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IN THE SHADOW OF THE DRESDEN *HOFKAPELLE*.
JACOB HEINRICH VON FLEMMING AND HIS MUSIC ENSEMBLE

ABSTRACT In 1713 Jacob Heinrich v. Flemming (1667–1728), Saxon field marshal and first minister of the Saxon Privy Council, set up his own music ensemble. This article is devoted to the history, line-up and profile of that ensemble. Over the 15 years of the existence of Flemming's *Kapelle*, at least 20 musicians played in it, including such outstanding artists as Francesco Cattaneo and Gregor Joseph Werner. The history of this ensemble illuminates the network of connections and musical contacts between Dresden, Köthen, Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Leipzig, Brunswick, Zerbst and Schwerin during the early decades of the eighteenth century.

KEYWORDS Jacob Heinrich v. Flemming, August II the Strong, Francesco Cattaneo, Gregor Joseph Werner, Dresden, *Kapelle*, Saxony

ABSTRAKT *W cieniu drezdeńskiej „Hofkapelle”. Jacob Heinrich von Flemming i jego zespół muzyczny.* W 1713 r. Jacob Heinrich v. Flemming (1667–1728), feldmarszałek saski i pierwszy minister saskiego Tajnego Gabinetu powołał do życia własną kapelę muzyczną. Artykuł poświęcony jest historii, obsadzie i charakterystyce tego zespołu. Wykazano, że w trakcie piętnastu lat jego istnienia działało w nim co najmniej dwudziestu muzyków, w tym tak znakomici, jak Francesco Cattaneo czy Gregor Joseph Werner. Historia zespołu naświetla konfigurację powiązań i kontaktów muzycznych między Dreznem, Köthen, Berlinem, Wiedniem, Warszawą, Lipskiem, Brunszwikiem, Zerbst i Schwerinem w pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XVIII wieku.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE Jacob Heinrich v. Flemming, August II Mocny, Francesco Cattaneo, Gregor Joseph Werner, Drezno, kapela muzyczna, Saksonia

In his monumental work *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theater am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen*, from 1862, which still remains current in many respects, German musicologist Moritz Fürstenau (1824–89), describing the political and social context of the activities of the famous Dresden *Hofkapelle* during the period of the so-called Polish-Saxon Union (1697–1763), included the Saxon field marshal Count Jacob Heinrich von Flemming (1667–1728) among the most influential figures at the court of King August II (1670–1733) who also helped to shape the music scene in the Saxon capital. According to the author, Flemming ‘kept a marvellous house and also had his own *Kapelle*; it seems that he was very fond of music and theatre, and apt opinions in that domain appear frequently in his letters.’¹

For a long time, however, musicologists were unable to confirm the information about the existence of a private *Kapelle* of which Flemming was the patron. Moreover, Fürstenau himself did not facilitate their task, as in his book he failed to provide notes with references to the archive sources from which he took his information, including documents left by Flemming. One can hardly blame him for this, as in his day the standard in the humanities was to confine references to the absolute minimum. Fortunately for scholarship, the reliability and huge scale of Fürstenau’s knowledge about music at the Dresden court were later confirmed in numerous ways. This applies equally to mentions of Count Flemming’s ‘own music ensemble’.

In 1891 German historian, politician and publisher Karl Biedermann (1812–1901), in the article ‘Aus der Glanzzeit des sächsisch-polnischen Hofes’, discussed a document from the first half of the 1720s currently held in the Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden entitled ‘Kurze Relation von der Hofhaltung des hochwürdigsten, hochgeborenen Herrn, Herrn Jacob Heinrich, des heiligen Römischen Reichs Grafen von Flemming’, although unfortunately also without specifying the source’s shelf mark. The anonymous author of that document described in detail the organisation and everyday life of Flemming’s Dresden residence, and mentioned among the *Domes-tiquen*, or domestic servants, was a group of 8 *Cammer Musicanten*, which he termed *Sr. Excell. sogenannte Capelle*.²

- 1 ‘Er führte einen glänzenden Haushalt und hielt sich auch eine eigene Kapelle, scheint überhaupt viel Sinn für Musik und Theater besessen zu haben; in seinen Briefen finden sich oft treffende Urtheile in dieser Beziehung’. See Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*, Dresden 1862 (repr., Hildesheim–New York 1971), part II, p. 7.
- 2 Karl Biedermann, ‘Aus der Glanzzeit des sächsisch-polnischen Hofes’, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, Neue Folge 1 (1891), p. 215. The document in question, dated to 1722, is held today, under the title ‘Bericht über die Hofhaltung des Grafen Flemming in Dresden’, altered by archive staff, among the papers pertaining to the estate of the aristocratic house of von Heynitz, at the Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden, under the shelf mark D-Dla, 10282 *Grundherrschaft Heynitz*, 314 (no pagination). In documents left by Flemming, the music ensemble is also termed *Cammer Musique*, *Musique* and *Musik*.

