

FRANZ JOSEPH ROSINACK (1748-1823)
A BOHEMIAN OBOIST AND MUSIC ARRANGER AT THE
FÜRSTENBERG HOFKAPELLE

By

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Abstract

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Advisor: Prof. Bruce C. MacIntyre

The oboist Franz Joseph Rosinack worked at the Fürstenberg princely court in Donaueschingen from 1777 to 1823. He had a range of duties, including performing with the *Hof-orchester*, *Harmonie*, and other ensembles, as well as supplying music for court occasions. Chapter I presents a survey of the court's musical activities and principal musicians under Princes Joseph Wenzel (r. 1762-83), Joseph Maria Benedict (r. 1783-96), Karl Joachim (1796-1804), and Karl Egon II (r. 1817-54). Fürstenberg ties to the major cultural centers of eighteenth-century Europe supplied repertoire allowing the court orchestra to perform some of the best contemporary operas often within months of their premieres. Rosinack's involvement in these and other performances gave him a familiarity with pieces he would then arrange as chamber music to accompany banquets, hunting parties, and other court festivities.

Over fifty of Rosinack's arrangements are preserved as manuscripts in the Fürstenberg *Musicalien Sammlung* now housed in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, Germany. Rosinack arranged music from across the broad spectrum of eighteenth-century genres, from chamber music and symphonies to operas and other

works for the stage. Chapter III elucidates the techniques he used to create these works by examining excerpts from three representative pieces. These pieces include versions of Mozart's string quartet K. 575 and wind serenade K. 361, both for oboe, violin, two violas, and cello, as well as an arrangement of Haydn's opera *Orlando Paladino* for *Harmonie* octet. Generally, the further afield the genre of the original lay from its arranged form, the more far-reaching were the changes that Rosinack made to bring the music to its new setting. Arrangements of chamber music revolve mostly around issues of texture, tone color, and instrumental capacity. Arrangements of operas, however, can involve changes of form and harmonic structure to bring the music from its original stage genre to a chamber setting. Appendices present a complete list of Rosinack's arrangements as well as a score to the first movement of Rosinack's adaptation of K. 361 for oboe and strings.

PREFACE

Some ten years have passed since I first stumbled across the name Franz Joseph Rosinack in the data banks of the RISM central office in Frankfurt, Germany. At the time I was searching for information on trios for two oboes and English horn written at the end of the eighteenth century. While this quest yielded few results, I did notice that curious name which kept popping up in searches for oboe music. Who was this Franz Joseph Rosinack? My initial interest in Rosinack came from the perspective of a performing oboist, as it seemed from RISM's listings that his work would significantly widen the range of eighteenth-century chamber music for oboe. These listings suggested that Rosinack had primarily arranged the music of others, including works from across the spectrum of eighteenth-century genres and composers. His arrangements of Mozart's music alone was enough to get any oboist's heart racing: several of the most well known operas, some late string quartets, as well as two different versions of movements from the K. 361 serenade now commonly known as the "Gran Partita." I left Frankfurt that day wondering how I could find out more about this Rosinack, and even how I might get a glance at his manuscripts. RISM had one clue: Rosinack's work was in the holdings of the Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv (FFA) and Hofbibliothek in Donaueschingen.

The trail before me led over the next several years to Donaueschingen and the FFA, as well as to the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, since the state of Baden-Württemberg had in the late 1990s purchased the entire Fürstenberg music collection. This research had whetted another long standing appetite of mine: the history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. Finding information on Rosinack was

proving difficult, however, and results were few and far between. Even though the well over three thousand music manuscripts in the Fürstenberg collection suggested that musicians in his time kept a very busy schedule at the Fürstenberg court, I found little to no evidence detailing performances by Rosinack or any other instrumentalist with the Fürstenberg *Hofmusik*. I realized that in order to present a coherent chronicle of Rosinack's life and a background to his work, I would first need to create a general historical framework of eighteenth-century musical culture in Donaueschingen on which to piece together the patchwork of "Rosinackiana" I had found.

This historical framework became increasingly important to my work the more I familiarized myself with the modern research done on Rosinack and the Fürstenberg *Hofmusik*. While much of this research presents important information, some of it is also ripe with inconsistencies and misrepresentations, especially in relation to Rosinack. Some of these inconsistencies are benign in nature and have little ramifications on the quality of Rosinack's work. These inconsistencies include Roger Hellyer's suggestion that Joseph Fiala and Rosinack had played together as oboists in the 1790s.¹ Fiala had in fact given up oboe playing by the time he arrived in Donaueschingen in 1792 (for health reasons), and was hired by the Fürstenberg court as a cellist. Another such inconsistency is Manfred Schuler's observation that Rosinack played bassoon in his later years in Donaueschingen: ". . . gehörte er [Rosinack] als Oboist, später als Fagottist . . . der Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofkapelle an."² This "Fagottist" was actually Rosinack's son Anton, hired by the court in 1811, who played with the Fürstenberg *Hofkapelle* as principal bassoonist during its rebirth under Conradin Kreutzer.

¹ Roger Hellyer, "Harmoniemusik: Music for Small Wind Band in the late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oxford, 1973), 212.

² Manfred Schuler, "Der angebliche Mozart- "Fund" in *Acta Mozartiana* 32 (1985): 10.

Other misrepresentations are more aggressive in nature, most often coming as the result of goal-oriented research, such as Bastiaan Blomhert's 1987 dissertation on the *Harmoniemusik* of Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* in the Fürstenberg collection. The goal of Blomhert's research was to prove that Mozart himself made the arrangement, and towards this goal Blomhert devotes ten pages describing Rosinack and his work in the Fürstenberg collection. He categorizes Rosinack as a "transcribing copyist rather than a creative arranger"³ based on an assessment of three pieces Rosinack arranged for Harmonie ensemble: a collection of six Allemandes by the Donaueschingen composer Johann Abraham Sixt (1757-1797), the Minuet and Trio from Mozart's string quintet in E-flat, K. 614 (preserved together as D Do Mus Ms 1809 in the Fürstenberg collection), and the *Priestermarsch* from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (included by Rosinack in D DO Mus Ms 1396). Unfortunately all the originals from which Rosinack wrote these arrangements no longer exist in the Fürstenberg collection, thus making it difficult to fully assess Rosinack's work from these examples. Blomhert's methodology has been critiqued in several reviews.⁴ Indeed, as Schuler acknowledges, it very well may be that Rosinack did not make the *Entführung* arrangement, and because the other five arrangements of Mozart's operas are controversial I have purposely left these off the complete list of Rosinack's arrangements in Appendix A.

Any assessment of Rosinack as an artist must come from an investigation into the whole corpus of his generally accepted work, before one approaches academic controversies about what he might have done. Once the range of his work begins to

³ Bastiaan Blomhert, "The Harmoniemusik of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Study about its authenticity and Critical Edition," (Ph. D. Diss., University of Utrecht, 1987), 61.

⁴ Robert D. Levin in *Mozart Jahrbuch* (1989/90), 268-285, as well as Manfred Schuler in *Die Musik Forschung* (1991), 177-180.

become available to the public, I believe the depth of Rosinack's artistry will become evident. This artistry has already been discovered by a small but growing group of oboists and ensembles, including oboist Gernod Schmalfluss and the Consortium Classicum in Germany, as well as oboist Bart Schneemann in Australia, to name a few.

My goal with this writing is to effectively fill in the gaps left by previous research and begin to present a complete picture of Franz Joseph Rosinack and his work. Thus in chapter one I begin with a cultural history of Donaueschingen under the Fürstenbergs in the eighteenth century during Rosinack's lifetime. Only after such a stage has been set can one appreciate the disparate facts of his life presented in chapter two. Finally in the third chapter I examine three representative arrangements from across the genre spectrum of eighteenth-century music within which Rosinack worked. This approach should provide fresh insights into the process of music arrangement during the eighteenth century, as well as further underscore the musical importance which the Fürstenberg court had among the smaller German-speaking lands of central Europe at that time. Lastly, I also hope to open the doors to an impressive collection of music that adds new dimensions to our understanding of eighteenth-century chamber music repertoire involving the oboe.

I am indebted to many people whose support was integral to me reaching this goal. My great thanks to Dr. Bruce C. MacIntyre, for being there every step of the way with valuable suggestions; Dr. Richard Kramer, for keeping my mind open to the unforeseen implications of my work; Humbert Lucarelli, for his sincere interest and support of my artistic development, as well as Dr. Sterling Murray, for invaluable support and advice, and Dr. Norman Carey, for keeping my feet to the fire.

My thanks also go out to the people who have helped me in Germany, including Dr. Andreas Wilts and the staff at the Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv in Donaueschingen, who graciously helped me navigate the complexities of the FFA; also to Fr. Dr. Brigitte Knödler-Kagoshima and the staff at the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, who were always immensely helpful in viewing manuscripts and ordering copies, even on short notice.

My deeply felt gratitude also goes out to my family. My wife Elisabeth, who was always with me even when the days were darkest, and my two daughters Lilian and Catalina, who always were understanding, even when Daddy seemed grumpy and aloof. My thanks go also to Brigitte and Klaus Ewe, who were very helpful with comprehending the intricacies of the old German script, and were always interested in the winding passages of my story; also to Kerala Snyder, who knew that I could do it, even when I didn't believe it. Finally also to Ronald Roseman, in memoriam: a great oboist, artist, and mentor, who started me out on this journey.

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a. [Anon.], arr., Partita in B[flat] (Mus. Ms. 1359, after Mozart, K. 361)

b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in B[flat] (Mus. Ms. 1376, from 1359)

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b. Quintetto, Mvt. 1, mm. 116-127	

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b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in C Major (Mus. Ms. 1374, after K. 575)

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INTRODUCTION

Today, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the name Fürstenberg is perhaps more widely associated with high fashion than with music and theatrical performance. The eighteenth century, however, saw a different picture. Charles Burney noted as much when he referred to Fürst Joseph Wenzel von Furstenberg as “a great musician and encourager of music” in 1773¹.

The oboist Franz Joseph Rosinack arrived at the Fürstenberg court in Donaueschingen just a few years after Burney made his travels. According to Gottfried Johann Dlabacž, Rosinack was a native of Bohemia², and thus part of a great exodus of Bohemian musicians to cultural centers throughout eighteenth-century Europe. The road to Donaueschingen was likely facilitated by the Bohemian line of the Fürstenberg family living in Prague.

Rosinack’s first two decades with the Fürstenberg Hofkapelle witnessed a great expansion of cultural activity at court. A theater was built to house the performance of opera and stageworks for which the Fürstenberg family would become so well known. The number of regular musicians in the court orchestra was increased during this time to twenty-four. A handful of these musicians, Rosinack among them, were awarded with the professional status of *Kammer-Musicus*. Close ties to composers and music-sellers in larger cultural centers such as Vienna, Prague, and Mannheim facilitated performances of some of the best contemporary operas in the new theater. These productions built upon

¹ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the 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, 236.

² Gottfried Johann Dlabacž, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler Lexicon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, (Prague, 1815) Vol. II, Sp. 593.

the Fürstenberg's reputation as strong patrons of the performing arts. Like many other smaller courts in the German-speaking lands of central Europe, the Fürstenberg Hofkapelle suffered a steep decline under Napoleon. After the first decades of the 1800s, however, Donaueschingen witnessed a revival of the court orchestra, which ushered in a new era of opera performance lasting well into the nineteenth century.

Turning specifically to Franz Joseph Rosinack's contribution to the musical culture at the Fürstenberg court, little is known about specific performances he took part in. From a 1789 contract elevating him to professional status we know he was obligated to play "at court, in church, and at the theater."³ Thus, for instance, we can assume he took part in the many important opera productions of the 1780s and 1790s. From these and other performances he would have gained an intimate knowledge of the music he would then arrange for use as *Unterhaltungsmusik* at court.

Perhaps the most complete body of evidence we have of Rosinack's work during his time in Donaueschingen are his over fifty arrangements of music from across the genre spectrum of the eighteenth century. These manuscripts survive as part of the Fürstenberg *Musikalien Sammlung* in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, Germany. The techniques he used to make these arrangements depend upon the specific genre category the originals came from. Arrangements of chamber music supply the biggest category, for instance Rosinack's sixteen arrangements of wind octets for the quintet combination of oboe, violin, two violas, and cello. As will be seen, the

³ Decree of Promotion for Franz Joseph Rosinack: March 9, 1789. Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv, Personal Akt Ro. 8.

techniques he used for these pieces revolve for the most part around modifications of texture and tone color, tailoring the musical fabric to its new setting.

In considering the broad array of Rosinack's arrangements, the further afield the genre of the original lies from its arranged form, the more far-reaching the changes will be to bring the music to its new setting. Music from operas arranged for *Harmonie* ensemble can involve changes of form and harmonic progression that go well beyond the textural adaptations inherent to the chamber arrangements. Examples of such far-reaching changes can be found in Rosinack's *Harmoniemusik* from Haydn's opera *Ritter Roland (Orlando Paladino)*, as will be shown in Chapter III.

Study of Rosinack's music and the environment within which it was created is beneficial on many levels. The history of the Fürstenberg court gives us a context to better understand Rosinack's work and the tradition of *Unterhaltungsmusik* that it grew out of. Examining the arrangements Rosinack made builds an understanding of the process he used to morph music from one setting to another. This understanding provides us with unique insight into the musical language and practices of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER ONE

MUSIC AND THEATER AT THE FÜRSTENBERG COURT: 1716-1823

1716-1762

Wilhelm Ernst and the Early Years of Cultural Foundation

Donaueschingen first became a center of cultural importance during the reign of Joseph Wilhelm Ernst Fürst zu Fürstenberg (1699-1762, reigned 1716-62).⁴ Under Wilhelm Ernst the land holdings of the various Fürstenberg family lines were consolidated into a territory that was *reichsunmittelbar*, meaning the ruler answered directly to the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Donaueschingen was chosen early on to be the seat of local governance because of its central location in the newly-consolidated territory. Over the next four decades Prince Wilhelm Ernst took an active role in the political affairs of the empire, increasing the stature of his family and that of his small realm. Locally he also sought to develop a mode of governing in accordance with the enlightened ideals then beginning to take hold in Europe. Among his notable reforms were those in the areas of school organization and land management.⁵ Under his rule several large-scale building projects were begun in Donaueschingen, including the

⁴ In English language scholarship the title *Fürst* is traditionally translated as *Prince*, and many German-English dictionaries do the same. However, German scholars I have talked to find this translation misleading, as the title *Prince* actually has several different connotations in the context of eighteenth century German aristocracy. While a lengthy description of the German aristocratic hierarchy lies beyond the scope of my writing, I will attempt to deal with this apparent conflict by initially introducing each ruler as *Fürst zu Fürstenberg*, and thereafter simply use the term *Prince*.

⁵ Ernst Münch and C.B.A. Fickler, *Geschichte des Hauses und Landes Fürstenberg*, 4 vols. (Karlsruhe: S. Macklot, 1847), IV: 242-49.

new family palace, buildings for the court archive and library, housing for government officials and their families, as well as the Johannes Kirche.⁶

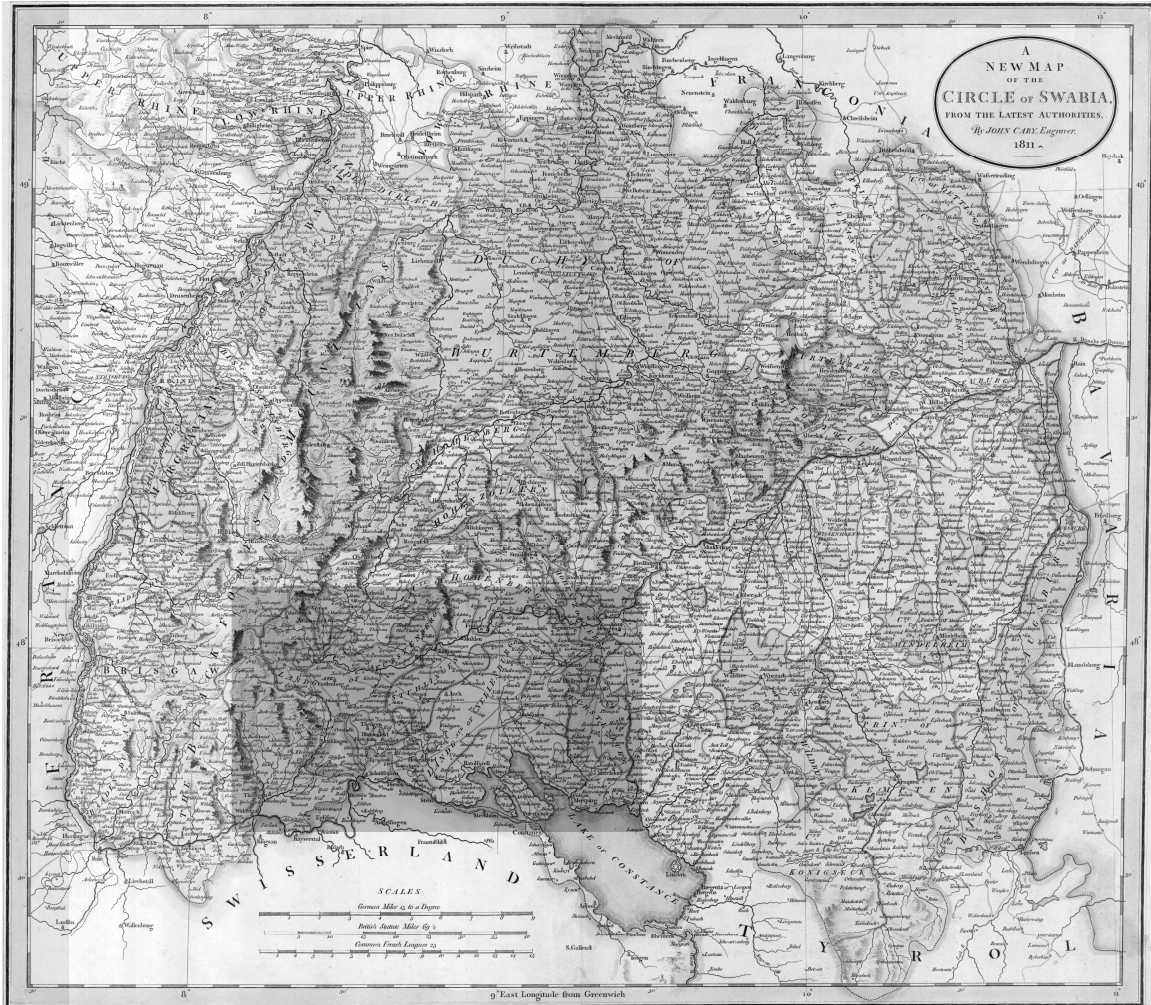


Figure 1: A New Map of the Circle of Swabia. Map by John Cary (London, 1811)
(printed courtesy of the Map Department at Yale University)

Although this map was printed in 1811, the configuration suggests a pre-1806 order, the year Napoleon annexed many of the smaller lands of Swabia to Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg. The shaded area has been enlarged on the next page to more clearly show the Fürstenberg lands.

⁶ Münch, *Geschichte*, 245-46; also see Georg Goerlipp, “Das Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Archiv und die Hofbibliothek in Donaueschingen,” in *Die Fürstenberger: 800 Jahre Herrschaft und Kultur in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Erwein H. Eltz and Arno Strohmeyer (Korneuberg: Ueberreuter, 1994) 108-114.

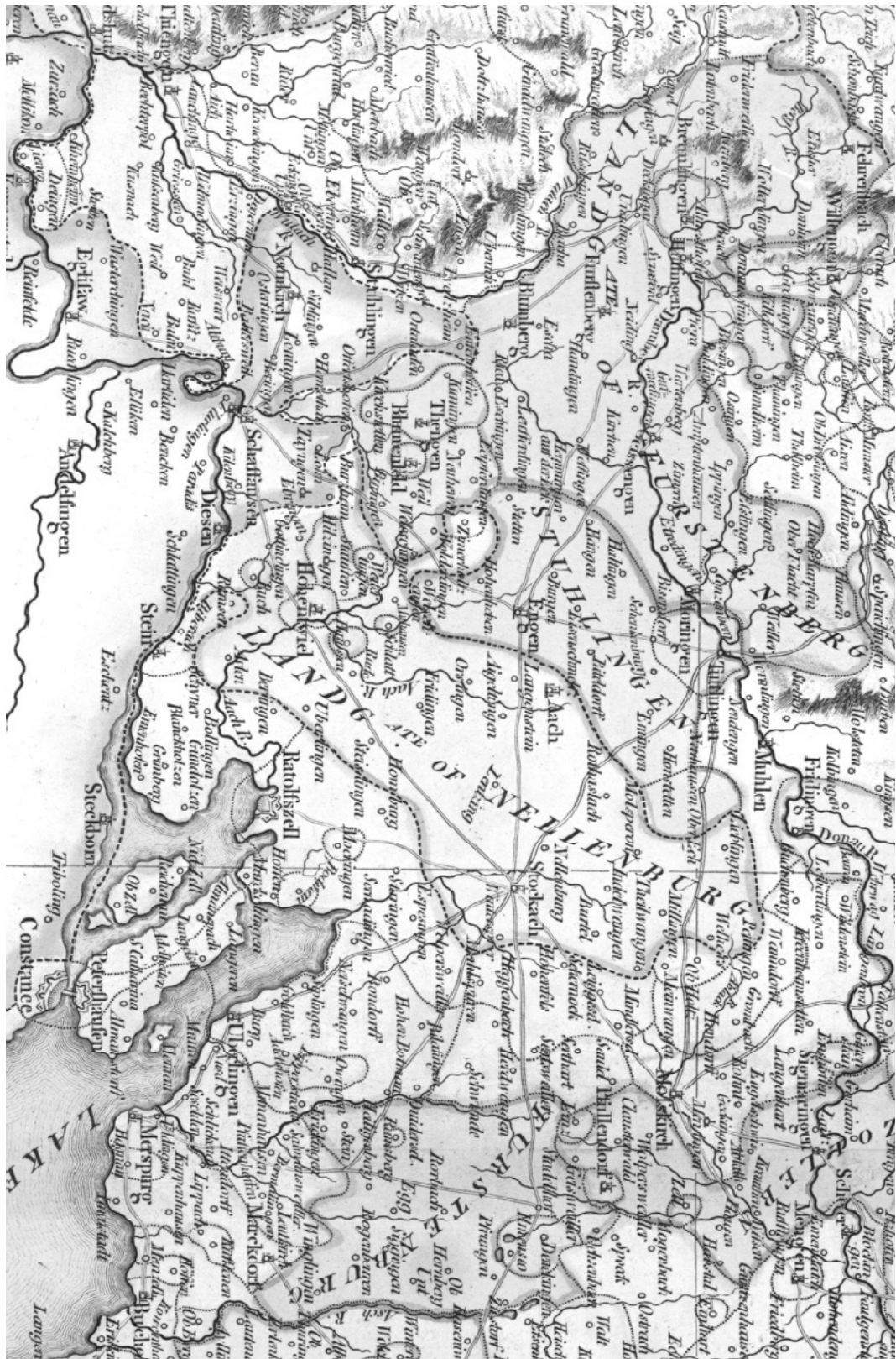


Figure 2: Enlarged Portion of Cary's 1811 Map

At the Fürstenberg court during this time, however, cultural development appears to have taken a secondary role. Sources suggest that Wilhelm Ernst, during his stays in Donaueschingen, kept a small chamber ensemble of “oboes, horns, and bassoons” which played during meals and hunting expeditions. Also, traveling virtuosi passing through the area were invited to play at court.⁷ Unlike later Fürstenberg rulers, however, Wilhelm Ernst himself took no active role in the music making.

Perhaps one of the most significant moments for future cultural development in Donaueschingen during Wilhelm Ernst’s rule was the prince’s marriage in 1723 to Anna Maria von Waldstein of Bohemia. As a countess she brought to the union a considerable inheritance of Waldstein family land in her native country. This link to Bohemia paved the way by which artists from that eastern land could, over the following decades, find their way to the Fürstenberg court.⁸

⁷ Heinrich Burkhard, “Musikpflege in Donaueschingen,” *Badische Heimat* 8 (1921), 84. Burkhard writes “Der Fürst hielt sich eine kleine Kammermusik, durchreisenden Virtuosen gab man die Gelegenheit, ihre Künste zu zeigen, eine Harmoniemusik in der Besetzung, wie sie damals üblich war- Oboen, Hörner und Fagotte- würzte die Mahlzeiten, wurde auf Jagden mitgenommen und verschönte die zahlreichen Hoffestlichkeiten.” However, he does not cite his source for this information.

⁸ One early example of this Bohemian cultural connection is the architect Maximilian Kanka (1674-1766), who was called from his native Prague by Wilhelm Ernst to Donaueschingen in the 1720s. Kanka directed the creation of the above mentioned Johannes Kirche, built in the Bohemian Baroque style, a rarity in southwestern Germany. See Heinrich Feuerstein, *Die Katholische Stadtkirche zum hl. Johannes dem Täufer in Donaueschingen, 1724-1924* (Donaueschingen: Danubiana, 1925), 6-10.

1762-1783

Joseph Wenzel: Years of Continuing Artistic Development and the Beginnings of Stage Production

The musical establishment for which Donaueschingen would later be noted had its true beginnings under Wilhelm Ernst's son and successor, Joseph Wenzel Fürst zu Fürstenberg (1728-83, reigned 1762-83). Early in his rule Joseph Wenzel organized a small *Hofkapelle* under the direction of violinist-composer Anton Martelli.⁹ The prince himself was a cellist and pianist of some repute and often took part in the music making at court.¹⁰ Charles Burney, traveling through Germany in 1773 to gather information for his history of music, noted that Joseph Wenzel was a "great musician and encourager of music; all the performers of Germany are sure of an asylum at his court, of being well heard, and if excellent, well rewarded."¹¹

Indeed just seven years before, in October of 1766, such a hearing by Prince Joseph Wenzel took place. The Mozart family, on the return trip of their European tour, had passed through Switzerland before continuing to the lands of the Holy Roman

⁹ Martelli came from Bamberg in Bavaria. See Manfred Schuler, "Die Fürstenberger und die Musik," in *Die Fürstenberger: 800 Jahre Herrschaft und Kultur in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Erwein Eltz und Arno Strohmeyer (Korneuberg: Ueberreuter, 1994), 150.

¹⁰ Burkhard, "Musikpflege," 84. According to Burkhard the Fürst played chamber music "almost every day": "Dieser Fürst wird uns als eifriger Liebhaber der Tonkunst, als vorzüglicher Klavier- und Violoncellospieler geschildert, der fast täglich mit seiner Kammermusik musizierte."

¹¹ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the 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, 236. Interestingly, Burney never visited Donaueschingen. The above description of Prince Joseph Wenzel, whom Burney refers to as *the duke and sovereign of Furstenburg*, occurs in the section of the text entitled *Final Remarks* in the Scholes edition, where Burney mentions that ". . . I shall here, as an appendix, subjoin a few particulars, which I have obtained from good authority, relative to the state of music, in such parts of Germany as it was not in my power to visit." It is worth noting that the Fürstenbergs seemed to have had a good enough reputation among the "authorities" of German cultural circles to be mentioned to Burney.

Empire. On the eighth of October they came to Donaueschingen at the invitation of the Fürstenberg family. In a letter dated November 10, 1766, to his landlord Lorenz Hagenauer, Leopold Mozart noted:

His Highness the Prince welcomed us with extraordinary graciousness. It was not necessary to announce our arrival, for we were already being eagerly awaited, as Herr Meisner can testify.¹² The Director of Music, Martelli, came at once to welcome us and to invite us to court. Well, we were there for twelve days. On nine days there was music from five to nine and each time we performed something different. If the season had not been so advanced, we should not have come away. The prince gave me twenty-four Louis d'or and to each of my children a diamond ring. Tears flowed from his eyes when we took leave of him, and truly we all wept at saying good-bye.¹³

The Mozarts' stay in Donaueschingen was most likely facilitated by the prince's chamber valet Sebastian Winter (1743-1815). A few years before, Winter had accompanied the Mozart family as valet during the early part of their 1763-64 European tour, before being called back to his native town to serve the Fürstenberg court.¹⁴ The music performances mentioned by Leopold Mozart probably included, among other pieces, several solos for violoncello (K. 33b) composed for Joseph Wenzel himself by the young Mozart, as well as the quodlibet *Galimathias Musicum* (K. 32) which Wolfgang had composed some half a year before in the Netherlands for Prince William of Orange.¹⁵ While no court personnel records listing musicians have survived from this time, from the

¹² Joseph Nikolaus Meisner (ca. 1725-1795) was a tenor from Salzburg befriended with the Mozarts.

¹³ Emily Anderson, trans. and ed., *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, 3rd ed., (London: MacMillan, 1985), 68.

¹⁴ Sebastian Winter's relationship with the Mozarts goes back to Winter's years of study at the Salzburg University.

¹⁵ The solos for violoncello are lost. However Köchel VI cites as source Leopold Mozart's 1768 catalogue of his son's works to date, within which was listed under the category "Verschiedene Solo" an entry "für das Violoncello,-für den Fürsten zu Fürstenberg Durchl.:". A manuscript copy of the *Galimathias Musicum* (K.32), written out by Mozart himself during the family's stay at court, has survived in the Fürstenberg music collection (D Do Mus. Ms. 1403).

instrumentation of the *Galimathias Musicum* we can suppose the *Hofkapelle* consisted of at least two violins, viola, cello/bass, pairs of oboes and horns, as well as a bassoon. The players were most likely court servants (*Hoflakaien*), military musicians, or local amateurs.¹⁶

The Founding of the Donaueschingen Theatrical Society

During the 1770s interest grew at the Fürstenberg court for theatrical performance. Members of the royal family as well as court officials organized a *Schauspiel Liebhaber Gesellschaft*, or “Amateur Theatrical Society,” which began to produce stage works for the local community. Performances often took place on important court occasions, such as Fürstenberg family birthdays, namedays, or the return to Donaueschingen of a Fürstenberg family member after an extended trip. Any income from admission charges almost always went toward some community charity.¹⁷ Another significant aspect of the theatrical society’s productions was the fact that members of the local aristocracy often took leading roles, establishing a tradition in Donaueschingen that lasted well into the nineteenth century.

Initially, the repertoire at the Fürstenberg Court Theater consisted mostly of French works, in accordance with the aristocratic traditions of the times. However, as time went on, young German playwrights were also represented, including, among others, Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe. Performances in the native German language were experiencing a rising popularity throughout the lands of the Holy Roman Empire under

¹⁶ The earliest surviving lists of *Hoflakaien* in the Fürstenberg court archives come later, starting in 1780. Thus, other than *Kapellmeister* Martelli and members of the Fürstenberg family, we cannot accurately identify the other musicians who played with the Mozart family.

¹⁷ Georg Tumbült, *Das Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hoftheater zu Donaueschingen 1775-1850*, (Donaueschingen: Buch- und Kunstdruckerei Danubiana, 1914), 29.

Emperor Joseph II. This *Zeitgeist* of the German Enlightenment would later leave its mark on opera production in Donaueschingen especially, where works originally in Italian or French were performed almost exclusively in German translations.¹⁸

In the latter half of the 1770s, as the young theatrical society was becoming a fixture of Donaueschingen's cultural scene, Prince Joseph Wenzel made arrangements for a more permanent home for stage presentations. He asked that space in the *Winterreitschule* be converted for stage use. From 1775 on the redesigned *Reitschule*, or *Comödienhaus* as it was afterwards called, housed performances of both the local society as well as productions of professional theater companies traveling through the area. Between 1775 and 1780 the theatrical society gave eighteen performances, including plays and operettas by Stephanie, Gebler, Weisse, Ayrenhoff, and Cronegk.¹⁹

During the years 1781-1783 the cultural activities at court were limited due to illness in the Fürstenberg family. In this time the local theatrical society gave no performances, however on several occasions itinerant groups did perform. With Joseph Wenzel's death on July 2, 1783, the early phase of the court's artistic development came to a close.

1783-1796

Joseph Maria Benedict and the Flourishing of Opera

The musical and theatrical traditions begun under Joseph Wenzel were carried on by his eldest son and successor, Joseph Maria Benedict Fürst zu Fürstenberg (1758-96, reigned 1783-96). Like his father, Joseph Maria was a passionate music lover.

¹⁸ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 12-13. See also Schuler, "Die Fürstenberger," 155, and *idem*, "Eine Prager Singspielfassung von Mozarts *Così fan tutte* aus der Zeit des Komponisten," in *Mozart Jahrbuch 1991* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 895.

¹⁹ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 8-9.

. . . He was exceptionally passionate and knowledgeable about music, played the Forte-piano with virtuosic talent, and every year gave extraordinarily large sums of money to finance a fine orchestra. Besides this connection to music one noticed in him no other passion.²⁰

During his years of study (1770-76) prior to his reign Joseph Maria traveled in Austria and Italy. While in Austria (1770-72) he visited the University of Salzburg, and most likely renewed ties with the Mozart family. This contact would continue in written exchanges with the Fürstenberg court over the next fifteen years.

After assuming rule in 1783 Prince Joseph Maria focused intently on cultural enrichment in Donaueschingen. One concern that constantly preoccupied him was the filling out of the court orchestra. The *Hofkapelle* inherited from his father was directed by Wenzel Nördlinger (Nerlinger), a Bohemian violinist who had come to the Fürstenberg court in 1779. The orchestra during the 1780s consisted of some twenty musicians. Most served as *Hoflakaaien* (court servants) and thus fulfilled a diverse range of duties. In addition, some musicians came from the Fürstenberg military, where they played in groups known as *Hautboisten Compagnie*. Finally, orchestra sections were filled as needed with local amateurs.²¹

The court, however, lacked a composer who could supply music appropriate for courtly functions. Thus early in his reign Prince Joseph Maria hired the Bohemian composer and violinist Franz Christoph Neubauer (ca.1760-1795) with the title of

²⁰ “Eben so... war er ausserordentlicher Liebhaber und Kenner der Musick, und war selbst virtuos auf dem Forte-piano, und wandte alljährlich beträchtliche Kosten auf Unterhaltung eines guten Orchesters. Ausser diesem Hang zu Musick verspürte man bey ihme keine Leidenschaft...” Friedrich Carl Döpser and Johann Peregrin Merk, *Genealogie des Hauses Fürstenberg*, vol. 4, 1050, unpublished manuscript in the Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv, Donaueschingen [FFA].

