
(diverse)	Anno 1750. Oratorium collectum secunda pars, libelli Giesù negato ex diversis Authoribus, Fux, Contini, Graun, Porpora, Lotti, cum applausu productum a Bleileb. [P 26]	--
(diverse)	Anno 1751. Oratorium vel compamento collectum ex diversis Authoribus titulatur la Deposizione dalla Cruce, prima pars, coram magna nobilitate productum a Bleileb.	--
(diverse)	Anno 1752. Oratorium vel compamento secunda pars collectum cum applausu productum titulatur La sepoltura à Bleileb. [P 29][12]	--
Sammartini	Anno 1753. Oratorium vel tres Cantatae à tre voci titulatus: Lagrime di pentimento, Tenerezza, e Compamento, selectuae Auth: Gian: Battista S: Martino in consolationem productae, procuratae ab Illm'o Francesco Com: de Harteg, Patruele de S: Harteg. [P 31; K]	--
Sammartini	Anno 1754. Oratorium vel duae Cantatae selectae titulatur: Luto e gioia cio e l'amara morte in um breve Dialogo Musicale ab Illm'o Com: de Harteg cum applausu productae. [P 35; K][13]	--

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11. Kamper lists instead, "La sepoltura di Gesu Christo," by Pasquini (Hudební Praha, 252).

12. The composer's name is given on the libretto (M. Poštolka, "Libreta," No. 35).

13. Franz Habermann (František Václav; 1706-83); undoubtedly the same Frantisek Xav. Habermann who served in two Prague churches in the mid-18th century. (V. Nemec, Pražské varhany, 138, 139; and "Habermann, Franz," in NG 8, 10-11. This oratorio is not found listed among the works by Ristori.

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Ristori, Habermann	Anno 1755. Oratorium titulatur: Sacrificio d'Abelle e di Caino componimento sacro productum ad auditum in necessitate jacens ultrà 12 Annis Dresda Authore Mathia Ristori à Comitissa de Golcz coram magna nobilitate ad amussim productum: NB: Recitativo d: Haabermann,[10] prima pars. textus in Arijs à Bleileb.	--
Ristori, Zachow	Anno 1756. Oratorium titulatur La Morte d'Abel componimento sacro bene productum residuum praecedentes Anni Dresdâ Authore Mathia Ristori ab Illma Com: de Golcz procuratum. Recitativo à D: Zacchow.[14] in Arijs applicatus textus à Bleileb. 2da pars.	--
(diverse)	Anno 1757. Oratorium seu prima pars titulatur Il Martirio sofferto da primi fratelli Macabei ex diversis Authoribus, Hasse, Jommelli, Galuppi, collectum attentè productum. Recitativi à D: Zachow: Ariae à Bleileb.	--
Graun, et al.	Anno 1758. Oratorium vel secunda pars titulatur La Madre de' Macabei, Ariae ex Oratorio germanico de passione, Authore Graun à D. Wenceslao Schödl Perlin, sijmphonia Hasse. Recitat. et Chorus à D. Zachow, cum Laude et copiosa nobilitate sine invitatione productum. textus transversus à Bleileb.	--
Galuppi	Anno 1759. Oratorium Il sacrifizio di Jefte ab 1749, Illm'o Com: Wenceslao Spork procuratum, Authore Baldassaro Galuppi cum applausu productum.	Flor-ence

14. Zacchow (or Zachow) is unknown.

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APPENDIX N

PRINTED WORKS IN THE INVENTORIES OF OSEK AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS

Note: Some of these works have been reported in Eitner's Quellenlexikon or in Göhler's Verzeichnis der . . . Musikalien (Messkatalogen), or only in Dlabacz' Künstler-Lexikon; many appear in RISM. Some have not been reported anywhere else, and thus the inventory notice represents their unique appearance.

Composers' names are given in modern spelling, according to NG or ČSHS. Titles have been abbreviated to what is essential for identification of the work and the nature of its contents. RISM and Göhler numbers are given if available. With respect to the Inventory notice, O-1 refers to Osek's 1706 inventory, O-2 to the 1720 inventory, K to the Knights of the Cross inventory, and K-G to Gayer's collection within the Knights' inventory.

Composer	Title (abbrev.), Place, Publisher, Date	Source of Info.	Inv.
Albergatti, Pirro Capacelli	[Op. 7] Motetti et antifone della B. Vergine a voce sola con strumenti. . . Bologna: Giosoffo Micheletti, 1691.	RISM A 608	K
_____.	[Op. 15] Messa, litanie della B.V.; Tantum ergo, &c. a 4.	RISM A 616	K
Anonymous	Alauda Coelestis seu Conc. sacri 1.2. 3.4.5. vocib., una cum 2. Viol. necess. & aliis instr. passim ad lib. a Cam[oenis] Mon[asterii] S. G[eorgii] Herc[yniae] silvae, Ord. Bened. Ulm: Danielis Goerlini [1682].	Göhler 1. 1099	O-1
Anonymous	Musicalischer Leuthe-Spiegel. Das ist: Ein Extract auss dem welt-berühmten Ertz-Schelmen Judas Tractat. . . Gesetzt und herauss gegeben von einem deutschen Spaniol in Griechenland wie auch gedruckt daselbsten im Jahr 1687. [no place, firm or date (1687).]	RISM AN 1867	O-1, O-2
Aufschnaiter, Benedict Anton	Memnon sacer ab oriente animatus, seu vesperae solennissimae a 4. vocibus. Augsburg: Andreas Maschenbauer, 1709.	RISM A 2856	K
_____.	Aquila clangens, exalta supra domum domini sive duodena offertoria Passau: Autor, Maria Margaretha Höller, 1719.	RISM A 2858	K
_____.	Cymbalum Davidis vespertinum seu ves-	RISM A 2859	K(2)