Yet the approximate line-up of the count's music ensemble was first established much later, more than a hundred years after the publications by Fürstenau and Biedermann, in an article by Irena Bieńkowska from 1996 entitled 'Notatki o muzykach Jakuba Henryka Flemminga', being the fruit of her archive research in Minsk (Belarus).³ Bieńkowska's findings were subsequently considerably enhanced, expanded and partly verified by the author of the present publication, and the picture that ultimately emerged from many years' research and analysis of historical documents provides us with a surprising wealth of previously unknown information that is crucial not just for the subject of this study, but also for wider, comprehensive knowledge of the ways in which music functioned in the environment of the Polish-Saxon court in Dresden and in its shadow, as well as for our understanding of issues related to the migration of musicians at that time, the transfer of sources and the role of music in politics and diplomacy. Hence the time has come to sum up the state of knowledge in this area, to reconstruct, as exactly as possible, the line-up of Flemming's ensemble, to trace the process of the changes it underwent and to specify the role this ensemble played in the development of musical culture in Saxony, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and even Central Europe in general during the first decades of the eighteenth century. The basis for this will consist primarily of materials gathered over the course of many years' research into this subject conducted by the author in Polish and foreign archives – incl. Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (hereafter PL-Wagad); Dresden, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Hauptstaatsarchiv (D-Dla); Vilnius, Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (LT-Vlvia) and Minsk, Natsyyanal'ny histarychny arkhiv Byelarusi (BY-MInhab) – already signalled in 2009 in the study 'Muzyka na dworze marszałka Jakuba Henryka Flemminga (1667–1728)'.⁴ The present text

3 Irena Bieńkowska, 'Notatki o muzykach Jakuba Henryka Flemminga' [Notes on the musicians of Jacob Heinrich Flemming], *Barok. Historia–Literatura–Sztuka* 6 (1996) no. 2, pp. 155–166.

4 See Szymon Paczkowski, 'Muzyka na dworze marszałka Jakuba Henryka Flemminga (1667–1728)' [Music at the court of Field Marshal Jacob Heinrich Flemming], in: *Środowiska kulturowe i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku* [The circles of cultural creativity in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century], ed. Urszula Augustyniak, Warsaw 2009, pp. 67–82. My other works in this area are as follows: S. Paczkowski, 'Z dziejów muzycznej biblioteki Jakuba Henryka Flemminga' [From the history of Jacob Heinrich Flemming's music library], *Barok. Historia–Literatura–Sztuka* 41 (2014) no. 1, pp. 95–109; S. Paczkowski, 'Flemming i praska koronacja (1723) z perspektywy muzykologa' [Flemming and the Prague coronation (1723) from the musicologist's perspective], *Barok. Historia–Literatura–Sztuka* 51 (2019) no. 1, pp. 171–182; S. Paczkowski, 'The Polish-Saxon Episode in the Life of Gregor Joseph Werner', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 16 (2019) no. 2, pp. 155–165, doi.org/10.1017/S1478570619000198; S. Paczkowski, 'Music and Diplomacy: The Correspondence of Marshal Jacob Heinrich Flemming and Other Records, 1700–1720. Part I: Count de Villio and the Non-musical Activities of some Viennese Castros', *Musicology Australia* 41 (2019) no. 2, pp. 115–132, doi.org/10.1080/08145857.2019.1696167; S. Paczkowski, 'Music and Diplomacy: The Correspondence of Marshal Jacob Heinrich Flemming and Other Records, 1700–1720. Part II: The Wedding Ceremony of Friedrich August and Maria Josepha in Vienna (1719)', *Musicology Australia* 42 (2020) no. 1, pp. 42–56, doi.org/10.1080/08145857.2020.1820181.

will not only present new, previously unpublished material and correct some earlier findings, but will also attempt to establish what distinguished Flemming's *Kapelle* among other groups of its type, what place it held in the count's own dealings in society and also what role it played in musical life in Saxony during the first decades of the eighteenth century. There is plenty of evidence that the format and significance of Flemming's ensemble can confidently be compared to the role and influence later held within the Dresden environment by the famous *Kapelle* of Heinrich von Brühl (1700–63) – prime minister and favourite of King August III (1696–1763).

From the musicologist's perspective, it may seem surprising that Flemming is still unappreciated and almost absent from the works of historians researching Saxon times in both Germany and Poland,⁵ particularly when we consider that he was one of August II's most trusted associates, at the time when as Elector of Saxony, was seeking the Polish crown in 1697. It was Flemming who successfully carried out the plan of installing a Wettin on the Polish throne, and he then remained in the ruler's loyal and effective military and diplomatic service. That took the count to the pinnacle of Saxon politics, and especially after the year 1711, when he first advanced to the rank of field marshal, and then after 1712, when, as *dirigierender Kabinettsminister*, he became head of the Privy Council (*Geheimes Kabinett*), an institution called into being in 1706 by August II to allow him to rule over Saxony while circumventing the Landtag. In that role, Flemming was effectively prime minister of Saxony, and that post combined so many areas of competence that up to his death, in April 1728, he remained the most powerful person in the state, immediately after King August II, in practice directing Saxon domestic and foreign policy. He bound himself to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth through two marriages: first to Franciszka Izabela Sapieha, in 1701,⁶ then with Tekla Róża Radziwiłł, in 1725, which also strengthened his standing as one of the Polish lords.

The count was regarded as an aristocrat with refined taste and excellent manners. According to contemporaries, he was exceedingly quick-witted, and his intelligence, good education, comportment, knowledge of languages, and also excellent presence and many other qualities won him favour and supporters among the European political elites of the time. He put all of his attributes to good effect in order to achieve his goals, both private and political, in the service of King August II.

5 The only full biography of Flemming to appear thus far dates from 1731: Michael Ranfft, *Leben und Taten des weltberühmten Obersten Staats-Minister und General-Feldmarschalls Jacob Heinrichs des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Grafens von Flemming*, Naumburg–Zeitz 1731; see also Urszula Kosińska, "Ach, es ist aus mit mir. Ach Jesu!" – choroby i śmierć Jakuba Henryka Flemminga' ['Ach, es ist aus mit mir. Ach Jesu!' – the illness and death of Jacob Heinrich Flemming], *Barok. Historia–Literatura–Sztuka* 41 (2014) no. 1, pp. 107–116 (containing further pointers to literature devoted to Flemming).