²¹ Schuler, “Die Fürstenberger,” 152-53.

Kapellmeister. According to his court contract of November 1783, Neubauer was obliged

. . . to provide new compositions of his own creation, using whatever instrumentation might be required, or to furnish other compositions from foreign sources, should his own not meet with approval, without the right to seek extra compensation for these circumstances from the court.²²

Neubauer stayed in the Fürstenberg employ for only half a year, though, and thereafter other means were needed to fill this service.²³ Nördlinger stayed on as *Musikdirector*, and for the acquisition of new music Prince Joseph Maria continued to rely on his chamber servant Sebastian Winter. Winter had regular written contact with music sellers in Vienna and Prague, as well as direct contact with composers such as Wolfgang Mozart and Michael Haydn.²⁴

Sebastian Winter's connection with Prague came from a Fürstenberg family relation. In 1780 court servant Fridolin Hasenfratz had moved there to serve the prince's sister Josepha, who married Phillip Nerius Fürstenberg, a first cousin of Joseph Maria Benedict, and inheritor of the family line in Bohemia. During the following decade many written exchanges occurred between Hasenfratz and Winter about music purchases for the Donaueschingen court. For example, in a letter from December 30, 1784, Hasenfratz

²² “. . . auf jeweiliges Erfordern neue, und eigene Musicalische Compositionen, auf was immer für Instrumenten solche verlangt werden, vorzulegen, oder fremde neue Musicalien, so seine eigene Composition keinen weitem Beyfall finden sollten, auf seine eigene Kosten herbeyzuschaffen, ohne dass er heirwegen einigen Ersatz an uns oder unser fürstl. Aerarium nachzusuchen haben solle.” Personal File Ne 16, Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv Donaueschingen, as cited by Schuler in “Die Fürstenberger,” 152.

²³ Interestingly enough, the article on Neubauer in the *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd ed., does not mention the composer's brief employment at the Fürstenberg court. See Richard Sjoerdsma, “Neubauer, Franz Christoph” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Stanley Sadie, ed., (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 17: 779-780.

²⁴ Many letters detailing transactions Winter had with a number of sources in centers throughout the southern German states, as well as in Vienna and Prague, are in the Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv, Abteilung Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft, Vol. I, Fasc. 1.

listed 13 symphonies, 6 quartets, and a piano concerto that he had earlier sent to Donaueschingen, and in January of the following year he told Winter of “. . . a newly completed opera entitled *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* by Kapellmeister Mozart . . . [that] is to be had in the German language.”²⁵

The Fürstenbergs and the Mozarts

Another avenue used by Winter to acquire music for the court was direct contact with composers themselves. The long-standing relationship between the Fürstenbergs and the Mozarts provides the background for a series of letters with the Mozart family from the 1780s, through which Winter purchased new works by Wolfgang. At first Winter wrote to Leopold Mozart. An exchange from 1784 provided the court with three piano concertos.²⁶ Later in 1786, however, he turned to Wolfgang directly. Mozart replied with a letter dated August 8, 1786, where he tells Winter (“Dearest Friend! Companion of my youth!”)

²⁵ “Eine Ganz neue verfertigte Oper Betitelt *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* von Capellm: Mozart im Jahr 1784 verfertigt für K: K: Maist. ist ganz zu haben in Deutscher Sprache.” Letter from Hasenfratz dated January 13, 1785. FFA, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft, Vol. I, Fasc. 1. Excerpts from the Hasenfratz letters of Dec. 1784 and Jan. 1785, as well as the circumstances surrounding them, are detailed in Schuler, “Das Donaueschinger Aufführungsmaterial von Mozart’s *Le Nozze di Figaro*,” in *Florilegium Musicologicum. Hellmuth Federhofer zum 75. Geburtstag*, C. H. Mahling, ed. (Tutzing: 1988), 378-379.

²⁶ There is some difficulty in knowing exactly which concertos these may have been. In a letter to Winter dated April 3, 1784, Leopold Mozart describes the them as the latest his son had written, which would suggest K. 413-415 (Anderson, *Letters*, 873). However, M. H. Schmidt notes that at the time the concertos K. 413-415 were already in public circulation, and it is questionable why Prince Joseph Maria would go through the trouble of a private purchase for works he could just as easily get from a public source. Considering this issue, Schmidt suggests that the works in question may actually be earlier piano concertos, such as K. 175, 238, 242, or 271. However, no copies of the above mentioned concertos have survived in the Fürstenberg music collection. See Manfred Hermann Schmidt, “Mozart und der Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hof in Donaueschingen,” in “. . . *Liebhaber und Beschützer der Musik*” *Die neu erworbene Musikaliensammlung der Fürsten zu Fürstenberg in der Badischen Landesbibliothek*, (Karlsruhe: Kulturstiftung der Länder/Badische Landesbibliothek, 2000), 24-25.

I should long ago have sent some specimens of my poor work to your highly respected Prince . . . if I had known whether or not my father had already sent him something and, if so, what he had sent. I am therefore jotting down at the end of my letter a list of my latest compositions from which His Highness has only to choose, so that I may hasten to serve him.²⁷

The list Mozart mentioned in the letter included thematic incipits from the selections he wished to advertise to the prince. The themes were organized according to genre, and included the following pieces:

Symphonies K. 425, 385, 319, 338

Piano Concertos K. 453, 456, 451, 459, 488

Chamber Music K. 481 (violin sonata in E-flat major), 496 (piano trio in G major), 478 (piano quartet in G minor)

The next month Winter replied with an order from Prince Joseph Maria for three symphonies (K. 319, 338, 425) and three piano concertos (K. 451, 459, 488). At that time Winter must have included a reminder of the fact that the works ordered should not already be in public circulation. Mozart's reply with the copied manuscripts came on September 30:

It is quite natural that some of my compositions should be sent abroad, but those which I do send are deliberately chosen. I only sent you the themes, because it is quite possible that these works have not reached you. But the compositions which I keep for myself or for a small circle of music-lovers and connoisseurs (who promise not to let them out of their hands) cannot possibly be known elsewhere, as they are not even known

²⁷ Anderson, *Letters*, 897-898.

in Vienna. And this is the case with the three concertos which I have the honour of sending to His Highness.²⁸

Thus in his bill Mozart included only copying charges for the symphonies, whereas with the concertos, which at that time were not in circulation, he included copying charges plus an extra *Honorarium* of eighty-one Gulden. The total sum of 143.5 Gulden was then paid by Winter on November 9. This exchange from 1786 was the last contact the Fürstenberg court had with Mozart.²⁹

The Building of the Hoftheater

During the 1780s interest in theatrical productions continued to grow in Donaueschingen. Both the prince and his wife were great opera lovers, and in his efforts to raise the cultural *niveau* at court Joseph Maria turned his attention to the completion of a project first begun under his father's rule, namely the construction of a stage suitable for the dramatic works so popular at court. In 1783 he hired professional builders from neighboring Stuttgart to convert the previously redesigned *Reitschule* building into a full theater suitable for opera. The work lasted over a year and, when finished, consisted of a stage with a small orchestra pit in front, as well as a main floor and galleries with a total seating capacity of over 550 persons. The hall was dedicated on December 12, 1784, with a performance of the play *Fürst von Stromberg* by the Mannheim court official and playwright Jakob Meyer.³⁰

²⁸ Anderson, *Letters*, 900.

²⁹ For a thorough discussion of the relationship between Mozart and the Fürstenberg court, see Schmidt, "Mozart," 21-33. The monetary figures from the original correspondence in the *FFA* is summarized in Schmidt's article.

³⁰ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 16-25.

In the years 1785-89 the local theatrical society gave over forty productions in the new hall, including operas and singspiels by such composers as Dittersdorf, Mozart, Salieri, Sarti, and Paisiello. Among the works staged were Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1785, 1786) and *Le Nozze di Figaro* (as *Figaro's Hochzeit* 1787, 1788, 1789), as well as Dittersdorf's *Doktor und Apotheker* (1787, 1789) and *Die Liebe im Narrenhaus* (1789).³¹ The 1787 production of *Figaro's Hochzeit* is especially significant, as it was the first time the opera was performed in a singspiel adaptation. The performance took place on September 25, a little over a year after the Vienna premiere on May 1, 1786. Members of the theatrical society had prepared the translation of the libretto from the original Italian, as well as the adaptation of the musical text to fit the circumstances of the performance. As was usual at the *Hoftheater*, the admission proceeds went to a local charity.³²

The Princess Maria Antonia played a central role in the theatrical society's productions during her husband's rule. As the society's director she chose the repertoire to be performed, assigned roles, and oversaw the rehearsals. A talented singer, she often took on important soprano roles herself, such as Constanza in *Die Entführung* and Susanna in *Figaro*. According to contemporary observations, Maria Antonia “. . . sang exceptionally while her voice was in its prime, and at the court theater played the most difficult roles to the audience's widespread amazement . . . ”³³

³¹ Schuler, “Die Fürstenberger,” 155, as well as Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 26-27, 38-40.

³² The circumstances surrounding this performance are detailed more thoroughly in Manfred Schuler, “Die Aufführung von Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* in Donaueschingen 1787,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 45 (1988): 111-131.

³³ “. . . sang selbstensolang ihre Stimme andauerte, fürtrefflich, [und] spielte selbstens auf dem hochfürstlichen Theater die schwersten Rollen zu mäniglicher Verwunderung . . . ” Döpser and Merk, *Genealogie*, vol. 4, 1050-1051.

While the theatrical society's members included several other talented singers, the increasing demands of the society's opera repertoire necessitated the occasional engagement of vocalists from outside the Donaueschingen community. In this capacity a tenor by the name Zipfeli was brought from neighboring Rottweil to sing roles in the *Die Entführung* and *Doktor und Apotheker* productions, and Katharina von Langen, a soprano also from Rottweil, sang in the *Figaro* productions. In 1786 Prince Joseph Maria for the first time hired a vocalist for a permanent position in the *Hofmusik*, namely the tenor Franz Walter with the title *Kammersänger*.³⁴

Kammer-Musicus: Professional Status

At the end of the 1780s, in response to the prince's continuing efforts to enrich the cultural establishment in Donaueschingen, the court orchestra was developing into a "professional" ensemble. Increasingly musicians were hired not as *Hoflakien*, but with the title *Kammer-Musicus* or, in the case of vocalists, *Kammersänger*. These titles obliged them with musical duties only. The baritone Franz Xaver Weiss was hired in such a capacity in 1789. Other musicians originally hired as *Hoflakaien* could apply to be raised into the *Kammer-Musicus* status, thus relieving them of their servant duties. In the years 1789-90 the violinists Alois Zwick and Anton Girard as well as the oboist Franz Joseph Rosinack achieved such promotions.

The growth in the court orchestra's capacity and capability during the latter half of the 1780s necessitated the employment of additional musical leadership. In light of the increased musical expectations, in 1789 Prince Joseph Maria hired Karl Joseph

³⁴ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 27.

Hampeln (ca. 1765-1834) as *Musikintendant*. Originally from Mannheim, Hampeln had worked in the orchestra of the Bavarian Electoral Court in Munich before leaving at age twenty-four to the Fürstenberg employ. As violinist he was “. . . especially valued . . . as a Quartet-player, with his reputation founded primarily on his interpretation of quartets by Haydn and Mozart.”³⁵ As *Musikintendant* Hampeln not only directed the orchestra but oversaw the whole musical organization at court. His contract of 1789 obliged him with, among other duties, the hiring of new musicians, acquisition of new music and musical equipment, the creation of lists describing new acquisitions, as well as lists detailing the contents of the court music library.³⁶

With the 1789 implementation of the *Kammer-Musicus* status and the fact that more and more musicians could thereby concentrate solely on musical duties, the prince took a major step toward improving the artistic levels at his court. Significantly, 1790 was the first year that court records included a separate section detailing the *Hofmusik* personnel. The *Staats- und Adresse-Kalendar* from that year lists the following musicians as part of the *Hochfürstlich Hof-und Kammer-Musik*:³⁷

Intendant: Herr Karl Joseph Hampeln
Direktor: Wenzeslaus Nördlinger
Claviermeister: Johann Sixt, Kammermusicus
Kammersänger: Franz Walter, Franz Xaver Weiss

³⁵ “. . . besonders geschätzt. . . als Quartettspieler, und wirklich auch mag sein Vortrag der Quartette von Mozart und Haydn das Meiste zu seinem Rufe beigetragen haben.” Gustav Schilling, *Encyclopädie der gesammten musicalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst* (1836), Bd. 3, Fasc. 5 as cited by Manfred Schuler, “Die Fürstenberger,” 152. The same quotation (uncited, however) appears in Burkhart, “Musikpflege,” 89.

³⁶ *Instruction für Gh. Rath und Music Intendanten Karl Hampeln*, FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft, Vol. I, Fasc. 1.

³⁷ FFA Donaueschingen, *Staats- und Adresse-Kalender auf das Jahr 1790*. The original spellings of the names have been preserved as presented in the *Kalendar*.

Violinisten:	Aloysius Zwick, Kammermusicus Anton Girard, Kammermusicus Johann Baptist Braun Franz Joseph Kopp
Hautboisten:	Franz Joseph Rosinack, Kammermusicus Joseph Jäckle, Akzessist
Flautraversisten:	Micheal Obkircher Matthias Brodhagen, Akzessist
Clarinetisten:	Johann Baptist Braun Franz Joseph Kopp
Fagotisten:	Matthäus Gail Xaveri Resteiner
Waldhornisten:	Joseph Fischer Nepomuk Culla
Violoncellist:	Ernst Häusler, Kammermusicus
Violone:	Johann Baptist Kefer
Trompeter:	Johann Wintergersten Ferdinand Werle
Pauker:	Joseph Malzacker
Kalcant:	Anton Obkircher

Thus in the first years of the 1790s the court orchestra consisted of roughly twenty-two regular instrumentalists (and two vocalists), with some members (Braun and Kopp) doubling in both strings and winds. In many instances amateurs were added as needed (especially among the violins and violas). With these considerations in mind, and from the extant parts in the Fürstenberg collection of orchestral works performed during that time, M. Schuler has estimated the following instrumental forces in the *Hofkapelle*: up to four players each in the first violin, second violin, and viola sections, two players

each in the violoncello and bass sections, as well as pairs of flutes, oboes, clarinets, horns, bassoons, and trumpets.³⁸

Biographies of Selected Court Musicians in 1790

Johann Baptist Braun (clarinet/violin), was born in 1751. Braun entered the Fürstenberg service in 1777 as court servant (*Hoflakai*) and clarinetist (and violinist). As stated in a 1789 recommendation from the *Hofmarschall* he had “for the last twelve years made himself very useful in the [court’s] music to a high degree of satisfaction.” Braun retired in 1819 and died on December 10, 1835.

Anton Girard (violin), was born in 1758, and from 1776 worked as court servant and violinist in the court orchestra and chamber music. In 1790 Girard was elevated to the *Kammer-Musicus* status. He also taught music lessons to young students. Girard died on September 29, 1832.

Wenzel Nördlinger (violin), born in 1746 or 1747 in Klattau, Bohemia, worked from 1776 to 1778 for a theater in Brünn. In 1779 he was hired as the *Musikdirektor* of the Fürstenberg *Hofkapelle*. His duties included directing the ensemble (as first violinist and concert master), as well as instructing younger, less developed musicians. Nördlinger retired in January, 1820, and died on February 4, 1826.

Johann Baptist Kefer (bass/keyboards), was born in 1732 or 1733 in Switzerland, and in 1760 found positions in Donaueschingen as school principal, church organist, and as a member of the Fürstenberg *Hofkapelle*. In 1768 he gave keyboard

³⁸ Schuler, “Aufführung”, 114. In his article Schuler presents biographical information on many of the musicians listed in the 1790 *Staats- und Adresse-Kalendar*. I have summarized the pertinent information in the *Biographies of Selected Court Musicians in 1790*. The complete information, as well as full bibliographic listings, can be found in Schuler, “Aufführung”, 115-117.

instruction to the young prince Joseph Maria Benedict. As he noted in a plea to Prince Joseph Maria in 1784, he was responsible for the tuning of court keyboard instruments, and was often obliged to accompany the prince and princess in musical sessions. In 1784 he was freed of his school duties. In 1787 he was likely, along with Anton Obkircher, one of the only remaining musicians who had experienced the 1766 visit of the Mozart family to Donaueschingen. Kefer died on October 1, 1809.

Matthias Brodhagen (flute, bass), born in 1766, worked from 1771 to 1791 in the Fürstenberg military service. In 1788 he held an assistant position in the *Hofkapelle*, and in 1790 the prince sent him to Munich for additional musical training. At the end of 1791 he became a court servant, and from 1825 to his death on January 1, 1832 he was a court musician.

Michael Obkircher (flute), was born in 1746 or 1747 as the son of an oboist in Salzburg. He entered the Fürstenberg service in 1771 as court servant and musician . . . He also performed scribe duties. In May 1786 he visited his parents in Salzburg, where he gave a large concert at the town hall, and also met with Leopold Mozart. Obkircher died on February 7, 1814.

Franz Joseph Rosinack (oboe), born in Bohemia in 1748, was a student of Joseph Fiala, and came to Donaueschingen in 1777. In 1781 he was hired as a court servant, and in 1789 achieved the *Kammer-Musicus* status. He was also active as a composer, arranger, and court scribe, and in addition led the court's *Harmonie* ensemble. Rosinack died on June 17, 1823.

Joseph Jäckle (oboe), born in 1767, performed from the age of ten as a Fürstenberg military musician. In 1786 he also began working both as an assistant in the

Hofkapelle as well as a set designer for the Fürstenberg stage. In 1794 he was hired as a court servant. Jäckle died on November 14, 1841.

Matthäus Gail (bassoon), born in 1758 or 1759, came to the Fürstenberg service in 1780 as court servant and musician. He also performed scribe work. Gail died on March 18, 1807.

Xaver Resteiner (bassoon), whose employment in the Fürstenberg service can be verified as of 1786, worked as court servant and musician until 1819, at which time for health reasons he left the *Hofkapelle*. He died on September 16, 1821.

Joseph Anton Obkircher (horn), born ca. 1708, served as hornist from 1734 to 1759 in the Fürstenberg military ensemble. After 1759 he became a court musician, and performed scribe work as well. Court documents suggest he was fully employed until at least 1790. Obkircher died on December 4, 1792.

Joseph Fischer (horn), born in 1759 or 1760, likely became a Fürstenberg court servant and musician in 1778. He also performed scribe work. In 1819 Fischer took a position in court administration as *Hofdomänenkammerboten*. He died on February 1840.

Johann Nepomuk Culla (horn), was born in 1769 as the son of Johann Michael Culla, an official scribe working high in the Fürstenberg court administration. Culla's employment as court servant and musician can be verified as of 1785. He died on November 15, 1791.

The Travels of Princess Antonia

By the beginning of the new decade of the 1790s the Princess Maria Antonia was looking to expand the horizons of the Donaueschingen cultural establishment. The artistic forces she and her husband had gathered had reached a high level of capability: the court theater was first rate, the orchestra was able to competently perform the contemporary repertoire, and the local theatrical society had at its disposal accomplished actors and singers. In the spring of 1791 Maria Antonia undertook a six-week trip to observe stage and operatic performances at leading theatrical centers in neighboring states. Among the cities visited were Mannheim, Mainz, Koblenz, and Frankfurt am Main. The stop in Mannheim proved especially profitable, as there she made the acquaintance of several important stage personages from the electoral court theater, including the dramatist August Wilhelm Iffland (1759-1814). Over the following years a number of Donaueschingen theatrical performances can be traced to this Mannheim connection, including plays by Iffland and Kotzebue.³⁹ Notable opera productions at court during the first half of the decade include Dittersdorf's *Die Liebe im Narrenhaus* (1790, 1791), *Hieronymus Knicker* (1791, 1792), and *Das rote Käppchen* (1792, 1793), as well as Mozart's *Così fan tutte* as *Die Schule der Liebhaber* (singspiel adaptation, 1791, 1792). Haydn's opera *Orlando Paladino* was given in January 1793 as *Ritter Roland*, based on the singspiel adaptation performed by the electoral theater in Mannheim just months before. Also noteworthy is the 1795 production of Mozart's *Magic Flute*, for which members of a professional troupe from neighboring Freiburg collaborated with the theatrical society to fill the opera's demanding cast. The

³⁹ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 41-45.

performance occurred on March 19, Prince Joseph Maria's name day, with an additional performance three days later.⁴⁰

The makeup of the court's musicians remained fairly stable throughout the 1790s. Personnel lists from that time show a gradual filling of orchestral sections, especially among the strings. By 1802 the ensemble included twenty-four regular instrumentalists and two singers, nine of these with musical duties only.⁴¹ One notable addition to the *Hofmusik* during this time was the Bohemian born Joseph Fiala, who was hired as court violoncellist and composer. Fiala had built his early reputation as an oboist at courts in Prague, Oettingen-Wallerstein, Munich, and Salzburg. Later he became known for his viola de gamba and violoncello playing, having put the oboe aside, evidently for health concerns. Fiala came to Donaueschingen in 1792 and, in addition to his duties as violoncellist, became a prolific composer. He wrote a large number of compositions for the court, including symphonies, masses, and especially chamber music for winds during his over two-decade long employment.⁴²

1796-1804

Karl Joachim and the Onset of War

The last five years of the eighteenth century proved to be a trying time for the Fürstenberg court. Prince Joseph Maria died childless on June 24, 1796, at the age of thirty-eight. The rule of the Fürstenberg lands then turned to his younger brother, Karl

⁴⁰ Ibid., 45-54.

⁴¹ FFA Donaueschingen, *Staats- und Adressen- Kalendar* from the years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1794, 1796, 1802, and 1804.

⁴² Claus Reinländer, "Fiala, Joseph," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Ludwig Finscher, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), *Personenteil* 6: 1113-1115.

Joachim Fürst zu Fürstenberg (1771-1804, reigned 1796-1804). Prince Karl, though he did not play an instrument himself, was nonetheless a music lover, and both he and his wife, Princess Caroline, strove to carry on the cultural legacy of the previous decades in Donaueschingen. Princess Caroline took over direction of the theatrical society's productions at the *Hoftheater* and participated in many performances herself.⁴³

Contemporary political realities, however, were more and more affecting the settled daily life of Donaueschingen's citizens. In the summer of 1796 Napoleon's troops had crossed the Rhine River and were pressing eastwards. Over the next several years battles between the French and Austrian armies necessitated the court's retreat, often for months at a time. During the periods July-November 1796, May-November 1798, February-June 1799, and May 1800-March 1801 the Fürstenberg family fled eastward to safer ground.⁴⁴

The precarious situation in Donaueschingen curtailed cultural activities at court during these years. The few productions put on by the theatrical society occurred only when the Fürstenberg family was in residence. When performances did take place, they often celebrated significant events. On September 10, 1797, the court orchestra gave a festive concert in honor of the Austrian army's arrival. The program included among other pieces a hymn with text written for the occasion and set to music by *Musikintendant* von Hampeln. Another such performance took place on June 30, 1799, to celebrate the recent Austrian military victories.⁴⁵

⁴³ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 55-56.

⁴⁴ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 55-60. These events are also described in Münch, *Geschichte*, 291-292.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 57-59. Interestingly, the Fürstenberg court's official position during the war was one of neutrality (Münch, *Geschichte*, 290), and Münch suggests that, had it become necessary, Prince Karl

During the period June 1799 to April 1800 Donaueschingen served as headquarters for the Austrian army, which had encamped in the surrounding area. In this time the Austrian general, Archduke Karl, arranged for several professional theater companies to stay in Donaueschingen and give weekly performances at the Fürstenberg *Hoftheater* to entertain his officers. The repertoire included mainly light comic plays and operettas by German dramatists such as Kotzebue and Iffland, but also occasionally more substantial works such as Lessing's play *Emilia Galotti*, Dittersdorf's singspiel *Doktor und Apotheker*, as well as Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. Another notable performance during these months was the court orchestra's production of Haydn's recently composed oratorio *The Creation* on April 20, 1800.⁴⁶

Over the next several years the Donaueschingen theatrical society's productions remained few. Noteworthy musical performances included Mozart's *Die Entführung* (August 1801, March 1802), Haydn's *Ritter Roland* (March and August, 1802), Paesiello's operetta *Nina o la pazza per amore* in translation as *Nina oder Wahnsinn aus Liebe* (September 1802), Paër's *Camilla oder das unterirdische Gewölbe* (June and November 1803, January 1804) and *Ginevra Amieri* (April 1804).⁴⁷

By 1802 the first two wars of alliance against France had effectively ended with the treaties of Campoformio (October 17, 1797) and Lunéville (February 19, 1801)

Joachim might even have allied himself with the French (*Geschichte*, 295). However, the concerts of September 1797 and June 1799 show the court's traditional affinity to Austria, and by extension to the Holy Roman Empire as well. Indeed a hymn performed at the second concert was entitled "*Es lebe Retter Karl, oder So lieben biedere Teutsche ihren Kaiser*" (Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 59). This conflict between the apparent realities of the future (French rule) and an emotional connection to the traditional structures of authority (Austria as seat of the Empire) would play out between different members of the court over the next decade and beyond.

⁴⁶ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 58-60. Manfred Schuler remarks that the Donaueschingen performance of Haydn's oratorio was one of the earliest outside Vienna. See Schuler, *Die Fürstenberger*, 156.

⁴⁷ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 65-66.

respectively. The terms of the Lunéville treaty especially showed the wide-ranging consequences Napoleon's political ambitions would have for the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. According to this treaty allied states that had lost territory to France west of the Rhine would be compensated for their losses through the annexation of smaller lands east of the Rhine. While initially the Fürstenberg family gained land through the ratification of the treaty by the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* of 1803, the long-range intentions of Napoleon were clear: the territory of the small German courts would over time be annexed to larger states such as Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden.⁴⁸

1804-1817

Custodial Rule and the Years of Challenge and Decline

The unsettling nature of these events for the Fürstenberg court was heightened by the sudden death of Prince Karl Joachim on May 17, 1804. Karl Joachim was the last prince from the *Stühlingen* line of the Fürstenberg family that had ruled in Donaueschingen from the time of Wilhelm Ernst. Since Prince Karl died without an heir, the rule of Fürstenberg lands turned to the Bohemian line of the family established under Karl Egon I (1729-1787), second son of Wilhelm Ernst. In 1804 the heir in line to inherit the land holdings around Donaueschingen was the eight-year old Karl Egon II (1796-1854), son of Karl Aloys Fürst zu Fürstenberg (1760-1799) and Elisabeth von Thurn und Taxis (1767-1822).⁴⁹ Since Karl Egon was not yet old enough to assume his

⁴⁸ Horst Möller, *Fürstenstaat oder Bürgernation Deutschland 1763-1815* (Berlin: Siedler, 1994), 552-556. See also Georg Tumbült, *Das Fürstentum Fürstenberg von seinen Anfängen bis zur Mediatisierung im Jahre 1806* (Freiburg/Baden: J. Bielefelds, 1908), 199-204.

⁴⁹ Karl Egon II at birth stood only indirectly as heir to the Bohemian house of Fürstenberg. His father, Karl Aloys, was the second son of the founder of the Bohemian line, Karl Egon I. The direct line of inheritance went to the first-born son, Phillip Nerius (1755-1790), followed by his son Karl Gabriel (1785-

responsibilities as Prince, a custodial rulership was established under Baron Joachim Egon Fürst zu Fürstenberg (1749-1828), head of the Fürstenberg-Weitra line in Austria. However, as Joachim Egon continued to live in Austria and the widowed Princess Elisabeth with her young son in Prague, the *Regierungspräsident* Joseph von Kleiser controlled the daily affairs at court in Donaueschingen.⁵⁰

During the years 1804-1806 Kleiser involved himself in lengthy diplomatic exchanges with both Paris and Vienna to ensure the sovereignty of the Fürstenberg state. His efforts would have little effect. By September 1805 the third War of Alliance had begun.⁵¹ Two months later, in response to a rumor that the Fürstenberg court was in secret actively supporting the Austrian Army, Napoleon ordered the military occupation of Donaueschingen and the surrounding area. A French force of 1,200 troops under General Augerau held the town into December and demanded large sums in war-tribute

1799). Karl Aloys had died fighting for the Austrian Army in the battle of Liptingen (Stockach) on March 23, 1799. Thus when the fourteen-year old Karl Gabriel died on December 13th later that year, the Bohemian line of inheritance fell to the three-year old Karl Egon II. Although Karl Gabriel's mother, Maria Josepha, brought legal challenges against the inheritance, the case was eventually decided in Karl Egon's favor. By 1804 Karl Egon stood firmly as heir to the house of Fürstenberg-Stühlingen as well. See Münch, *Geschichte*, 315-337 and Monica Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "Ein Leben zwischen Politik und Liebe-Fürstin Elisabeth von Fürstenberg als Frau und als Kämpferin für die Rechte ihres mediatisierten Hauses," *Die Fürstenberger: 800 Jahre Herrschaft und Kultur in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Erwein H. Eltz and Arno Strohmeier (Korneuberg: Ueberreuter, 1994), 79-80.

⁵⁰ Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "Fürstin Elisabeth," 80. Joseph von Kleiser came to power under Prince Karl Joachim, who raised Kleiser to the aristocracy with the title *Kleiser von Kleisheim*. In 1801 he assumed the post of *Regierungspräsident* after the death of the former *Präsident* Karl August von Lassberg. The 1804 agreement that established Joachim Egon as custodian (*Vormund*) also assigned Kleiser as "local custodian" (*vormundschaftlicher Statthalter*). See Karl Bader and Alexander von Platen, *Veröffentlichungen aus dem Fürstlich Fürstenbergischen Archiv*, vol. 15, *Das Große Palatinat des Hauses Fürstenberg* (Allensbach: J. Boltze, 1954), 131-135.

⁵¹ The Fürstenberg administration had again declared their state's neutrality in the conflict. See Münch, *Geschichte*, 339.

from the court. The occupation ended on December 17th as a result of personal pleas to Napoleon by Kleiser, Baron Joachim Egon, and Princess Elisabeth.⁵²

The Rheinbund

However, the regained Fürstenberg sovereignty was short lived. The defeat of the Austrian and Russian armies by the French at the battle of Austerlitz resulted in the Pressburg Treaty of December 26, 1805. The terms of the treaty demanded that the allies acknowledge the full sovereignty of the German states above and beyond the traditional empirical Holy Roman framework, in essence calling for the dissolution of the Empire.⁵³ This demand was especially meaningful for Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, which had in the previous months broken from the Empire and allied themselves with France.⁵⁴ By summer of the following year Napoleon had created a new order for the German states. The *Rheinbundakte* of July 12, 1806, called for the creation of a “Rhine Confederation,” a group of states previously of the Holy Roman Empire that would henceforth be allied with France. While Baron Joachim Egon, Princess Elisabeth, and Kleiser pleaded with Napoleon that their land should be held on equal footing with their larger neighbors,⁵⁵ Fürstenberg was ultimately among seventy German courts to be annexed by states of the new Confederation. The large part of the Fürstenberg territory,

⁵² The final tribute payment was arranged at 122,296 gulden, down from almost 500,000 originally. For events surrounding the occupation see Münch, *Geschichte*, 340-351. Also Tumbült, *Fürstentum*, 217-218, and Kurzel-Runtscheiner, “Fürstin Elisabeth” 80-81.

⁵³ Möller, *Fürstenstaat*, 586.

⁵⁴ Both Baden and Württemberg had even supplied troops to fight for the French during the third War of Alliance. See Münch, *Geschichte*, 339-340 and Tumbült, *Fürstentum*, 216.

⁵⁵ Kleiser had even put forth a plan that, in exchange for the full sovereignty of Fürstenberg territory with additional lands around Donaueschingen, the family would cede their holdings in Austria and Bohemia, thus creating a fourth south German power allied with France along with Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden. In the end this plan received little interest from Napoleon and his diplomats. See Tumbült, *Fürstentum*, 220-228, and Münch, *Geschichte*, 350-354.

including Donaueschingen, went to Baden's rulership, with smaller parts going to Württemberg and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.⁵⁶

The Struggle to Continue Opera Performance

Despite the tumultuous events of 1804-1806, cultural activities did continue in Donaueschingen during that time, albeit with some difficulty. The subsequent uncertainty of court affairs after Prince Karl's death in 1804 was cause for Karl von Hampeln to resign from his position as *Musikintendant* in 1805.⁵⁷ The theatrical society also lost its director when the widowed Princess Caroline left for Vienna.⁵⁸ Consequently a group of court administrators who had regularly taken part in the society's previous productions formed a commission to ensure ongoing performances at the *Hoftheater*. The commission oversaw the various aspects of theatrical production, from choice of repertoire and role assignments to set design and financial considerations.⁵⁹ The theater's financing was of special concern, as the automatic support from the Fürstenberg family's monetary reserves ceased after the prince's death in 1804. Initially it seemed the commission would be completely dependent on admission proceeds for further productions. However, shortly after the first performance in January 1805 Baron Joachim Egon and *Präsident* Kleiser sanctioned full Fürstenberg support of the *Hoftheater's* finances, regardless of income. Under these auspicious circumstances the theatrical society performed five new dramas during the period from January to May

⁵⁶ Article XXIV of the Rheinbundakte. See Tumbült, *Fürstentum*, 228.