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	perae pro festivitatibus Domini, B. Mariae V. et sanctorum a 4. vocibus. Passau: Autor, Gabriel Mangold, 1728; 1729.	or A 2860	
Bassani, Giovanni Battista	[Op. 9] Armonici entusiasmi di Davide, overo salmi concertati a quatro voci. Venice: Giuseppe Sala, 1690;1695;1698.	RISM B 1186-B 1188	O-1, O-2
_____.	[Op. 11] Motetti a voce sola con doi violini ad libitum. Venice: Giuseppe Sala, 1692.	RISM B 1195-B 1196	O-1, O-2
_____.	[Op. 13] Armonie festive o siano motetti sacri a voce sola con violini. Bologna: Marino Silvani (Monti), 1693;1696.	RISM B 1199-B 1200	O-1, O-2
_____.	[Op. 16] La musa armonica, cantate amorose musicali a voce sola. Bologna: Pier-Maria Monti, 1695.	RISM B 1207	O-1, O-2
_____.	[Op. 22] Lagrime armoniche o sia il vespro de defonti, a quattro voci. Venice: Giuseppe Sala, 1699.	RISM B 1214	K
_____.	[Op. 25] Completory concenti, a 4. voci concertante. Bologna: Mario Silvani, 1701.	RISM B 1217	K
_____.	[Op. 31] Cantate [12], et arie amorose a voce sola, con violini unissoni. Bologna: Mario Silvani, 1703.	RISM B 1223	K
Bernabei, Giuseppe Antonio	Sex missarum brevium, cum una pro defunctis, liber I., a 4. vocibus conc. Augsburg: Georg Schlüter & Martin Happach (Johann Christoph Wagner), 1710.	RISM B 2035 Göhler 3.24	K
Biber, Heinrich Ignaz	Fidicinium sacro-profanum, tam choro, quam foro pluribus fidibus concinnatum. Nuremberg: Autor (Wolfgang Moritz Endter), [1681].	RISM B 2617 Göhler 2.119	O-1, O-2
Bodinus, Sebastian	Musicalisches Divertissiment, oder in das Gehör gerichteter Trio, vierter Theil. . . XII. Sonaten. Augsburg: Johann Christian Leopold, n.d.	RISM B 3249	O-2
Bononcini, Giovanni Battista	Messe brevi a otto voci col primo, e secondo organo se piace. Bologna: Marino Silvani (Monti), 1688.	RISM B 3597	K
Brentner, Joseph	[Op. 4] Horae pomeridianae seu Concerti cammerales sex.	Dlabacz I, 213	O-2

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	Prague: Georg Labaun, 1720.		
Breunich, Johann M.	[Op. 1] Missae 6 Mainz, 1727 [A. Gottron, "Breunich," MGG XV, 1080.]	RISM B 4344	O-2
Casini, Giovanni M.	[Op. 1] Moduli quatuor vocibus. Rome: Mascardi, 1706.	RISM C 1439	K
Cazzati, Maurizio	[Op. 28] Messe brevi a otto voci. Bologna: Antonio Pisarri, 1662, 1680, or 1685,86.	RISM C 1621, or C 1621a, or C 1622	O-1, O-2
Cherici, Sebastiano	[Op. 3] Compieta concertata, e breve Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1686.	RISM C 2020	K
Colonna, Giovanni Paolo	[Op. 2] Motetti sacri a voce sola con due violini. Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1681.	RISM C 3461, or C 3462	O-1, O-2, K
_____.	[Op. 4] Litanie con le quattro antifone della B. Vergine a otto voci. Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1682.	RISM C 3465	K
_____.	[Op. 8] Compieta con le tre sequenze del-l'anno. . . a otto voci pieni. Bologna: Marino Silvani (Monti), 1687.	RISM C 3470	K
_____.	[Op. 10] Messa, e salmi concertati a 3.4. e 5. voci se piace. Bologna: Marino Silvani (Monti), 1691.	RISM C 3472	O-1, O-2, K
_____.	[Op. 12] Psalmi ad vesperas musicis trium, quatuor, et quinque vocum. Bologna: Marino Silvani (Monti), 1694.	RISM C 3474	K
Einwald, Carl Joseph	[Op. 1] Vocalis Decalogus in Sanctissima Trinitate. . . offertorijs. Königgrätz: Wenzel Johan Tibely, 1720.	RISM E 585	K
Eisenhut, Thomas	Offertoria de festis, tempore & communi. Augsburg: Jakob Koppmayr, 1694.	RISM E 594	O-1, O-2.
Fiebig, Johann	Heptaphonum opus musicum, seu septem missae. Bautzen: Anton (Richter), 1706. [Note: Osek inv. lists "Missae...6".]	RISM F 710 Göhler 3.64	O-1, O-2