6 That marriage was annulled in 1718 due to Izabela's mental illness.

Fürstenau was certainly right to emphasise Flemming's fondness for music, as the genuine character of that passion is confirmed by a reading of the hefty tomes of his extant correspondence. He would apparently throw himself into playing on the viola da gamba 'to rest after the travails of the day', as he keenly related in his Warsaw diaries and in correspondence.⁷ He considered himself to be a 'musicien par inclination', as he put it in a letter to Petronilla Melusine von Schulenburg (a pupil of George Frideric Handel), who was the natural daughter of George I, King of Great Britain.⁸ He treated music not only as amusement for the soul and the body, though he certainly cultivated it to such ends, but it also constituted an element of the splendour he wished to surround himself with and a way of manifesting the status he had attained. His position as 'the leading cabinet minister' and the wealth he had accrued enabled him to set up his own music ensemble, corresponding to his personal predilections, his support for 'German music', which he manifested in various ways,⁹ and his own type of musical patronage, which distinguished his *Cammer Musique* from the French-orientated *Hofkapelle* in Dresden. Throughout his political activity after the year 1712, he effectively took care to surround himself with musical artists – both those he employed in his own ensemble and those he invited to his salons, as well as those he promoted in various ways. The reports that he hosted Johann Sebastian Bach's famous duel with Louis Marchand, supposedly held in the early autumn of 1717 at his palace on Pirnaische Gasse in Dresden, though never confirmed, tellingly complement that image.¹⁰

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that he consciously assumed the role of a patron of music, treating artistic patronage not just as one of the tools for shaping his

7 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska wrote about the count's fondness for playing the viola da gamba in her book, see Alina Żórawska-Witkowska *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie* [Music at the court of August II in Warsaw], Warsaw 1997, p. 317; see also D-Dla, Geh. Kab. Loc. 3304/11-14 *Journal, so von dem Generalfeldmarschall, Herrn Grafen von Flemming während seines Aufenthaltes zu Warschau über dessen Particulieraffären*, 3 vols, *passim*; D-Dla, Geh. Kab. Loc. 688/2 *Des Generalfeldmarschalls Herrn Graf von Flemming gehabte Korrespondenz mit [...] Glasenapp, Gen: Major von, 1709–1728, passim*.

8 Letter from Flemming to Petronilla Melusine von Schulenburg of 6 November 1719 in: D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 704/07 *Korrespondenz des Generall-Feldmarschalls von Flemming mit [...] Schulenburg, Fräulein von, 1708–1725*, fol. 219r: 'je suis musicien c. a. d. par inclination'.

9 For example, in a letter of 17 May 1721 sent from Warsaw to Friedrich Ernst von Fabrice, a Hanoverian diplomat in the service of King George I of England, in reaction to a report from London about the great success of Handel's opera *Muzio Scevola*, Flemming replied: 'Je suis bien aise aussi de ce que l'allemand là emporté dans la composition sur vous les autres musiciens' ('I am very glad that the German carries all before him in the art of composition over other musicians'), see D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 685/08 *Des Generalfeldmarschalls Herrn Graf von Flemming gehabte Korrespondenz mit dem kurhannoverischen Minister de Fabrice und dessen Brüder, den Kammerherrn de Fabrice*, fol. 85v.

10 Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johann Friedrich Agricola and Lorenz Mitzler, 'Nekrolog auf Johann Sebastian Bach und Trauerkantate', in: Lorenz Mitzler, *Musikalische Bibliothek, oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von alten und neuen musikalischen Schriften und Büchern [...]* *Des vierten Bandes Erster Theil*, Leipzig 1754, pp. 158–176 (repr. in: *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750–1800*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze, Kassel 1972, p. 83 (document no. 666)); see also, Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, Leipzig 1802, p. 23.

image as an enlightened aristocrat and educated politician-humanist, but also as an instrument effectively bolstering his work as a diplomat and statesman. At the same stroke, he set an example for his successors as prime minister of Saxony, in particular for the future first minister of the Privy Cabinet during the reign of August III – Heinrich von Brühl.

THE BEGINNINGS OF FLEMMING'S MUSIC ENSEMBLE

Flemming's music ensemble was probably formed around the turn of 1713 and 1714. Thereafter, it functioned with larger or smaller forces until the count's death, on 30 April 1728, or more exactly until his burial, on 25 August, in Putzkau, and his funeral solemnities in Dresden, from 29 to 31 August.¹¹ The ensemble's activities are documented to varying degree in different years of its existence, largely due to the dissipation of Flemming's papers across European and Polish archives. In the documents to which access was gained, evidence of the existence of the count's *Kapelle* is provided above all by household and economic documents, including lists of payments made to the count's staff, receipts for money given to particular musicians, all kinds of domestic records (e.g. remarks on the work of servants), travel receipts, palace inventories, and so on. Flemming also frequently mentioned the musicians of his ensemble in his private and official correspondence, as well as his diaries.