⁵⁷ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 66.

⁵⁸ Münch, *Geschichte*, 296.

⁵⁹ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 67.

1805, including Kotzebue's *Die Silberne Hochzeit*, *Die deutschen Kleinstädter*, and *Die Kreuzfahrer*, among others.⁶⁰

Opera productions followed, beginning with the May 26, 1805, performance of Haydn's *Ritter Roland* as part of the festivities celebrating the arrival of the eight-year old Prince Karl Egon II on his first visit to Donaueschingen. Karl Egon, accompanied by his mother and Baron Joachim Egon, stayed for the next three months. Among the sixteen dramatic productions the theatrical society put on during that time were seven opera performances, including Paër's *Camilla* (June 9 and 16, August 11) and *Die Räuberhöhle* (June 25 and 30), as well as Haydn's *Ritter Roland* (May 26, July 4).⁶¹

Princess Elisabeth and Karl Egon II returned to Bohemia in September 1805, just days before the outbreak of the third War of Alliance.⁶² Elisabeth's knowledge of events in Donaueschingen over the next year depended to a large extent on an exchange of letters she had with her friend and confidant Joseph von Lassberg (1770-1855), a member of the court administration she had met during the previous summer. In his letters Lassberg warned that the Princess's interests at court were being sidelined by a group of administrators under *Präsident* von Kleiser who were of the opinion that a direct alliance with France would best serve the Fürstenberg state.⁶³ During the sequestration and the

⁶⁰ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 68. Tumbült relates that the Fürstenberg *Konferenzprotokoll* of January 26, 1805, guaranteed the commission enough financial support so that, including whatever admissions proceeds gained from each performance, the society's fiscal stability would be ensured.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 69-70. Tumbült notes that some performances during this time stimulated great public interest by continuing the *Hoftheater* tradition of Fürstenberg family members taking part in productions. One such occasion was the society's July performance of Alexander Duval's drama *Eduard in Schottland* (German translation by Kotzebue), where Princess Leopoldine (Karl Egon's sister) played the part of Malvina Macdonald, and her cousin, the Baroness Karoline von Ahlefeld, the part of Lady Athol.

⁶² Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "Fürstin Elisabeth," 80.

⁶³ Karl S. Bader, "Der Reichsfreiherr Joseph von Lassberg. Gestalt und Werk" in *Joseph von Lassberg, Mittler und Sammler. Aufsätze zu seinem 100 Todestag*, ed. Karl S. Bader (Stuttgart: Friedrich Vorwerk, 1955), 29. Bader summarizes a letter to the Princess from Dec. 25, 1805, where Lassberg

following winter months Princess Elisabeth did what she could through personal correspondence to influence the events that affected the land her son would rule. In the summer of 1806, however, once the dangers of war had subsided, Princess Elisabeth moved with her children to reside permanently in Donaueschingen.⁶⁴

After 1806 the political futures of courts annexed by the Rhine Confederation remained largely uncertain. The former ruling families, to a large extent, retained their property rights. The control of justice, police, and military administration, as well as taxation, however, ostensibly went to the new Confederation states.⁶⁵ With most of the Fürstenberg lands under Baden's control, it was then up to the Fürstenberg administration leaders to regain through diplomacy with the Court of Baden whatever vestiges of their old rights that they could.⁶⁶ In 1809 Princess Elisabeth received a small victory when the court at Baden ruled that she should replace Joachim Egon as custodian of the Fürstenberg family territory. While Kleiser still retained his power as *Regierungspräsident*, Elisabeth gained a degree of control over events in Donaueschingen that she had hitherto lacked.⁶⁷

mentions "in Donaueschingen there is a divided mood. [Some administrators] ... are decidedly against the Princess's attitude of alliance with Austria . . . Präsident Kleiser is shocked she is so open about her readiness to send Austria supplies."

⁶⁴ Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "Fürstin Elisabeth," 80-83.

⁶⁵ Albrecht Luttenberger, "Das Haus Fürstenberg vom frühen Mittelalter bis ins 19. Jahrhundert" in *Die Fürstenberger: 800 Jahre Herrschaft und Kultur in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Erwein H. Eltz and Arno Strohmeier (Korneuberg: Ueberreuter, 1994), 34.

⁶⁶ The relationship between Confederation rulers and the courts they had annexed is effectively portrayed in Erwein Eltz, *Die Modernisierung einer Standesherrschaft: Karl Egon III und das Haus Fürstenberg in den Jahren nach 1848/49* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1980), 17-19.

⁶⁷ Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "Fürstin Elisabeth," 81-82. In 1806 the Court of Baden re-affirmed Kleiser's role as "local custodian" (Bader and Platen, *Palatinat*, 133). In 1809, as a result of Baden's desire to rid the Fürstenberg territory of "foreign" (i.e. Austrian) influence, the court transferred Joachim Egon's custodial powers to Princess Elisabeth, evidently still retaining Kleiser as "co-custodian" (Bader, *Lassberg*, 29-30). Bader sees the gradual rise of the Princess's reputation over the following five years as the reason Kleiser finally left the Fürstenberg administration in 1814 for a position in Baden's justice system.

The years following the 1806 loss of Fürstenberg sovereignty began a time of increasing difficulty for the Donaueschingen cultural establishment. While the theatrical society's dramatic productions continued under the management of the newly formed artistic commission, the frequency of performances declined to between four and eight for each of the years 1807-1812. Excluding one exception, there were no performances from March 1812 to October 1817. Importantly as well, the decade 1807-1817 saw no opera productions.⁶⁸ The political uncertainties affecting the Fürstenberg court during the early 1800s likely contributed to this artistic decline, however, the overriding factor was financial. Due to the loss of sovereignty the court administration was by necessity changing to a more modest means of existence.⁶⁹

The Decline of the Fürstenberg Hofkapelle

The last existing Fürstenberg *Staats- und Adressen- Kalendar* comes from 1804⁷⁰ and lists the following twenty-four instrumentalists as part of the *Hofmusik* that

year:	Musik Intendant	Karl Joseph von Hampeln
	Direktor	Wenzeslaus Nördlinger
	Violinisten	Aloysius Zwick, Kammermusicus Anton Girard, Kammermusicus Franz Fiala Johann Baptist Braun

⁶⁸ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 71-74. The “exception” was a production of Iffland’s play *Die Aussteuer* on September 4, 1814. While no opera performances took place during the decade 1807-1817, Tumbült notes that an operetta was performed: *Die beiden Savoyarden* by Nicolas Dalayrac on November 22, 1807, and November 19, 1808. Both performances celebrated Elisabeth von Fürstenberg’s nameday.

⁶⁹Bader, *Lassberg*, 30-31. Bader notes “Die bisherige Verwaltung des Fürstentums musste auf die bescheideneren Verhältnisse und Bedürfnisse der mediatisierten Standesherrschaft umgestellt, mancher treue Diener des kleinen Staates entlassen werden.”

⁷⁰In 1806 the Fürstenberg State ceased to exist, having been annexed by Baden. Thus production of the Fürstenberg *Staats- und Adressen- Kalendar* ended that year as well, making precise knowledge of musicians in the Fürstenberg employ during the years 1804-1817 difficult to achieve. In the list above Braun doubled on violin and clarinet, while *Intendant* von Hampeln and *Direktor* Nördlinger both played violin.

Bratschisten	Joseph Hauger Johann Baptist Wezel
Violoncellisten	<i>Herr</i> Joseph Fiala, <i>compositeur</i> Joseph Bücheler
Contre-Bassisten	<i>Herr</i> Johann Baptist Kefer Matthias Brodhagen
Hautboisten	Franz Rosinack, Kammermusicus Joseph Jäckle
Flautraversisten	Micheal Obkircher Joseph Wöhrle
Clarinetisten	Johann Baptist Braun Johann Klosterknecht
Fagotisten	Matthäus Gail Xaveri Rehsteiner
Waldhornisten	Joseph Fischer Joseph Guttenberg
Trompeter	Ferdinand Wehrle
Pauker	Joseph Malzacker

Court documents show that almost a decade and a half later some two-thirds of these musicians were no longer employed in the *Hofmusik*. The financial difficulties associated with the war and confusion resulting from the custodial-court rule led to many open positions not being filled until years later. Among the musicians who left or retired during this time period were *Musikintendant* von Hampeln, *Musikdirektor* Nördlinger, violinists Zwick, Fiala, and Braun, and the bassoonist Rehsteiner. Musicians who had

died included the bassoonist Gail (1807), contra-bassist Kefer (1809), flutist Obkircher (1814), and cellist Fiala (1816).⁷¹

A series of letters written by court musicians following the death of bassoonist Matthäus Gail on March 18, 1807, details some of the unfavorable circumstances of the *Hofmusik* during the years 1805-1817. The oboist Franz Joseph Rosinack, in an attempt to gain court employment for his son Anton, noted the following in a letter to the custodial ruler Baron Joachim Egon dated August 8, 1807.

. . . In order for the local court ensemble to regain even a partial level of perfection again, it will be necessary to fill the principal bassoon position. My son, presently in the employ of the previously mentioned Baron [Joseph von Bethlen], not only plays this instrument at a consummate level, but is also very perfect on the clarinet, oboe, and the violin. In my old age it would be of great support for me and my family if he could enter into the court employ in the above mentioned capacity.⁷²

⁷¹ Prince Karl Egon II listed the remaining musicians of the *Hofmusik* in the *Dienst Instruktion* of 1818 that he wrote for the new Kapellmeister Conradin Kreutzer. A comparison of that list with that of the 1804 *Calendar* provided the results above, with more specific information coming from court personal files. See *Instruktionen für den Hofkapellmeister*, FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft, vol. I, Fasc. 1. The *Instruktionen* are also quoted in Karl-Peter Brecht, *Conradin Kreutzer. Biographie und Werkverzeichnis* (Messkirch: H. Schönebeck, 1980), 67-71.

⁷² “. . . Wenn die dahiesige Hofmusik auch nur einen mittleren Grad von Vollkommenheit wieder erreichen soll, so wird es nothwendig seyn, die Stelle des ersten Fagotisten zu ersetzen. Mein in den Diensten des obgenannten Herrn Grafen befindlicher Sohn spielt nicht nur allein dieses Instrument auf eine ganz vollkommene Art, sondern ist auch sehr perfect auf dem Klarinet, Oboe, und dem Geigen. In meinen alten Tagen würde mir und meiner Familie zur Unterstützung seyn, wenn ihm die Gnade zu Theil würde, in der erwähnten Eigenschaft in die Seitig hochfürstliche Dienste eintreten zu können.” Letter to *Landgraf* Joachim Egon, FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst, und Wissenschaft, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1. Interestingly, this letter is not to be found in Rosinack’s Personal File (Ro. 8), but in the files of the so-called *Hofmusik Akten*. The name of the Baron mentioned by Rosinack is that of Joseph von Bethlen, from Hermannstadt, Siebenbürgen (then part of Austria, and now Sibiu, Romania). The Bethlen family was part of the Hungarian aristocracy.



Hochwürdigster Landgraf,
 gnädigster Herr Landverwalter.

Rosenack'sches Rosinack'sches
 unterthänigst, bitten, bey Sr. Ex-
 cellenz gnaden Grafen Joseph
 v. Bethlen Theserarius in
 Grazstadt im Fürstenthum
 als Hofmeister in Linz, den
 gnaden Hofen Anton Rosinack
 als Jagobist bey der Hof-
 meist. gnädigst, bitten, zu
 thun.

Wenn die Jagobisten Hofmeister
 auf ein neues mit dem Grafen
 von Hollenau sein werden
 soll; so wird es notwendig sein,
 die Bitte des Hofmeisters
 zu befürworten.

Mein in der Linz, den
 gnaden Grafen befürworten

Figure 3. The Front Page of Rosinack's 1807 Letter
 (printed with the kind permission of the Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv)

The *Hofmarschall* Ludwig Erasmus von Lassberg also added his recommendation to Rosinack's letter:

Because of the bassoonist Gail's death it is imperative that we employ another, if the *Harmonie*, as well as the whole orchestra, is to be maintained. Therefore I can without hesitation recommend this request to his Highness.

However, the court administration, likely considering the Fürstenberg's worsening financial situation, decided against Rosinack's plea. Their response came on August 29, 1807: "The request, under present circumstances, cannot be granted."⁷³

Another letter to Baron Joachim Egon, also from August 1807, came from the court trumpeter Alois Rinsler and the timpanist Joseph Malzacker. The two musicians point to their dire financial situation as grounds for additional remuneration from the court.

Joseph Malzacker has served in the court orchestra for twenty years, and Alois Rinsler for ten years, with the preceeding [Rinsler] being paid nothing for his first two years; we now receive a monthly remuneration of 2 gulden 45 kreutzer and an extra 4 gulden monthly from the private funds of the noble Princess [Elisabeth von Fürstenberg]. We are both married, and belong as important supplements to the orchestra. In reality, we cannot even fulfill the barest necessities with the above mentioned earnings, and in addition the yearly donation of uniform coats from the court is insufficient to cover our clothing needs. Because only the remaining musicians are paid from the court finances, and considering the fact that our compensation is hardly commensurate to the tasks that we fulfill, it should not be considered ungracious of us to apply for a charitable contribution, especially due to the fact that the additional four

⁷³ "Es ist durch den Dot des Fagotisten Gail un um genglich notwendig ein anderen aufzunehmen, wenn anderst die Harmony Musique, als auch das Orgester sol bei behalten werten; ich nehme also khein anstant den undertänigst ... Euer Erlaucht undertänigst zu empfehlen." Administration's response: "Hat das Begehren bey wirklichen Umständen nicht statt." Addendum to Rosinack's letter from August 8, 1807. The *Hofmarschall* directed the affairs of court employees, and thus acted as a liaison between the employees and the court administration. Ludwig Erasmus von Lassberg, born 1737, was hired to the post by Prince Joseph Wenzel in September 1776. Lassberg continued in this capacity until his death in 1816. See Bader, *Lassberg*, 56-57.

gulden monthly only comes to us during the time that Princess Elise is actually here, and of course can be withdrawn at any time. We therefore humbly ask for a raise in our monthly salary and in addition to the uniform coats a donation of pants and shirts.⁷⁴

Again Hofmarschall Lassberg added a recommendation in support of Rinsler's petition: "I would humbly ask your Highness to mercifully consider the signatories' request. The fact that the two [musicians] are imperative to the court ensemble is well known." The response came, like that for Rosinack, on August 29: "Should Alois Rinsler in the future be deemed qualified to play the bassoon, then his request for additional remuneration may be considered."⁷⁵ Interestingly enough, this response shows the administration was well aware of the need to fill the principal bassoon position, but was unwilling to spend additional funds to hire a new musician. Also notable in Rinsler's text is the fact that Elisabeth von Fürstenberg charitably supported court musicians in need, although this support came at irregular intervals prior to her permanent residence in Donaueschingen. Her charitable attitude toward the musicians could be one reason why a later request from Rosinack in 1811 resulted in his son's acceptance to the court service.

⁷⁴ "Joseph Malzacker dient schon 20 Jahre bey dem Fürstlichen Orchester, und Alois Rinsler 10 Jahre ebend selbst, letzterer erheilt die ersten 2 Jahre gar kein Gehalt, und nunmehr haben wir von dem... monatlich aus der Privatchatulle der durchlauchteten Fürstin. Wir beide sind verehlicht und gehören wirklich zur Ergänzung des Orchesters. Begreiflicher Dingen können wir mit dem oben benannten Gehalte per monatlich 6 Gulden 45 Kreuzer nicht einmal die ersten Lebensbedürfnisse bestreiten, und die weiters beziehenden jährlichen Rocklivren... ebenfalls nur sehr unvollkommen unseren Kleiderbedarf. Da nur die übrigen Musiker aus dem ärarario bezahlt werden, und da die diesfällige Bezahlung für uns, mit den Diensten das Gleichgewicht lange nicht halt-so wird es uns keineswegs zur Ungnade gereichen, wenn wir um die gleiche Wohlthat uns unterthänigst melden, um so mehr, da die Zulage per 4 Gulden monatlich nur auf die Tage des Hierseyens der durchlauchteten Fürsten Elise, und überhaupt widerrufflich bewilligt worden ist Wir bitten daher unterthänigst uns eine gnädigste monatliche Geldzulage, und nebst dem Rocke uns auch Beinkleider und Westen zu bewilligen." Letter to Landgraf Joachim Egon, FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst, und Wissenschaft, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1.

⁷⁵ "Die Bitte der unterschriebenen würde ich der gnade Euer Erlaucht undertänig an haim stelen. Das beide bei der instrumental Musik notwendig sind ist bekant." Administration's response: "Wenn sich Alois Rinzler in der Folge für den Fagot qualifiziert haben wird, soll als dann auf denselben rücksichtlich einer Zulage bedacht genommen werden." Addendum to Rinsler's letter of August 11, 1807.

Napoleon's Fall and the Rebuilding of Europe

In 1812, after six years of Napoleon's rule, events in continental Europe began to change. In the winter of that year Napoleon suffered massive losses in his campaign against Russia, necessitating his retreat. In February 1813 Russia and Prussia again allied themselves against France, and by summer they had been joined by Austria, Sweden, and England. With Bavaria's entrance to the pact in October 1813 Napoleon began losing states that only several years before had pledged him their allegiance.⁷⁶ The deciding battle came on October 16 at Leipzig where after three days of fighting Napoleon sustained his second defeat within a year. Six months later at Fontainebleau he abdicated his title as emperor.⁷⁷

During the years 1813-1814, as the fall of Napoleon's empire progressed, the families of courts that had been annexed under the 1806 *Rheinbundakte* gained hope for the full restoration of their sovereignty. Court representatives met often in the months leading up to the Vienna Congress of 1814/15 to plan the presentation of their cause and chose Elisabeth von Fürstenberg to speak for them.⁷⁸ The Vienna Congress lasted, with interruptions, from September 1814 to June 1815 and included leaders and diplomats from the five main European powers as well as from a host of smaller states.⁷⁹ Princess Elisabeth arrived in Vienna on September 26, 1814. On October 22 she attended an open audience with the Austrian Emperor Franz I where she relayed a written plea from the courts she represented, asking for a return of territory as well as the reinstatement of rights

⁷⁶ Möller, *Fürstenstaat*, 635-641. The Rhine Confederation states left their alliance with France only with the assurance that their newly gained sovereignty would not be contested. This assurance was officially given in November 1813. See Eltz, *Die Modernisierung*, 18.

⁷⁷ Möller, *Fürstenstaat*, 641-643.

⁷⁸ Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "Fürstin Elisabeth," 85-86.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 86-88. See also Möller, *Fürstenstaat*, 648-651.

and privileges lost during Napoleon's conquest. Although the speech Elisabeth gave that day in support of her cause was discussed in many circles during the following months, in the end the deciding leaders were more concerned with maintaining the broad new balance of power in Europe than with the restoration of local political complexities inherent in the former Holy Roman Empire.⁸⁰ The final document of June 9, 1815, laid out a constitution for a new league of German states. Although article XIV of the new constitution guaranteed the families of the annexed courts a privileged status in matters of justice and taxation, as well as freedom from military service, among other issues, the courts would remain under the sovereignty of the states that had annexed them.⁸¹

While the Vienna Congress's outcome marked a defeat for Princess Elisabeth's cause, her efforts to secure what she could of her family's former status did not end. The specific privileges spelled out in the new constitution were only "guaranteed" provided they could be carried out within the state's legal framework of which the annexed courts were now a part. Thus Elisabeth changed the focus of her diplomatic efforts to the Court of Baden. In 1817, as Prince Karl Egon II (r. 1817-1854) came of age and took over control of the Fürstenberg family holdings, Elisabeth reminded her son that with the era of Fürstenberg sovereignty over, he could no longer depend on aristocratic rank to gain him reverence and respect from his land's citizens. In 1818 Karl Egon wedded Princess Amalie Christine of Baden (1795-1869), daughter of Archduke Karl Friedrich of Baden.

⁸⁰ Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "Fürstin Elisabeth," 87.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 88.

The marriage solidified the diplomatic groundwork leading to the 1823 agreement with the Court of Baden that finally secured the Fürstenberg family's privileged status.⁸²

1817-1823 Karl Egon II:

Early Years and the Restoration of the Hofkapelle

After assuming rule in 1817, one of young prince Karl Egon II's first major undertakings was the rebuilding of the *Hofkapelle* as the cultural centerpiece of the court. Among the motivations for this endeavor was no doubt the fact that Karl Egon's bride, the Princess Amalie, had a reputation as an excellent soprano and pianist.⁸³ The prince's initial artistic contacts came through familial ties in neighboring Stuttgart, where his sister Leopoldine Maria von Fürstenberg (1791-1844) had moved after she married Karl Albrecht von Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst (1776-1843) in 1813.⁸⁴ Several figures central to the Fürstenberg court orchestra's restoration had been active in the Stuttgart music scene in the early 1800s, including Konrad Kreutzer, the man Karl Egon would soon call to be Kapellmeister of the new ensemble. Kreutzer was an ideal candidate for the job. From 1812 to 1816 he had organized a restructuring of the Stuttgart Opera orchestra and chorus, and during that time had proven himself a competent conductor of the ensemble. He had also built a solid reputation in

⁸² Luttenberger, *Das Haus Fürstenberg*, 34-35. Luttenberger quotes from the *Denkschrift der Fürstin Elisabeth für ihren Sohn, Fürst Karl Egon II* (1817), as cited by Alexander von Platen, *Karl Egon II Fürst zu Fürstenberg 1796-1854. Eine Gedenkschrift* (Stuttgart: 1954), 23-25.

⁸³ Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 67.

⁸⁴ Münch, *Geschichte*, 335.

southwestern Germany as a successful composer in many of the popular music genres, especially opera and lieder.⁸⁵

Kapellmeister Kreutzer

Konrad Kreutzer accepted the Fürstenberg Kapellmeister position in the fall of 1817, although professional engagements prevented his arrival in Donaueschingen until almost a year later. According to the *Dienst Instruction* completed by Prince Karl Egon II in 1818, Kreutzer's duties included “. . . direction of all forms of music practiced by the entire *Hofkapelle*, or its individual constituents, i.e. church music, chamber music, concert music, and theatrical music.”⁸⁶ Thus he was responsible for the effective rehearsal and performance of all groups playing at court in the above-mentioned genres. This included the supervision of individual instruction for younger, less experienced musicians involved in productions. Additional duties described in the *Dienst Instruction* were the oversight of both the court music library and the collection of court-owned instruments used by musicians. To this end Kreutzer was responsible for periodic inventories detailing the condition of the instruments and who was using them, as well as lists of all extant music in the library. The inventory duties also included the completion

⁸⁵ Reiner Nägele, “*Meines Vergnügens halber nahm Ich Sie in Dienste: Conradin Kreutzer (1780-1849) in Donaueschingen*,” in “. . . *Liebhaber und Beschützer der Musik*” *Die neu erworbene Musikaliensammlung der Fürsten zu Fürstenberg in der Badischen Landesbibliothek* (Karlsruhe: Kulturstiftung der Länder/Badische Landesbibliothek, 2000), 37-38.

⁸⁶ “Ebenso erstreckt sich die Direktion des Hofkapellmeisters auf jede Gattung von Musik, die von der Hofkapelle oder einzelnen Gliedern derselben ausgeübt wird. Dahin gehört Kirchenmusik, Kammermusik, Concert- und Theaternmusik.” *Instruktionen für den Hofkapellmeister*, FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft, vol. I, Fasc. 1, as quoted in Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 67-71.

of a yearly budget detailing the requirements for maintaining both the library and the instrument collection.⁸⁷

The *Dienst Instruktion* of 1818 also lists all musicians with contracted positions in the Hofkapelle, as well as *Hoflaken* and other non-contracted musicians who could be called to the ensemble's service as needed. A comparison of this list with other contemporary court documents suggests that the following instrumental personnel were among those initially available to Kreutzer:⁸⁸

Violin:	Heinrich Joseph Wassermann Anton Gerarde Joseph Hepting
Viola:	Joseph Hauger
Violoncello:	Johann Baptist Weiss Johann Eisele
Contrabass:	Matthias Brodhagen
Flute:	Karl Keller Johann Rinsler
Oboe:	Franz Joseph Rosinack Joseph Jäckle
Clarinet:	Johann Klosterknecht Johann Baptist Braun
Bassoon:	Anton Rosinack Johann Hepting

⁸⁷ While the Kapellmeister's duties are detailed in Karl Egon II's *Dienst Instruktion* as quoted by Brecht, the ramifications of the duties for Kreutzer, as well as other information relating to them, can be found in Nägle, *Meines Vergnügens*, 38-39.

⁸⁸ *Instruktionen* as quoted by Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 69. Prince Karl only listed musicians' names in the *Dienst Instruktionen*, and often only family names. However, by cross referencing this information with other contemporary documents, including Kreutzer's correspondence from the years 1818-1821, and the yearly inventories he prepared for the Fürstenberg administration, one can often deduce the full names of the musicians, as well as the instruments they played.

Horn: Johann Blechschmidt
Matthias Huber

Trumpet: Aloys Rinsler

These documents, however, also indicate that the make-up of the sections during the initial years of Kreutzer's service went through a good deal of fluctuation.

The new Kapellmeister evidenced great care and practicality in his assessment and hiring of new court musicians. In an undated letter to Karl Egon detailing the personnel needs of the *Hofkapelle*, Kreutzer had the following to say with regard to actual and potential musicians:

[about potential oboists]

With regard to the principal oboist - the proposed Wöhrle in Stuttgart - I can report to your Highness that because of his circumstances there he could start services here earliest in mid-October. He humbly asks your Highness that you see fit to grant him, in addition to his regular salary of 500 gulden, lodging, and firewood, an extra 100 gulden instead of the privileges at the officer's mess, in return for which he would commit himself to give instruction in which ever wind instrument may be necessary, a service for which he is well qualified to undertake, as he was for many years Kapellemeister for the royal regiment in Stuttgart. . . .

. . . On this occasion I would also be so forward as to remind your Highness of the suggested second oboist - Zipfel - who is presently with the military band in Carlsruhe. He is very useful, and would through Wöhrle's teaching surely make quick and noticeable improvement. [He] seems to be a decent and respectable person, and well suited to work as a chamber servant, if Your Highness should not think to hire him as an actual [contracted] musician.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ “ In Betracht des ersten Oboisten – der vorgeschlagenen Wöhrle as Stuttgart – habe ich Euer Durchlaucht zu berichten, dass solcher erst mitte October vermög seines dortigen Verhältnisses hier eintreten könne. Er bittet aber Euer Durchlaucht unterthänigst, dass Sie die Gnade haben möchten, ihm ausser den 500 Gulden Besoldung, Wohnung, und Holz, noch 100 Gulden statt der Offizierstafel gnädigst bewilligen möchten, wo für er sich verbindlich macht, in jedem nöthigen Blasinstrument Unterricht zu

[*about the horn section, and Johann Blechschmidt, the principal hornist*]

Blechschmidt is persistently diligent with his students. Just the day before yesterday I examined one of them . . . and regretfully found that he is severely lacking in aural skills, which is with the horn, where most tones are produced through artful skill, an essential requirement. Indeed, in order to be a good horn player, it is absolutely necessary to be a singer as well. . . .

[*Margin Annotation*]

Recommendation: Because of his lack of aural skills, use the young Huber, student of Blechschmidt's, in the trumpet section . . .

Because of this it will be necessary to hire a second hornist, to which end I recommend to your Highness Mr. Wiele, a student of Schwegler in Stuttgart. He is in every respect Blechschmidt's equal, if not surpassing him in many ways. I believe he would at present thankfully take an appointment of only 300 gulden, lodging, board, and firewood. Since he is employed by a rifle regiment, however, and must give three months notice before terminating his employment, I would humbly ask your Highness for a prompt resolution of this matter, so Wiele could at latest start here in October.⁹⁰

geben, was er auch im Stande ist, da er mehrere Jahre lang Kapellmeister bey der Königl. Garde in Stuttgart war. . . .

“ . . .Bei diesem Anlass bin ich auch so frei, Euer Durchlaucht an den – zur zweiten Oboe vorgeschlagenen, sich in Carlsruhe bey der Militaire Musik befinden – Zipfel – zu erinnern. Er ist sehr brauchbar und würde durch den Unterricht des Wöhrle gewiss bald merklich gewinnen – scheint ein ordentlich gesitteter Mensch zu seyn und wäre vielleicht passend, in die Livre aufgenommen zu werden, wenn ihn Euer Durchlaucht nicht als wirklichen Hofmusikus anzustellen gedenken.” *Angelegenheiten, die hochfürstliche Kapelle betreffend*, undated letter from Kreutzer to Prince Karl Egon II, FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst, und Wissenschaft, vol. I, fasc. 1. This letter was likely written during Kreutzer's first year in Donaueschingen, and certainly before November 4, 1819. Kreutzer mentions in another letter to a friend dated December 5, 1819, that in a performance in celebration of Prince Karl's nameday (November 4) that year, a particular *Herr Wöhrle* played principal oboe, who in the above text had not yet been hired. 12.5.1819 letter quoted by Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 76-77.

⁹⁰ “Blechschmidt ist anhaltend sehr fleissig mit seinem Schüler – allein ich habe solchen vorgestern . . . geprüft und leider gefunden, dass es ihm leider sehr an musikalischem Gehör mangelt, und beim Waldhorn, wo die meisten Töne durch Kunst hervorgebracht werden müssen, ein nothwendiges Erfordernis ist: ja, um ein guter Waldhornist zu werden, ist unumgänglich nothwendig, dass er selbst Sänger sey. . .

[*Margin Annotation*]

Vorschlag: den jungen Huber, Schüler des Blechschmidt's, wegen mangelndem Gehör, bey der Trompete zu verwenden . . .

Dadurch wird es nun aber die Anstellung eines zweiten Waldhornist nothwendig. Zu welchem Entzwecke ich Euer Durchlaucht den Hrn. Wiele (Schüler des Schweglers aus Stuttgart) vorschlage. Solcher ist in jeder Hinsicht dem Blechschmidt gleich – wo er ihn nicht selbst in mehreren Stücken übertrifft. Ich glaube, er würde in dem Momente eine Anstellung auch nur von 300 Gulden, freiem Tisch, Wohnung, und Holz mit Dank annehmen. Da er aber in Diensten eines Schutzenregiments ist, und drei

In his letter regarding potential additions to the *Hofkapelle* Kreutzer also mentions a Mr. Beck, from Stuttgart, as a prime candidate for the violin section. Kreutzer notes Beck as a “worthy quartet player with much taste and sensitivity,” in addition to having many years of orchestral experience both in Stuttgart and in Pressburg, where he had performed as concertmaster (*Musikdirektor*). He goes on to say that Beck’s wife was an accomplished singer with a “voice of large range and notable intensity, and thus could be used as a soprano or alto. Her figure is very becoming for the theater. As a church or choir singer she can hold her own.”⁹¹ Kreutzer’s closing suggests he had high expectations of the orchestra he was building. He stresses to Prince Karl Egon that

. . . with these four persons, namely Mr. Beck – violinist, Mr. Wiele – second hornist, Mr. Wöhrle – first oboist, Mr. Zipfel – second oboist, the whole [ensemble] would reach the point where you yourself will be able to hear well known string quartets, quintets, sextets, eight and ten voice *Harmonie* music, masses, overtures, and even operettas.

Subsequently, if a good contra-bassist, a good cellist, and a good violinist could be added, then without much effort your Highness would surely have an orchestra which after a few years could match in precision and execution some of the grandest and most expensive orchestras.⁹²

Monate vor seinem Abgang aufkündigen muss, so wollte ich Euer Durchlaucht um gnädigste und baldige Resolution hierüber gebeten haben, dass Wiele doch längsten bis Oktober hier eintreffen könnte.” Kreutzer, *Angelegenheiten*, undated letter to Prince Karl Egon II.

⁹¹ “Ich kenne ihn [Beck] als einen sehr braven Quartettspieler mit viel Geschmack und Empfindung – als Orchestergeiger ist er in Stuttgart der Vorzüglichste und unermüdet im Dienste: er hat schon mehrere Jahre in Pressburg dem dortigen Orchester als Vorgeiger, oder sogenannter Musikdirector vorgestanden . . . Seine Frau . . . hat übrigens eine Stimme von grossem Umfang und bedeutender Stärke – kann daher als Sopranistin oder Altistin verwendet werden. Ihre Figur ist für das Theater sehr vortheilhaft. Als Kirchen- und Chorsängerin steht sie ganz an ihrem Platz.” Kreutzer, *Angelegenheiten*, undated letter to Prince Karl Egon II.

⁹² “. . . mit diesen 4 Subjekten, nemlich Hrn. Beck – Violinist, Hrn. Wiele – 2ter Waldhornist, Hrn. Wöhrle – 1ster Oboist, Hrn. Zipfel – 2ter Oboist, wäre das Ganze so weit gediehen, dass Euer Durchlaucht künftigen berühmten Violinquartette, Quintette, Sextette, 8 und 10 stimmigen Harmoniemusiken, Messen, Ouverturen, etc., ja selbst Operetten hören können.

Kommt diesen Subjekten in der Folge noch ein guter Contrabassist, ein guter Violoncellist, und ein guter Violinist hinzu – so haben Euer Durchlaucht gewiss mit keinen allzu grossen Lassten ein Orchester, was sich in ein paar Jahren an Präzision – an Vortrag manchem der grössten und kostspieligsten Orchester an die Seite stellen darf. ” Kreutzer, *Angelegenheiten*, undated letter to Prince Karl Egon II.

The reorganization of the *Hofkapelle* during Kreutzer's first year initially limited the scope of musical productions. However, the early years of Karl Egon's rule do show a gradual increase in cultural activity. The Donaueschingen theatrical society gave occasional dramatic performances in which both the prince and his wife took part. In the first half of the year 1819, however, the death of Princess Amalie's father, Archduke Karl Ludwig of Baden, set the court into a period of mourning that temporarily curtailed the society's activities.⁹³

The Rebirth of Opera Performance

In the fall of that year, having returned from a summer vacation in Switzerland, Kreutzer noted in a letter to a friend that his efforts with the court ensemble were finally coming along.