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Fischer, Johann Caspar Ferd.	[Op. 3] Vesperae seu psalmi vespertini pro toto anno, quatuor vocibus. Augsburg: Autor, Lorenz Kroninger, Gottlieb Goebels Erben (Wagner), 1701.	RISM F 985 Göhler 3.72	O-1, O-2, K
_____.	[Op. 5] Lytaniae Lauretanae VIII. cum annexis IV. antiphonis pro toto anno. Augsburg: Johann Friedrich Goebel, 1711.	RISM F 986 Göhler 3.73	K
Florimi, Giovanni Andrea	[Op. 7] Passio Dni Nostri Jesu Ch[rist]i secundum Mathaeum excepta Synagoga. [Bologna, 1682]	unique listing	O-1, O-2
_____.	[Op. 7] Versi della turba . . per li pasii della domenica delle palme, e venerdi sancto con alcuni brevi, e devoti motetti di cantarsi nel visitare li sanctissimi sepolcri. 4 vv., org. Bologna, 1682, [See J. Nagley, "Florimi," NG 6, 656.]	NG	O-1, O-2
Foggia, Francesco	Octo missae quaternis, quinis, octonis, novenisque vocibus. Rome: Giacomo Fei, 1663.	RISM F 1447	K
Ganspeckh, Wilhelm	[Op. 1] Octidium sacrum, id est, octo missae breves. . . a IV. vocibus. [Munich]: Johann Kaspar Joseph Ganspeckh, [1722].	RISM G 331	O-2
Gletle, Johann Melchior	[Op. 5] Expeditionis musiicae classis IV; motettae XXXVI. a voce sola. Augsburg: Autor (Johann Schönigk), 1677.	RISM G 2620	O-1, O-2
_____.	[Op. 6] Expeditionis musicae classis V; litaniae B.V. Lauretanae. Augsburg: Autor (Johann Schönigk), 1681.	RISM G 2621	O-1, O-2
_____.	[Op. 8] Musicae genialis latino-germanicae classis II. Augsburg: Autor's Erben (Jacob Koppmayer), 1684.	RISM G 2622 Göhler 2.609	O-1, O-2
Grandi, Alessandro (II)	[Op. 3] Messe a 3. & a 4. voci concertate, con strumenti. Bologna, Marino Silvani (Monti), 1693.	RISM G 3477	O-1, O-2, K
Jacob, Gunther	Anathema gratiarum actionis perpetuae seu: psalmi vespertini. . . a 4 vocibus. Prague: Georg Labaun, 1714.	RISM J 200	O-1, O-2
_____.	[Op. 2] Acratismus pro honore Dei. . .	RISM J 201	O-1,

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	seu missae V. . . in vocibus IV, Prague: Paul Lochner, 1725.		O-2
Kerll, Johann Kaspar	Missae sex a IV. V. VI vocibus. . . adjuncta una pro defunctis, cum seq. Munich: Autor, (Johannes Jaecklin), 1689.	RISM K 458	O-1, O-2
Kirchbauer, Alphonsus	Iubilus curiae caelestis in terrestri curia septem per brevis missis adornatus. Augsburg: Johann Christian Leopold, [1731] [Publication date, Gerber 2.46]	RISM K 628	O-2
Münster, Joseph J.	[Op. 1] Sacrificium vespertinum, seu vesperae longiores festivae pro toto anno. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1729.	RISM M 8112	K-G
Oeler, Conrad	Triumphus Marianus, seu Missae sacrae pro festis Beatissimae Virginus Mariae. Constance: Leonhard Parcus (Straub), 1697.	RISM O 16	O-1, O-2
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi (Praenestini)	Missarum liber primus...quatuor voc. [one out of the four possibilities below:] Brescia: Tomaso Bozzola, 1581; Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1590; 1605; 1608; Milan: Francesco & eredi di Simon Tredi, 1590.	RISM P 657 or P 673, P 674, P 675, P 675a.	K
_____.	Cant. sacr. 4 voc. pro festis tot. pro festis tot. anni. Antwerp: P. Phalese, 1613. [Note: No RISM entries fit the description of "Offertoria in Capella a 4 voc." It is doubtful that this is the publication owned by the Knights of the Cross; they had no others from Antwerp.]	Göhler 1.702	K
Passarini, Francesco	[Op. 1] Salmi concertati a 3, 4 e 5 Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1671.	RISM P 998	K
_____.	[Op. 3] Compieta concertata a cinque voci con violini obligati. Bologna: Giacomo Monti, [1672].	RISM P 1000	K
_____.	[Op. 4] Messe brevi a otto voce. Bologna: Pier Maria Monti, 1690.	RISM P 1001	K
Pez, Johann Christoph	[Op. 2] Prodromus optatae pacis: sive Psalmi de Dominicis & Beata Virgine. Augsburg: (Johann Christoph Wagner), 1703.	RISM P 1680	K-G

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_____.	Jubilum missae sex-tuplex, a quatuor vocibus concert. Augsburg: (Johann Christoph Wagner), 1706.	RISM P 1681	K, K-G
Piazzi, Carlo	[Op. 1] Messe da capella a quattro voci. Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1680.	RISM P 2039	K
Rathgeber, Johann Valentin	[Op. 1] Octava musica clavium. . . in missis octo. . . a IV vocibus. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1721.	RISM R 294	O-2
_____.	[Op. 2] Cornu-copiae vesperarum diversarum . . . a 4 voc. ord. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1723.	RISM R 296	K
_____.	[Op. 3] Novena principalis Constantiniana. Hoc est: Missae novem. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1725; 1726.	RISM R 297 or R 298	O-2
_____.	[Op. 4] Sacra anaphonesis per viginti quatuor Offertoria de tempore. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1726.	RISM R 299	O-2
_____.	[Op. 7] Decas Mariano-musica. Hoc est: Missae solennes diductiores. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1730.	RISM R 301	O-2
_____.	[Op. 9] Psalmodia vespertina, . . . quatuor vesperas integras. . . a 4 voc. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1732.	RISM R 303	K
_____.	[Op. 11] Columba sacra. . . tres duodenas hymnorum. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1732. OR	RISM R 305	O-2
	[Op. 14a] Holocaustoma ecclesiasticum Offertoria festivalia XXXXXX. Pars I. complectitur Offertoria XX. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1734.	or RISM R 309 Göhler 3.366	
_____.	[Op. 15] Dominicale complectens offertoria XXXXX. a 4 vocibus ordinariis.	RISM R 312	O-2
Rauch, Johann Georg	[Op. 1] Novae sirenes sacrae harmoniae tam instrumentis, quam vocibus. Augsburg: Autor (Schönigk), 1687.	RISM R 347 Göhler 2.1216	O-1, O-2
Reichwein, Johann Georg	Philomela sacra. Sive Vesperae . . . a 4.2. & 3. vocibus concertantibus. Regensburg: Autor (Raith), 1684.	RISM R 991	K
_____.	Jesum und Mariam lobendes Lerchen-	RISM R 994	O-1,