It seems that the idea of setting up his own music ensemble occurred to Flemming in the year 1713, shortly after he took up the post of Saxon *dirigierender Kabinetminister*. It cannot be ruled out that the direct impulse came from the disbandment of the excellent court ensemble in Berlin, which on the death of King Friedrich I of Prussia (25 February 1713) was dissolved by his son, Friedrich Wilhelm I, an enthusiast of military might and 'drill', a notorious *Soldatenkönig* who scorned education, art and glitter. The liquidation of the Berlin *Hofkapelle* in 1713 resulted in the sudden dispersal of the musicians associated with it and their migration to other German centres in search of employment, generally at smaller princely or ducal courts. Thus musicians from Berlin soon joined ensembles in Köthen, Weissenfels, Merseburg and other towns, often contributing to the flourishing of the ensembles in those centres. Most of them, however, ended up at the court of Prince Leopold von Anhalt-Köthen (1694–1728), and they included Augustin Reinhard Stricker (1675?–1723?),

11 D-Dla, Oberhofmarschallamt 10006, C no. 33 *Begräbnisse und Leichenprozessionen von Ministern, Hofoffizieren, Kavalieren und anderen Hofbediensteten 1680–1732*, fols. 345–360 *Leichenbegängnis und Gedächtnispredigt des in Wien verstorbenen Generalfeldmarschalls Graf von Flemming in Putzkau und Dresden, 1728*; therein: the libretto of a funeral ode (*Trauer Ode*) for Flemming, the now lost music to which was composed by the cantor of the Kreuzkirche in Dresden, Theodor Christlieb Reinhold; see online access to the print of the libretto, <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/106394/4>, accessed 4 May 2025; online access to the text of the funeral sermon, <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/68473/27>, accessed 4 May 2025.

who took up the post of kapellmeister there, before being succeeded by none other than Johann Sebastian Bach.¹² The cellist Christian Bernhard Linicke found work at the *Hofkapelle* of Margrave Christian Ludwig von Brandenburg-Schwedt in Berlin (the dedicatee of Bach's *Brandenburg Concertos*), but he moved from there in 1716 to Köthen. Violinist Johann Georg Linicke (Christian's brother) was leader of the *Kapelle* in Weißenfels. Among the Berlin singers, the alto castrato Antonio Gualandi *vel* Campioli ended up in Dresden at the Polish-Saxon court, whence he set off to conquer many European opera houses, while working as the Polish king's agent to engage vocalists for the Dresden stage. He returned to the Saxon capital regularly, including in 1731, to perform as Poro – king of India – in the famous premiere of Johann Adolf Hasse's opera *Cleofide*.¹³ Only a few members of the ensemble of the late Friedrich I remained in Berlin, including cellist Gottfried Dümmler, who took up the post of organist at the Georgenkirche, and Gottlieb Hayne, who became cathedral organist in the Prussian capital, while also working for Queen Sophie Dorothea as a private music teacher to the royal couple's children. Some of the musicians of the dispersed royal *Hofkapelle* returned to Berlin in 1740, when Friedrich II acceded to the throne, bringing the good times back for music.

No doubt on the wave of those increased migrations of unemployed artists, Flemming took on the Berlin viola da gamba virtuoso and cellist Gottlieb Michael Kühnel and – possibly – two other musicians from the Prussian *Hofkapelle*: Johann Andreas (?) Lehmann and Johann Peter (?) Gärtner, whose names began to be noted in 1713 in Flemming's documents as oboists.¹⁴ It cannot be ruled out that in the future other migrations from Berlin to the count's ensemble may be confirmed.

The earliest extant archive documents left by Flemming containing information relating to his ensemble and to the instrumentalists employed in it come from lists of the count's household expenditure for the autumn of 1713, and then the spring of 1714. In an itemisation of expenses for November 1713, the following were noted on a list of payments made to staff, among many other individuals: *Trompeter* Lauran and *Trompeter* Cruscheffsky (Kruszewski?), *Bassist* Conrad and *Bassist* Braun[e], and oboists (*Hautboisten*) Beylicher, Pauli, Lehmann and Gärtner. The same musicians were named in accounts from April 1714, which also listed *Musicus* Schulze, *Lautenist*

12 See Mary Oleskiewicz, 'The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia', in: *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, eds. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice B. Stockigt, Woodbridge 2011, pp. 79–82 (further literature indicated therein); cf. also Curt Sachs, *Musik und Oper am kurbrandenburgischen Hof*, Berlin 1910 (repr., Hildesheim–New York 1977), *passim*.

13 Zenon Mojzys, *Cleofide – 'Dramma per musica' von Johan Adolf Hasse: Untersuchung der Entstehungsgeschichte*, Stuttgart 2011 (= Hasse-Studien 2), p. 54.

14 See C. Sachs, *Musik und Oper*, pp. 167 and 187. Since the first names of musicians were never given in the studied documents left by Flemming, and given that the names Lehmann and Gärtner were quite common in Germany at that time, their association with Berlin musicians must remain merely a proposition at the current stage in research.

Taubenberg and the above-mentioned *Violdigambista* Kühnel (see Fig. 1).¹⁵ Of course it cannot be stated from these single documents whether in the spring of 1714 Flemming employed someone besides those listed above. Also preserved from the same time are several other documents attesting to the count's expenditure on his private ensemble, e.g. to cover the costs of sewing outfits (probably liveries) for musicians, buying sheet music, and transporting and repairing instruments.¹⁶