. . . For three weeks now I have had my hands full with work, especially with the reorganizing of the Hofkapelle . . . in fact the orchestra is still very small and consists, besides the twelve voice wind section and tympani, of only three first and three second violins, two violas, one violoncello and one contrabass . . . by next year I hope to fill out the string sections more completely, which will put me in a position capable of performing all genres of music with both large and small instrumentation . . . I have high hopes that within a year the Hofkapelle could be heard far and wide in all localities.⁹⁴

In the letter Kreutzer also mentions that he was preparing a musical surprise for the Prince, namely a performance of an opera of his own composition, *Die Alpenhütte* (1816). The production took place on Karl Egon's name day, November 4, with an additional performance a month later on December 19. These performances served as the

⁹³ Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 74-75. See also Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 79.

⁹⁴ “. . . Nun seit drei Wochen habe ich alle Hände voll zu tun – besonders mit Organisierung der Kapelle . . . zwar ist das Orchester noch ganz klein und besteht nebst der 12stimmigen Harmonie mit Pauken nur aus 3 Prim, 3 Sekund Violinen, 2 Alto, 1 Violoncello und ein Contrabasso . . . Bis künftiges Jahr hoffe ich die Saiten-Instrumenten starker besetzen zu können, was mich dann in Stande setzt, alle Gattungen von grossen und kleinen Musiken aufführen zu können . . . Ich habe gute Hoffnung dass man in Zeit von einem Jahre die hochfürstliche Kapelle alle Orten hören lassen dürfte.” Kreutzer, letter dated October 24, 1819, as quoted by Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 75-76.

“re-introduction” of the *Hofkapelle* to the opera-going public of Donaueschingen following a hiatus of close to ten years. A letter to a friend in Berlin from early December 1819 suggests that Kreutzer was pleased with the results. In the letter he made the following glowing report of the November performance:

Since my return from Switzerland on September 15th I have been completely occupied with organizing the court orchestra that, to my pleasure, has evolved so far that on November 4, the nameday of our kindly prince, we could perform an opera – *Die Alpenhütte* of my own composition – at the sweet little theater here, and indeed with such brilliant success that I only wish my dear friends in the high social circles of Berlin and Vienna could have been there . . .⁹⁵

Kreutzer goes on to explain that the orchestra consisted of 28 members, among which were eight solo players (principals), sixteen tutti players, and four amateurs,⁹⁶ and notes that

Outsiders who attend our concerts while traveling through the area are amazed at the precision and great effect of this small orchestra, and I have high hopes that within a year I myself will be completely satisfied with the ensemble’s performance . . . There is a spirit in this orchestra, a spirit that is unfortunately lacking in many if not all of the big orchestras, though surely various circumstances are at fault here. I’m sure you will now believe me when I say I find it very pleasant here . . . my principal players are all magnificent people . . . and all the ensemble members earn

⁹⁵ “Seit meiner Rückkehr aus der Schweiz vom 15. September habe ich immer mit der Organisation des Fürstl. Orchesters zu tun, das nun aber soweit zu meiner Freude gediehen ist, dass wir am 4. November, als dem Namenstag unsers liebenswürdigen Fürsten, eine Operette – *Die Alpenhütte* von meiner Komposition – auf dem hiesigen niedlichen Hoftheater aufführen konnten, und zwar mit solch glänzendem Erfolg, dass ich nur wünschte, meine lieben Freunde in der grossen Welt von Berlin und Wien hätten solchem beigewohnt . . .” Kreutzer, letter dated December 5, 1819, as quoted by Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 76.

⁹⁶ Kreutzer names the Principal players: 1st Violin: Wasserman (Kreutzer identifies Wasserman as a student of Spohr), 1st Flute: (“der berühmte”) Keller, 1st Clarinet: Klosterknecht, 1st Horn: Blechschmidt, 1st Violoncello: Weiss, 1st Oboe: Wöhrle, 1st Bassoon: Rosinak. Ibid. The fact that the bassoonist mentioned by Kreutzer is named *Rosinak* has led some scholars to believe that Franz Joseph also played this instrument for the Fürstenberg *Hofkapelle*. The bassoonist mentioned is actually Anton Rosinack, Franz Joseph’s son. The relationship between the extended Rosinack family and the court ensemble will be clarified in Chapter II.

praise as persons of agreeable and civilized character, which indeed is no small rarity.⁹⁷

Over the next year and a half Kreutzer brought to performance almost exclusively music of his own composition, especially in the realm of stage works for which the courtly theater was so well known. Operas produced during the period of January 1820 to November 1821 include his *Zwei Worte oder die Nacht im Walde*, and *Äsop in Lydien*.⁹⁸ The only performance of an opera not by Kreutzer himself was the Viennese composer Joseph Weigl's *Die Schweitzer-Familie*, presented on the prince's nameday in 1821.

Tension Between Kreutzer and Prince Karl Egon

The positive reports from the letters of October and December 1819 suggest that, at least initially, Kreutzer was content with his position in Donaueschingen. However, an exchange of letters with Karl Egon in the fall of 1821 shows an increasing level of friction between the prince and his Kapellmeister. Earlier that year Kreutzer had been granted a six-month leave of absence, twice the normal three months stated in his contract. In August he asked the prince for a second extension of his leave to fulfill an offer from the Munich Opera house to oversee a production of his opera *Äsop* during October. Letters dated August 10 and 22 plead for Karl Egon's understanding of Kreutzer's personal interests and his desire to further his name as a composer, as well as

⁹⁷ "Fremde die hier durchreisen, und unsere Konzerte besuchen, sind über die Präzision und den grossen Effekt dieses Orchesters ganz erstaunt! und ich habe gute Hoffnung, dass ich selber binnen einem Jahre mit der Exekution vollkommen zufrieden sein werde . . . Es weht also in diesem Orchester ein Geist – und ein Geist, der leider fast allen – wenn nicht gar allen grossen Orchestren mangelt, woran freilich Verschiedene Verhältnisse schuld sind! – Sie werden mir nun wohl glauben, dass ich mich recht angenehm hier befinde . . . Meine Herren Virtuosen sind herrliche Menschen . . . und alle Mitglieder verdienen das Lob gefälliger, gesitteter Menschen, was wiederum keine kleine Seltenheit ist . . ." Ibid.

⁹⁸ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 80.

the fact that “. . . the musical spirit needs refreshment and stimulation.”⁹⁹ The Prince’s response to both letters refused the extension, and demanded the Kapellmeister’s immediate return to Donaueschingen. Kreutzer did not return, however, and in September he wrote a third time to the Prince:

In the year 1818 I had the great fortune of being accepted into Your Highness’s service as Kapellmeister. I gladly confess that I considered myself lucky, while at the time I could surrender myself to a consistently kind and humane management, which promised me a pleasant and peaceful musical existence, with the expressed understanding that at anytime I might be given the opportunity to broaden and deepen my talents and experience through musical journeys abroad.

At the time of my employment Your Highness also gave me the assurance that at the moment I began my service you would fully organize the court orchestra, and fill it in its entirety with suitable players, worthy of both your high name and my artistic reputation. I agreed to your lordship’s service contract under these excellent stipulations and, as you well know from my correspondence, turned down more important engagements from such places as Weimar and Prague.

Up to this point, however, little has been accomplished, and what has been accomplished does not deserve the title organization. As a result I have felt myself abandoned; in the past year, during which I have often been scorned most disdainfully, the court’s discontent has anguished me, and I have been concerned for my honor. There seemed to me no other reason for this situation but the court’s dissatisfaction with my work, as I could not achieve with such an inadequate orchestra what I otherwise might have . . .¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ “. . . doch vertraue ich auf die Herzengüte Euer Durchlaucht, die gewiss mein eigen Interesse, und noch mehr die weitere Begründung meines Namens als Componist gnädigst berücksichtigen wird . . .” Kreutzer, letter to Karl Egon from August 10, 1821, as quoted by Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 80. “. . . der Künstler, auf welche Stufe er auch sein mag, von Zeit zu Zeit grosse Künstler, grosse Orchester und Compositionen hören muss. Der musikalische Geist bedarf Erfrischung und Ermunterung.” Kreutzer, letter to Karl Egon from August 22, 1821, as quoted by Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 80.

¹⁰⁰ Im Jahr 1818 hatte ich die hohe Gnade, von Euer Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht in Höchst deren Dienste als Hofkapellmeister angestellt zu werden. Bei dieser Anstellung, ich gestehe es gerne und offen, schätzte ich mich sehr glücklich, weil ich mich damals der Freude einer stets freundschaftlichen und humanen Behandlung überliess, und mir ein angenehmes, stilles und musikalisches Leben versprach, auch unbedingt erwarten konnte, dass Höchstdieselben mir jederzeit Gelegenheit geben würde, meine Talente und Kenntnisse auf musikalische Reisen noch mehr zu erweitern, und zu entwickeln.

Euer Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht haben mir bei meiner Anstellung auch die Versicherung gegeben, so gleich bei meiner Dienstantritte die Fürstliche Hofkapelle vollständig zu organisieren und dieselbe durchaus mit tauglichen Subjecten vollzählig zu besetzen, ganz würdig dem Hohen Namen Euer Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht und meinem Künstler-Rufe. Unter diesen vorzüglichen Bedingungen also habe ich dem Dienstvertrage Euer Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht entsprochen, und, wie Höchstdieselben aus meinen Schreiben wohl wissen, andere bedeutendere Engagements ausgeschlagen, als wie jenes in Weimar und Prag.

In his letter Kreutzer went on to reiterate his need for an orchestra with which he could perform with honor. He thus listed the following as necessary additions to the ensemble: “several good violinists, a principal cellist, a principal oboist, a second oboist, a good contrabassist,” as well as for the choir: soprano and alto soloists, and eight to twelve choir boys.¹⁰¹ In closing he even went so far as to make these additions a condition for his return to the court.

Kreutzer’s letter shows his disappointment that his situation in Donaueschingen had fallen short of the hopes expressed only several years before. His demand that competent musicians be hired suggests that his earlier recommendations had not been heeded. Indeed the fact that the Kapellmeister’s expectations for the orchestra far exceeded Karl Egon’s vision for musical life at his court becomes clear in the prince’s response, sent just three days later. In it the Prince stressed his view of the *Hofkapelle*’s purpose and his opinion of how the Kapellmeister might work with honor:

Your correspondence from the sixth of September set me in astonishment. Instead of obeying my repeated commands to present yourself here in person, you go so far as to set conditions from which you make your return dependent. You speak of “reasons” which still hold you back . . . If you complain about inhumane treatment, scorn, and insult, then I can surely call upon not only my own judgment, but that of all people who know me: inhumanity has never been the substance of my

Es ist aber zur Zeit wenig geschehen, und was geschehen ist, das verdient nicht den Namen einer Organisation; ich ward dadurch Preis gegeben, die Unzufriedenheit der Hohen Herrschaften seit bereites 1 Jahr, wo ich mich oft mit Verachtung zurückgesetzt sah, verwundete mein Herz, und ich war für meine Ehre besorgt. Ich konnte dabei keinen anderen Grund denken, als dass die Hohen Herrschaften mit meinen Anordnungen und Verrichtungen nicht zufrieden sein möchten, weil ich bei einem solch mangelhaften Orchester nicht leisten konnte, was ich bei einem gut organisierten hätte leisten können . . .” Kreutzer, letter to Karl Egon dated Sept. 6, 1821, FFA: Personalakte Kr. 20, as quoted by Nägle, *Meines Vergnügens*, 41-42.

¹⁰¹ “ 1) ein paar gute Violinspieler. 2) ein erster Violonzellist. 3) ein erster Oboist. 4) ein 2ter Oboist. 5) ein guter Contrabassist. 6) eine Sopran Solo Sängerin. 7) eine Alt Solo Sängerin. 8) 8-12 Chorknaben . . .” Ibid, 41. Interestingly, the musicians recommended in Kreutzer’s earlier letter “*Angelegenheiten*” (undated), including Beck, Viele, Wöhrle, and Zipfel, never seem to have been hired, despite the fact that Kreutzer specifically mentions Wöhrle as having played in the November 1819 performance of *Die Alpenhütte*. At any rate no personal files exist for these musicians in the FFA.

relationship with even the least of my servants; rather I could accuse myself that through leniency I have given one or the other opportunity to forget his rank and relationship to me! You counted on a life of peace, what prevents you from leading such during your residency here, certainly not the annoying, repugnant, oppressiveness of your duties? You expect unconditionally that I should give you the opportunity at anytime to broaden your musical talents and experience through musical journeys abroad. Here, however, you have deceived yourself in your expectations. It is true that you have made ample use of the yearly two to three months authorized by your contract for such journeys, indeed regularly exceeded this allotment, but is it my fault if you did not use this time to hear great artists, orchestras, and compositions for the refreshment and stimulation which, as you say in your correspondence from the 22nd of last month, the musical spirit needs? Allowing you to travel at any time was never my intention, as it was not for your sake, but my pleasure alone that I took you in my service. This was the reason that moved me to hire you as Kapellmeister, and therein also lies the answer to your complaint “that I have not fully organized the court orchestra and filled it in its entirety with suitable players, worthy, as you like to say, of my grand name and your artistic reputation.” . . . If I am contented with an orchestra of merely six players, achieving everything it should, and forming for me a satisfactory whole, why then should I hire several dozen? In order that the Hofkapellmeister, to glorify his reputation, can say so many people work under his direction? You declare that it is a question of your honor. This I don’t understand. In my opinion, one achieves honor through fulfilling one’s duties in the most exact and faithful manner possible. Following sound logic this would mean, as Hofkapellmeister in my service, that you would fulfill your position and thereby additionally earn honor for you and myself, by punctually complying with the duties we have agreed to, using the means available and managing according to your abilities. The rest you should allow me to deal with, leaving to my good judgment whether my orchestra should consist of ten or one hundred players. I expect your return without delay . . . ¹⁰²

¹⁰² Ihre Zuschrift vom 6. Sept. hat mich in Erstaunen gesetzt. Statt meinen wiederholten Befehlen zu gehorchen und sich in Person hier einzufinden, gehen Sie so weit, Bedingungen aufzustellen, von deren Erfüllung Sie Ihre Rückkunft abhängig machen! Sie sprechen von “Gründen”, welche Sie noch zurückhalten. . . . Wenn Sie über inhumane Behandlung, über Zurücksetzung und Kränkung klagen, so darf ich Mich kühn nicht nur auf das eigene, sondern auf aller, die Mich kennen, Urtheil berufen: Inhumanität hat nie meinem Benehmen gegen irgend einen Menschen selbst nicht einmal gegen den geringsten Meiner Diener zum Grund gelegen; eher hätte ich mir wohl den Vorwurf zu machen, dass ich durch allzu weit getriebene Nachsicht Veranlassung gab, dass Einer oder der Andere von den Letztern seiner Stellung und Beziehung zu Mir vergass! Sie rechneten auf ein stilles Leben, was hinderte Sie, während Ihres hiesigen Aufenthaltes ein solches zu führen? Doch wohl nicht das Lästige, Drückende und Widrige Ihrer Dienstgeschäfte? – Sie erwarten unbedingt, das ich Ihnen jeder Zeit Gelegenheit geben würde, Ihre Talente und Kenntnisse auf musikalischen Reisen noch mehr zu erweitern und zu entwickeln? Da haben Sie Sich denn aller Dings in Ihrer Erwartung zum Theil betrogen. Zwar haben Sie von der Ihnen in Ihrem Anstellungsdekret ertheilten Befugniss, jährl. eine Reise von 2-3 Monathen machen zu dürfen, reichlich Gebrauch gemacht, ja regelmässig solche überschritten; aber ist es Meine Schuld, wenn Sie diese Zeit nicht

Again Kreutzer did not come as requested. During the month of September 1821, Karl Egon sought whatever means he could to secure his Kapellmeister's acquiescence. He sent letters to the authorities of the theaters in Munich and Stuttgart asking that they expressly forbid Kreutzer to perform on their premises, and also otherwise hinder his artistic endeavors. In the end judicial means were necessary to rectify the situation. In late September Kreutzer had gone to his hometown of Messkirch, not far from Donaueschingen, at which time a court official handed him a summons stating that the Kapellmeister was to be accompanied back to Fürstenberg residence immediately. The return occurred on October 1, though this stay would prove to be his last.¹⁰³ Barely a month later, after the *Schweitzer Familie* performance on the prince's nameday, Kreutzer again asked for a leave of absence to concentrate fully on his composition work. Karl Egon granted the leave without pay, and with the further understanding that should a suitable candidate be found, Kreutzer would be replaced. Within several months Kreutzer had taken a position in Vienna, and by December 1822, the Prince had named the twenty-

dazu anwendeten, grosse Künstler, grosse Orchesters und Compositionen zu hören um die Erfrischung und Ermunterung zu erhalten, deren – wie Sie in Ihrem Schreiben vom 22. v.M. sagen – der musikalische Geist bedarf? Sie zu jeder Zeit reisen zu lassen, daran habe ich nie gedacht; denn nicht um Ihetwillen, sondern Meines Vergnügens halber nahm Ich Sie in Dienste. Dies war Grund, der Mich Sie als Hofkapellmeister anzustellen bewog, enthält auch die Antwort auf Ihre Klage, “dass Ich nicht die Hofkapelle vollständig organisiert und dieselbe durchaus mit tauglichen Subjecten vollzählig besezt habe, ganz würdig – wie Sie sich auszudrücken belieben – Meines hohen Namens und Ihres Künstler-Rufes.”

. . . Bin ich mit einem Orchester, dass nur aus sechs Individuen besteht, daran alles leistet, was es soll und ein Mir genügendes Ganzes bildet, zufrieden; warum soll Ich dann ein Paar Duzend anstellen? Etwa, damit der Hof-kapellmeister – zur Verherrlichung seines Künstlerrufes – sagen kann: So viele stehen unter mir? Sie erklären, es handle sich um Ihre Ehre. Dies verstehe ich nicht. Nach meinem Dafürhalten erwirbt der Mann sich dadurch Ehre, dass er seinen Pflichten aufs genaueste und treueste nachkomme. Dies auf Sie, als Hof-kapellmeister in Meinen Diensten angewendet, würde daher nach einer gesunden Logik so viel heissen, als: Sie machen Ihren Posten, dadurch sich und neben bey auch Meiner auf Sie gefallenen Wahl Ehre, wenn Sie Ihren gegen Mich eingegangenen Verpflichtungen pünktlich entsprechen, mit den vorhandenen Mitteln leisten und bewerkstelligen, was in Ihren Kräften steht; das Übrige aber Mir anheimstellen und Mir und Meinem freyen Ermessen überlassen, ob Meine Kapelle aus 10 oder 100 Individuen bestehen soll. Ich erwarte Ihre unverzügliche Rückkehr . . . Karl Egon II, letter to Kreutzer dated Sept. 9, 1821, FFA: Personalakte Kr. 20, as quoted by Nägele, *Meines Vergnügens*, 42-43.

¹⁰³ Nägele, *Meines Vergnügens*, 43-44.

one year old Johann Wenzel Kalliwoda as the new Fürstenberg Kapellmeister.¹⁰⁴

Kalliwoda would go on to lead the *Hofkapelle* with much success for the next four decades until his death in 1866.

1716-1823

A Brief Historical Summary with Emphasis on the Perspective of Fürstenberg Court Musicians

In the early part of the eighteenth century under Prince Wilhelm Ernst (r. 1716-1762), music had a small role at the Fürstenberg court, merely as a form of entertainment at meals, parties, hunting expeditions, and other social gatherings. The prince kept a small wind ensemble, likely no more than six to eight players, who as servants had a wide range of duties in addition to their musical obligations.

The court first achieved a reputation for promoting musical and cultural development under Wilhelm Ernst's successor, Prince Joseph Wenzel (r. 1762-1783). Unlike his father, Joseph Wenzel was an active musician and music-lover, having talent on both piano and violoncello. He regularly took part in the music making at court. The small *Hofkapelle* grew under the direction of Anton Martelli, who during the 1760s oversaw an ensemble of at least ten musicians. During the fall of 1766 the Mozart family visited the Fürstenberg court, staying for almost two weeks. Most days of the Mozart's stay included regular music performance, in which the prince undoubtedly took part. While in Donaueschingen the young Wolfgang even composed several violoncello solos expressly for Joseph Wenzel.

¹⁰⁴ Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 82-83. For more information on events during Kalliwoda's leadership of the Fürstenberg *Hofkapelle* (which goes beyond the scope of this writing), see Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 83-109, as well as Schuler, "Die Fürstenberger," 157-159.

A period of active artistic growth at court began in 1783 with the succession to Prince Joseph Maria Benedict (r. 1783-1796). Joseph Maria was a talented keyboard player, and both he and his wife, the Princess Maria Antonia, were passionate opera lovers. Thus for the next two decades opera performance became a mainstay of the Fürstenberg court. A theater with a seating capacity of 550 persons was completed in 1784, and proceeds from performances at the new theater often went to a local charity. Court officials took active singing roles in the productions, led by Maria Antonia, a talented soprano, who often oversaw vocal rehearsals. The decade 1785-1795 saw over fifty operatic performances on the Donaueschingen stage.

While music from a wide range of contemporary composers was performed at court, the Fürstenbergs had a special relationship with the music of Mozart. Many of Mozart's operas had some of their earliest performances in Donaueschingen, often within a year or two of the premieres in Vienna and Prague. This relationship to the Mozart family was to a large extent fostered by Prince Joseph Maria's chamber servant Sebastian Winter. Winter was responsible for the purchase of music for the court library; letters and documents from the Fürstenberg archive detail transactions with the Mozarts personally, as well as with a range of other composers and publishers.

The Fürstenberg *Hofkapelle* grew considerably during the last years of the 1770s into the 1780s. The period 1777-1789 saw at least twelve new musicians hired to the ensemble, well over half the orchestra, which in 1790 consisted of roughly 24 regular instrumentalists. Most of these were court servants, or *Hoflakaien*, a status entailing non-musical duties in addition to work in the *Hofmusik*. In 1789 the prince established the

Kammer-Musicus status for musicians deemed outstanding enough that they were obliged with musical duties only.

Cultural activity at court continued at a high standard throughout the 1790s until Prince Joseph Maria's death in 1796. Fürstenberg rule then passed to his younger brother, Prince Karl Joachim (r. 1796-1804). While both Karl Joachim and his wife, the Princess Caroline, were avid music lovers, contemporary political realities were more and more being felt in the cultural circles of Donaueschingen. During the years 1796-1801 Donaueschingen lay near the front of battles between Austria and Napoleon's armies, and these tumultuous events necessitated the Fürstenberg family's retreat, often for months at a time. While the official Fürstenberg position in the war was one of neutrality, traditional Fürstenberg ties to Austria as the seat of the Holy Roman Empire can be seen in the festive concerts performed in September 1797 and June 1799, both of which celebrated the Austrian army.

During the early years of the 1800s, as French victories were beginning to mount and Napoleon's political intentions for Europe increasingly put Fürstenberg sovereignty into question, the Fürstenberg *Hofmusik* began to decline. Prince Karl Joachim's death in 1804, the sequestration of Donaueschingen by the French in 1805, and the annexation of all Fürstenberg land under the *Rheinbundakte* of 1806 put those working for the court in a precarious position. The custodial rule under *Regierungspräsident* von Kleiser and Landgraf Joachim Egon von Fürstenberg responded to the hardships by changing the court finances to a more modest means of existence. During this period of uncertainty some members of the *Hofkapelle* sought employment elsewhere, including *Musikintendant* von Hampeln, the violinists Zwick and Franz Fiala, as well as the hornist

Fischer. In the years 1807-1819 the ensemble was further diminished through the retirement or death of the following musicians: Braun (the elder), Joseph Fiala, Gail, Kefer, Obkircher, and Rehsteiner. These losses were particularly difficult for the *Hofmusik* because the court administration under von Kleiser generally declined to hire new musicians. The remaining members drew some support from Elisabeth von Fürstenberg, the mother of the underage Prince Karl Egon, and prospects improved after 1809 as Princess Elisabeth gradually gained control in the court administration. However, the true rebuilding of the *Hofkapelle* would only be possible once the Fürstenberg family had solidified its status within the state of Baden, of which Fürstenberg was now a part. This solidification was finally achieved under Prince Karl Egon II, who assumed rule in 1817.

Fürstenberg's new status was brought about in no small part through Karl Egon's marriage to Princess Amalie of Baden, daughter of Arch Duke Karl Friedrich. Amalie's reputation as an avid music lover and talented soprano no doubt contributed to Karl Egon's desire to reawaken the Fürstenberg cultural legacy from the previous century. To help him in this endeavor the prince hired the bright young composer, conductor, and keyboard virtuoso Konrad Kreutzer as Kapellmeister. Primary among the new Kapellmeister's initial duties was the rebuilding of the court orchestra, for which he turned to musicians he knew from his previous employment in Stuttgart, including the flutist Karl Keller and violinist Heinrich Joseph Wasserman. Court documents suggest that Kreutzer felt new instrumentalists needed to be hired among the violin, cello, bass, oboe, and horn sections, as well. Despite deficiencies, Kreutzer led the orchestra in

several successful operatic productions during the years 1819-1821, including his own operas *Die Alpenhütte*, *Die zwei Worte, oder die Nacht im Walde*, and *Aesop in Lydian*.

The fact that the prince and his Kapellmeister had differing views as to the purpose of the musical establishment in Donaueschingen became clear in a series of letters exchanged between the two during the year 1821. These letters suggest that Kreutzer viewed his position as a vehicle to further his own career, with the Hofkapelle primarily as a means to realize his compositions. Karl Egon did not share the expectations for the orchestra that Kreutzer had. By 1821 he had not acted upon the majority of personnel recommendations his Kapellmeister had made, being content instead to rely on the local talent already available. The outcome of this conflict was that Kreutzer, having reluctantly returned in October 1821 from an extended six-month leave of absence, took an additional leave without pay, and within several months had secured a position as music director of an important Viennese theater. Prince Karl Egon then looked to hire a new Kapellmeister, this time the virtuoso violinist-composer Johann Wenzel Kalliwoda, who successfully led the court ensemble for many decades from 1822 until his death in 1866.

CHAPTER TWO

FRANZ JOSEPH ROSINACK: A BRIEF CHRONICLE OF HIS LIFE

1748-1823

From Bohemia to the Fürstenberg Lands

1748-1789

Rosinack, an excellent oboist, a native of Bohemia. He is a student of the famous [Joseph] Fiala, and according to the account from the *Churbayerischen Hofvirtuoso* Lasser he stood in the employ of the Prince von Fürstenberg in 1794.¹⁰⁵

This entry in Gottfried Johann Dlabacž's *Allgemeines historisches Künstler Lexicon* of 1815 is perhaps the earliest mention of the oboist Franz Joseph Rosinack outside the Fürstenberg family residence in Donaueschingen. Rosinack was born in 1748.¹⁰⁶ Little is known of his life before his coming to the Fürstenbergs in the late 1770s. His Bohemian homeland had been devastated by the Seven Years War (1756-63), only the most recent conflict to do so in that century.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless Rosinack likely

¹⁰⁵ "Rosinack, ein vortrefflicher Hautboist, aus Böhmen gebürtig. Er ist ein Schüler des berühmten Fiala, und nach dem Zeugnisse des Churbayerischen Hofvirtuosen Lasser stand er in Diensten des Fürsten von Fürstenberg 1794." Gottfried Johann Dlabacž, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler Lexicon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, (Prague, 1815) Vol. II, Sp. 593.

¹⁰⁶The entry in the records for the church of St. Johann, (*Totenbuch*, p. 119, n. 43, Pfarr Archiv St. Johann, Donaueschingen) tells us that Rosinack died on June 17, 1823, at the age of 75. From this one can figure his year of birth as 1748, or the latter half of 1747. For the sake of simplification, most scholars have taken 1748 as his birth year. See for example Manfred Schuler, "Die Aufführung von Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* in Donaueschingen 1787," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 45 (1988): 115.

¹⁰⁷ Barbara Ann Renton, "The Musical Culture of Eighteenth Century Bohemia, with Special Emphasis on the Music Inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1990), 42-43. Renton notes that the political confusion resulting from these wars, as well as other socio-economic factors, provided the impetus for many Bohemian musicians to emigrate to other lands. See also Sterling R. Murray, "Bohemian Musicians in South German Hofkapellen During the Late

received the intensive music instruction common to most Bohemian school children during that time, as described here by Charles Burney:

. . . not only in every large [Bohemian] town, but in all villages, where there is a reading and writing school, children of both sexes are taught music. At Teuchenbrod, Janich, Czaslau, Bömischbrod, and other places, I visited these schools, and at Czaslau . . . I went into 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.¹⁰⁸

The period of concentrated instrumental study with Joseph Fiala (1748-1816) mentioned by Dlabacž likely occurred in the late 1760s into the 70s, a period of time when Fiala was enjoying a reputation as an oboe virtuoso in Prague.¹⁰⁹

An undated letter to Prince Joseph Maria Benedict (r. 1783-1796) in the Fürstenberg archive notes “Your Highness is graciously familiar with the position my son, Franz Joseph Rosiniak [sic], held with a military band in Italy for three full years. Following the death of the company’s commander, however, he returned to his homeland several weeks ago, unfortunately penniless.” The letter goes on to request a servant position for the younger *Rosiniak*, in light of certain domestic difficulties surrounding the son’s return. The document is signed by a “Kammer Musicus Rosiniak” suggesting the

18th Century,” *Hudební věda* XIII/3 (1978), 153-73, as well as Karl M. Komma, “Das böhmische Musikantentum,” (Kassel: Hinnenthal, 1960).

¹⁰⁸ Charles Burney, *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, 131-132. Renton notes that while these observations come from Burney’s 1772 tour, the music education system in Bohemian schools had been developing over the previous century, and thus would have been experienced by Rosinack during the 1750s and 60s when he was school-age. See also Eva Mikanová, “Musik an den Tschechischen Landschulen im 18. Jahrhundert,” *Musica Antiqua, Acta Scientifica* 3 (Bydgoszcz, 1972) 87-92.

¹⁰⁹ Schuler theorized that Rosinack may have in fact studied with Fiala in Munich, while Fiala was employed as oboist with the Hofkapelle there. This would have been in the time frame from 1777 through the end of 1778, before Fiala left for Salzburg. See Manfred Schuler, “Zur Harmoniemusik am Fürstlich Fürstenbergischen Hof zu Donaueschingen,” *Zur Harmoniemusik und ihrer Geschichte*, ed. Christoph-Helmut Mahling (Villa Musica: Mainz, 1999) 79. During this time, however, Rosinack was starting a family and establishing his position in the Fürstenberg Hofkapelle. At any rate there is no mention of Rosinack’s leaving the court for any length of time in his personal file at the FFA.

possibility that Rosinack's father had preceded him in court service, and thus that Franz Joseph himself was employed in Italy as an oboist with a military band, likely from the time period 1774-1777, before coming to Donaueschingen permanently in 1777.¹¹⁰

Birth records in Donaueschingen show that Rosinack's first children were born during this time. Franciscus (10.31.1777-?) and Anna Maria (9.15.1779-4.26.1846) were born to his first wife, Anna Maria Gretin. There is, however, no mention of a Rosinack-Gretin marriage in the records of the Johannes Kirche, suggesting the possibility that Franz Joseph's wife had accompanied him from Bohemia.¹¹¹

Rosinack did not officially enter the court service until 1781, when he was hired as a *Hoflakai* under Prince Joseph Wenzel (r. 1762-1783). In this capacity he would have worn a servant's uniform, and performed both musical and non-musical duties. His pay was likely twelve Gulden monthly, and would have in addition included a certain amount of wood for heating and cooking.¹¹² Also during these early years Rosinack began the

¹¹⁰ "Euer Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht ist ehrhin gnädigst bekannt, welcher gestalt mein Sohn, Franz Joseph Rosiniak 3 vollständige Jahre in Italien unter einer militarischen Hautboisten Compagnie in Dienst und Praxi gestanden, um aber nach dem Tode seines Herrn Obristen seelig vor einigen Wochen in sein Vaterland, leyder brotlos retourniert sey. . ." Undated letter, FFA Personalakt Ro. 8. The interpretation that Franz Joseph Rosinack was employed in Italy before he came to Donaueschingen would make the letter's writer his father, suggesting the initial Rosinack family contact with the Fürstenbergs came through the elder Rosinack, possibly in the early 1770s. This interpretation is shared by Blomhert: "One document in Rosinack's files states that he [Franz Joseph] served as a (military) musician in an 'Oboen-Compagnie' before he arrived in Donaueschingen." Bastian Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of "Die Entführung aus dem Serail" by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Study about its authenticity and critical edition*, (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utrecht, 1987), 391. There is, however, no evidence in the Fürstenberg archives to suggest that such an elder Rosinack was employed by the court at that time. Another interpretation is suggested by the fact that FJR's first son was named "Fransiscus", presenting the possibility that the "Kammer Musicus Rosiniak" is actually FJR himself, and his son Fransiscus was employed in Italy (*Taufbuch*, Pfarr-Archiv St. Johann: Donaueschingen). This possibility is explained later in the chapter. Note the spelling "Rosiniak." When considered along with versions of the name in other court documents, including "Roßniak" and "Rosignac," a certain pronunciation seems implied. However, all letters written by FJR and his later offspring consistently use the spelling "Rosinack."

¹¹¹ *Taufbuch, Ehebuch: Standesbücher*, Pfarr-Archiv St. Johann: Donaueschingen.