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	Stimmlein, Oder Etliche- und Weyh-nachts-Arien. Regensburg: Autor, (Johann Aegidius Raith), 1687.		O-2
_____.	Lerchengesang, id est. 24 Ariae, de tempore et Sanctis.	unique listing	O-1, O-2
_____.	Antiphonae totius Anni Alma sex, Ave Regina sex, Regina coeli 6, Salve Regina 12.	unique listing	K
Ritter, Carl	[Op. 1] Operis primi pars prima complectens sex missas . . . Concentus terrestris. VI. Missae. Augsburg, 1727.	RISM R 1752	O-2
_____.	Ariae XVI. . . A voce sola. [no place, no firm, [1729?]]	RISM R 1753	O-2
Schnell, Johann Jacob	[Op. 1] VI. Missae neo-editae a vocibus 4. Bamberg: Autor (Gertner), 1729.	RISM S 1894	O-2
Schwartzkopff, Theodor	Missae, Psalmi & Hymni, a 4 vocib. Stuttgart: Autor [n.d.; in 1684 catalog]	Göhler 2.1406	O-1, O-2
Spiess, Meinrad	[Op. 2] Cithara Davidis noviter animata. Hoc est Psalmi Vespertini a 4 voc. Constance: Leonhard Parcus, 1717.	RISM S 4108	K
_____.	[Op. 5] Laus dei in sanctis euis. Hoc est Offertoria XX. . . a 4 voc. Mendelheim: Adolf Joseph Ebel, 1723.	RISM S 4110	K-G
_____.	[Op. 6] Hyperdulia musica. Hoc est: VIII. Lytaniae Lauretanae. . . a 4 voc. Augsburg: Franz Joseph Eysenbarth & Joseph Endele (Johann Michael Labhart), 1726.	RISM S 4111	K
Teller, Marcus	[Op. 1] Musica sacra stylo planae italico & cromatico . . . IX motetta brevia de tempore et II missas solennes. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1726.	RISM T 459	O-2, K-G
Tschortsch, Johann Georg	[Op. 1] Sacerdos musicus concertans, seu concinens litanias. Augsburg: Matthias Wolff (Johann Jacob Lotter), 1725.	RISM T 1304	K

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_____.	[Op. 3] Incensum mysticum . . . seu Offertoria XIV. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1733.	RISM T 1306	K-G
Vannini, Fra Elia	[Op. 2] Litanie della Beata Vergine. Bologna: Pier Maria Monti, 1692.	RISM V 976	K
_____.	[Op. 4] Litaniae . . . liber secundus Bologna: Marino Silvani, 1698.	RISM V 978	K
_____.	[Op. 5] Psalmi ad Completorium. Bologna: Marino Silvani, 1699.	RISM V 979	K
Vaňura, Česlav	[Op. 1] VII. Brevissimae et solennes Litaniae Lauretanae. Prague: Adalbert Wilhelm Wessely ("typis haeredum Labaun"), 1731.	RISM V 981	K
Willicus, Balthazar	[Op. 3] Biblicher Ehren-Klang. Eine Aus Zehen Musicalischen Arien. Vollkommene Übereinstimmung oder: Erstklinge der Zehenden Dem Grossen Blut-Zeigen Christi und Priester Heiligen Joanni von Nepomuk. Königgratz: Wenzel Johann Tybely, 1723. [Note: RISM mistakenly lists the city as "Graz." Tybely published in Hradec Kralove (Königgratz) from 1711 to 1744 (Chyba, "Slovnik Knihtiskaru," 297).]	RISM V 1573	O-2
Willkomm, Eugen	[Op. 1] Philomela sacra, ter sexies ariosa, B.V. Mariae laudem. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1730.	RISM W 1217	O-2
_____.	[Op. 2] Philomela sacra. . . sive Cantate XXX. pro festis mobilius totus anni. Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1732.	RISM W 1218	O-2

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APPENDIX O

THE LOCATION OF SELECTED COMPOSERS' WORKS IN BOHEMIAN AND MORAVIAN INVENTORIES, 1695 - 1772

In general, only those composers who appear in three or more inventories appear on the list.