There is much evidence to suggest that a special role in the early phase in the functioning of the ensemble, in the process of recruiting musicians, gathering performance materials and increasing the set of instruments was played by the *Violdigambista* Kühnel, mentioned in the April list of payments (see Fig. 1, item 12). He probably entered the count's service on 17 March 1714, receiving 25 thalers for his first month of work. He remained in Flemming's ensemble up to the end of 1725, possibly with a short break from 1718 to 1719 for a sojourn in Weimar, as discussed below. On most of the extant receipts of monthly payments and on other documents from the count's papers, he usually signed himself *G.M. Kühnel*. Hence, he should unquestionably be identified with the 'Berlin' Gottlieb Michael Kühnel, who as a cellist and gambist was in the service of King Friedrich I up to 1713. Curt Sachs specified the time of Kühnel's activeness in the Prussian *Hofkapelle* as 1708–13, first with a salary of 100 thalers per annum, rising to 200 thalers from 1712 onwards, so lower than what he was subsequently paid by Flemming.¹⁷ This musician must have been considerably renowned in his day, given that he merited a separate entry in both the lute compendium *Historisch-Theoretisch und Praktische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* by composer and lutenist Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1696–1760), from 1727, and the famous *Musikalisches Lexikon* by Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748), from 1732, although both authors, for reasons thus far unknown, attributed to Kühnel the Christian names Johann Michael. Despite this, Sachs had no doubt that they had in mind the same musician as Gottlieb Michael. Moreover, Baron wrote:

15 PL-Wagad, Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów, Dział X: *Dokumenty domów obcych – Papiery Flemmingów z lat 1697–1730*, collection no. 354/X (hereafter AR/X), shelf mark 347, fol. 5 (expenditure for April 1714); BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 382, fol. 5r (expenditure for November 1713).

16 See e.g. a list of household expenses from June 1714: BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 107, fols. 236 and 247 (various sums spent on the oboists whom Flemming took to Brunswick in June 1714, including the purchase of instruments), fol. 241 (the costs of transporting instruments to Brunswick), PL-Wagad, AR/X, 347, fol. 113 (sums spent on the oboists in Brunswick, October 1714). Noted on 11 August 1727 in the Dresden *Kirchenbücher* (fol. 669) now held in Dresden, Stadtarchiv (D-Dsta), was one Johann Ludwig Braun, with the note *Hoch Gröffl. Musicus* (musician to his highness the count). This allows us to identify him as the bassist Braun from the list of payments made to Flemming's household staff in April 1714 (item 14), reproduced here as Fig. 1. I am grateful to Jóhannes Ágústsson (Reykjavík, Iceland) for kindly sharing this information with me.

17 C. Sachs, *Musik und Oper*, pp. 68–69 and 185. With Flemming, Kühnel received an annual salary of 300 thalers, cf. D-Dla, 10282 *Grundherrschaft Heynitz*, 314, as in n. 2 above.

Mr Johann Michael Kühnel the elder is an outstanding virtuoso both on the gamba and on the lute, and his works, thanks to which he has acquired popularity in the circles of educated people, are to be particularly commended. His later compositions, however, are far more robust than the earlier works, since he honed his compositional skills throughout his life. He composed not only numerous suites, but also concertos for lute and for viola da gamba with other instruments suited to the task. To begin with, he served at the royal court in Prussia, then he transferred to the ducal court in Weimar, and then to the court of His Excellency, General Field Marshal Flemming. In a later time, he settled in Hamburg.¹⁸

It is interesting that Walther – no doubt after reading Baron – not only gave Kühnel the first names Johann Michael, but defined him with the same epithet, ‘der Ältere’ (‘the elder’), which of course prompts the question as to who Kühnel ‘der Jüngere’ (‘the younger’) might have been, if any such existed. After Baron, Walther also repeated the order to the places where the gambist was employed: first in Berlin, then in Weimar and in Flemming’s ensemble:

Kühnel (Johann Michael) the elder, lutenist and gambist, first served at the Prussian royal court, and then, around the year 1717 or 1718, at the local [Weimar] ducal court, with His Highness Duke Ernst August, who gave him the title of secretary. He was then in service with His Excellency, General Field Marshal Flemming in Dresden, before settling in Hamburg. He recently published in Amsterdam, with Jeanne Roger, sonatas for 1 and 2 violas da gamba, which were printed using the copperplate technique. See *Roger Catal.*¹⁹

Given that – in light of the archive materials mentioned above – Flemming brought Kühnel to Dresden in March 1714, the information about him provided by Baron and by Walther, particularly that concerning his employment as secretary to the duke in Weimar, requires verification. Christian Ahrens, an expert on Weimar affairs, in his voluminous monograph *Die Weimarer Hofkapelle 1683–1851*, from 2016, did not note that fact, but he did indicate Kühnel’s presence in Weimar court documents in the

- 18 ‘Herr Johann Michael Kühnel der Aeltere, ist ein vortrefflicher Gamb- und Lautenist zugleich, und sind seine Sachen, womit er sich bey der gallanten Welt bekannt gemacht, sehr zu recommandiren, doch sind seine letzten Sachen weit solider als die ersten, weil er sich nach der Zeit in der Composition weit mehr habilitirt. Er hat nicht allein sehr viele Suiten, sondern auch Concerten mit der Lauten und Viola da Gamba, auch mit andern darzu sich schickenden Instrumenten gesetzt. Erstlich stund er an dem Königlichen Preussischen Hofe in Diensten, von dar aber an den Hochfürstlichen Sächsischen Weymarischen gekommen, von da aber, bey Ihro Hochgräflichen Excelenz dem Herrn General – Feld-Marschal Flemming gewesen, nach der Zeit aber sich in Hamburg aufgehalten’, see Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten*, Nuremberg 1727 (repr., Amsterdam 1965), pp. 81–82.
- 19 ‘Kühne[l] (Johann Michael) der ältere, ein Lautenist und Violdigambist erstl. an dem Königl. Preußischen, hernach ums Jahr 1717 oder 1718 an dem hiesigen Hofe, bey Ihro Hochfürstl. Durchl. Herzog Ernst Augusten, welche ihm prædicat eines Secretarii angedeyen lassen; nachhero bey Sr. Hochgräfl. Excellenz dem Hrn. General-Feld-Marschall Flemming zu Dresden, worauf er sich in Hamburg aufgehalten, hat vor ganz kurzer Zeit Sonates à 1. & 2. Violes de Gambe bey Jeanne Roger zu Amsterdam in Kupferstich publiciret. s. *Roger Catal.*’ See Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek*, Leipzig 1732, p. 348.