¹¹² Since there is no contract for *Hoflakai* status in Rosinack's personal file at the FFA, the year of his initial employment and the terms thereof are somewhat vague. The cover page of the file states "Rosinack, servant here, 1781" ("Rosinack, Laquay Dahier, 1781"). The earliest surviving *Staats-und-Adressen Kalendar* at the FFA, from the years 1779 and 1780, both contain Rosinack's name in the

scribal work that would bring him extra income over the next decades. A court record dated September 7, 1784, notes that Rosinack was paid 17 Gulden, 52 Kreuzer for copy-work, well over his normal monthly salary. The bill states payment for copying five piano concertos with accompaniment and five pieces for piano solo.¹¹³

During the 1780s opera performance took an increasing role in the musical culture of Donaueschingen. Early in the decade work on the new court theater was completed, and opera productions, which often included Fürstenberg family members in the cast, were widely attended by people from the surrounding area. Donaueschingen was becoming a cultural center where the public heard new works in a variety of genres by contemporary composers such as Haydn, Mozart, Dittersdorf, Rosetti, and Pleyel, among others. As principal court oboist Franz Joseph Rosinack would have been directly involved in these performances, giving him insight and familiarity with the body of music from which he would make his arrangements over the next several decades.

Rosinack's family grew significantly in the decade from 1780 to 1790. Five children were born during these years, including Fridericus (10.16.1781-?), Antonius (5.29.1783-8.30.1854), Walburga (5.1.1786-9.28.1861), Theresia (4.24.1788-?), and

sections listing servants. Rosinack's personal correspondence, however, always suggests 1777 as the year of his initial employment. With regard to remuneration, a comparison of other musician's files who were hired as *Hoflakai* at that time, including Gail, Rehsteiner, Fischer, and Girard, shows 12 gulden monthly, or 144 gulden yearly, as the court norm for initial salary. The firewood was measured in units called *Klafter*. See *Personal Akt* Ro. 8, Ga. 12, F. 28, Gi. 4, (FFA, Donaueschingen).

¹¹³ Unfortunately, the bill does not mention what the copied works were. The payment was made per *Bogen* of copied music, meaning how many full sheets (or bi-folios) of copies written. The bill notes that ten kreutzer were paid per *Bogen* of piano writing, and six kreutzer per *Bogen* of accompaniment. There were sixty kreutzer per gulden. Interestingly, the rate for copying seemed to have increased several decades later. Bills from 1802 show that Rosinack was paid 7 gulden 30 kreutzer for 37½ *Bogen* written from the "Requiem von Herrn Mozart" on June 18th, as well as 15 gulden 48 kreutzer for 79 *Bogen* written from the "Jahres Zeiten von Herrn Haydn." FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst, und Wissenschaft, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1.

Johann Nepomuk (6.16.1789-?). The mother listed on the birth records for these five children is a Maria Anna Altin, suggesting that Rosinack had married a second time.¹¹⁴

1789-1810

Years of Establishment and Leadership in the Fürstenberg Hofkapelle

After a string of successful performances with the court orchestra accompanying the opera productions of the late 1780s, Franz Joseph Rosinack wrote the following in a letter (likely from early 1789) requesting a promotion in status.

I have had the great fortune of serving your Highness for the past twelve years, during which I have performed all manner of duties even with the lowest of servants. In addition, over the past several years I have made myself useful in a variety of musical duties both ordinary and extraordinary, in such a way that I could insure myself the greatest satisfaction.

I acknowledge with deepest gratitude that in this long time my salary has been improved somewhat, and that I have been graciously compensated for extra work done on the side;

However, lately more and more court musicians have received promotions to Kammermusicus; most recently the violinist Zwick, who despite normal court protocols was promoted to that title ahead of me. . . .

Therefore I most humbly request your Highness to relieve me of my servant status and place me as equal with the other Kammermusicus members.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴*Taufbuch*, Pfarr Archiv St. Johann, Donaueschingen. The circumstances around this second marriage are vague. Death and marriage records are missing in the Pfarr Archiv's *Standesbücher* for the years 1779 and 1780, so there is no way of knowing if Rosinack's first wife died in this time. Since there is no marriage license in Rosinack's personal file at the FFA, it is possible the marriage took place after the birth of his second child (1779) and before his official employment at court (1781).

¹¹⁵ "Euer hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht habe ich die höchste Gnade, bereits 12 Jahre in der Livrée zu dienen, wo ich mehrere Jahre lang auch mit denen geringsten Hoflaqaen alle ordinari- und wechsel-Dienste gemacht, und nebenbei mich nichtsdestoweniger auf alle Art in der Musique so gebrauchen haben lassen, dass ich mich der höchsten Zufriedenheit [illegible] unterthänigst versichern durfte.

Ich erkenne es mit tiefest unterthänigsten Dankes-Pflicht das mir wehrend - dieser so langen Zeit auch etwas an meinem Gehalt aufgebessert - und ich in einigen Nebendiensten gnädigst dispensiret worden;

Gleichwie aber auch entzwischen mehrere und besonders jüngst der Violinist Zwick als Kammer-Musicus eingeruket, und nach seinen Aufnahms Systeme mir abermalen vorgezogen worden. . . .

This letter also contains a recommendation from the *Hofmarshall* Erasmus von Lassberg stating

. . . the applicant is as strong as any of your court musicians, therefore I can recommend him for a salary of 200 Gulden, plus an extra 100 Gulden for the officer's mess, as well as six *Klafter* of soft wood for burning, the vacant quarters of the *Forstcontroleur* Meishar, and once yearly some used clothing from the courtly wardrobe. His salary at present is almost as high. . . . Rosinack should, however, not only be required to direct the court's wind music, but also play along himself at every opportunity.¹¹⁶

Lassberg's recommendation shows that Rosinack's salary at that time was already well above the initial yearly servant rate of 144 Gulden, which suggests that the Kammermusicus promotion was as much an elevation of social status as an increase in pay. The court administration followed the Hofmarshall's suggestions almost exactly in their response to Rosinack's request, dated March 9, 1789.

(text)

With God's mercy Joseph Maria Benedikt Holy Roman Prince of Fürstenberg shall let it be known forthwith that Franz Joseph Rosinack, in consideration of his many years of good service as servant and court musician,

Euer hochfürstliche Durchlaucht bitte ich demnach unterthänigst fussfällig, womit höchstieselben auch mich, denen anderen, ausser der Livrée stehenden hochfürstlichen Cammer-Musicis durchaus gleichzustellen, fürstmildest geruhen wollen.“ Undated letter, FFA, Personalakt Ro. 8.

¹¹⁶ “. . . der underthänigste Supliquant in der Musique eben so stark ist als einer ihrer hof Musicis . . . mein underthänigstes goutachten da hier zou geben, dass ihrer Rosiniak ein gehalt von 200G dan 100G vor den ofizier Tisch, des gleichen 6 glafter waiches bren holtz, unt dass alenfahls faqant werdente kwartier des Forstcontrolleur Meishar, wie auch aljarlich ein abgelegtes glaid aus der fürstl. gardrobe mochte abgegeben werten. Der gehalt des underthänigsten supl. belauft sich gegen wartich bei nahe eben so hoch, wan ich die 264G gehalt, dan die Liebrai, unt glaine maundierungs gelt berechne. Doch solte ihr Rosiniak verbunden sein, nicht nouhr die Tirection der blasenten Musik bei zou behalten, sondern auch alen gelegenhaitten selbst mit zou blasen.” *Hofmarschall's* recommendation in the above mentioned undated letter, FFA, Personalakt Ro. 8. I have tried to include the idiosyncrasies of Erasmus Lassberg's (the *Hofmarschall*) handwriting. Lassberg's writing throughout FJR's correspondence is a rather extreme example of the fact that the handwritten German language of the time was not as uniform in spelling as modern German.

(margin annotation)

along with his daily proven music genius, and famous level of performance,

(text)

shall be promoted to the position of Kammer-musicus. In this position he shall, following our gracious direction, be bound to make himself musically useful at court, in church, and at the theater, as well as continue to direct the court wind music,

(margin annotation)

and shall himself play with the ensemble.¹¹⁷

This decree elevating Rosinack's status was accompanied by notices to the various departments of the Fürstenberg government stating he would from then on receive a yearly salary of 300 gulden, along with 6 klafter of soft firewood, the appropriate living quarters, and once yearly some clothes from the court's wardrobe. Additionally, he was relieved of his servant status; other than that, however, his duties seemingly would continue on as before. He was principal oboist of the court orchestra and performed as needed at church, in the theater, and in all other courtly functions.

As the document also notes, he continued to direct the court *Harmonie*, and played along with the ensemble as needed. As director Rosinack would have chosen the repertoire and organized rehearsals for *Harmonie* performances that accompanied meals and festive occasions. He also wrote some arrangements for the *Harmonie* himself.

Existing parts suggest that the instrumentation of the ensemble was most often the classic

¹¹⁷ "Von Gottes Gnaden . . . Joseph Maria Benedikt des Heiligen Römischen Reichsfürsten zu Fürstenberg geben ihm Franz Joseph Rosinack hiermit in gnaden zu vernehmen, dass wir ihn auf sein unterthänigsten bitten und in vorzüglicher Rucksicht . . . in der Livree bey unserer Hof-Musique durch mehrere Jahre geführten guten dienste (margin annotation: . . . zu Tag gelegten besonderen Music-genie, und der damit verbundenen rühmlichen Aufführungen) mit dem Character eines wirklichen KammerMusicus angestellt und dergestalten promoviert haben wollen, dass Er sowohl bey unserem Hof als in der Kirchen, ihn auf dem hiesigen Hoftheater nach unserem gnädigsten Verlangen und Anweisung sich gebrauchen zu lassen und besonders die Direction über die blasende Musique wie bisher beyzubehalten verbunden seyn sollen (margin annotation: auch jeweils . . . selbst mit zu blasen). Decree of Promotion for Franz Joseph Rosinack: March 9, 1789. FFA, Personal Akt Ro. 8.

wind octet of two oboes, two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons. Although there was some fluctuation in the wind section during the closing years of the eighteenth century, Rosinack's colleagues in the *Harmonie* of that time would have been as follows: Joseph Jäckle (oboe), Johann Baptist Braun and Franz Joseph Kopp (clarinet), Joseph Fischer and Nepomuk Culla (horn), as well as Mathhäus Gail and Xaver Rehsteiner (Bassoon).¹¹⁸

In 1792 the Bohemian born Joseph Fiala (1748-1816) was hired by the Fürstenbergs as court violoncellist and composer. Court records from that year list him as *Violoncellist Fiala, Kammermusicus*, and some years later the title *compositeur* appears next to his name.¹¹⁹ For Franz Joseph Rosinack, the arrival of his former teacher and countryman must have been important, although the details of their relationship are unclear. They did not play together as oboists, as Fiala had given up the instrument some years before because of health complications.¹²⁰ They would, however, have taken part in each other's musical creations. Rosinack most likely played in performances of the

¹¹⁸ Most of the *Harmonie Musik* surviving in the Fürstenberg music manuscript collection uses the instrumentation of the wind octet mentioned above, including at least five arrangements directly attributable to Rosinack himself. Many of these pieces are also listed in the catalogues detailing the Fürstenberg music holdings made in 1803, 1816, and 1827, FFA: Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft III/5. The *Staats-und Adressen-Kalendar* from the 1790s show the fluctuation of *Hoforchester* members during the time. Thus in 1794, for example, Johann Klosterknecht replaces Kopp on clarinet, and a Caspar Weiss replaces Culla on horn. FFA, *Staats-und Adressen-Kalendar* from the years 1790, 91, 92, 94, and 96.

¹¹⁹ FFA, *Staats-und Adressen-Kalendar* from the years 1792 and 1802.

¹²⁰ Interestingly, a differing view is presented by Hellyer: "The repertory provided by both Fiala and his pupil Rosiniack [*sic*] is very distinctive. Fiala wrote his 22 Partitas for the Harmonie at Donaueschingen for many different combinations of wind instruments . . . it is very likely that Fiala wrote them for himself to play, probably with Rosiniack." Roger Hellyer, "Harmoniemusik: Music for Small Wind Band in the late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oxford, 1973), 212. This view, however, is refuted by Dlabacz: "In dieser Eigenschaft [als Oboist] stand er [Fiala] zu Mannheim und Salzburg in Diensten der Landesfürstlichen Kapellen, an welchen er oft 10 bis 12 konzerte in einer Nacht geblasen, und sich dadurch das Blutbrechen zugezogen hatte. Und diess war die eigentliche Ursache, warum er sein zauberisches Instrument niederlegen [*sic*]. . ." Gottfried Johann Dlabacz, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler Lexicon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, (Prague:1815) Vol. II, Sp. 393. Reinländer notes that "After a 'chest ailment' prevented Fiala from playing the oboe for some time, the Archbishop [of Salzburg] dismissed him summarily on 31 August 1785." Claus Reinländer, "Fiala, Joseph," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (2001). There is as well no indication in the Fürstenberg archives that Fiala ever played oboe during his years in Donaueschingen.

many partitas for *Harmonie* that Fiala wrote during his fourteen years in Donaueschingen. Fiala, as cellist, would have played the many arrangements for oboe and strings that Rosinack was writing during those years.¹²¹

During the 1790s Rosinack's family continued to grow. In that decade four children were born to Franz Joseph's wife Maria Anna Altin: Johann Nepomuk (9.6.1791-?), Crescentia (9.20.1793-?), Carolina (2.27.1795-10.16.1866), and Theresia (3.15.1796-?). While over the previous two decades some of Rosinack's children likely died at a young age, several had now survived into their teens and were coming of age. The cover for a letter from the Fürstenberg government dated June 29, 1798, states "The Kammermusik Rosinack requests employment for his son." The text of the letter reads

The father of Joseph Rosinack should understand that, as the oboe section in the court orchestra is full, no additional oboist is needed. If the applicant hopes for future employment, should a position become available, he should first improve his playing. To this end we would be willing to offer financial support to cover travel costs associated with such efforts.¹²²

This letter could be the response to an undated letter mentioned earlier (see above, page 61) where a "Kammer Musicus Rosiniak" also requests employment for his son "Franz

¹²¹ During the 1790s and into the following decade Rosinack wrote, among many other arrangements, over thirty for the combination oboe, violin, 2 violas, and violoncello (cf. chapter III below). Besides Fiala, other string players that may have taken part in performances of Rosinack's string arrangements include the violinists von Hampeln, Nördlinger, Zwick, Girard, Franz Fiala (Joseph Fiala's son, who later took a position with the court orchestra in Karlsruhe), and Braun. Violists would have been Hauger and Wezel. FFA, *Staats-und Adressen-Kalendar* from the years 1792, 94, and 96, as well as 1802 and 04.

¹²² "Da bei der fürstlichen Hofmusik wirklich die Hautboisten Parthie vollzählig ist, so wäre dem Vater des Joseph Rosinack zu verstehen zu geben, dass man für ihn kein Subject braucht. Wenn sich Supplicant aber für die Zukunft bei einer Vacatur um Anstellung Hoffnung machen wolle, man gerne sähe, wenn er sich . . . mehr perfektioniere, wozu man auf eine Reisegeld so dann den weitere gehalt Betrag mehre wurde." Letter from the Fürstenberg court dated June 29, 1798, FFA, Personalakt Ro. 8. Another factor pointing to the later dating of the "Kammer Musicus Rosiniak's" (undated) request (above at note 6) is its attached recommendation of Hofmarschall Lassberg: "unterthänigstes gutachten . . . Da khain hoboist ab geht, so würd ichs der gnade Euer h.f. Durchl. Unterthänigst an haim stellen ob für der jungen Rosiniak aus rücksicht seines fatters, einswelien mit einen geringeren gehalt in die Livree aufnehmen volen." This statement that "no oboist is leaving" fits the circumstances outlined in the Fürstenberg letter of June 29, 1798.

Joseph Rosiniak.”¹²³ Such an interpretation would suggest that Rosinack’s first son, “Fransiscus,” had spent the years 1795-1798 in Italy playing oboe in a military band, most likely for the Austrian army, which was fighting a losing battle with Napoleon’s army during those years. Considering the gains from French victories during the close of the 1790s into the early 1800s, continued employment with an Austrian military band would have posed considerable risk, especially in the light of the increasingly complex political situation in Donaueschingen as Napoleon took control of the south German states.

The turmoil opening the nineteenth century continued a troubled time for the citizens of Donaueschingen. The local fighting between France and Austria during the years 1798-1801 forced the Fürstenberg family to flee eastwards, while normal citizens hoped for a peaceful outcome that would leave their livelihoods intact. An emotional appeal that Rosinack wrote to Prince Karl Joachim on October 6, 1802, shows the Rosinack family’s difficulties:

The fact that I failed to make this request in the same time period as others with similar requests should be proof to your Highness that the plea comes only in the utmost need, and that my domestic financial situation is becoming more and more oppressive. I have, in addition to my wife, three children to care for, among whom is an eight-year-old daughter who is very sick, and my monthly pay of 25 Gulden is less and less able to support us. Thus I am forced to request an addition to my salary and, more importantly extra firewood, as the problem with my sick child is compounded by the fact that my living quarters are very difficult to keep warm. Presently my wood allotment of six *Klafter* does not even cover my cooking needs, let alone heating for a whole year.

The motive for this request lies in the fact that when I had the good grace to be promoted to *Kammermusicus*, my contract assured me, in addition to my regular salary, a yearly grant of clothing from the court wardrobe. Since your Highness’s ascension, however, I have been denied

¹²³ See note 110 above in reference to the undated letter.

this clothing grant. Another stipulation of my contract from April 23, 1789, promised me an additional three *Klafter* of firewood to help with the heating deficiencies of my home. Most recently this additional wood was also taken away from me, as a result of the wood harvest regulation's nullification. Thus I would find great comfort in having the fact acknowledged that this request is actually only for that which had in the past already been given to me; the loss of which I have borne during the intervening years with great difficulty.¹²⁴

This letter makes clear that Rosinack had not seen a salary increase since his *Kammermusicus* contract of 1789, and had in fact forfeited some items stipulated in the contract after Prince Karl Joachim's ascension in 1796. The Fürstenberg response left Rosinack's pay at its previous level, although it increased his wood allotment by two *Klafter*.

The 1802 letter also demonstrates that in addition to his wife Rosinack was supporting three children, including a sickly eight-year-old. The sick child was likely

¹²⁴ „Dass ich mich mit obgesetzter unterthänigsten Bitte nicht in dem Zeitpunkt einfand, in welchem bereits alle die mit dergleichen Gesuchen einzukommen wagten – gnädigst erhört zu werden das Glück hatten, wurden Euer hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht als ein Beweis dafür annehmen, dass ich mit Bittstellungen dieser Art bis auf den äussersten Nothpunkt zurückhalte, und also [illegible] da ich mich diesfalls eine unterthänigst bittlich anzumelden [illegible] mir wirklich am drückendsten aufliege. [illegible] allen Haushaltsbedürfnissen kommt immer mehr in [illegible] und da ich nebst meiner Ehegattin noch 3 Kinder bei mir – und unter diesen eine schon bereits 8 jahre kränkliche Tochter habe – meine monatlich nur mit 25 G beziehende Besoldung immer unzureichender wird.

Deswegen ich nothgedrungen einige gnädigste Zulage – und insbesondere noch um Zulegung einigen weiteren Brennholzes aus der ursache angelegenst bitte da ich eben wegen vorgedachter kranken Tochter ein besonderes – also 2 Zimmer feuern muss, und [illegible] das mir gegenwärtig nur mit 6 klaftern zukommende Holz nicht einmal zum Kochen, und für einen Ofen durchs ganze Jahr auslanget.

[illegible] bittliche Gesuche stützen sich auch auf den Beweggrund, dass für eines – als ich zum Kammermusicus promoviert zu werden die höchste Gnade hatte, decretmässig nebst meiner wirklich noch beziehenden Besoldung auch alljährlich ein abgelegtes Kleid aus der hochfürstliche Garderobe gnädigst zugesichert – ein solches aber mir seit dem Regeirungsantritt Euer hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht nicht mehr abgegeben worden, dann für das andere mir unterm 23. April 1789 eben des hart zu feuernden Quartiers wegen 3 Klafter Brennholzes zugeleget – solches aber durch das nun vernichtete Holzbezugsregular mir wieder entzogen war, dahin – was Euer hochfürstliche Durchlaucht nunmehr in ein – und anderem mir mitzuthetheilen gnädigst geruhen wurden, solches eigentlich nur das ist, was mir ehemdem gegeben worden, und ich immer denen [Entgangs] jahren hart entbehrte.“ Letter from FJR to Prince Karl Joachim, October 6, 1802. FFA, Personal Akt Ro. 8.

Crescentia (then actually nine years old); the two other children at home were likely Carolina (seven years old), and possibly Wallburga (sixteen years old). While many of the Rosinack children probably died at a young age, records suggest that at least the eldest daughter, Maria Anna, as well as the sons Anton and Franz Joseph the younger had come of age and left the house.¹²⁵

A series of letters between the Rosinacks and the Fürstenberg government from the following years demonstrate Anton Rosinack to have been an accomplished musician. In 1803, perhaps because of the difficulties in Donaueschingen, Anton left to the employ of Joseph von Bethlen, a Hungarian nobleman living in Hermannstadt, Siebenbürgen (now Sibiu, Romania). Anton worked as principal clarinetist with the Bethlen court orchestra and played bassoon and violin as well. He spent a total of eight years with the Bethlen family before returning to Donaueschingen in 1811.¹²⁶

As the decade wore on, the Fürstenberg *Hofkapelle* saw a gradual decline in its fortunes. In 1805 *Musikintendant* Karl von Hampeln left the court service, likely because of the worsening relationship between Napoleon and the Fürstenberg family. Bassoonist Matthäus Gail and bassist Johann Kefer both died soon thereafter (Gail 1807, Kefer 1809) and were not replaced by the court government. The lack of a principal bassoon would have limited the performance capabilities of the *Hofkapelle*, but perhaps more

¹²⁵ Church records show that both Maria Anna and Anton lived many decades into the 1800s, and the 1798 letter from the Fürstenberg government (see page 9) mentions Joseph Rosinack (likely Franz Joseph, Jr.). Thus these children, having come of age, were not likely among the three children mentioned in the 1802 letter. More likely were Carolina and Walburga, for whom later deaths are recorded (Walburga 9.28.1861 and Carolina 10.16.1866), as well as Crescentia, who most closely fits the eight years of age mentioned in Rosinack's letter. (*Totenbuch*: Pfarr-Archiv St. Johann, Donaueschingen).

¹²⁶ A letter by FJR to *Landgraf* Joachim Egon dated August 8, 1807 (FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst, und Wissenschaft, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1) notes that Anton Rosinack was employed by Bethlen (see chapter 1, note 69). Another letter by FJR to *Fürstin* Elisabeth von Fürstenberg dated August 27, 1811 (Personal Akt Ro. 23, FFA Donaueschingen) states that Anton had returned to Donaueschingen. Finally, a letter by Anton Rosinack to Prince Karl Egon dated October 20, 1829 (Personal Akt Ro. 23, FFA Donaueschingen) notes that Anton had served Bethlen for eight years as principal clarinetist. This information suggests that Anton had left Donaueschingen in 1803.

acutely that of the court *Harmonie*, as is attested to in letters by Rosinack and Malzacker/Rinsler to the Fürstenbergs (see Chapter I, pp. 36-39). Gail's death in 1807 directly corresponds to the beginning of a period over a decade when opera was not performed in Donaueschingen.

A letter from Franz Joseph Rosinack to the court government dated July 8, 1807, suggests that Rosinack was still actively writing and copying music for the *Hofkapelle*, despite the court's continuing financial difficulties:

My living quarters at present consist of a kitchen and two small living-rooms, along with two storage chambers under the roof. My children sleep in one of the living-rooms, and I myself in the other. Because I desire a room for myself to facilitate my composing and copying of music, so I allow myself to humbly request the use of *Kanzlist Zwerger's* living quarters.¹²⁷

The Fürstenberg response came on July 11, 1807:

Let it be known that in response to his request from July 8 the Kammermusicus Rosinack shall be given use of the living quarters of the deceased *Eggskanzlist Zwerger*. With respect to the garden next to the house, however, use of the garden shall be reserved for now, and these circumstances shall, until further notice, continue as they have.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ „Mein gegenwärtiges Quartier besteht aus einer Küche, und zwei kleinen Wohnstuben nebst 2 Gerümpelkammern unter dem Dach. In einer der Wohnstuben schlafen meine Kinder, und in der anderen ich; und da ich mir zum componieren der Musik, und abschreiben derselben ein alleiniges Zimmer wünschte, so erlaube ich mir unterthänig um die Verleihung des Kanzlist zwergerischen Quartiers zu bitten.“ Letter to the Fürstenberg government from 7.8.1807(Personal Akt Ro. 8, FFA Donaueschingen). This letter was written after the death of Prince Karl Joachim (1804) and is addressed “Hochfürstlich hochgräfliche Regierung! hochlobliche Hofkammer!” which suggests some confusion to whom the request should go to, *Landgraf* Joachim Egon, who was living in Austria, or the local governing group under *Präsident* von Kleiser.

¹²⁸ „Dem Kammermusicus Rosinack wird auf seine eingereichte Bittschriff vom 8 Juli eröffnet, das ihm das von dem verstorbenen Eggskanzlist Zwerger eingehaltene [] Quartier überlassen werde. Soviel es aber den Garten beim Haus betrifft; so wird die Vergebung der Gärten einswelien noch verbehalten und es hat dem nach bis auf weiteres bei dem bisherigen Zustand sein bewerden.“ Letter from the Fürstenberg government dated 7.11.1807 (Personal Akt Ro. 8, FFA Donaueschingen).

In granting the additional workspace the court government acknowledged Rosinack's continuing compositional and copying obligations. It is unclear what music he was actually writing in this time, however nine of Rosinack's surviving arrangements are for wind quartet (two oboes, clarinet, and bassoon), and over thirty are for a mixed quintet (oboe, violin, two violas, and cello), suggesting the possibility that he could have arranged some of these pieces in response to the developing instrumental deficiencies in the *Hofkapelle*. At the very least, the absence of one or both of the two bassoons in these arrangements would have assured that they continued to fill the need for music at court during the time 1807-1811.¹²⁹

The several years before Napoleon's downfall prolonged a difficult time for musicians at the Fürstenberg court. The stage performances so central to the orchestra's previous existence had all but been eliminated. The two operetta productions of Dalayrac's *Die beide Savoyarden* celebrating Princess Elisabeth's nameday in November 1807 and 1808 likely occurred with a reduced instrumentation, and after these performances opera was not heard again in Donaueschingen for over a decade.¹³⁰ Particularly devastating to Franz Joseph Rosinack must have been his wife's death on September 3, 1808, leaving him alone to care for his children. Perhaps in response to this need Rosinack continued to advocate for his wind-playing son Anton's employment at

¹²⁹ One of the few specific occasions mentioned by sources where Rosinack's arrangements were used occurred during this time. Georg Tumbült writes about an allegorical dance performed before several theater productions late in 1806 into 1807 where Rosinack arranged the accompanying music: "Zur hohen Geburtstagsfeier der Fürstin Elisabeth hatte der Baron von Auffenberg einen allegorisch-pantomimischen Tanz 'erfunden' und die Musik dazu der Kammermusik Rosinack 'eingerichtet'. Dieser Tanz eröffnete die Festvorstellung am 8. Dezember 1806, dem sich das beliebte Schauspiel *Die Soldaten* von Arresto anschloss. Der allegorisch-pantomimischen Tanz fand solchen Beifall, dass er in den Vorstellungen vom 1. Und 18. Januar 1807 wiederholt wurde." Unfortunately Tumbült does not mention his sources. Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 71.

¹³⁰ Tumbült, *Hoftheater*, 71-74.

the Fürstenberg court, as he had begun in 1807 after the bassoonist Matthäus Gail's death.

1811-1823

The Last Decade

In 1811, as Princess Elisabeth was gaining more control over the Fürstenberg administration, Rosinack wrote the following in a letter to the Princess dated August 27, again hoping for a position for his son.

Upon examination of the court orchestra it should be plain to see that at least the wind section must be maintained. Even for your Highness, however, it has been well known for some time that the *Harmonie* is incomplete and too weakly filled, especially since the death of the superb bassoonist Gail. For this reason I risk the humble request that my returned son Anton Rosinack, who enjoys high esteem for his abilities on all wind instruments, and according to the attached recommendation . . . distinguished himself with complete satisfaction as an Austrian Kapellmeister, be hired in the position of the deceased Gail. This engagement is all the more important as the *Harmonie* is for the most part filled with elderly players, and with my thirty-four years of service I believe to have made myself worthy enough that at least one of my sons might be provided for by the court.¹³¹

¹³¹ „Dem Vernehmen nach sollen bey der hochfürstlichen Hofmusik, wenigst die Blas instrumente beybehalten werden. Daß aber diese Harmoniemusik unvollständig und zu schwach besetzt sey, besonders seit dem Ableben des vortreflichen Fagotisten Gail, ist fuer hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht selbst hinlänglich bekannt. Deswegen wage ich die unterthänigste Bitte, meinen zurückgekommenen Sohn Anton Rosinack, welcher auf jedem Blasinstrumente mit Beyfall sich hören lassen darf, und nach anliegendem Zeugnisse, welches unterthänigst wieder zurückgebethen wird, als östreichischer Kapellmeister sich als solchen zur vollkommensten Zufriedenheit auszeichnete, an die Stelle des verstorbenen Gail gnädigst aufzunehmen; um so mehr, da die Harmoniemusik wirklich größtentheils mit alten Leuten besetzt ist, und ich durch meine 34 jährigen Dienste mich der höchsten Gnade in so ferne würdig gemacht zu haben glaube, dass fuer hochfürstliche Durchlaucht, auch einen meiner Söhne zu versorgen geruhen möchten.“ Letter to Princess Elisabeth von Fürstenberg dated August 27, 1811, Personal Akt Ro. 23, FFA Donaueschingen. Note that this letter is located in Anton Rosinack's personal file (Ro. 23), not in FJR's personal file (Ro. 8). Also of importance is the fact that FJR addressed the letter “*Durlauchtigste Fürstin, gnädigste Frau Frau,*” suggesting that Elisabeth von Fürstenberg was making the decisions for the court, even though *Präsident* von Kleiser remained in the court administration until 1814. See chapter 1, note 67.

Eureblauetigste Fürstin,
gnädigste Frau Frau!

Armenmutter
Rosina bittet um
Hilffürsorge, in
Ihre Anstalt in die
Stall der Armenmutter
um fürstliche
Gnade gnädigst auf-
zunehmen.

Notwendige Beilagen unangelegt

Dem Armenmutter nach sollen bey
Ihrer hochwürdigsten Hofmutter,
wennigst die Bedürfnisse
beygebracht werden.

Dass aber diese Armenmutter
sich unvollständig und zu wenig
besorgt sey, besonders seit
Ihrer Ableben der dort anwesenden
fürstlichen Gnade, ist für
Hilffürsorge durch Eureblauet
selbst hinlänglich bekannt.

Figure 4: The Front Page of Rosinack's 1811 Letter to Princess Elisabeth
(printed with the kind permission of the Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv)

Anton Rosinack had likely returned to Donaueschingen several months earlier in 1811. In the fall of that year he was considering other options, having received an offer for the principal clarinet position in the court orchestra of Archduke Karl Friedrich of Baden in Karlsruhe. Family ties must have been more important, however, and Anton accepted a *Hoflakai* position offered by the Fürstenberg court on October 12, which hired him as “Bassoonist in the servant ranks with a monthly salary of eighteen Gulden . . . with the understanding that should the situation require it, he play other instruments as well.”¹³²

The decision to stay in Donaueschingen was not without risk. It was only after 1812 that the Austrian allies gained the upper hand over Napoleon, and even after Napoleon’s downfall the status of the Fürstenberg court in the new order of German nations was unclear, thus leaving the members of the *Hofmusik* in uncertainty for several years to come. Only after Karl Egon’s marriage to Princess Amalie of Baden did the intention to rebuild the court orchestra under the new *Kapellmeister* Konrad Kreutzer come to fruition.

¹³² “Serenissima Jutrix haben . . . diess jetzt geruhet, den [A.R.] als Fagotisten mit einer monathlichen Gage von Achtzehn Guilden . . . gnädigst in die Livree aufzunehmen, jedoch ihm die ausdrückliche Verbindlichkeit aufzulegen, sich im Erforderungsfall auch für andere Instrumente bey der fürstlichen Hofmusik gebrauchen zu lassen.“ Employment notice for Anton Rosinack from October 12, 1811, Personal Akt Ro. 23, FFA Donaueschingen.

Information about other employment opportunities A.R. had during that time comes from an undated letter (likely early 1821) Rosinack later wrote to Prince Karl Egon requesting a salary increase: “Vor 10 Jahren hatte ich die Gnade, in hochfürstliche Dienste und Livree mit der Zusicherung aufgenommen zu werden, dass bey wiederherstellung des Orchesters auf mich gnädigst Berücksichtigung genommen werden würde. In diesem vollen Vertrauen und aus inniger Anhänglichkeit zum Hochfürstlichen Hause, höchst welchem auch mein Vatter 40 Jahre zu dienen die Gnade hat, entschlug ich anno 1812 den mir damals gemachten Antrag einer Clarinettistenstelle am grossherzoglichen Theater in Carlsruhe, und wiedmete mich nicht nur dem mir angewiesenen Livree Dienst mit Eyfer und Treue, sondern auch vorzüglich und mit Anstrengung in der Musik derjenigen Instrumenten, welche zu selber Zeit am meisten mangelten . . .“ The reply, dated April 21, 1821, granted Anton an additional twenty gulden monthly. Letter to Prince Karl Egon, FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst, und Wissenschaft, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1. Note that this letter is not located in Rosinack’s Personal File (Ro. 23), but in the files of the so called *Hofmusik Akten*. Interestingly, the year 1812 mentioned in Anton’s letter suggests that offer from Karlsruhe came some months after he had decided to sign on with the Fürstenberg court.