Key to Inventories

B = Brtnice, 1752-69
C = Knights of the Cross, 1737-38
E = Bishop Count Egk, 1758-60
Ko = Kosmonosy, 1707, Additions TO 1739
Kv = Kvasice, 1757, Additions to 1772
L = Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn, 1695
O-1 = Osek, 1706
O-2 = Osek, 1720
O-3 = Osek, Thematic Catalogue, 1753/54-1802?
R-1 = Rajhrad, 1725
R-2 = Rajhrad, Thematic Catalogue, 1771
S = Slaný, 1715, Additions TO 1760
SB = Stará Boleslav, 1781, additions 1804
T = Tovačov, 1699

COMPOSER	LOCATION
ABERSBACH, Johann	Ko/L/O-1/O-2/R-1/S
Alanus de Rupe (also Felsner)	L/S/T
ALBERTINI, Thomas Anton	C/L/O-2/T
ALBINONI, Tomaso Giovanni	C/O-2/S
ALBRICI, Vincenzo	C/Ko/L/O-1/O-2/R-1/S/T
ALEXIO, ALEXIUS, P. Joan.	Ko/O-2/S
ARDENSBACH, Václav	L/O-1/O-2/S/T
ARIOSTI, Attilio	C/O-2
ARTOPHAEUS, Ferd. Bernard	Ko/O-1/O-2/R-1/S
AUFSCHNAITER, Benedict Ant.	C/Ko/Kv/L/O-1/O-2/O-3/R-1/S
BACHSCHMIDT	C/O-3
BASSANI, Giovanni Battista	C/Ko/O-1/O-2/R-1/S
BENCINI, Pietro Paolo (?all)	B/C/O-2/O-3
BERNKOPF, Antonin	Ko/L/R-1/S/T
BERTALI, Antonio	C/Ko/L/O-1/O-2/S/T
BIBER, Heinrich	C/Ko/Kv/L/O-1/O-2/S/T
BIONI, Antonio	C/E/O-2
BOHATY, Jan	Ko/O-1/O-2/S
BONONCINI, Giovanni Bat.	B/C/O-2/S
BONPORTI, Francesco Ant.	C/O-1/O-2/R-1
BRENTNER, Johann Joseph	C/Ko/Kv/O-2/O-3/R-1/S
BREUNICH, Johann Michael	O-2/O-3/S
BRIXI	C/Ko/Kv/O-2/O-3/S/SB
BRIXI, Frantisek Xaver	B/O-3/R-2/S

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BRIXI, Šimon	Ko/R-1/S
BRÜCKNER, Heinrich	Ko/L/O-1/O-2/R-1/S/T
BRUSTMANN, Ignaz	B/C/R-1
BULOVSKY, SJ	1/O-1/O-2/R-1/S
CALDARA, Antonio	B/C/E/Kc/Kv/O-2/O-3/R-1/S
CAPELLINI, Carlo	L/O-1/O-2
CARISSIMI, Giacomo	Ko/L/O-1/O-2/S
CECHERINI, Nicolo	C/O-2/O-3
CHERICI, Sebastian	C/O-1/O-2
COLONNA, Giovanni Paolo	C/O-1/O-2
COSTANZI	C/O-3/SB
CONTI, Francesco Bartolomeo	C/Kv/O-2/O-3/S
CONT[in]I, Ignazio Maria	B/C/E/Kv/O-2/O-3/S
CORELLI, Arcangelo	Ko/L/O-2/S
CZERNOHORSKY, Bohuslav	C/Ko/Kv/S/SB
CZERVENKA, Václav	C/Ko/O-2/R-1/S/SB
DEGEN, Johann	Ko/L/R-1/S/T
DI KATANA	Ko/O-1/O-2
DITTERSDORF, Karl Ditters v.	Kv/O-3/SB
DONBERGER, Georg Joseph	C/O-2/O-3
DUKÁT, Josef Leop. Václav	Ko/O-2/R-1/S
DURANTE, Francesco	C/O-2/O-3/S
ECKERT	O-2/O-3/S
EINWALD, Carl Joseph	C/Kv/S
EISENHUT, Thomas	O-1/O-2/S
ERNESTI/ERNESTO (prob. more than one composer)	Ko/Kv/O-1/O-2/S/T
FABER, Mikuláš František	Ko/O-2/S
FAGO, Nicola	C/O-2/O-3/R-1
FELSNER (Ferd.Alanus de Rupe)	Ko/L/O-1/O-2/S/T
FEO, Francesco	C/O-2/O-3/S
FIEBIG, Johann Christoph	O-2/O-3/S
FINGER, Gottfried	Ko/O-2
FISCHER, Joh. Caspar Ferd.	C/Ko/L/O-1/O-2/S
FISCHIETTI, Domenico	C/O-3
FLIXIUS, Jan Josef	Ko/L/S
FOGGIA, Francesco	C/L/O-1/O-2
FRANCK (prob. more than one)	Ko/O-1/O-2/S/T
FUX, Johann Joseph	C/E/Ko/L/O-1/O-2/O-3/R-1
GALUPPI, Baldassare	C/E/Kv/O-3/S
GAYER, Johann Christ. (Karel)	C/Ko/O-1/O-2/S
GERMANI, Paulus	Ko/L/O-2/T
GIACOMELLI, Geminiano	B/O-2/O-3
GIULINI, Georgio	B/E/S
GLETTLE, Johann Melchior	Ko/L/O-1/O-2/S/T
GLUCK, Christoph Willibald	B/O-3/S/SB
GONELLI, Giuseppe	C/O-3
GÖTZL, Gabriel	L/O-1/O-2/S/T