year 1718, from which we learn that he was employed there on 13 April as a *Kapellist*.²⁰ That would correspond to the temporary 'disappearance' of Kühnel for that time from Flemming's archive documents and his 'reappearance' in them in 1720. Meanwhile, we must correct Walther's information about the publication of gamba sonatas by 'our' Kühnel with the Amsterdam-based publisher Estienne Roger. Peter Steur, comparing Walther's mention of a print of Kühnel sonatas with Roger's publishing catalogues from the years 1717 and 1725, showed that Walther probably had in mind the edition *Sonates a une & deux violes de Gambe de Mr. Khunell*, but those were actually compositions by August Kühnel (1645–1700), not Gottlieb Michael (vel Johann Michael).²¹

It seems that at least during the initial phase of his service with Flemming, Kühnel enjoyed a great deal of trust from his patron, for at least two reasons. Since the count was himself an avid gambist, it could be that in Kühnel he found an excellent partner for music-making. More importantly, however, after leaving the Prussian *Hofkapelle*, Kühnel, at least for some time, kept in close touch with other former musicians to Friedrich I, both those who stayed in Berlin and those who dispersed around various centres in the Reich. He was also no doubt well informed about all kinds of transfers of musicians between courts, and also about the current circulation of handwritten music sources. Evidence to that effect includes a document, signed by him, on 24 July 1714, of the purchase in Berlin of a dozen or so music manuscripts for Flemming for the sum of 11 Reichsthalers and 13 groschen. Kühnel conducted that transaction 'at the behest of His Excellence the Field Marshal',²² and the seller was Johann Georg Linicke, a recent colleague of 'our' gambist from Friedrich I's *Hofkapelle*. While the names of the composers of the purchased works are not indicated in the list of musical items bought, their titles and forces are listed precisely (see Fig. 2).²³ Although it is not possible to specify unequivocally the provenance of the purchased manuscripts, and it is not known whether they still exist anywhere, it should be considered highly likely that this comprised part of the collection of musical materials from the former ensemble of Friedrich I – a collection which, for his son, the 'soldier king' Friedrich

20 Christian Ahrens, *Die Weimarer Hofkapelle 1683–1851*, Sinzig 2015, p. 29, n. 31 and p. 260, n. 40. After the year 1714, there is a gap in the documentation of the work of Flemming's ensemble until the year 1717. To date, no mentions concerning Kühnel have been identified either in the count's documents from the years 1717–19.

21 Peter Steur, *Das Chilesotti Manuskript für Barocklaute*, vol. 1, *Begleitband mit Vorwort und Konkordanzen*, Lübeck 2016, p. 40, https://storage.googleapis.com/lisa-files/wp-content/uploads/for-public/Chilesotti_Bd1.pdf, accessed 18 November 2024. To date, no kinship has been confirmed between August Kühnel and Gottlieb Michael.

22 'auff orde Seiner Excellence Feldmarschall', BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 88, fol. 143r (appendix no. 2 to the list of payments made from Flemming's coffers in July 1714, fols. 140–142 *Kauffmanns Waaren*).

23 These forces correspond to some works listed in the posthumous inventory of musicalia from Flemming's collection, cf. PL-Wagad, AR/X, 376, fols. 186–201: 'Specification was an Musicalien vorhanden'. That inventory will be the subject of a separate study, currently being prepared.

N^o 2

Don Mon^r. Original Late Polym^r 143
Musicalis zolnifor 148

| | | | |
|---|----|-----|---|
| 1. Overture à 2 Viol. 2 Hautb. et Bass: 12 boy a 3 y. | 13 | 12 | — |
| 2. Overture. 2 Hautb. 2 Viol. et Bass. | — | 18 | — |
| 3. Concert: 1 Viol. Concert: 2 Hautb. | — | 15 | — |
| 4. Overture a 4. | — | 12 | — |
| 5. Overture et la Suite 2 Hautb. | — | 12 | — |
| 6. Concerto à 5. | — | 21 | — |
| 7. Concerto dito | 1 | — | — |
| 8. 12 Sonaten en Trio 36 boy. | 3 | — | — |
| 9. 3 Concertos en quatre. 17. boy. | 2 | 8 | — |
| Paggen - | — | 10 | — |
| | | | |
| | 11 | 136 | — |

Berlin am 24 July 1714. *Gottlieb Michael Kühnel*

an *Herrn Jhr. Eraulten*
Oldemannfeldt Bygget
von Groppey

Original gold soeben
 in *ausgegeben*
G. M. Kühnel.