As the decade continued, Franz Joseph Rosinack was approaching seventy years of age. He had been working for the Fürstenberg family for forty of those years, and as there is no mention of him retiring or receiving a pension in his personal file, it can be assumed he was still an active musician. Furthermore, in the 1818 *Dienst Instruktion* for Kreutzer, Prince Karl Egon mentions Rosinack (*Roßniak der ältere*) as one of five professionally contracted musicians in the *Hofmusik*, while musicians who had retired are not listed, such as Rehsteiner and Braun the elder.¹³³

Certainly in the years leading up to the rebuilding of the court orchestra Rosinack's arrangements for wind quartet and quintet of oboe and strings would have continued to fulfill musical requirements at court. By 1818 there were enough wind players to again perform *Harmoniemusik* for the traditional octet combination. Musicians in the Fürstenberg *Harmonie* during that time likely would have been the oboists Franz Joseph Rosinack and Joseph Jäckle, clarinetists Johann Klosterknecht and Johann Baptist Braun the younger, hornists Johann Blechschmidt and Matthias Huber, as well as bassoonists Anton Rosinack and Johann Hepting.

The years under Kreutzer present conflicting circumstances for the elder Rosinack. One highlight during this time would have been Anton's marriage in December 1821 to Antonia Rehsteiner, daughter of Xaver Rehsteiner, the former

¹³³ "Mit Dekreten sind für die Hofmusik angestellt: Roßniak der ältere, Gerarde, Keller, Vollmar, Weiss, Blechschmied, Wassermann." *Instruktionen* as quoted by Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 69. Rehsteiner and Braun received pensions starting in 1819. Personal Akt Re. 29 and Br. 26, FFA Donaueschingen.

bassoonist and colleague of Franz Joseph in the *Hofmusik*.¹³⁴ With regard to oboe-playing, however, a letter Kreutzer wrote on December 5, 1819, suggests that Franz Joseph Rosinack may not have been an active musician in his last years. In the letter Kreutzer mentions the principal oboist of the court orchestra as “Wöhrle,” who likely played in the *Alpenhütte* performances of November and December that year.¹³⁵ Kreutzer had suggested Wöhrle as principal oboist in his earlier letter to Karl Egon recommending musicians with which to complete the orchestra, however no record of such a musician exists in the Fürstenberg archives.¹³⁶ In his final letter to the prince, written September 6, 1821, several months before his permanent departure from Donaueschingen, Kreutzer lists both the principal and second oboe positions among the continuing deficiencies of the ensemble.¹³⁷ Whether this demand implies the vacancy of the positions, or Kreutzer’s mere displeasure with Rosinack’s performance, if indeed Rosinack was still playing, remains unclear. The uncertainty with regard to the oboe section in the *Hofmusik* continues through Johann Wenzel Kalliwoda’s hiring as new

¹³⁴ In November 1821 Anton had written to Prince Karl Egon requesting the allowance for marriage: “Unterthänigste Bitte des Hofbedienten Anton Rosinack um die Heiraths-Bewilligung mit der Antonia Rehsteiner, Tochter des verstorbenen Hausmeisters Rehsteiner zu Hüfingen. Eurer Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht sind meine Verhältnisse mit der obgedachten Antonia Rehsteiner zu sehr bekannt, als dass Höchstderselbe meinen Wunsch, mich mit derselben ehelich zu verbinden zur Ungnade aufnehmen könnten. . . .” The response came on December 19: “Domänenkanzley hat den Anton Rosinack gegen Ausstellung der gewöhnlichen Verzichtleistung den dienstherrlichen HeirathsConsens zu ertheilen und ihm auch das Holzdeputat von zwey Klafftern weichen Brennholzes anweisen zu lassen.” Letter requesting marriage allowance dated November 25, 1821, Personal Akt Ro. 23, FFA Donaueschingen. After retiring from the court orchestra in 1819, Antonia’s father Xaver Rehsteiner had taken on the *Hausmeister* position in the neighboring town of Hüfingen, before his death on September 16, 1821. Personal Akt Re. 29, FFA, Donaueschingen.

¹³⁵ Kreutzer, letter dated December 5, 1819, as quoted by Brecht, *Kreutzer*, 76. See also chapter one, note 93.

¹³⁶ *Angelegenheiten, die hochfürstliche Kapelle betreffend*, undated letter from Kreutzer to Prince Karl Egon II, FFA Donaueschingen, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst, und Wissenschaft, vol. I, fasc. 1. See chapter one, note 86.

¹³⁷ Kreutzer, letter to Karl Egon dated Sept. 6, 1821, FFA: Personalakte Kr. 20, as quoted by Nägele, *Meines Vergnügens*, 41-42. See Chapter I, note 101.

Kapellmeister in 1822. Franz Joseph Rosinack died on June 17, 1823, just months after Kalliwoda began his tenure.

Beyond 1823

Records show that a Josef Hepting followed Rosinack as oboist in the court orchestra. In a plea requesting a salary increase dated January 28, 1829, Hepting wrote the following to Prince Karl Egon:

Since my earliest youth I have strived with passion and fervor to devote myself to the fine arts. Ten years ago your Highness founded a new orchestra, and at that time I had the good fortune to be counted among its members as a worthy musician. With a yearly salary of 100 Gulden I played second violin much to the satisfaction of my director for five full years. After the death of Kammermusik Rosinack, whose position I then took over, I played with the orchestra for another five years as first oboe. . . . Should your highness see fit to grant my request, rest assured you will always find in me an eager servant who continually aspires to the highest levels of the fine arts.¹³⁸

Josef Hepting and his brother Johann, who played bassoon, continued with the orchestra for several more years until their deaths in 1830 and 1831 respectively.¹³⁹ Anton

¹³⁸ “Schon seit der frühesten Jugend suchte ich mich mit besonderer Vorliebe und Eifer der schönen Kunst zu widmen. Da nun Eure Hochfürstliche Durchlaucht schon vor zehn Jahren eine frische Kapelle errichteten, hatte ich damals den Glück in das Hochfürstliche Orchester mit einem jährlichen fiven Gehalte von 100 Gulden unter die Zahl der Musiker aufgenommen und als brauchbares Mitglied derselben verwendet zu werden, worunter ich fünf volle Jahre mit Zufriedenheit meiner Vorsteher die zweite Violine, und nach dem Tode des Kammermusik Rosinack ebenfalls durch fünf volle Jahre an dessen Stelle mit Zufriedenheit beym Orchester die erste Oboe mitspielte. . . . Geruhen Euer Durchlaucht mich in meinem Gesuche zu unterstützen, so werden Höchstdieselben einen eifrigen und immer mehr nach der schönen Kunst Diener an mir zu erwarten haben. “ Letter to Karl Egon dated January 28, 1829, Personalakte He. 37, FFA Donaueschingen.

¹³⁹ In their *Personalakten* the Hepting brothers are listed as officially coming to the Hofmusik in 1820. Their father, Anton Hepting, was a shoemaker in Donaueschingen. Personalakte for Josef Hepting He. 37, FFA Donaueschingen, Personalakte for Johann Hepting He. 36, FFA Donaueschingen.

Rosinack, following a severely disabling lung disorder, switched to violin and played with the *Hofmusik* for many more years, retiring in 1850. He died in 1854.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Anton Rosinack must have fallen ill sometime between 1821 and 1825. In July of 1825 he made the following request to be relieved of his servant duties and to switch to violin:

“Unterthänigst gehorsamste Bitte des kränklich- und theils reconvalescirenden Antom Rosinack. Vorstehende unterthänigst gestellte Bitten stützen sich auf folgende ziemlich anschauliche Gründe, und zwar. . . bin ich unterthänigst Unterzeichneter durch die langwierig erstandene lebensgefährliche Krankheit so enkräftet und geschwächt, dass ich den bisherigen Dienst schwerlich mehr bey der gegenwärtig zerrütteten körperlichen Organisation zur Zufriedenheit Eurer Durchlaucht werde versehen können. Meine Krankheit scheint zu tief gewurzelt, und zu complicirt zu seyn, als dass ich die Hoffnung schöpfen könnte, gänzlich davon befreit zu werden. . . Da ich meines Brust- und Magens-Defekts und derselben Engrüstigkeit wegen zum Blasen für immer unbrauchbar seyn werde, auch schon vorhin dieser Beschwerden halber von den Blasinstrumenten dispensiert worden bin, so kann ich doch der Brust unbeschadet zum Violin, das zu besetzen nöthig, wohl verwendet werden. Ich werde mich auch eifrigst bestreben, der Erwartung und dem Wunsch Eurer Durchlaucht darinn zu entsprechen: Daher ergetet meine gehorsamste Bitte um Anstellung bei dem Orchester.“ Letter dated July 1, 1825, Personalkte Ro. 23, FFA Donaueschingen.

CHAPTER THREE

FRANZ JOSEPH ROSINACK AS MUSIC ARRANGER

Introduction

During the forty-six years from 1777 to his death in 1823 Franz Joseph Rosinack was a prolific provider of music for the Fürstenberg court. According to the 1789 contract promoting him to *Kammer-Musicus* he was obligated to “make himself musically useful at court, in church, and at the theater, as well as . . . direct the court *Harmonie* ensemble . . .”¹⁴¹ The amount and variety of the scores surviving in the Fürstenberg music collection with a connection to Rosinack suggest that he was not only providing music for the *Harmonie*, but also active in most aspects of music production at the court as well. The 1803 catalogue of the Fürstenberg music library lists three original compositions by Rosinack, including two cassations for keyboard and a serenade.¹⁴² More often, however, his name occurs in the Fürstenberg collection as copyist and arranger. While in some circumstances it seems difficult to differentiate copyist from arranger,¹⁴³ there are at least fifty manuscript arrangements in the collection which the

¹⁴¹ “Er sowohl bey unserem Hof als in der Kirchen, ihn auf dem hiesigen Hoftheater nach unserem gnädigsten Verlangen und Anweisung sich gebrauchen zu lassen und besonders die Direction über die blasende Musique wie bisher beyzubehalten verbunden seyn sollen . . .” Decree of Promotion for Franz Joseph Rosinack: March 9, 1789. Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv, Donaueschingen, Personal Akt Ro. 8.

¹⁴² “Catalog Über Vorhandene Clavier-und Sing-Musick Sr Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht Carl Joachim Regierenden Fürsten zu Fürstenberg 1803-1804.” FFA, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft Vol.III/Fasc.5. Only the cassations have survived: in C and F, D-DO Mus. Ms. 1680 and 1681.

¹⁴³In the Fürstenberg music collection there are keyboard scores in Rosinack’s hand of a variety of works: among others, several symphonies and partitas by Anton Rosetti, including the Symphonies in C and E-flat, Mur A5 and A30 (D DO Mus. Ms. 1666 and 1658), as well as the Partita in B-flat, Mur B22 (D DO Mus. Ms. 1657). RISM does not list Rosinack as arranger in these cases, however. Sterling E. Murray, *Antonio Rosetti (Anton Rösler), ca. 1750-1792: A Thematic Catalogue*, (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1996).

Repertoire International des Sources Musicales attributes to Franz Joseph Rosinack (see Appendix A for a listing of the specific arrangements).¹⁴⁴

Little primary source information has survived as to when and under what circumstances Rosinack made his arrangements. Much of the original repertoire that Rosinack worked with was composed during the 1780s and 90s, including music by a range of composers both well known and less well known: e.g., Haydn, Mozart, Pleyel, Krommer, and Rosetti, among others.¹⁴⁵ This repertoire reflects the musical taste at the Fürstenberg court during Rosinack's time and comes from a wide variety of genres, including chamber music, concertante works, symphonies, liturgical masses, operas, and oratorios. The instrumental combinations used in the arrangements show that Rosinack was providing music for a range of venues at the Fürstenberg court. *Harmoniemusik* for wind octet would have been appropriate for larger halls or outdoor settings, while the quartets and quintets for oboe and strings may have been intended for more intimate surroundings.

Rosinack seems to have written much of his work for performance during the reign of Princes Joseph Maria Benedikt (r. 1783-1796) and Karl Joachim (r. 1796-1804).¹⁴⁶ His letter of July 8, 1807, requesting an additional room to facilitate his “composing and copying of music,”¹⁴⁷ as well as the court's granting of this request, shows that Rosinack was still actively providing music for court occasions well into the

¹⁴⁴ *Repertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM), *Musikhandschriften nach 1600*, Serie A/II (Munich: Saur, 1996, CD-ROM).

¹⁴⁵ Among the earliest originals Rosinack worked with are Rosetti's Symphony in B-flat, Mur. A49 from 1785, as well as Mozart's Serenade in B-flat, K. 361/370a, composed between 1781 and 1784. The latest original certainly must be Haydn's *Creation*, composed in 1798.

¹⁴⁶ RISM dates many of Rosinack's arrangements as “circa 1790.”

¹⁴⁷ “da ich mir zum componieren der Musik, und abschreiben derselben ein alleiniges Zimmer wünschte...” Letter to the Fürstenberg government from 7.8.1807 (Personal Akt Ro. 8, FFA Donaueschingen; cf. Ch. II: p. 72, note 127).

first decade of the 1800s, several years after the Hofmusik's fortunes had begun to decline. While circumstances at the Fürstenberg court during the early 1800s certainly presented the need for music using a reduced instrumentation, there is no direct evidence (other than the July 1807 letter, perhaps) that Rosinack made any of his arrangements in response to those circumstances. The relative dearth of musicians during this time, however, would in the very least have presented more opportunities for his works to be played.

Instrumentation in Rosinack's Arrangements

Rosinack used a variety of instrumental combinations in his over four dozen arrangements, including both quintets and quartets involving winds and strings, as well as the typical *Harmonie* instrumentation of the wind octet. Among his quintets are twenty-seven for the combination of oboe, violin, two violas, and cello, one for oboe, two violins, viola, and cello, and one for English horn, violin, two violas, and cello. These twenty-nine quintets are by far the most varied group in terms of their original musical sources, ranging from partitas for wind octet and sextet to string quartets, symphonies, an opera, and an oratorio. Composers of the originals include Krommer, Gyrowetz, Mozart, Haydn, Pleyel, and Rosetti, among others (see Table I below).

The arrangements for quartet use two types of instrumentation. Nine are for two oboes, clarinet, and bassoon; all of these come from partitas for wind octet by Krommer and Mozart. Interestingly, these wind quartets would have fit the circumstances at the Fürstenberg court from 1807-1811, when Xavier Rehsteiner was the only bassoonist following the death of Matthäus Gail. In addition to the nine quartets for winds,

Rosinack adapted six string quartets, mostly by Haydn and Pleyel, where an oboe replaces the first violin. Two of these also include optional parts for English horn to replace viola.

Table 1: Rosinack's Instrumentation

Type	Instrumentation	Quantity	Sources by
Quintet	Ob, Vln, 2 Vla, Vlc	27	Krommer, Gyrowetz,
	Ob, 2 Vln, Vla, Vlc	1	Mozart, Haydn,
	E Hn, Vln, 2 Vla, Vlc	1	Pleyel, Rosetti, et al.
Quartet	2 Ob, Cl, Bsn	9	Krommer, Mozart,
	Ob, Vln, Vla, Vlc	6	Haydn, and Pleyel
Octet	2 Ob, 2 Cl, 2 Hn, 2 Bsn	11	Feldmayr, Dittersdorf, Haydn, Paisiello, Wranitzky, Winter, and Gleissner, et al.

Rosinack's work in the *Harmonie* genre includes eleven arrangements for the wind octet combination of two oboes, two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons. The originals he used for his *Harmonie* writing include several partitas for wind sextet by Feldmayr, operas by Dittersdorf, Haydn, Paisiello, and Wranitzky, a ballet by von Winter, and a mass by Gleissner.

Grouping Rosinack's Arrangements: Genre and Style

Well I am up to my eyes in work, for by Sunday [in a] week I have to arrange my opera for wind instruments [Harmonie]. If I don't, someone will anticipate me and secure the profits . . . You have no idea how difficult it is to arrange a work of this kind for wind instruments [Harmonie], so that it suits these [wind] instruments and yet loses none of its effect. Well, I must just spend the night over it, for that is the only way . . .¹⁴⁸

The passage above is quoted from a letter Mozart wrote to his father wherein he describes the difficulties surrounding setting music from his latest opera, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, for *Harmonie*. While Mozart refers to arranging stage music for wind octet, several of his observations and the resulting implications can be applied to the process of arranging in general, thus illuminating the challenges Rosinack faced in making his own work. Mozart felt it was important that the music's new guise should fit the instruments for which it was created, without losing any of its "effect," meaning the music must still make sense in its new instrumentation. Beyond basic issues stemming from the change in instrumentation, certainly a great part of the difficulty Mozart describes is the fact that opera is musically quite different from *Harmoniemusik* (i.e. *Unterhaltungsmusik*, or light music for background enjoyment). This difference can be seen primarily in the musical forms and harmonic language of each genre. That is to say many of the dramatic elements in the musical language of opera, for example, would have little place in the language of eighteenth-century *Unterhaltungsmusik*. Thus arrangements of stage music

¹⁴⁸ Letter from Mozart to his father from July 20, 1782, Emily Anderson, trans. and ed., *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, 3rd ed., (London: MacMillan, 1985), 808. The original German is also enlightening: "Nun habe ich keine geringe arbeit. –bis Sonntag acht tag muss meine Opera auf die harmonie gesetzt seyn – sonst kommt mir einer bevor – und hat anstatt meiner den Profit davon . . . sie glauben nicht wie schwer es ist so was auf die harmonie zu setzen – das es den blaßinstrumenten [*sic*] eigen ist, und doch dabey nichts von der Wirkung verloren geht. – Je nu, ich muss die Nacht dazu nehmen, anderst kann es nicht gehen . . ." Bauer and Deutsch, ed., *Mozart Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, vol. III (Kassel: Baerenreiter, 1963), 213.

involve a certain recasting of the music into a new form, with consideration of both the new instrumentation and the genre.

The range of original music Rosinack worked with involves this process of recasting to varying degrees. Arranging a partita for wind octet as a quintet for oboe and strings presents challenges inherently different from those in arranging Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* for *Harmonie* ensemble. With this scale of genre in mind, an overview of Rosinack's work for chamber ensembles presents the following general categories: 1) arrangements of music in an instrumental idiom, including both chamber and symphonic music, as well as 2) arrangements of music for the stage. This categorization is based primarily on the relative difference between the genre of the original music and the chamber setting within which Rosinack worked. The remainder of this chapter will address Rosinack's approach to examples from these two categories.

The Arrangements of Chamber Music

Rosinack's chamber music arrangements derive from pieces essentially within the same basic instrumental genre. Thus his compositional decisions revolved primarily around the change in instrumentation, and the inherent qualities of the instruments realizing the music in both its original and new guise.¹⁴⁹ The musical parameters which best exemplify this process of transformation include melody, accompaniment, their interaction, and the development of texture, as well as the use of instrumental tone color.

¹⁴⁹ This issue of genre change will assume a greater role when considering Rosinack's *Harmonie* arrangements of opera music, discussed later. However arranging works within the chamber genre is not without complications as to the issues which define genre boundaries within chamber music as a whole. See Marius Flothius, *Mozart's Bearbeitungen eigener und fremder Werke* (Salzburg: Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum, 1969) as well as Alfred Orel, "Beethoven's Oktett op. 103 und seine Bearbeitung als Quintett, op. 4," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (Leipzig, 1921), and Douglas Johnson "1794-1795: Decisive Years in Beethoven's Early Development," in *Beethoven Studies* 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982).

The melodic considerations lie not so much in the actual notes themselves, but in Rosinack's new timbral organization of the melody and melodic dialogue between instruments, as compared to the original work. Accompaniment issues include how the roles and components of the musical texture are assigned to the new instruments, that is to say how Rosinack builds the supporting texture in the music's new guise. A related aspect lies in the way textural developments are newly treated, for instance the interaction of solo and tutti passages, or the timbral redistribution of contrapuntal textures.

Rosinack's chamber arrangements can be categorized into three main groups. The first includes those works involving a reduction of the original number of voices, such as the notably prevalent sixteen arrangements of wind octets as quintets for oboe, violin, two violas, and cello. The second category includes works which involve an augmentation in the original number of voices, such as the four arrangements of string quartets as quintets for oboe and four strings (i.e. vln, 2 vla, and vlc). The third group involves those pieces where the number of voices remains the same, such as the six adaptations of string quartets for oboe, violin, viola, and cello. The first two categories, reductions and augmentations, serve best to illuminate Rosinack's arranging style within the chamber genre.

Reductions: The Serenade in B-flat, K. 361/370a for Oboe and Four Strings

Among the sixteen arrangements Rosinack made of wind octets for oboe, violin, two violas, and cello is one of an anonymous octet version of Mozart's Serenade in B-flat, K. 361/370a (the so called "Gran Partita"). The manuscript of the widely disseminated octet version consists of movements 1, 2, 3 and 7 from the seven-movement



Figure 5: The Cover Page of Rosina's Quintet Arrangement of K. 361.
(printed with the kind permission of the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe)



Figure 6: The First Page of the Violin Part to Rosinack's Quintet Arrangement of K. 361
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K. 361 scored for two oboes, two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons, and is included in the Fürstenberg music collection as D-DO Mus. Ms. 1359, while Rosinack's quintet version for oboe and strings is Mus. Ms. 1376.¹⁵⁰ Correlations between idiosyncrasies in Ms. 1359 and Rosinack's work show it to be the source he used. It is unlikely that Rosinack even knew of the version of K. 361 for thirteen instruments, as it is not included in the Fürstenberg collection and is not listed in the court music catalogues.

Notable observations on Rosinack's arranging style can begin with his treatment of the outer parts. Like the other wind octets Rosinack worked with, the oboe features prominently in the melody and melodic dialogue of Ms. 1359. Thus, barring extenuating circumstances, the oboe generally retains this melodic prominence in his quintet version. Other general aspects of Rosinack's rescoring can be seen in his treatment of the bass foundation, and his sensitivity to the tone color of instrumental pairings and to complex textures involving contrapuntal interchange in the music. In the quintet arrangements the cello most always functions as the bass foundation. Consequently when rescoring for quintet certain sections of the octet originals where bassoons hold the melodic interest, either as a melodic bass or with the bass function present in other instruments, Rosinack generally scores such melody in the violas and keeps the bass function in the cello.

The interchange of instrumental tone color is central to the musical fabric of the octet originals, and Rosinack shows sensitivity to instrumental pairings, as well as to the

¹⁵⁰ The musicologist Bastiaan Blomhert believes this octet to be an earlier version, by Mozart, of movements 1,2,3 and 7 of the K. 361 serenade, which (according to Blomhert) Mozart later rescored for thirteen instruments and added three more movements. See Blomhert, "The Version a 8 of the Gran Partita KV 361 (370a)" in: *Mozart Jahrbuch 1991*. Among the sources Blomhert lists for this octet version are sets of manuscript parts in Eisenstadt (Esterhazy Archive) and Donaueschingen (Fürstenberg Archive), as well as sets of parts printed by Breitkopf and Härtel (Leipzig), and Sieber (Paris). Blomhert notes: "All texts [listed previously] apparently derive from the same source, which must have been a score circulating in Vienna in the early 1790s." Blomhert, "Gran Partita," 207.

tone color of instrumental families in his reduced versions of these works arranged for oboe and strings. Thus, in addition to the above observations on rescoring, his quintet arrangements generally show the following tendencies: lines played by oboe 2 or clarinet 1 in the octet are generally assigned to the violin in the quintet; clarinet 2, horn 1 or bassoon 1 go to the first viola, while horn 2 or bassoon 2 are scored in the second viola. As noted above, the instrument functioning as the bass is assigned to the cello.

In rewriting thickly scored passages from the octets, especially passages featuring complex melodic interchange among the instruments, Rosinack employs several strategies to build accompaniments: when appropriate he uses double stops in either the violin or viola lines, or he simplifies the texture by combining a sustaining element in one voice with a rhythmic element inherent in another. The techniques outlined above are illuminated in the following examples comparing passages from the octet of Ms. 1359 and the quintet of Ms. 1376, Rosinack's version for oboe and strings.¹⁵¹

Example 1 shows the opening *Largo*, measures 1-5. This regal tutti statement is marked *forte*, and starts each of measures 1 through 3. Each of the chordal statements are connected by a solo clarinet *Eingang* leading into the next measure. In his version Rosinack achieves maximum weight for the tutti chords by using double-stops in the violin and two violas. He then adds variety to the melodic dialogue by dividing the solo *Eingang* statements between the violin and oboe. A slight alteration in the first *Eingang*

¹⁵¹ In the following excerpts all instruments are scored at sounding pitch. With regard to performance markings, it seems that Rosinack himself may have added some to the parts of 1359, as there are at least two different handwritings in the manuscript, the darker of these matching Rosinack's autograph Ms. 1376. Despite these extra markings, Ms. 1359 lacks many more with regard to articulation and dynamics. Thus I have added some editorial suggestions in these parameters to the Ms. 1359 examples. These suggestions are meant to clarify any discrepancies with Ms. 1376, which more closely represents Rosinack's concept of the music. In comparing the two manuscripts one gets the sense of how meticulous Rosinack was in his writing.

shifts the accented dissonance of the B-flat appoggiatura to the previous measure; this rhythmic shift is necessitated by the violin serving both a solo and a tutti role in the opening. Note also how the countermelodies in the lower voices of measures 4 and 5 are scored in the violas, while the cello functions as bass.

Example 1.

1a. [Anon.], arr., Partita in B[\flat] (Mus Ms 1359, after Mozart, K. 361), Mvt. 1, Opening, mm. 1-5.

Largo

1b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in B[\flat] (Mus Ms 1376, from Ms 1359), Mvt 1, Opening, mm. 1-5.

Largo

Example 2, measures 8-12 of the same Largo, shows a more complicated texture than Ex. 1 and demonstrates Rosinack's technique for maintaining the texture in an arrangement using reduced instrumentation. The passage uses a syncopated eighth-note line in the top voice, accompanied by sustained lines in the lower instruments moving in a more regular relation to the beat. The syncopated line is first stated by oboe 1, then transferred to clarinet 1, and finally taken by both oboes which build to the half-cadence of measure 12. The accompaniment features momentum to the cadence built by a sequence of three rising eighth notes, stated in turn by instruments paired in thirds: bassoon 2 and oboe 2, then bassoons 1 and 2, and finally by oboes 1 and 2 (see mm. 9-10).

Arranging this texture for a quintet of oboe and strings poses challenges for two main reasons. The reduced number of voices makes it difficult to recreate the complex nature of the octet version's accompaniment, with the rising eighth-note figure in successive pairs of instruments, while maintaining the balanced melodic exchange between the oboe and clarinet lines. The contrapuntal nature of the music here also makes the use of double stops in the strings a less desirable option. Secondly, the homogeneous sound of the strings does not allow for the variation of tone colors so central to the structure of the music in its guise as wind serenade. In his quintet arrangement (Ex. 2b) Rosinack retains to some extent the timbre exchange in the melody of measures 8 to 11, though he keeps the syncopated line in the oboe well after the clarinet has taken over in the octet (m.10). The violin in Rosinack's version takes over

Example 2.

2a. [Anon.], arr., Partita in B \flat] (Mus Ms 1359, after Mozart, K. 361), Mvt. 1, mm. 8-12.

Musical score for Example 2a, measures 8-12. The score is for four woodwind parts: Oboe 1 & 2, Clarinet 1 & 2, Horn 1 & 2, and Bassoon 1 & 2. The tempo is marked 'Largo'. The key signature is B-flat major. The score shows a dynamic progression from *p* (piano) at measure 8 to *f* (forte) at measure 12. A 'Cresc' (crescendo) marking is present in measures 10 and 11. The notation includes various rhythmic values and articulation marks.

2b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in B \flat] (Mus Ms 1376, from Ms 1359), Mvt. 1, mm. 8-12.

Musical score for Example 2b, measures 8-12. The score is for five string parts: Oboe, Violin, Viola 1, Viola 2, and Violoncello. The tempo is marked 'Largo'. The key signature is B-flat major. The score shows a dynamic progression from *p* (piano) at measure 8 to *f* (forte) at measure 12. The notation includes various rhythmic values and articulation marks.

the syncopated line only when the oboe is needed to start the last of the three rising eighth-note statements before the build to the half-cadence (pick-up to m.11). The rhythmic alteration in the violin at the beginning of measure 11 is necessitated by the violin's quick role change to the oboe 2 line of Ms.1359, thus abbreviating the resolution of the suspension figure in the music. As noted above, strings cannot achieve the same timbre contrasts present in the accompaniment of 1359, however Rosinack simulates the paired instrumental dialogue by scoring the eighth-note figure first in viola 1 and cello,

then in viola 2 and cello, and finally in the oboe and viola 1 (cf. mm. 9-10). The quarter notes of measure 11 in the clarinets of Ms.1359 are scored an octave lower in the violas, both keeping the notes in a more comfortable range for those instruments and filling the part of the texture played by the horns in the original.¹⁵²

Example 3, the end of the exposition in the first movement, shows another passage where timbre contrast and solo vs. tutti texture are central aspects of the music's structure, and how Rosinack attempts to preserve these distinctions. Measures 74-88 of Ms. 1359 begin with a staccato fanfare-like arpeggiation presented tutti by oboes, horns, and bassoons (mm. 74-75), then followed by a legato line played *piano* in the clarinets

Example 3

3a. [Anon.], arr., Partita in B[\flat] (Mus Ms 1359, after Mozart, K. 361), Mvt. 1, end of exposition, mm. 74-88.

Allegro Molto

The musical score for Example 3 consists of four staves: Oboe 1 & 2, Clarinet 1 & 2, Horn 1 & 2, and Bassoon 1 & 2. The tempo is marked 'Allegro Molto'. The key signature is B-flat major. The score begins at measure 74 with a staccato fanfare-like arpeggiation in the oboes, horns, and bassoons, marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The clarinets enter in measure 76 with a legato line, marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The score continues through measure 88, with various dynamics and articulations.

¹⁵² Incidentally, this passage is one of several in the first movement where the music is more successfully “clothed” with the color and texture of 12 wind instruments rather than 8. A comparison of this passage with the “full” version of K. 361 shows that the creator of 1359, whether Mozart (as Blomhert states) or not, faced some of the same difficulties Rosinack did, namely in passages featuring a complex dialogue of paired instruments, the added basset horns in the full version allow for a more consistent, and thus more convincing, pairing of instruments.

83 *f* 86 *p* *f*

3b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in B[\flat] (Mus Ms 1376, from Ms 1359), Mvt 1, mm. 74-88.

Allegro molto

74 *p* 78 *p*

82 *p* *f* 86 *p* *f*

(mm. 76-77). The contrast of staccato fanfare with legato in *piano* is then repeated (mm. 78-81), with the legato section repeated twice more as a phrase extension (mm. 82-83 and 84-85). First clarinets, then clarinets and bassoons, and finally the added oboes accompanied by horns in octaves (*forte*) build a passage of increasing texture and dynamics that drives to the cadence in measure 88.

In his quintet version Rosinack achieves the timbre contrast in the passage described above by altering the wind and string roles: scoring the lead clarinet line of Ms.1359 in the oboe, with the fanfare stated by tutti strings. The violin plays two roles, first taking the lead line in the fanfare (mm. 74-76, Ob 1 in 1359), then a supporting line in the legato passage (m. 77, Cl 2 in 1359). During the two repetitions in the phrase extension driving to the cadence Rosinack scores the bassoon lines in viola 1 and cello, respectively (mm. 82-85). The octaves in the horns are taken by viola 2, playing double-stops (mm. 84-85). This passage again shows Rosinack's ability to think beyond the mere transcription of notes and convincingly transfer central aspects of the music's "sonic architecture" to the new setting.

Several passages from the development in the first movement again show Rosinack's skill in rescoring the music. Example 4 shows measures 106-113, which in the octet feature a sequence of scalar eighth notes exchanged between the oboes and bassoons, while clarinets play a secondary line of sustained notes in a descending chain of suspensions. Rosinack's arrangement gives the sustained lines to the oboe and viola 1, with the more melodically active scalar dialogue between the violin and cello, reinforced by viola 2 doubling the cello. This rescoring is one of the rare times in his arrangements that Rosinack gives a secondary role to the oboe. In doing so he achieves two important

Example 4

4a. [Anon.], arr., Partita in B \flat] (Mus Ms 1359, after Mozart, K. 361), Mvt. 1, Development, mm. 106-113.

Allegro molto

Ob 1&2
Cl 1&2
Hn 1&2
Bsn 1&2

4b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in B \flat] (Mus Ms 1376, from Ms 1359), Mvt. 1, Development, mm. 106-113.

Allegro molto

Ob
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vlc

aspects of the music in its original guise. First, the sequential scalar exchange is stated by instruments of the same family, that is to say the timbral relationship between the oboe and bassoon is best emulated by the violin and cello. Second, the sustained quality of the accompanying suspensions is led by the instrument best suited to sustaining sound, namely the oboe.

A second passage from the development which illuminates Rosinack's skill occurs in measures 116-127 (Ex. 5). This passage features a fugato-like exchange of the

movement's main motive among the instruments, grouped in pairs playing thirds or sixths. In the octet version the motive is first stated twice by the clarinets, then in turn by a quicker succession of paired instruments, with each statement overlapping by a measure. This section of close imitation uses a consistent succession of tone color, namely oboes, clarinets, then bassoons, which is repeated until the last statement in measure 126, played by clarinet 2 and horn 1. Sustained whole notes, first in the bassoon, then in the horns, provide support in measures 120 to 127.

Example 5

5a. [Anon.], arr., Partita in B[b] (Mus Ms 1359, after Mozart, K. 361), Mvt. 1, Development, mm. 116-127.