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GRANDI, Alessandro	C/O-1/O-2
GRAUN	B/C/Kv/O-3/S
GRAZIANO, Bonifacio	C/Ko/L
GRÜNBERGER, Johann, OC	O-1/O-2/R-1
GSUR, Tobias	B/Kv/O-3
HAAS (prob.more than one)	B/Kv/O-2/O-3/R-2
HABERMANN, Franz (others?)	C/R-2/O-3/S
HASSE, Johann Adolph	B/C/Kv/O-2/O-3/S
HATAŠ, Dismas	O-3/SB
HAÜSLER, P. Antonin	C/Ko/O-1/O-2/R-1/S
HAYDN	O-3/SB
HAYDN, Joseph	B/E/Kv/O-3
HEINICHEN, Johann David	C/O-2/O-3
Heisler, see Haüsler	
HOFER, Andrea	Ko/L/S/T?
HOLZBAUER, Ignaz	B/E/Kv/O-3/S
JACOB, Gunther	B/Ko/Kv/O-2/R-1/S/SB
JAHN, Zacharias	Ko/O-1/O-2/S
JAROSLAO à MATRE DEI (Jaroslav Lekl, SP)	C/Ko/R-1/S
JOMMELLI, Niccolo	B/C/O-3/SB
JUNGG/JUNGK, Johann	Ko/S/O-2
Kalous, see Simone à S. Bartholomaeo	
KAYSER, Isfrid	B/C/O-3
KERLL, Johann Kaspar	Ko/L/O-1/O-2/S/T
KERTZINGER, Augustin	C/Ko/L/O-1/O-2/S/T
KIELMANSEGG/KILMANSECK	B/L/O-1/O-2/S
KIRSCHNER, Richard	L/O-1/O-2
KLEINER, Georg	O-1/O-2/S/T
KLIMA, Benedict	B/Kv/O-3/SB
KLUCH/KLUCK (Gluck ?)	O-3/S/SB
KOHAUT, Karl	B/E/O-3
KOPŘIVA, Václav	O-3/S
KOŽELUCH	O-3/SB
KRATOCHVILE, František	Kv/O-2
KRI[e]DEL, Joseph Christoph	O-1/O-2/R-1
LAUBE, Anton	B/Kv/O-3
Lekl, see Jaroslao à Matre Dei	
LEO, Leonardo	B/C/O-2/O-3/S
LEOPOLD I, Kaiser	Ko/L/S/T
LIEBL, Karl Friedrich	L/O-1/O-2/R-1
LIEHRE, Tobias Ernestus	Ko/O-1/O-2/S
LINKA, Jiří	O-3/SB
Lohelius, see Oehlschlägel	
LOOS, Karel	O-3/SB
LOTTI, Antonio	C/Ko/O-2/O-3/R-1
MANCINI, Francesco	C/O-2/O-3
MARTINI, P. Giov. Battista	C/O-3/R-1 ?/S/SB

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Mašát, see Remigio à S. Erasmo	
MAYR/MAYER, et al.	C/Ko/O-1/O-2/R-1/S
MELANI, Alessandro (?)	C/Ko/O-1/S
MELZEL/MELCELIUS, Georg	Ko/L/O-1/O-2/T
MOZART	O-3/SB
MOZART, Leopold	E
MÜLLER (more than one)	B/Ko/L/O-3/SB
MYSLIVEČEK, Josef	O-3/SB
NITSCH/ NIČ, Ignaz	O-3/SB
NOVÁK, Johann (Jan)	B/C/O-3/S/SB
OEHLSCHLÄGEL, Lohelius	B/Kv/O-3/SB
OETTL, Matthias	C/Kv/O-2/R-1
ORSCHLER, Johann Georg	B/Kv/O-2/O-3
PACHELBEL	O-1
PAISIELLO, Giovanni	O-3/SB
PALESTRINA	C/L
PASQUINI, Bernardo	C/O-2
PASSARINI, Francesco	C/Ko/O-1/O-2/S
PAUMANN, Bernhard	C/R-1
PAVLOVSKY, Václav	O-1/O-2/T
PECELIUS, PEZEL, Johann	Ko/L/O-2/S/T
PELIKAN, Carolus	L/O-1/O-2
PELLEGRINI	C/O-2/R-1
PERANDA, Marco Giuseppe	C/L/R-1/S/T
PEREZ, David	O-3/SB
PERGOLESI, Giovanni Battista	B/O-3/SB
PFLEGER, Augustin	C/Ko/S
PICCINI, Nicola	O-3/SB
PICHL, Václav	O-3/SB
PICHLER (P. Placidus ?)	B/C/Ko/O-2/O-3
PITONI, Giuseppe Ottavio	C/O-1/O-2/R-1/S
PLATZER, Johann Albrecht	Ko/O-1/O-2
POHL	C/Ko
POKORNÝ, František Xaver	Kv/SB
POPPE, Johann Ludvík	C/Ko/O-1/O-2/S
PORPORA, Nicola	C/Kv/O-2/O-3
PORSILE, Giuseppe	B/C/Kv/O-2/S
PORTA, Giovanni	B/C/O-2
POŠÍVAL, POSCHWAL, Jan	Ko/R-1/S
PRAŽÁK, Václav	B/C/O-3
PREDIERI, Luca Antoni	B/C
RABOVIUS, Karl	O-1/O-2/S
RATHGEBER, Johann Valentin	C/O-2/S
REICHENAUER, Antonín	C/Ko/O-2/O-3/R-1/S/SB
REICHWEIN, Johann Georg	Ko/O-2/O-3/R-1/S
REINHARDT, Johann Georg	B/C/E/Ko/Kv/O-3
REMIGIO à S. ERASMO (Antonín Mašát)	Ko/S/SB
REUTTER, Georg von (jun.)	B/E/Kv/O-3/R-1