Fig. 2. List of music manuscripts purchased by Gottlieb Michael Kühnel in Berlin on 21 July 1714 for Flemming's ensemble; Minsk, Natsyyanal'ny historychny arkhiv Byelarusi (BY-MInhab), shelf mark F 694/6 d. 88, fol. 143r (appendix no. 2 to the list of payments made from Flemming's coffers in July 1714, fols. 140–142 Kauffmanns Waaren)

William I, no doubt constituted a luxury item not worth caring about, only good for making money from.²⁴

Moreover, this and other similar purchases were made during the whole diplomatic journey which Flemming undertook in the summer and autumn of 1714, first to Brunswick, to represent Dresden's interests at a conference convened by Emperor Charles VI with the purpose of ending the Northern War, then to Berlin, where he separately negotiated an alliance between Saxony and Prussia against Sweden.²⁵ Kühnel accompanied his patron during the whole expedition, as is confirmed not just by the above document of the purchase of musical items in Berlin, but also by the accounts, signed and approved by him in Brunswick in June 1714, concerning the transporting and repairing of instruments for all of the musicians travelling with the count.²⁶ This is important, since besides Kühnel the count took with him six other instrumentalists: the above-mentioned *Hautboisten* Beylicher, Pauli, Lehmann and Gärtner, and musicians by the name of Friderich and Ludwig.²⁷ It is hard to determine who these last two were, as they do not appear earlier or later in any documents left by Flemming. It could be that a rather careless scribe wrote down only the first names of the two 'bassists' Conrad and Braun, already familiar from the April list of payments made to the count's household staff (see Fig. 1, items 13 and 14). The fact that all six musicians were called oboists (*Hautboisten*) certainly does not mean that they were assigned to a regiment under Flemming's command, particularly since he generally did not travel abroad with such a regiment. Besides, in later archive materials left by the count, their names appeared alternately on lists of payments to musicians or on lists of payments to lackeys, which resulted rather from the servant

24 Today we know little about the collection of music manuscripts and prints belonging to both King Friedrich I and to his wife – the musical Queen Sophie Charlotte (1688–1705). That collection became dispersed already in the eighteenth century, and its fortunes have still not been researched. Georg Touret, a Berlin-based musicologist and music librarian of the second half of the nineteenth century, whose works included a catalogue of the music collection belonging to the Royal Library in Berlin at the time, wrote in 1897 about the music collection of the late Queen Sophie Charlotte: 'Die Überlieferung erzählt folgendes: Die Königin Sophie Charlotte besaß eine Musiksammlung, die "eine Tonne Goldes" wert war"' [Tradition has passed down the following history: Queen Sophie Charlotte had a music collection that was worth 'a ton of gold'], see Georg Touret, 'Die Musik am preussischen Hofe im 18. Jahrhundert', *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch. Forschungen und Abbildungen zur Geschichte der Hohenzollern in Brandenburg-Preussen* 1 (1897), p. 51.

25 The deliberations of the peace conference in Brunswick lasted on and off from 1712 to 1714, but ended in a fiasco, see Johann Stephan Pütter, *Pütters königlich Großbritannischen churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen geheimen Justitzraths und ordentlichen Lehrers des Staatsrechts zu Göttingen Beyträge zum Teutschen Staats- und Fürsten-Rechte. Zweyter Theil*, Göttingen 1779, pp. 1018–19. The purchase of musical items for Flemming in Brunswick is evidenced by an entry in the list of payments made from the count's coffers, 'Allerhand Ausgaben' ('Expenditure of all kinds') for June 1714, see BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 107, fol. 230r, item no. 12: 'Musicalien – 20,23 Rthl'.

26 See e.g. BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 107, fol. 241r (list of expenditure on travel for Flemming's oboists from Brunswick to Warsaw and for the transporting and repairing of instruments).

27 PL-Wagad, AR/X 347, fol. 113 (list of Flemming's oboists present in Brunswick, October 1714).

status ascribed to them. In reality, regimental oboists were never mentioned by surname in private papers left by Flemming. They were only referred to collectively as 'Hautboisten von Cadetten' or 'von der Garde'.²⁸

In the list of payments to members of Flemming's household for April 1714, besides the gambist Kühnel, trumpeters, bassists and oboists, the names of two more musicians were noted: one Schulz (with no specialisation given) and the lutenist Taubenberg (see Fig. 1, items 10 and 11).²⁹ This Schulz worked in the ensemble for a very short time, between 1 and 28 April,³⁰ and for the rather modest fee of 10 thalers and 16 groschen. Although it is difficult to establish the reasons for such a short engagement, it would be explainable to some extent if it was the violinist Heinrich Schulz, who from 1715 was named in Dresden court archives as a royal musician, and later leader of the *Polnische Kapelle* of August II.³¹ In this situation, the episode in Flemming's ensemble would have been for him simply a springboard to a career at the royal court, which was indeed a path taken by several other musicians of the count.

It is difficult to give an unequivocal profile of Flemming's music ensemble during the early phase in its activity. It would seem, however, that given the count's personal preferences, an important role befell gambists and lutenists. That is confirmed to some extent by the presence in the ensemble of the still little-known lutenist Frantz Taubenberg.³² On the April list of payments from 1714, his pay is first noted as 16 thalers and 8 groschen. Henceforth the *Lautenist* Taubenberg appeared regularly in the researched documents up to June 1720, after which he disappeared from the payment lists, and no traces of his later activities have been found. It is possible that he enjoyed the count's particular favour and esteem, because in an inventory of Flemming's Dresden palace from 1717 we find notes about expensive items of clothing from the count's wardrobe that Taubenberg received as gifts. They included a frock coat from the finest material adorned with gold buttons and a brown coat with gold trimming.³³ Moreover, noted

28 See e.g. BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 282, fol. 43r: '2 January [1721] denen Hautboisten von der Garde vor auffwarten 3,8 thlr'; BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 292, fol. 6r: Ausgabe Geld ('Zum Neuen Jahr [1722], denen Hautbois von der Cadets' [...] denen Hautbois von der Garnison'); similarly BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 382 fol. 5r: Ausgabe Geld ('Zum Neuen Jahr Ordinaria [1725], denen Hautbois von der Cadets [...] denen Hautbois von der Garnison').