Allegro molto

5b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in B[b] (Mus Ms 1376, from Ms 1359), Mvt. 1, Development, mm. 116-127.

Allegro molto

Rosinack's challenge in this passage was to re-score the music in such a way that the succession of contrasting instrumental pairings stating the motive is presented in the texture as consistently as possible. Like the creator of Ms. 1359, Rosinack must combine and redistribute roles among the instruments. Sheer lack of numbers allows for only an incomplete presentation of the sustained whole-note accompaniment, starting with cello in measure 120, then taken briefly by viola 1 in measure 123. The main motive, played by instrumental pairs, is presented consistently at first; the clarinet lines of 116-120 are played by violin and viola 1. The telescoped nature of the second part of this imitative passage (mm. 120-127) has inherent complications; Rosinack must "trick the ear" of the listener into believing there are more instrumental pairs than are really possible. In measure 121 the clarinet lines are stated by the violas, sounding an octave lower, however, in the next measure the resolution of viola 2 is taken over by the violin, as viola 2 has moved on to pair with the cello for the new statement. The remaining motivic exchanges of 124-127 are taken by violas and violin/cello, respectively.¹⁵³

The preceding examples show some of the main principles by which Rosinack transferred music from a setting as a wind octet to one of a quintet for oboe and strings. Interestingly, Examples 2 and 5 show that both Rosinack and the creator of Ms.1359 dealt with similar issues in realizing the music, namely presenting a consistent texture in

¹⁵³ Example 5b contains three odd pitches, including the F3 in viola 1 and the A4 in the oboe of measure 123, as well as the E-flat3 played by the cello in the first half of measure 125. The F certainly does not fit into the circle of fifths progression in the harmony of measures 120-127, of which the C in the horns of 1359 clearly takes part. In Rosinack's other arrangements of chamber music that I have examined I have found no instances to suggest that he ever intentionally changed the harmonic progression of the music, thus the F should be considered a transcription error. The A in the oboe and the E-flat in the cello are of a different nature as here Rosinack continues writing presented in Ms. 1359. These pitches are perhaps more understandable when one considers the fact that there is no score for the octet version of K. 361 in the Fürstenberg collection, suggesting the possibility that Rosinack created this arrangement without the use of a score as source material.

passages of a complex contrapuntal or imitative nature. Example 5 especially suggests that the music is most effectively realized in its “original” guise for thirteen instruments, as the extra pair of woodwinds (basset horns) in that version allow for a more convincing presentation of paired instruments in that section’s imitative structure.

Augmentations: The String Quartet in D, K. 575 for Oboe and Four Strings

An additional category of chamber arrangements illuminating Rosinack’s arranging skill represents an augmentation in the original number of voices. These augmentations include, among others, arrangements of three string quartets by Mozart: K. 417 in d minor (D-DO Mus Ms 1369), K. 458 in B-flat Major (D-DO Mus Ms 1375), and K. 575 in D Major (D-DO Mus Ms 1374), as well as the string quartet in C Major, Op. 16 no. 1 (D-DO Mus Ms 582) by the Viennese composer Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763-1850). Like the category of reductions examined previously all these pieces are arranged for the ensemble seemingly preferred by Rosinack: oboe, violin, 2 violas, and cello. These arrangements of string quartets differ from those of wind octets in that the oboe is no longer a bridge to the original guise of the music. Indeed, the three strings provide commonality in texture, while the oboe is the foreign element around which much of the arranging takes place.

Melodically, the oboe here tends to retain its primary role of portraying the lead voice, as was true in the wind octet arrangements. Several aspects of melodic treatment in the quartet sources qualify the oboe’s role. The democratic approach to building the musical texture, true especially of the Mozart quartets, means that in the arrangement the oboe is added to an existing dialogue involving several instruments. The art of



Figure 7: The Cover Page to Rosinack's Quintet Arrangement of K. 575
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Figure 8: The First Page from the Oboe Part to Rosinack's K. 575 Arrangement
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incorporating the oboe into such a texture involves balancing the oboe's individual qualities and limitations with the requirement of building a new, but convincing, melodic dialogue. The compositional techniques Rosinack used to this end include dividing a line previously presented in one voice between two or more voices. This dividing is generally the case when the original melody consistently goes outside the effective instrumental range Rosinack used for the oboe, namely C4 to D6, and more rarely to F6 a third above.¹⁵⁴ Less frequently Rosinack may alter the notes of the melody to bring it within a usable range.

Another challenge presented by these quartet arrangements involves creating a consistent musical texture using the augmented number of instruments. The role the fifth voice takes depends upon the context and individual circumstances of the music. Occasionally this voice may take part in melodic presentation, such as the violin taking over a line which goes beyond the oboe's capabilities (range or otherwise). More often Rosinack uses the extra voice to build the supporting texture in the music. This may involve dividing a double stop in one of the accompanying strings into two separate lines. Other possibilities include doubling an existing line, either unison or at the octave. When doubling, Rosinack primarily uses the violin or one of the violas. These techniques are exemplified in the following comparison of passages from the K. 575 quartet and Rosinack's version for oboe and strings.

¹⁵⁴ In the 50+ arrangements Rosinack made, he never scored the oboe above F6, and there are only a handful of instances where the oboe plays above D6. This range is in line with the range generally used for the oboe by eighteenth-century composers. Mozart's Oboe Quartet in F, K. 370, certainly one of the most virtuosic pieces of its time, does not exceed F6, and was written for Friedrich Ramm (1744- after 1808), one of the great oboe virtuosos of the eighteenth century.

The circumstances surrounding Rosinack's quintet arrangement of the K. 575 D major string quartet in the Fürstenberg music collection are somewhat vague. The arrangement itself is not attributed to Rosinack by RISM. There are, however, a number of similarities with the quintet versions of K. 417 and K. 458, for which RISM does list Rosinack as the "likely" arranger.¹⁵⁵ In the Fürstenberg collection the only surviving source for the arrangement is a set of parts printed by Artaria in December 1791, which is listed in the Fürstenberg library catalogue as Ms. Drwk. 2110.

Example 6 shows the opening eight measures of music, which in the quartet (Ex.

Example 6

6a. Mozart, String Quartet in D major, K. 575 (Mus Drwk 2110), Mvt. 1, mm. 1-9.

¹⁵⁵ For the K. 417 arrangement RISM notes "*Vermutlich ist Rosinack der Bearbeiter*" while for the K.458 arrangement "*Die Bearbeitung stammt vermutlich von F.J. Rosinack.*" Similarities in arranging technique shown by these pieces include Rosinack's approach to incorporating the oboe in the melodic dialogue among the instruments, as well as his use of the fifth voice in the augmented instrumentation. Besides showing a commonality in arranging technique, the quintets are all in Rosinack's handwriting, and use the same brownish manuscript paper with a *Freiburg* watermark on it. Manfred Schuler, in discussing another manuscript using the same paper, describes the watermark and notes the paper was likely created in the years 1803 to 1806: "Das Wasserzeichen, ein Kreis mit der Umschrift FREIBURG und einen herzoglichen Emblem, erlaubt den Schluss, das dass Papier von einer Freiburger Papiermühle geliefert worden ist, und zwar zu einer Zeit, als Freiburg i.Br. der Herrschaft des Herzogs von Modena unterstand (de facto von anfang März 1803 bis mitte April 1806)." Manfred Schuler, "Der angebliche Mozart-„Fund“ in *Acta Mozartiana* 32 (1985), 9. In comparing other manuscripts using paper with the *Freiburg* watermark (including Mus Ms. 1369, 1374, and 1375), Schuler notes the paper came from the Freiburg paper mill of Lorenz Loth: "Da die letztgenannten drei Handschriften [1369, 1374, and 1375] zweifelsfrei den Donaueschinger Hofmusiker Franz Joseph Rosinack (Rosiniack) zum kopisten (und wahrscheinlich auch zum Bearbeiter) haben, ist erweisen dass das Papier der Freiburger Papiermühle des Lorenz Loth in Donaueschingen den Kopisten der fürstlichen Hofkapelle zur verfügung stand." Manfred Schuler, review of "The Harmoniemusik of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* . . ." by Bastian Blomhert in *Die Musikforschung* 44 (1991), 178.

sotto voce

6b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in C major (Mus Ms 1374 after K. 575), Mvt. 1, mm. 1-9.

Allegretto

sotto voce

6a) consist of a lyric six-bar phrase in the first violin, followed by a two-bar extension played in octaves by the violin and viola. The phrase is then repeated (mm 9-16), with the viola taking the lyric part an octave lower and the two violins playing the extension an octave higher (not shown). The accompaniment in this section consists of a tonic

pedal in quarter notes played by the viola, while violin 2 outlines chord-tones of the harmony in eighth-notes. The repeat augments the supporting group to three instruments, expanding the range and texture of the music. The cello plays the pedal tone an octave lower, and the violins play accompanying eighths in thirds and sixths.

For his arrangement Rosinack chose to transpose the music down a whole-step to C major, bringing more of the melodic dialogue throughout the piece into the oboe range he commonly used (C4 to D6). The opening music in the quintet (Ex. 6b) features the oboe playing the lyric phrase, with the accompaniment in the violin and two violas. In building his accompaniment Rosinack takes a cue from the repeat phrase in the quartet. He adds a second voice of eighth-notes to the opening, presented by violin and viola 1, much in the same manner Mozart built the accompaniment for the repeat phrase (mm. 9-16), using the two violins. In the phrase extension Rosinack doubles the triplet figure in the violas (mm. 7-8). Adding the second viola here presents challenges that Rosinack faced throughout this arrangement, namely that doubling lines in unison or at the octave can at times create textures that take the music away from the clarity and intimacy presented by Mozart's original.

Example 7 presents music from the transition to the dominant key area in the exposition of the first movement. In the quartet, measures 25-29 show the last part of a dialogue between violin 1 and cello. The violin melodically extends a motive used in the previous measures, leading to a figure featuring running sixteenth notes that bring the music to a dominant cadence (m 32). The higher range used for the cello in measures 25-28 means that the viola actually functions as the bass. Finally, the flourishing motive

stated by violin 1 in measures 28-31 is supported by secondary lines in violin 2 and viola using alternating groups of legato and staccato eighth-notes.

Example 7

7a. Mozart, String Quartet in D major, K. 575 (Mus Drwk 2110), Mvt. 1, mm. 25-32.

Allegretto

Vln 1

Vln 2

Vla

Vlc

25

27

29

31

7b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in C major (Mus Ms 1374 after K. 575), Mvt. 1, mm. 25-32.

Allegretto

Ob

Vln

Vla 1

Vla 2

Vlc

25

27

In his quintet arrangement Rosinack gives the lead-voice in this section to the oboe, and he doubles this line an octave lower in the violin, creating a contrasting sonority with a more orchestral character. There is some precedent in Mozart for this doubling, when one considers the violin 2 and cello lines of measure 27 in K. 575, which continue in thirds the lead line presented by violin 1 two measures previously. With the octave doubling of the oboe in the violin as the added element in the new texture, Rosinack builds the accompaniment and secondary lines from the remaining instruments in the quintet for measures 25-27. He changes the bass line, played by viola 2, by taking the notes of measure 27 up an octave, as the transposed original contour would have taken the line below the viola's range.

One interesting twist Rosinack brings to the music occurs in the secondary lines of measures 28-31. He uses the inherent contrast of the legato/staccato eighth-note groups, which in the quartet are played by violin 2 and viola, to create a concertante-like exchange between two groups of instruments. In measures 28 and 30 the violas play the legato grouping, while in measures 29 and 31, featuring staccato eighths, the lines shift to

violin and viola 1. In this manner Rosinack can keep all five instruments active in the musical texture, as well as increase the music's timbral variety.

Example 8 presents music which starts the second key area of the exposition in the first movement. In the original quartet this section uses a phrase stated in turn by all the instruments, building to a climax in the first violin. The phrase itself begins with a triadic figure of eighth-notes followed by a held note, ending in a series of quarter notes that lead to the next instrument's entrance. The cello presents the first statement, beginning on A3, with a secondary line of staccato eighth-notes in thirds played by the two violins, beginning above the cello melody. Subsequent statements occur in the second violin, beginning on B4, and viola, beginning on E4, before the climax in the first violin. The texture presented during the viola statement is unique for several reasons. The secondary line of staccato eighths in measures 41 to 42 are played by cello and second violin in tenths, rather than thirds. The viola begins its entrance between the range of the staccato notes, gradually rising above them to pass the line on to the

Example 8

8a. Mozart, String Quartet in D major, K. 575 (Mus Drwk 2110), Mvt. 1, mm. 32-46.

Allegretto

Vln 1

Vln 2

Vla

Vlc

p

dolce

p

p dolce

41 44

dolce

p

f p

f p

f p

f p

f p

f p

8b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in C major (Mus Ms 1374 after K. 575), Mvt. 1, mm. 32-46.

Allegretto

32 35 38

dolce

p

p

dolce

41 44

dolce

p

f p

f p

f p

f p

f p

f p

f p

f p

first violin. The music of Mozart's climax uses all four instruments; the punctuating quarter notes played by the cello in measures 45 and 46 expand the range of melody and accompaniment to over three octaves, greater than in any of the previous statements.

In arranging this passage Rosinack worked with several issues: fitting the oboe into the progression of melodic entrances in a way that makes sense and still effectively builds to the climax, as well as creating supporting textures which work toward the same goal. In order to incorporate the oboe into the melodic dialogue Rosinack changes the registral progression of events. The cello entrance (m. 32) begins on G3, while the oboe, taking the violin 2 line from the quartet, begins on A4 (m. 36). The violin then takes the third entrance starting on D5 (m. 42), an octave above the original K. 575 viola line, and finally the oboe begins the climax on F#5. Ordering the entrances in this fashion creates an alternating succession of timbres: string (cello) – oboe – string (violin) – oboe. The change also alters the feeling of climax in the final statement, as the oboe's entrance is approached from above in the violin, not from below, as does the viola line of Mozart's original.

Additional changes occur in the supporting voices of the last two statements. Rosinack doubles the staccato eighth notes in viola 1 an octave lower in viola 2, thus filling in the tenths played by cello/viola (mm. 41-42). The fact that Rosinack writes the violin entrance an octave higher in those measures prevents the texture from becoming muddled. The doubling continues in measures 45 to 48, although here viola 2 doubles the punctuating quarter notes of the cello an octave higher. This added reinforcement creates a progression of texture through the whole passage that reflects a similar aspect in Mozart's original: measures 32 through 40 use two supporting voices, building to three in 41 to 44. Finally in measures 45 to 48 four voices increase the texture and range that effectively build the climax of the music here.

Example 9 shows music that closes the exposition of the first movement. The first eight measures (mm. 64-71) consist of a tonic pedal in the cello with alternating melodic statements in the violins. The second violin plays the movement's main motive (mm. 64-65), after which the first violin plays a scalar response (mm. 66-67); this alternation is then repeated an octave lower (mm. 68-71). The accompaniment in the viola changes between active eighth notes and a more sustained syncopation using double-stops. The last six measures of the section change to a dominant pedal that retransitions the music back to the opening (mm. 72-77). These measures feature overlapping rising scalar statements between the cello and first violin in quick succession. The accompaniment in the viola and second violin continues the sustained syncopated pattern established earlier, again with use of double stops to fill out the harmony.

The challenges of arranging this section of music are similar to those faced by Rosinack in the music of Example 3 above: the succession of melodic events must be modified to include the oboe in a manner that supports the progression of the music. The accompaniment must also be built in a way that effectively supports the quick alternation of instrumental entrances. Throughout the first eight measures (mm. 64-71) and the following six (mm. 72-77) Rosinack makes use of three active voices in the melodic exchange. The violin states the main motive (mm. 64-65), followed by the oboe's scalar response (mm. 66-67). The next four measures feature the motive played an octave lower in viola 1 followed by the scalar response in the violin. Note that Rosinack alters the melodic contour of the second response to bring it within the violin's range (m. 71).

Example 9

9a. Mozart, String Quartet in D major, K. 575 (Mus Drwk 2110), Mvt. 1, mm. 64-77.

Allegretto

64 *p* 67 70

71 73 76

9b. Rosinack, arr., Quintetto in C major (Mus Ms 1374 after K. 575), Mvt. 1, mm. 64-77.

Allegretto

64 *p* 67 70

71 73 76

The re-transition to the opening of the movement (mm. 72-77) uses the following overlapping succession of entrances: cello, oboe, then cello, with the final extended statement in the violin, reaching well above Rosinack's usual oboe range.

An interesting aspect of the accompaniment in this section of K. 575 is that by using double stops to fill-out the harmony, Mozart is effectively creating a five-voice texture. In arranging other sections of K. 575 with a similar texture (especially in the second movement), Rosinack takes advantage of the double stops by dividing them among the strings. In measures 64-77, however, the active melodic exchange necessitates Rosinack's retaining the double stops at certain points. For example, during the oboe's scalar response (mm. 66-67), the double stop is divided among the violas, but the next phrase uses a double stop in viola 2 (mm. 70-71), as the texture here does not use the oboe. The quick succession of overlapping entrances in the re-transition among the cello, oboe, and violin again necessitate the double stops in the second viola (mm. 72-77).

Conclusions from the Arrangements of Chamber Music

The main issue governing Rosinack's work in arranging chamber music is the fact that very few, if any, eighteenth-century genre boundaries are crossed in taking the music from its original form to the new guise. Modifications of harmonic progression or formal structure in the music are not elements which come into play during the arranging process, as these elements represent commonality in the language of the music in its two guises. Instead, the arranging process revolves around changes in musical texture and tone color, as well as other characteristics peculiar to the instrumentation. Arranging the octet version of K. 361 for the quintet of oboe and strings involved transferring the music

from the fabric (or “sonic architecture”) of the wind octet to the fabric of oboe and strings, with the oboe line to a large extent used intact, while the roles of the supporting textures were adapted to the individual strings. Reducing the amount of voices for the arrangement often meant that instruments took on two or more roles in building the music at any particular point.

Arranging the K. 575 string quartet for the quintet of oboe and strings again involved transferring important aspects of texture and tone color to the new medium, this time with the strings providing commonality, and the oboe being the foreign element in the arranging process. Aspects of this process included an idiomatic use of the oboe in constructing the melodic dialogue among the instruments, as well as creating accompanying textures which support the logical progression of the dialogue. The role the added voice took in the arrangement depended on the circumstances of the music; at times it helped with the melodic presentation when the music went beyond an idiomatic use of the oboe, while at other moments it provided consistency in the five-voice texture through the discreet doubling of other parts.¹⁵⁶

The last group of arrangements to be investigated, that of music for the stage, presents a level of complexity going beyond that of the chamber/symphonic arrangements. The process of taking music from an operatic setting to that of a *Harmonie*

¹⁵⁶ An additional category of Rosinack’s arrangements using instrumental forms include four symphonies which he adapted for quintet (ob, vln, 2 vla, vlc). These works are Gyrowetz: Symphony in B-Flat, RicG. B-flat 1, Rosetti: Symphony in B-flat, MurR. A49, as well as two uncatalogued symphonies by Neubauer (See Appendix A for more details). Like the chamber music described above, these symphonies share a commonality of form and harmonic language with the music’s new guise that Rosinack created. Study of these pieces shows Rosinack used techniques similar to those detailed earlier for reductions (K. 361, for example). These techniques revolve around transference and adaptation of musical texture and tone color from the original to the arranged form. While adapting a symphonic texture for quintet certainly involves a stretching of the musical fabric greater than that in Rosinack’s K. 361 arrangement, the commonality of technique is such that this category will not be discussed further in this context.

ensemble crosses several important eighteenth-century genre boundaries, namely orchestral/chamber, as well as dramatic/instrumental. While some of the implications of these boundary crossings are more general in nature, the examples below will show that some implications are more personal, depending on the tastes of the individual arranger.

Arrangements of Stage Music for Harmonie: Background

Harmoniemusik, or music for a small wind ensemble most often consisting of paired oboes, clarinets, horns, and bassoons, permeated much of the cultural life in lands throughout central Europe during the last decades of the 1700s. Not only aristocratic courts enjoyed the lighter *Unterhaltungsmusik* provided by such ensembles; the rising middle class took part as well, as attested to by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart while visiting Munich in October of 1777. A letter to his father dated October 3 describes a *Harmonie* performance:

About half past nine in the evening a small orchestra of five players, two clarinets, two horns, and one bassoon, came up to the house. Herr Albert . . . had ordered this music in his and my honour. They did not play at all badly together. They were the same people who play in Albert's dining hall during meals.¹⁵⁷

The *Harmonie* ensemble at the Fürstenberg court in Donaueschingen had been under the direction of Franz Joseph Rosinack at least since his promotion to *Kammer-Musicus* in 1789, and likely before, as stated by his contract of that year:

. . . he shall, following our gracious direction, be bound to make himself musically useful at court, in church, and at the theater, as well as

¹⁵⁷ Emily Anderson, trans. and ed., *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, 3rd ed., (London: MacMillan, 1985), 293. Mozart goes on to mention that the group was coached by Joseph Fiala, who had just left the Oettingen-Wallerstein court orchestra to play in Munich for a year, before leaving for Salzburg in 1778.

continue to direct the court wind music . . . and shall himself play with the ensemble.¹⁵⁸

The court music catalogues compiled in 1803 and 1827 show that the ensemble's repertoire consisted of both original works, as well as large collections of arrangements, most often made from the favorite operas performed at the court theater during that time.¹⁵⁹ Among the operas arranged for *Harmonie* in the Fürstenberg collection are five by Mozart, including *Die Zauberflöte*, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *La Clemenza di Tito*, *Le Nozze di Figaro*, and *Don Giovanni*. Other composers with stage works arranged in the collection include Dittersdorf, with *Doktor und Apotheker* and *Hirionimus Knicker*, Martin y Soler, with *L'Arbore di Diana* and *Una Cosa Rara*, Haydn with *Ritter Roland (Orlando Paladino)*, as well as stage works by other composers such as Wranitzky, Müller, Paisiello, and Paer.

The authorship of the Fürstenberg *Harmonie* arrangements has in some cases proved difficult to trace. The catalogues of 1803 and 1827 present conflicting attributions; with the 1803 catalogue most often not listing arrangers, and the 1827 catalogue most often listing Rosinack as author. Modern scholarship has provided more solid information.¹⁶⁰ For example, among the Mozart arrangements the *Die Zauberflöte*

¹⁵⁸ „ . . . dass Er sowohl bey unserem Hof als in der Kirchen, ihn auf dem hiesigen Hoftheater nach unserem gnädigsten Verlangen und Anweisung sich gebrauchen zu lassen und besonders die Direction über die blasende Musique wie bisher beyzubehalten verbunden seyn sollen (margin annotation: auch jeweils . . . selbst mit zu blasen).“ Decree of Promotion for Franz Joseph Rosinack: March 9, 1789. FFA, Personal Akt Ro. 8.

¹⁵⁹ “Catalog Über Vorhandene Clavier-und Sing-Musick Sr Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht Carl Joachim Regierenden Fürsten zu Fürstenberg 1803-1804“ and „ Allgemeine Verzeichnis sämmtlicher der Hochfürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofkapelle zugehörnder Musikalien, Instrumente, Pulte, usw.“ [1827 Catalogue] FFA, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft Vol.III/Fasc.5.

¹⁶⁰ Manfred Schuler, “Zur Harmoniemusik am Fürstlich Fürstenbergischen Hof zu Donaueschingen“ in *Harmoniemusik und ihrer Geschichte*, Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Mainz: Villa Musica, 1999) , 73-81. See also Roger Hellyer, “Harmoniemusik: Music for Small Wind Band in the late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oxford, 1973) as well as Bastiaan Blomhert “The Harmoniemusik of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Study about its Authenticity and Critical Edition” (Ph.D Diss., University Utrecht, 1987).

seems to have come from Johann Heidenreich, the *La Clemenza* from Johann Christian Stumpf, and the *Figaro* arrangement from Johann Wendt. Both the early catalogues and modern sources agree, however, that in the case of the *Harmonie* version of *Ritter Roland* Franz Joseph Rosinack is the most likely arranger.

Ritter Roland is the German language version of Haydn's opera *Orlando Paladino*, Hob. XXVIII:11, originally written for performance at the Esterhazy court with the premiere in Italian on December 6, 1782. Over the next decade, however, the opera enjoyed more success in the German version, with performances in Pressburg, Prague, Vienna, Mannheim, Cologne, and Berlin, among other cities. The 1792 performance in Mannheim likely provided the material for the opera's premiere in Donaueschingen, performed on January 13, 1793. Much loved by the audience, performances of *Ritter Roland* were again staged by the Fürstenberg court in March and August of 1802, as well as May of 1805.¹⁶¹

The plot of the opera follows the knight Roland in his amorous pursuit of Angelica, the queen of Cathay. Roland, accompanied by his squire Pasquale, battles with anyone coming between him and Angelica, including Rodomonte, the king of Barbary, and Medoro, a soldier. Angelica, who actually loves Medoro, calls on the help of the witch Alcina in her plight with Roland. After many mishaps, among which Roland is both transformed into a beetle, and then a statue, Alcina succeeds in luring the knight into the underworld, where he bathes in the river Lethe. The river water relieves him of his mad passion, and when he returns from the underworld Roland offers his knightly services to Angelica and Medoro, having no memory of his previous love.

¹⁶¹ Georg Tumbült, *Das Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hoftheater zu Donaueschingen 1775-1850*, (Donaueschingen: Buch- und Kunstdruckerei Danubiana, 1914) 52, 63-69. See also H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978) II: 544-549.

The Ritter Roland Harmoniemusik

Rosinack's arrangement (D-DO Mus Ms 736) consists of the overture and twenty-one numbers from the opera, mostly arias, but also including the *Introduzione* from act one and the chain finales from Acts I and II.¹⁶² The *Harmonie* version shows two broader categories in terms of arrangement process. Numbers such as the overture and many of the arias use music composed in forms that closely resemble the instrumental pieces investigated earlier (K. 361 and K. 575). These numbers involve little or no cuts in the music, with the arranging process instead revolving around issues of texture, tone color, and instrumental capacity. Other numbers, most notably the two chain finales, involve music using a formal structure quite divergent from the more regular instrumental forms of the previous group. The formal alteration of these pieces, as well as other significant changes in the music, reflect Rosinack's intention to recast these numbers for a more instrumentally characteristic presentation by *Harmonie*.

The formal structure of the original Act II finale of *Ritter Roland* consists of 416 measures organized in five sections of music featuring arioso or tutti singing alternating with four sections of secco or accompanied recitative. Haydn uses the five lyrical sections as points where the characters reflect on the drama, and the music's harmonic language in these sections tends to be more tonally stable. The recitative sections present dramatic development more directly, generally using music that is harmonically unstable, or more developmental, in character. The tonal framework outlined by the five sections uses the following key relationships: 1) C major (c minor, E-flat, A-flat, E-flat, c minor); 2) A major (a/C, E, A/a, C, d); 3) B-flat (E-flat, A-flat, f minor); 4) F major; 5) C major. This framework closely parallels the dramatic development throughout the finale, and is

¹⁶² Haydn's original consists of 53 numbers.

an issue which Rosinack confronts in his 262-measure version for *Harmonie*.

Comparisons of the stage and *Harmonie* versions from two of the above sections (number 1 beginning in C and number 2 beginning in A) reveal the main issues Rosinack worked with in creating his arrangement.

The opening of the finale, a lyrical section in C major, presents the knight Roland with his squire Pasquale as they approach the grotto of the witch Alcina to do battle. The interaction between the knight and his servant goes through a modulation to G major and a return to C, before the witch enters and the music shifts dramatically to c minor.

Following the witch's entrance Haydn switches to accompanied recitative, when Roland confronts Alcina and demands she deliver the two lovers Angelica and Medoro, whom the witch is protecting. Musically this section is tonally unstable, using mode mixture and harmonic progressions emphasizing keys that take the music down the circle of fifths. Tonicizations include E-flat major, A-flat major, a-flat and e-flat minor, before returning again to c-minor through E-flat major. The end of the scene features Alcina defending herself by turning Roland into stone.

A comparison of the original 84 measures of music in this section of Haydn's opera with the 34 analogous measures of the *Harmonie* version suggests that Rosinack's first step in arranging was to decide what from the opera could be recast in a characteristic manner for winds. He uses music from the first 39 measures only, leaving out the dramatic recitative altogether. This music presents a tonal framework of tonic-dominant-tonic, fitting well in an *Unterhaltungsmusik* setting. While Rosinack also made several other cuts in this opening section, these tend to be smaller in nature, less than ten bars as a rule. These small cuts come from music of a repetitive nature

accompanying text exclamations of the characters, thus having less meaning in a purely instrumental setting.

Example 10 shows a 13-measure excerpt from the finale's opening described above. Here the lines scored for Roland and Pasquale use melodic material first presented in the six-measure instrumental introduction (not shown).¹⁶³ The accompaniment is in the strings, with obbligato lines in the flute and bassoon. Roland's text, exclaiming his anger and rage at Alcina, is mirrored in the fully diminished seventh chords and the *forte-piano* emphasis in the orchestra of bars nine and ten. Pasquale's

Example 10

10a. Haydn, *Ritter Roland* (Mus Ms 723), Act II finale, mm. 7-19.

The musical score for Example 10a consists of several staves. At the top, the tempo is marked "Poco Adagio". The staves are labeled as follows: Fl (Flute), Ob 1&2 (Oboe 1&2), Hn 1&2 (Horn 1&2), Bsn (Bassoon), Orlando/Pasquale (Vocal), Vln 1&2 (Violin 1&2), Vla (Viola), and Bassi (Basses). The vocal line for Orlando/Pasquale includes the Italian text: "Nel so-li-ta - rio spe - co, ove ha ri-cet - to Alci - na por - to lo sde - gno me - co la". The instrumental accompaniment features diminished seventh chords and dynamic markings of forte (fz) and piano (p). The score is divided into measures 7, 9, and 11.

¹⁶³ The text of the *Ritter Roland* score from Donaueschingen (Mus Ms 723) is in German. For my excerpts here I have used the original Italian text based on the JH Werke edition (*Joseph Haydn Werke*, Reihe XXV, Band 11 (Munich: Henle, 1973). A comparison of the two sources shows that musically there is little difference between the two.

10 11

Ca-ro pa-dron mio bel-lo, pie-ta d'un po-ver uo-mo. lo

rabbia ed il fu-ror.

f p *f p* *p*

p

p

13 15

so-no un gal-lan-tuo-mo ri-pie-no di ti-mor.

Ta-ci e se-gui per or-li pas-si

f *f*

Orlando: Ta-ci, vi-gliac-co,

16 17 19

Pasquale: Quan-do fi-nisce, oh de-i, la vo-stro cru-del-ta!

mie-i.

Orlando: Ta-van-za, t'a-van-za,

p *f* *f*

f p *f p* *f*

text, whining for pity from his master, receives a harmonically simpler realization. The excerpt ends with a *marziale* figure in the orchestra marking the modulation to the dominant.

In transferring this music from Haydn's opera to a setting for *Harmonie* Rosinack worked with several aspects inherent in the original. These include adapting the vocal lines to a setting without text, incorporating the wind obligati into the new texture, as well as building an appropriate accompaniment (see Ex. 10b). The purely instrumental setting allows Rosinack to bring variation to the melodic presentation. Roland's line in measures 7-10 is played by oboe doubled an octave lower by bassoon, while Pasquale's response is taken by oboe solo an octave higher than the previous statement.

Small rhythmic embellishments of the original vocal lines add to the instrumental character (e.g. Ex. 10b, m. 7, ob 1/bsn 1), as clarity of text presentation is not of importance. Also notable is the cut of Haydn's phrase extension in measures 15-17, which eliminates repetitive music originally supporting the two characters' interaction. The resultant phrase in Rosinack's *Harmonie* is a neat eight measures long (Ex. 10b, mm. 7-14). As can be seen in Table 2 (p. 132 below), Rosinack reduces the length of each of the five finale sections, except the Vivace of Part IV, which becomes longer.

As was true with the arrangements of K. 361 and 575 investigated previously, building an accompaniment that effectively supports the melodic presentation is another aspect central to the arranging process. In this passage Rosinack puts the off-beat sixteenths in the clarinets and second oboe, while the horns and second bassoon provide a rhythmic grounding which outlines the harmony over the tonic pedal. Doubling and octave transpositions reinforce the melody lines and prevent them from being

overwhelmed by this thicker wind accompaniment. Since the *Harmonie* texture is a reduction of the original in terms of voice number, Rosinack at times combines several instrumental roles into one voice. This combination can be seen in example 10b, measures 10 and 14, where Rosinack sets abbreviated secondary melodies from Haydn's wind obligati in the horn 1 (m. 10) and clarinet 1/bassoon 1 (m. 14).

The second section of the Act II finale also contains several passages of music exemplifying Rosinack's skill in arranging stage music for *Harmonie*. This section follows the scene where Alcina has turned Roland into stone. The two lovers, Angelica and Medoro, approach the witch's grotto accompanied by the shepardess Eurilla and King Rodomonte. The initial arioso in A major consists of 52 measures of music marked Adagio, followed by a 57-measure modulatory Presto beginning in E major that makes use of accompanied recitative. The arioso features a four-phrase section of music sung in turn by Angelica, Medoro, and Eurilla, where each character reflects on the terror of their surroundings as they approach the witch's abode. While each of these sections is largely in A-major, they all conclude with a four-measure a-minor phrase extension that cadences in C major. The last statement by Eurilla abbreviates the progression by turning to E major, where the text is taken up by King Rodomonte in the Presto. Like the recitative in the latter half of the finale's opening, the Presto develops the plot line with the four characters meeting Pasquale and the petrified Roland, followed by the witch's entrance.