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RICHTER, Ferdinand Tobias	C/L/O-1/O-2/S/T
RISTORI, Giovanni Alberti	C/O-2/O-3
RITTLER, Philip Jacob	L/S/T
ROSENBERGER (Christoph?)	O-1/O-2/S
ROSETTI	O-2/O-3/SB
RUMPELNIG, Franz	C/O-1/O-2/S
SALIERI, Antonio	O-3/SB
SAMMARTINI, Giovanni Batt.	C/Kv
SANCES, Giovanni Felice	L/O-1/O-2/R-1/S
SARRO, Domenico	B/C/O-2/O-3/R/S
SARTORIUS, Augustin	Ko/O-1/O-2
SCALMANI, Giuseppe	C/O-1/O-2
SCARLATTI	C/O-1/O-2
SCHEIBL, Johann Adam	B/Kv/O-3
SCHLÖGER, Matthaeus	B/E
SCHMELZER, Johann Heinrich	C/O-2/R-1/S/T
SCHMID(T) (various)	B/C/Kv/O-1/O-2/O-3/S
SCHOBER, Matthias	L/O-1/O-2
SEHLING, Josef Antonín	O-3/S/SB
ŠENKÝŘ, Augustin	O-3/SB
SIEGEL, Jacob	O-1/O-2/R-1
SIMONE à S. BARTHOLOMAEO (Václav Kalous)	Kv/O-3/S/SB
SKURBA, Ludwig, OPraem.	Ko/O-1/O-2/S
SOKOL, Václav	Ko/R-1/S
SPERLING, Johann Peter Gab.	Ko/O-1/O-2
STADLMAYR, Johann	C/S
STAUDT, Johann Bernard	L/S/T
SWOBODA (more than one)	C/Ko/O-1/O-2/O-3/R-1/S/SB
TAUCHMANN, Johann Friedrich	Ko/L/S
TECHETTI	O-3/S/SB
TELLER, Marcus	C/O-1/O-2
THALLMANN, Franz David	B/C/Ko/O-1/O-2/S
THAM	Ko/O-2/R-1/S
TOLAR, Jan Křtitel	L/O-1/O-2/S
TUMA, František Ignác	C/Kv/O-3
TURNOVSKÝ, Václav	Ko/S/R
UMSTATT, Joseph	B/C/O-3
VAŇHAL, Jan Křtitel	B/O-3/SB
VEJVANOVSKÝ, Pavel	L/T
VINCI, Leonardo	B/C/O-2/O-3/S
VIVALDI, Antonio	B/C/O-2
VOGT, Mauritius	C/O-1/O-2/S
VOJTA, Jan Ignác František	Ko/O-1/O-2/R-1/S
WENTZELY, Mikuláš Frant. X.	B/C/Ko/L/O-1/O-2/S
WILLICUS, Balthasar	Ko/Kv/O-2/S

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ZACH, Jan	O-3/S/SB
ZACHER, Johann Michael	C/L/O-1/O-2/S/T
ZECHNER, Johann Georg	B/E/Kv/O-3/SB
ZELENKA, Jan Dismas	C/O-2/O-3/S
ZIANI, Marc'Antonio	C/Kv/O-2/R-1
ZINDEL, Samuel	Ko/R-1/S/T
ZUCCARI, Giovanni	B/C/Kv

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APPENDIX P

DICTIONARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES: CZECH - GERMAN; GERMAN - CZECH

I. CZECH - GERMAN (English)
(* = part of Prague)

Beroun	Beraun	
Bíla Hora	Weisser Berg	(White Mountain)
Branibory	Brandenburg	
Brno	Brünn	
Broumov	Braunau	
Brtnice	Pirnitz	
Brunšvicko	Braunschweig	
Bruntál	Freudenthal	
Budyšín	Bautzen	
Čáslav	Czaslau	
České Budějovice	Budweis	
Čechy	Böhmen	
Česká Lípa	Böhmisch-Leipa	
Český Brod	Böhmischbrod	
Český Krumlov	Krummau	
Cheb	Eger	
Chomutov	Komotau	
Doksy	Hirschberg	
Drážďany	Dresden	
Duchcov	Dux	
Dvůr Králové	Königinhof	
Falcko	Pfalz	
Františkovy Lázně	Franzensbad	
Frydlant	Friedland	
Havličkův Brod	Deutsch Brod	
Hluboká	Frauenberg	
Holešov	Holleschau	
Horní Slavkov	Schlaggenwald	
*Hradčany	Hrad	
Hradec	Grätz bei Troppau	
Hradec Králové	Königgrätz	
Jablonec nad Nisou	Gablonz	
Jablonné	Gabel	
Jachymov	Joachimsthal	
Jaroměřice	Jarmeritz	
Jeníkov	Janegg	
Javorník	Jauernig	
Jičín	Jitschin	
Jihlava	Iglau	
Jindřichův Hradec	Neuhaus	
*Josefov	Josefstadt	

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Karlovy Vary	Karlsbad	
Kladruby	Kladrau	
Kladsko	Glatz	
Klatovy	Klattau	
Křivoklát	Pürglitz	
Kroměříž	Kremsier	
Kuks	Kukus; Kukusbad	
Kutná Hora	Kuttenberg	
Labe	Elbe	
Liberec	Reichenberg	
Lipník	Leipnik	
Litoměřice	Leitmeritz	
Litomyšl	Leitomischl	
Loket	Elbogen	
Lysá	Lissa	
*Malá Strana	Kleinseite	(Little Quarter)
Marianské Lázně	Marienbad	
*Menší Město	Kleinseite	(Little Quarter)
Mikulov	Nikolsburg	
Milbohov	Elbogen	
Milevsko	Mühlhausen	
Mladá Boleslav	Jungbunzlau	
Mnichovo Hradiště	Münchengrätz	
Moravia	Mähren	
Most	Brüx	
Naměst	Namiest	
Nelahozeves	Mühlhausen	
Německý Brod	Deutsch Brod	
*Nové Město	Neustadt	(New Town)
Nymburk	Nimburg	
Olomouc	Olmütz	
Opava	Troppau	
Osek	Ossegg, Osegg	
Ostrov	Schlackenwerth	
Plasy	Plass	
Plzeň	Pilsen	
Praha	Prag	
Rajhrad	Raigern	
Rakovník	Rakonitz	
Roudnice	Raudnitz	
Rychnov	Reichenau, Reichenberg	
Sokolov	Falkenau	
Stará Boleslav	Alt-Bunzlau	
Staré Benátky	Alt-Benatek	
*Staré Město	Altstadt	(Old Town)
Stráž pod Ralskem	Wartenberg	
Stříbro	Mies	
Svatá Hora	heiliger Berg	

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Šumava	Böhmerwald
Teplá	Tepel
Tovačov	Tobitschau
Třeboň	Wittingau
Ústí nad Labem	Aussig
Veltrusy	Weltrus
*Vinohrady	Königliche Weinberge
Vltava	Moldau
Vratislav	Breslau (now Wroclaw)
Vysoká	Hochtanov
Vysoké Mýto	Hohenmaut
Vyšší Brod	Hohenfurt
Zbraslav	Königsaal
Znojmo	Znaim
Žatec	Saaz
Žďár	Saar
Žitava	Zittau

II. German - Czech (English)

Alt-Benatek	Staré Benátky
Alt-Bunzlau	Stará Boleslav
Alstadt	*Staré Město (Old Town)
Aussig	Ústí nad Labem
Bautzen	Budyšín
Beraun	Beroun
Böhmen	Čechy
Böhmerwald	Šumava
Böhnischbrod	Český Brod
Böhmisch-Leipa	Česká Lípa
Brandenberg	Branibory
Braunau	Broumov
Braunschweig	Brunšvicko
Breslau	Vratislav (now Wroclaw)
Brüx	Most
Brünn	Brno
Budweis	České Budějovice
Czaslau	Čáslav
Deutschbrod	Havličkův Brod; Německý Brod
Dresden	Dráždany
Dux	Duchcov
Eger	Cheb
Elbe	Labe
Elbogen	Loket; Milbohov

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Falkenau	Sokolov
Franzensbad	Františkovy Lázně
Frauenberg	Hluboká
Freudenthal	Bruntál
Friedland	Frydlant
Gabel	Jablonné
Gablonz	Jablonec nad Nisou
Glatz	Kladsko
Grätz bei Troppau	Hradec
heiliger Berg	Svatá Hora
Hirschberg	Doksy
Hochtanov	Vysoká
Hohenfurt	Vyšší Brod
Hohenmaut	Vysoké Mýto
Holleschau	Holešov
Hrad	*Hradčany (Prague Castle District)
Iglau	Jihlava
Janegg	Jeníkov
Jarmeritz	Jaroměřice
Jauernig	Javorník
Jitschin	Jičín
Joachimsthal	Jachymov
Josefstadt	*Josefov
Jungbunzlau	Mladá Boleslav
Karlsbad	Karlovy Vary
Kladrau	Kladruby
Klattau	Klatovy
Kleinseite	*Malá Strana; Menší Město (Little Quarter)
Komotau	Chomutov
Königgrätz	Hradec Králové
Königinhof	Dvůr Králové
Königliche Weinberg	*Vinohrady
Königsaal	Zbraslav
Kremsier	Kroměříž
Krummau	Český Krumlov
Kukus, Kukusbad	Kuks
Kuttenberg	Kutná Hora
Leipnik	Lipník
Leitmeritz	Litoměřice
Leitomischl	Litomyšl
Lissa	Lysá
Mähren	Moravia
Marienbad	Marianské Lázně
Mies	Stříbro

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Moldau	Vltava	
Mühlhausen	Milevsko; Nelahozeves	
Münchengrätz	Mnichovo Hradiště	
Namiest	Naměst	
Neuhaus	Jindřichuv Hradec	
Neustadt	*Nové Město	(New Town)
Nikolsburg	Mikulov	
Nimburg	Nymburk	
Olmütz	Olomouc	
Ossegg; Osegg	Osek	
Pfalz	Falcko	
Pilsen	Plzeň	
Pirnitz	Brtnice	
Plass	Plasy	
Pra	Pra	
Pürglitz	Křivoklát	
Raigern	Rajhrad	
Rakonitz	Rakovník	
Raudnitz	Roudnice	
Reichenau; Reichenberg	Rychnov	
Reichenberg	Liberec	
Saar	Žďár	
Saaz	Žatec	
Schlaggenwald	Horní Slavkov	
Schlackenwerth	Ostrov	
Tepel	Teplá	
Tobitschau	Tovačov	
Troppau	Opava	
Wartenberg	Stráž pod Ralskem	
Weisser Berg	Bíla Hora	(White Mt.)
Weltrus	Veltrusy	
Wittingau	Třeboň	
Zittau	Žitava	
Znaim	Znojmo	

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