Rosinack's approach in arranging this section shows some similarities with his setting of the finale's opening. Substantial cuts come from the Presto music, which uses modulation and tonal instability in ways uncharacteristic of Rosinack's instrumental

settings. The remaining arioso consists of an instrumental introduction followed by the passages sung in turn by Angelica, Medoro, and Eurilla. In order to establish harmonic cohesiveness with his setting of the finale's opening Rosinack transposes this music to C-major, a key more natural to the wind instruments of a *Harmonie* ensemble. Interestingly Rosinack made some additional small cuts to this remaining music; he chose to take out the parallel minor phrase extension ending Angelica's and Medoro's passages (Ex. 11a, mm. 123-128).

Example 11a presents the Haydn's original music sung in turn by Medoro and Eurilla from the A-major section of the finale's Part II described above. Ex. 11b shows the *Harmonie* setting, where Rosinack again uses tone-color variation to portray the vocal lines. Having previously scored Angelica's line in the oboe, he begins Medoro's in the bassoon (mm. 55-57), finishing in the clarinet (mm. 58-68), perhaps with the intention of preventing the supporting texture from overwhelming the melody. Eurilla's line is again taken by the oboe (mm. 69-77). The accompaniment consists of elements of Haydn's original redistributed among instruments not playing melody. The off-beat eighth notes and the flourish of thirty-second notes in the strings can be found in the clarinets and second oboe, while the sustaining element presented by Haydn's winds is emulated in Rosinack's horns (e.g. mm. 57, 59, 61-62).

Creative license can be seen in the way Rosinack's supporting textures interact with the melody. He uses the horn lines as a bridge between the statements in the bassoon and clarinet (Ex. 11b, m.57), while horns cadencing on octaves give closure to the phrase ending (Ex. 11b, m. 60). He also replaces the thirty-second note flourish (Ex. 11a, m. 115, violin and bassoon) with an arpeggiation in the second clarinet, thereby

Example 11

11a. Haydn, Ritter Roland (Mus Ms 723), Act II Finale, mm. 110-138.

Adagio

Ob 1&2
Hn 1&2

Bsn 1&2

Medoro/
Eurilla

Vln 1&2
Vla

Bassi

110 112 114

p *fz* *fz*

Medoro
Eurilla

Ah mio ben, che luogo e que - sto! Che si - len - zio, che ter - ro - re! Mi va-

116 118 120 122

cil - la inseno il cor - re, e lo sen - to pal - pi - tar e lo se - to pal - pi-

fz *p* *fz* *p*

123 124 126 128

p *fz* *f* *p*

Eurilla

Tre - mo

130 132 134 136 Presto

tut - ta po - ve - ri - na. Chi sa do - ve quest' Al - ci - na, chi sa do - ve quest' Al - ci - na rim - piat - ta - ta si - sa - ra'

11b. Rosinack, arr., Ritter Roland Harmoniemusik (Mus Ms 736), Act II finale, mm. 55-77.

Adagio

55 58 61

Ob 1&2

Cl 1&2

Hn 1&2

Bsn 1&2

64 67 70



effectively linking the first half of the passage with its continuation (Ex. 11b m. 60).

Finally, the horns toward the end of the passage sustain a tonic pedal in octaves

under the oboe melody that builds to a cadence on the dominant (Ex. 11b, mm. 71-75).

These are elements Rosinack uses to build unity in this section of his *Roland Harmonie*.

Conclusions from Arrangements of Stage Music

The remaining three portions of Rosinack's Act II finale setting confirm several tendencies of his arranging process with stage music. In each case he cuts recitative and tonally unstable or developmental sections, while adapting the remaining music to a form more characteristic of instrumental *Unterhaltungsmusik*. In considering the whole of Rosinack's setting, one notices how effective transition between the resulting episodes is also an important part of his arranging skill. In some sections tonal transposition serves to bridge the cuts made in the music, such as the C major adagio described above (transposed from A major), which flows naturally from the c minor close of the previous section. Another transition technique includes the composition of new music to bridge cuts. Example 12 shows seven new measures that Rosinack wrote to move more effectively from the C major adagio to the following allegro. The excerpt begins in G

from the cadence in measure 77, gradually changing the harmony to a dominant seventh chord on G, setting up a return to the C major of the next allegro. The music has a recitative-like characteristic that suggests the function of the music it replaces, albeit on a smaller scale.

12. Rosinack, Ritter Roland Harmoniemusik (Mus Ms 736), Act II finale, newly composed transition, mm. 77-83.

The musical score shows a transition from Adagio to Allegro. The key signature is C major. The time signature changes from 3/4 to 6/8 at measure 83. The dynamics are marked as *p*, *fz*, and *f*. The score includes parts for Oboe 1&2, Clarinet 1&2 in C, Horn 1&2 in C, and Bassoon 1&2.

Table II below offers a summary overview of Haydn’s Act II finale and Rosinack’s arrangement, where the differences described earlier in key structure, formal delineation of recitative and arioso, as well as dramatic development can easily be observed within the context of the whole finale. After establishing the formal outline of the finale setting as a whole, Rosinack’s remaining steps in the arranging process are similar to those in his arrangements from instrumental genres. He creates the “sonic architecture” of the music anew using the wind characteristics of the *Harmonie*. Vocal lines are rescored using coloristic variety, with the accompanying textures built to balance with the melodic presentation. These supporting parts transfer aspects of Haydn’s

original to the new wind fabric, with supporting instruments often taking roles combining accompaniment and secondary melody.

Table 2: A Structural Comparison of the Act Two Finale in Haydn's Opera and Rosinack's Ritter Roland *Harmoniemusik*.

Ritter Roland Opera	Ritter Roland Harmoniemusik
Part One	
<p>1. Arioso (Poco Adagio, 4/4, mm. 1-39) Roland and Pasquale go the witch's grotto. (39 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C major –G major –C/c minor</p>	<p>1. Adagio (4/4, mm. 1-34). (34 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C major –G major –C/c minor</p>
<p>2. Recitative (mm. 40-84) Roland confronts Alcina, battle ends with Alcina turning Roland to stone. (45 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">E-flat - c minor – A-flat (a-flat – e-flat) E-flat- c minor</p>	<p>2. (Recitative Cut). (----)</p>
Part Two	
<p>1. Arioso (Adagio, 3/4, mm. 85-136). Angelica, Medoro, Eurilla, and King Rodomonte approach the witch's grotto. (52 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A major (a minor/C) A – E</p>	<p>1. Adagio (3/4, mm. 35-76). (42 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C major – G</p>
<p>2. Modulatory music with some accompanied recitative (Presto, 3/4, mm. 137-193). The group encounters Pasquale. Rodomonte demands to know what the squire is doing there. Pasquale points to the petrified Roland. (57 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">E major – A(a) – C – d</p>	<p>2. Newly composed transition (mm. 77-83). (7 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">G major – (C)</p>

Part Three	
<p>1. Ensemble (Presto, 6/8, mm. 194-290). The group is amazed with the statue. Alcina appears and asks what is to be done with Roland. Angelica does not wish for revenge against the knight's wrongdoing, so despite protests from the others, Roland is returned to life by the witch. (97 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B-flat major – F–B-flat–E-flat (c, f minor) E-flat–A-flat (f)</p>	<p>1. Allegro (6/8, mm. 84-151). (68 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C major–G–C–F (d, g minor) F</p>
Part Four	
<p>1. Accompanied Recitative (Adagio, 4/4, mm. 291-296). Roland awakes, dazed and confused. (6 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">F major (f minor)</p> <p>2. Arioso (Vivace, 4/4, mm. 297-323) As Roland regains full consciousness, he remembers his rage at Alcina and runs into the grotto to confront her again. (27 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">F major–C (c minor)</p>	<p>1. (Recitative cut). (----)</p> <p>2. Vivace (2/2, mm. 152-183). (32 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">F major–C major</p>
Part Five	
<p>1. Final Chorus (Presto, 4/4, mm. 324-416) The remaining group gradually finds composure; they are relieved that Roland is now gone. (93 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C major–G–C</p>	<p>1. Poco Presto (2/2, mm. 184-262). (79 m.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C major (G)–C</p>

Besides shortening Haydn's original from 416 measures to 262 measures for the *Harmonie*, Rosinack's version of Haydn's opera uses a harmonic language greatly simplified from that of the original, and its tonal structure is quite conservative by comparison. The music in the resulting setting, however, is no longer meant to portray the dramatic development of Haydn's opera. Rather it presents a series of episodes that

are aurally pleasing to listeners. Naturally the audience Rosinack was writing for would have been fairly familiar with the opera,¹⁶⁴ and thus were “in the know” as to the drama hidden in the progression of these musical episodes. The arrangement does not, however, depend on such prior familiarity for success in performance. The music can stand on its own, as Rosinack has transferred it from Haydn’s original theatrical setting to a purely instrumental genre.

¹⁶⁴ This audience would primarily have been the Fürstenberg family and a close circle from the Donaueschingen theatrical society involved with the Roland productions of 1793, 1802, and 1805.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Franz Joseph Rosinack's active career with the Fürstenberg *Hofmusik* stretched over the last decades of the eighteenth century into the early nineteenth century, a time where the court was seen as a cultural leader in the smaller German-speaking lands of central Europe. The Fürstenberg's close ties to the major cultural centers of that time, including Vienna, Prague, and Mannheim, allowed the court orchestra to perform important works of the contemporary operatic repertoire, often within months of the premiere. In contrast to this grand picture, information on the day-to-day music performance at court surviving in the Fürstenberg archive in Donaueschingen presents something of a puzzle. This conundrum is especially apparent considering the wealth of compositions in the Fürstenberg music collection now housed in the *Badische Landesbibliothek* in Karlsruhe, Germany. The music collection consists of 3,612 handwritten manuscript pieces and 3,920 printed pieces, presenting music from over four centuries, with the bulk of the handwritten manuscripts stemming from the later eighteenth century. The collection suggests that Franz Joseph Rosinack was intimately involved in the performance of music from across the spectrum of eighteenth-century composers and genres.

The Personal-Akten, Hofmusik-Akten,¹⁶⁵ and court music catalogues¹⁶⁶ preserved in the FFA present a far less complete picture, leaving many conclusions about music performance in Donaueschingen during Rosinack's life the matter of supposition. The fact is that outside opera productions, we have little information on what music was

¹⁶⁵ Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft, Vol. I, Fasc. 1

¹⁶⁶ FFA, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft, Vol. III, Fasc. 5

performed when, as well as exactly who performed it.¹⁶⁷ Manfred Schuler supposed that the instrumental forces in the court orchestra consisted of up to four players each in the first violin, second violin, and viola sections, two players each in the violoncello and bass sections, as well as pairs of flutes, oboes, clarinets, horns, bassoons, and trumpets. Schuler based this estimation on the distribution of parts from eighteenth-century orchestral works in the Fürstenberg music collection, however no documentation of orchestra personnel exists for specific performances.¹⁶⁸ The seven *Staats-und-Adressen Kalendar* from the last decade of the 1700s do list regular instrumentalists employed by the court, though the dearth of string players named in these lists suggests that the string section was completed through the addition of amateurs.¹⁶⁹

Other areas of supposition relating more directly to Rosinack's work include our understanding of *Harmoniemusik* and its place at the Fürstenberg court. According to his *Kammer-Musicus* contract of 1789 Rosinack both directed and played in the court *Harmonie*, and was also charged with supplying music for performances. Once again the FFA contains little direct evidence documenting exactly what repertoire was played when, and under what circumstances. One noticeable trait of the opera arrangements for *Harmonie* in the Fürstenberg music collection is their great length. Many contain well over twenty numbers, each thus easily supplying up to an hour of music. Most likely

¹⁶⁷ The main primary source of information of opera performance during Rosinack's time in Donaueschingen is an unpublished manuscript in the FFA: Franz Michael Held, *Handbuch des fürstlichen Hoftheaters zu Donaueschingen*, FFA, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst und Wissenschaft, Vol. III, Fasc. 1. Held was part of the Fürstenberg's aristocratic circle and a member of the Donaueschingen Theatrical Society who often took part in productions. Unfortunately his writing focuses almost exclusively on the vocalists in performances and not on instrumentalists.

¹⁶⁸ Manfred Schuler, "Die Aufführung von Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* in Donaueschingen 1787," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 45 (1988): 114.

¹⁶⁹ FFA Donaueschingen, *Staats- und Adressen- Kalendar* from the years 1790, 91, 92, 94, 96, 1802, and 1804.

these arrangements were performed in the tradition of *Unterhaltungsmusik*, perhaps with the musicians using selected numbers to play as part of a suite to accompany meals, banquets, hunting parties, or other such festivities. One aspect suggesting this informal approach to performance can be seen in Rosinack's *Ritter Roland Harmonie*, namely his conservative approach to adapting the form and harmonic language of key sections of Haydn's opera. This conservative approach can also be seen in other opera arrangements in the Fürstenberg collection, and considering their length, it seems very unlikely that they were played in full in a concert setting.

The music collection itself may be the most solid body of evidence we have on which to develop a more complete picture of late eighteenth-century music culture in Donaueschingen. The large number of manuscripts in Rosinack's handwriting preserved in the collection documents his scribal role during his years at court. Some of these pieces corroborate information in the FFA Hofmusik-Akten, and offer insights to court music activity. One example of such insight is a receipt from 1802 showing that Rosinack had copied parts for Mozart's Requiem, K. 626.¹⁷⁰ This piece has survived in the Fürstenberg collection (Mus. Ms. 1383), and contains parts for English horns, replacing the Bassett horns, showing Rosinack's solution for the rarity of that instrument.

Some aspects of Rosinack's contribution to the collection still involve areas of supposition, and in certain cases these areas remain controversial. Such aspects include which arrangements can precisely be attributed to him, as well as when the arrangements were created. Generally when the manuscript is in his handwriting and Rosinack

¹⁷⁰ FFA, Abt. Hofverwaltung, Kunst, und Wissenschaft, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1. See Chapter II: p. 63, note 113.

includes his name on the title page, RISM attributes an arrangement to him (see Chapter III, pg. 88 for a typical title page). Some manuscripts with questionable elements are categorized as “probably by Rosinack” (*vermutlich von Rosinack*). Perhaps more importantly such attributions can be corroborated and amended with an understanding of the stylistic features in the broad range of arrangements firmly from Rosinack’s hand, an avenue presented by this study. As noted more fully in Chapter III, these stylistic features include maintaining important elements of texture from the original, writing idiomatically for the instruments of the new setting, as well as even changing the key of the original to fit the new instruments or other circumstances of the new setting. More rarely Rosinack modified key aspects of the music central to the original genre, as in the arrangements of opera for *Harmonie*, where he adapted essential structural elements or even harmonic progression.

Certainly there is a need for further research in order to develop a more coherent picture of Rosinack and his work at the Fürstenberg court. Such research will build on our historical understanding of the court and its place in the late eighteenth-century musical culture of Europe. It should shed light on the lives of specific court musicians, the community they built, and their relationship to musicians at other courts among the smaller German speaking lands of eighteenth-century Europe. A large part of this work by necessity involves searching the diverse documents housed in the FFA. Primary source information on Franz Joseph Rosinack is fragmented and scattered among the sections of the Fürstenberg archive, including various Personal-Akten, the Hofmusik-Akten, and music catalogues. Each new piece enlightens the web of things we already know.

Another avenue for research is the analysis of Rosinack's work itself. Since his arrangements cover such a broad range of compositional style and genre, they give unique insight to the process of taking music from one setting and adapting it for use in another. Studying the specific adaptations that arise out of Rosinack's morphing music from one genre to another show an eighteenth-century musician's conception of how issues of texture, tone color, instrumental quality, and ultimately form and harmonic language come together during music's creation. Thus, continuing the comparison of Rosinack's arrangements to their originals in the Fürstenberg collection will build our understanding of the music Rosinack worked with, leading to the possibility of more informed performances of these works in modern times.

APPENDIX A

A LIST OF ARRANGEMENTS BY FRANZ JOSEPH ROSINACK

The following list was constructed from *Der Musikalienbestand der Ehemaligen Fürstlich Fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek Donaueschingen in der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe*, an unpublished catalogue in the Badische Landesbibliothek based on the Fürstenberg music manuscripts detailed in RISM Serie A/II *Musikhandschriften nach 1600*. The ordering of the list follows the categorization of Rosinack's arrangements presented in Chapter III, with the broadest genre distinction between arrangements of instrumental music (I) and arrangements of stage music (II). Arrangements of instrumental music are then subdivided into categories reflecting different compositional idioms, including chamber music (I.A-I.C), symphonies (I.D), church music (I.E), and concertante works (I.F). Arrangements of chamber music are further divided into groups reflecting the number of voices in the original and new setting, namely reductions (I.A-1), augmentations (I.A-2), and arrangements which retain the same number of voices (I.A-3). Finally the category I-G reflects arrangements of works from an unknown origin.

I. Arrangements of Instrumental Music

A. Arrangements of chamber music involving a reduction in the original number of voices.

1. The following are quintets for ob, vln, 2 vla, vlc, arranged from wind octets for 2 ob, 2 cl, 2 hn, 2 bsn, unless otherwise noted.

Georg Feldmayr (1756-1834)

416 Quintet in F from Partitas (Sextet for 2 ob, 2 hn, bsn, and vla) 419, 420, and 421

417 Quintet in F from Partitas (Sextet for 2 ob, 2 hn, bsn, and vla) 419 and 420

Franz Krommer (1759-1831) originals as listed in the complete works catalogue by Karl Padrta

1166 Quintet in B-flat from Partita in B-flat Pad. K. Deest

1167 Quintet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.19

1168 Quintet in B-flat from Partita in B-flat, Pad. K. 4.1

1169 Quintet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.16

1170 Quintet in B-flat from Partita in B-flat, Pad. K. 4.30

1171 Quintet in E-flat from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.23

1172 Quintet in B-flat for eng. horn, vln, 2 vla, vlc from unknown source

1173 Quintet in B-flat from Partita in B-flat, Pad. K. 4.32

1174 Quintet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.15

1175 Quintet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.20

1176 Quintet in E-flat from Partita in E-flat, 4.18

1177 Quintet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.17

1178 Quintet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.33

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) originals as listed in the complete works catalogue by Ludwig Köchel

1376 Quintet in B-flat from Partita in B-flat (octet version of Serenade K. 370/361)

Ignace Pleyel (1757-1831) originals as listed in the complete works catalogue by Rita Benton

1583 Quintet in F from Sinfonie Concertante in E-flat, Ben. P. 111

1584 Quintet in C from Octet D DO Mus. Ms. 1592/Partita in B-flat D DO Mus. Ms. 1572

2. The following are quartets for 2 ob, cl, and bsn, arranged from wind octets for 2 ob, 2 cl, 2 hn, 2 bsn, unless otherwise noted.

Franz Krommer (1759-1831)

1179i Quartet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.20

1179ii Quartet in B-flat from Partita in B-flat, Pad. K. 4.33

1179iii Quartet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.16

1179iv Quartet in B-flat from Partita in B-flat, Pad. K. Deest

1179v Quartet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.17

1179vi Quartet in F from Partita in E-flat, Pad. K. 4.15

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791)

1360 Quartet in B-flat from Partita in B-flat (octet version of Serenade K. 370/361)

1380 Quartet in F from Serenade in E-flat, K. 375

B. Arrangements of chamber music involving an augmentation of the original number of voices.

1. The following are wind octets for 2 ob, 2 cl, 2 hn, 2 bsn arranged from sextets.

Georg Feldmayr (1756-1834)

- 419 Octet in F from Partita in F for 2 ob, 2 hn, bsn, vla
- 420 Octet in F from Partita in F for 2 ob, 2 hn, bsn, vla
- 421 Octet in F from Partita in F for 2 ob, 2 hn, bsn, vla

2. The following are quintets for ob, vln, vla, and vlc, arranged from string quartets.

Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763-1850)

- 582 Quintet in C from Quartet in C, Op. 16, no. 1

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791)

- 1369 Quintet in d from Quartet in d, K. 417
- 1375 Quintet in B-flat from Quartet in B-flat, K. 458
- 1374 Quintet in C from Quartet in D, K. 575 (not attributed to Rosinack by RISM)

3. The following are wind octets for 2 ob, 2 cl, 2 hn, 2 bsn arranged from string quartets, unless otherwise noted. While the manuscripts are in Rosinack's handwriting, they are not attributed to him by RISM.

Ignace Pleyel (1757-1831)

- 1570 Partita in B-flat from quartet in B-flat, Ben P. 311 and quartet in D, Ben. P. 312
- 1571 Partita in E-flat from Sinfonie Concertante in E-flat, Ben P. 111
- 1573 Partita in B-flat from quartets in C, Ben P. 353, in B-flat, Ben P. 354, and in e, Ben P. 355
- 1574 Partita in F from quartet in E-flat, Ben P. 302
- 1575 Partita in E-flat from quartet in F, Ben P. 338

C. Arrangements of chamber music which retain the original number of voices.

The following are quartets for ob, vln, vla, and vlc, arranged from string quartets, unless otherwise noted.

Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) originals as listed in complete works catalogue by Anthony Hoboken

- 655 Quartet in C from String Quartet in C, Op. 65, Hob. 3.65

Ignace Pleyel (1757-1831)

- 1579 Quartet in C from String Quartet in C, Ben P. 331
- 1581 Quartet in D from String Quartet in C, Ben P. 346
- 1582 Quartet in F from Piano Trio in E-flat, Ben P. 467

D. Arrangements of Symphonies

The following are quintets for ob, vln, 2 vla, and vlc.

Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763-1850)

583 Quintet in B-flat from Symphony in B-flat, RicG. B-flat

Franz Neubauer (1760ca. -1795)

1433 Quintet in F from Symphony(?) Sjn. Deest

1435 Quintet in F from Symphony(?) Sjn. Deest

Anton Rosetti (ca. 1750-1792) originals as listed in complete works by Sterling Murray

1674 Quintet in B-flat from Symphony in B-flat, MurR. A49

E. Arrangements of Church Music

Franz Gleissner (1761-1818)

536 Missa Brevi for SATB Solo, Wind Octet, and Organ from Missa Brevi for SATB, Orch., and Organ

F. Arrangements of Concertante Works

A. Zwick (?)

2089 Romance for Oboe solo and Chamber ensemble from Romance for Oboe solo and Orchestra

G. Arrangements of Works in an Instrumental Idiom of Unknown Origin

Vincenzo Righini (1756-1812)

1631 Quintet in F for ob, vln, 2vla, and vlc from unknown source

Schörtzel, (?)

The following dances are from a collective manuscript for quartet of 2 ob, cl, and bsn

1179 Dances for Wind Quartet, a collective manuscript from unknown source

1. *Denz*, 2. *Tiroler Wastel*, 3. *Hechinger*, 4. *Liesel*, 5. *Masur*, 6. *Pas de Deux*,
7. *Polonehse*, 8. *Augustin*, 9. *Cantabile*, 10. *Menuetto*, 11. *Presto*, 12. *Allegro*, 13.
Romance, 14. *Menuetto*, 15. *Rondo*, 16. *Marsche*, 17. *Marsche*, 18. *Werbung*

Johann A. Sixt (1757-1797)

1809 Deutsche Tänze for Wind Octet of 2ob, 2cl, 2hn, 2bsn from unknown source

II. Arrangements of Works for the Stage

The following are arrangements for wind octet of 2ob, 2cl, 2hn, and 2bsn, unless otherwise noted.

Karl von Dittersdorf (1739-1799)

349 Suite for Wind Octet from the opera *Doktor und Apotheker* KreD. 292

Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809)

727 Suite for Quintet of ob, vln, 2vla, and vlc from the oratorio *Die Schöpfung* Hob. 21.2

736 Suite for Wind Octet from the opera *Orlando Paladino* Hob. 28.11

Wenzel Müller (1767-1835)

1411 Suite for Quintet of ob, 2vln, vla, and vlc from the opera *Das Neusonntagskind*

Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816)

1544 Suite for Wind Octet from the opera *La Frascatana* RobP. 1.43

1525 Suite for Wind Octet from the opera *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* RobP. 1.66

Peter von Winter (1754-1825)

2038 Suite for Wind Octet from the ballet *Die Liebe Heinrichs IV und der Gabriele*

Paul Wranitzky (1756-1808)

2067 Suite for Wind Octet from the singspiel *Oberon König der Elfen*

APPENDIX B

A SCORE OF ROSINACK'S ARRANGEMENT OF THE *PARTITTA IN B* [FLAT], (after K. 361) FOR OBOE AND FOUR STRINGS, MVT. I

Rosinack based his quintet arrangement ("Quintetto in B," D-DO Mus. Ms. 1376) on a contemporary octet version of Mozart's serenade in B-flat, K. 361/370a in the Fürstenberg collection ("Partitta in B," D-DO Mus. Ms. 1359). Both manuscripts present only movements 1, 2, 3, and 7 of the original, and are dated by RISM as ca. 1790. Several unique attributes linking the two manuscripts differ from the version of K. 361 for thirteen instruments. These include an alteration of the main melody in the seventh movement Rondo, as well as embellishments in the clarinet line of the third movement Adagio.¹⁷¹

The performance score of Ms. 1376 below presents the text of the arrangement as closely as possible to Rosinack's original. Discrepancies among the parts in terms of articulation and dynamics have been normalized to show a consistent interpretation. In addition, as mentioned in Chapter III, note 153, the F3 in measure 123 of the viola line must be considered a transcription error by Rosinack, when compared with the *sounding* C4 of the second horn of Ms. 1359. Thus in this score the pitch has been changed to a C4, more closely matching the circle of fifths progression in the harmony of that passage. As mentioned previously, one should also note the E-flat3 in the cello line of measure 125, and the A4 in the oboe of measure 123, both present in the analogous lines of Ms.

¹⁷¹ The melodic alteration in the Rondo consists of the first four sixteenth notes of the descending line in the oboes beginning in the fourth full measure. These four sixteenths are changed to eighth notes B-flat and A. This as well as other changes can be seen in: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Parthia in B*, K. 361, ed. Bastiaan Blomhert (Vienna: Doblinger, 1994).

1359. A comparison with the NMA score of K. 361 shows that the oboe's A4 corresponds to a sounding G4 in the first bassett horn, with the G more fitting to the triadic nature of the harmony in this section. The E-flat3 presents a more puzzling circumstance. It matches directly the E-flat3 of the second bassoon in measure 125 of the NMA score, however, this pitch has a different context in the version of K. 361 for thirteen instruments. The scoring for the larger ensemble includes a double bass, which sounds an F2 below the second bassoon's E-flat, providing a root position dominant chord in measure 125. In Ms. 1359 the second horn sounds the F3 a major second above the second bassoon, making for a dominant seventh in *third inversion*, quite a different sonority.¹⁷²

Since these two pitches, taken directly from Ms. 1359 into the quintet arrangement, do not represent transcription errors on Rosinack's part, they have been left as is for this performance score. It is worth noting that two other editions of this music have changed the E-flat3 to an F3 in second bassoon line. These editions include the 1880 Breitkopf and Härtel score of K. 361 for thirteen instruments,¹⁷³ and Bastiaan Blomhert's more modern edition of the octet version, for which Ms. 1359 is cited as a source.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, Ser. VII, Wkgr. 17: Divertimenti und Serenaden für Blasinstrumente, Bd. 2, vorgelegt von D. Leeson und N. Zaslav (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979), 141-222.

¹⁷³ *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe*, Ser. 13 (Leipzig: Breitkopf&Härtel, 1880; reprint, New York: Dover, 1990), 143-198.

¹⁷⁴ W.A. Mozart, Parthia in B, ed. Blomhert.

Quintetto in B[flat]

(after K. 361)
Mvt. I

W.A. Mozart
Arr. Rosinack

Largo

Ob *f* *p* *f*

Vln *f* *p* *f* *p*

Vla 1 *f* *f* *f* *p*

Vla 2 *f* *f* *f* *p*

Vlc *f* *f* *f*

4 *p* *f* *f*

8 *p* *p* *p* *p* *p* *p*

Allegro molto

Musical score for measures 12-15. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. It features five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. The music is characterized by dynamic contrasts, with markings for *f* (forte), *p* (piano), and *fp* (fortissimo). Measure 12 starts with a *f* dynamic in the first treble staff, followed by a *p* dynamic in the second treble staff. The bass staves show a *f* dynamic. Measure 13 continues with *f* and *p* dynamics. Measure 14 features a *fp* dynamic in the first bass staff. Measure 15 concludes with a *f* dynamic in the first treble staff and a *p* dynamic in the first bass staff.

Musical score for measures 16-21. The score continues with five staves. Measures 16-17 are mostly rests in the upper staves, with a *f* dynamic in the first treble staff at the start of measure 16. Measures 18-21 show a consistent *f* dynamic across all staves, with a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the bass staves.

Musical score for measures 22-25. The score continues with five staves. Measures 22-25 feature a *p* (piano) dynamic across all staves. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a steady rhythmic flow in the bass staves.

27

Musical score for measures 27-32. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features five staves: two treble clefs, two bass clefs, and a double bass clef. The music is marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The first two staves contain melodic lines with some grace notes and slurs. The third and fourth staves contain rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. The fifth staff contains a bass line with eighth notes and rests.

33

Musical score for measures 33-37. The score continues in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features five staves. The first two staves contain melodic lines with slurs and dynamics of *fp* and *f*. The third and fourth staves contain rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes and rests, marked with *fp* and *f*. The fifth staff contains a bass line with eighth notes and rests, marked with *fp* and *f*.

38

Musical score for measures 38-42. The score continues in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features five staves. The first two staves contain melodic lines with slurs and dynamics of *p*. The third and fourth staves contain rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes and rests, marked with *p*. The fifth staff contains a bass line with eighth notes and rests, marked with *p*.

44

tr

49

p

pp

55

f

f

fp

fp

f

p

f

p

f

p

60

Musical score for measures 60-64. The score is in 2/4 time and B-flat major. It features a piano with a right-hand melody and a left-hand accompaniment. The right hand starts with a series of eighth notes, then moves to a half note. The left hand has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Dynamics include *fp* and *p*.

65

Musical score for measures 65-69. The score continues in 2/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand has a more active melody with eighth notes. The left hand accompaniment is also more active. Dynamics include *f*.

70

Musical score for measures 70-74. The score continues in 2/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand features a melodic line with some grace notes. The left hand has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Dynamics include *f*.

74

74

p

f

f

p

79

79

p

f

p

f

p

84

84

f

f

f

f

f

88

p

92

p

97

p

102

f

107

f

112

p

118

Musical score for measures 118-124. The system consists of five staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom four staves are in bass clef. The key signature has two flats. Measure 118 starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The music features a mix of quarter and eighth notes with some rests.

125

Musical score for measures 125-130. The system consists of five staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom four staves are in bass clef. The key signature has two flats. Measure 125 starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The music features a mix of quarter and eighth notes with some rests.

131

Musical score for measures 131-134. The system consists of five staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom four staves are in bass clef. The key signature has two flats. Measure 131 starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The music features a mix of quarter and eighth notes with some rests.

135

Musical score for measures 135-140. The score consists of five staves: two treble clefs, two alto clefs, and one bass clef. The key signature has two flats. Measures 135-140 show a complex melodic line in the upper staves with trills and slurs, and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the lower staves. Dynamics include 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte).

141

Musical score for measures 141-145. The score consists of five staves: two treble clefs, two alto clefs, and one bass clef. The key signature has two flats. Measures 141-145 show a more active melodic line with slurs and trills. Dynamics include 'f' (forte).

146

Musical score for measures 146-150. The score consists of five staves: two treble clefs, two alto clefs, and one bass clef. The key signature has two flats. Measures 146-150 show a melodic line with trills and slurs, and a rhythmic accompaniment. Dynamics include 'p' (piano) and 'tr' (trill).

151

Musical score for measures 151-155. The score is in 3/4 time and features five staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two flats. The second and third staves are alto clefs. The fourth and fifth staves are bass clefs. The music begins with a rest in the first staff, followed by a series of notes and rests. The dynamic marking *f* is present in the second, third, and fourth staves. The fifth staff contains a continuous eighth-note accompaniment.

156

Musical score for measures 156-160. The score continues with five staves. The first staff has a treble clef, and the others are alto and bass clefs. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. The dynamic marking *fp* (fortissimo piano) is used throughout the section. The fifth staff continues with the eighth-note accompaniment.

161

Musical score for measures 161-165. The score continues with five staves. The first staff has a treble clef, and the others are alto and bass clefs. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. The dynamic marking *f* (fortissimo) is used in the first three measures, and *p* (piano) is used in the last two measures. The fifth staff continues with the eighth-note accompaniment.

167

Musical score for measures 167-171. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. It features a piano (*p*) dynamic and trills (*tr*) in the upper staves.

172

Musical score for measures 172-177. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. It features a piano (*p*) dynamic and a piano (*p*) dynamic marking in the lower staves.

178

Musical score for measures 178-182. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. It features a piano (*p*) dynamic and a forte (*f*) dynamic marking in the upper staves.

183

fp fp fp p

fp fp fp p

p

p

p

188

f

f

f

f

p

f

193

198

Musical score for measures 198-203. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. The music is characterized by dense, rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Dynamic markings include *p* (piano) and *f* (forte).

204

Musical score for measures 204-209. The score continues in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features five staves. The music is characterized by dense, rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Dynamic markings include *f* (forte) and *p* (piano).

210

Musical score for measures 210-215. The score continues in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features five staves. The music is characterized by dense, rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Dynamic markings include *f* (forte).

215

Musical score for measures 215-222. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. The music includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Dynamics markings include *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). The piece concludes with a fermata over the final notes.

223

Musical score for measures 223-228. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. The music is characterized by long, flowing melodic lines with slurs and ties, primarily consisting of half and quarter notes. Dynamics markings include *p* (piano).

229

Musical score for measures 229-236. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. The music is highly rhythmic, featuring dense patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamics markings include *f* (forte). The piece concludes with a fermata over the final notes.

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