29 PL-Wagad, AR/X 347, fol. 5.

30 This musician is not noted in any of the other Flemming documents known to the author.

31 Details of the life and work of Heinrich Schulz after 1714 are given in A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II*, p. 484. Possible variant spellings of his name: Schultz, Schultze, Schullze; cf. also D-Dla, Oberhofmarschallamt 10006, K II no. 6 *Königl. Pohlnisches und Churfürstl. Sächsisches Hoff-Buch von 1721 usq. 1725*, vol. 6, fol. 48r: '1714 nach Hofe gekommen'.

32 The first name was identified on the basis of BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 270, fol. 21r (receipt of the sum of 40.30 thalers from Flemming's coffers on 1 September 1719 in Vienna) and BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 45, fol. 200r (receipt of the sum of 10 thalers on 17 June 1720 in Dresden).

33 *General Inventarium über Sr. Hoch-Gräff. Excelenz des Herrn General Feld Marschall Grafens von Flemming an jetzo befindliche sämtliche Meubles, Silber, Porzellan, Tafel. Bett, und anderen Hausgeräthe, die solches im Augusto 1717 aufgenommen worden*, Dresden 1717; manuscript held in Warsaw, Biblioteka

in that inventory are several exclusive gifts of this kind for selected musicians, be they members of the ensemble or guest musicians.³⁴ Also listed in the records of payments for the purchase of various luxury items for the count's household in July 1714 is the sum of 39 thalers for cloth and for the sewing of a new outfit for Taubenberg.³⁵ Given that this lutenist merited such generosity in the eyes of Flemming, it is all the more surprising that virtually nothing is known today about Taubenberg's life and compositions. To date, searches for any more precise information about this mysterious musician have come to nought. The only trace of his compositional output and reception of his works hitherto identified is a mention of compositions presumably by this lutenist on a bill in Munich for the purchase of music for Maria Josepha Antonina Wittelsbach (1739–67, later wife of Emperor Joseph II) in February 1756. Thus were purchased trios by such composers as Kühnel (probably Gottlieb Michael), Tartini, Taubenberg and one Rick (possibly Karl Friedrich Rieck, 1650–1704, a violinist and composer with the Berlin *Hofkapelle* of Friedrich I), while in the case of Kühnel and Taubenberg it was clearly indicated that these were lute trios.³⁶

Table 1. Musicians from Flemming's ensemble 1713–14

| Name | Title or function | Remarks |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| Gottlieb Michael Kühnel | <i>Violdigambista</i> | noted in documents from April 1714 |
| Frantz Taubenberg | <i>Lautenist</i> | as above |
| Heinrich (?) Schulze | <i>Musicus</i> | noted in documents between 1 and 28 April 1714 |
| Lauran | <i>Trompeter</i> | noted in documents from November 1713 and April 1714 |
| Cruscheffsky (Kruszewski?) | <i>Trompeter</i> | as above |
| Friderich (?) Conrad | <i>Bassist</i> | as above |
| Johann Ludwig Braun[e] | <i>Bassist</i> | as above |
| Beylicher | <i>Hautboist</i> | as above |
| Carl Pauli | <i>Hautboist</i> | as above |
| Johann Andreas (?) Lehmann | <i>Hautboist</i> | as above |
| Johann Peter (?) Gärtner | <i>Hautboist</i> | as above |

Narodowa (PL-Wn), shelf mark II. 6818, fols. 347–348r: '1. Braun Tuchen Kleid verschneit mit goldenen Tressen; dieser Kleid haben Se Excell. dem Musico Taubenberg verschenkt', fols. 348v–349r: '1. grau Tuchen Kleid mit golden Knöpfen; haben Se Excell. dem Musico Taubenberg verschenkt'.

34 Also noted in the same inventory were gifts from the count's wardrobe for violinist Joseph Frühwirth (PL-Wn, II. 6818, fol. 346v), cellist Felicetti of the royal Hofkapelle (ibid., fols. 348r and 356r), and the famous singer Stella Lotti, wife of Antonio Lotti, who was given an expensive fur coat (ibid., fol. 352r).

35 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 88, fol. 140r, item 1.

36 Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (D-Mhsa), Kurbayern Hofzahlamt no 1749, Jg. 1756 doc. no. 117, fol. 1r. I am grateful to Mr Franz Legl (Munich) for providing a transcription of this document and its shelf mark.

In the Flemming papers studied to date, a gap appears in the documentation of his music ensemble's activities in the years 1715–17. It should be assumed that this does not result from a lack of activity on the part of the *Kapelle* but reflects rather the dispersal and incompleteness of extant archive materials, particularly since from 1718, in the count's documents to which access has been secured, evidence of payments made to the count's musicians and other mentions of them reappear. Crucially, however, noted among them are names not present in accounts known from the year 1714, while some of those known from 1714 have gone.

At this point, a brief comment is required on the line-up of Flemming's ensemble that has been reconstructed for the years 1713–14. It seems unusual, and one may gain the impression that at this time the ensemble was undergoing a sort of transformation, from a group of representative musicians (2 trumpeters, 4 oboists and 2 bassists – probably bassoonists) into a typical *Cammer Musique* or *Capelle*, as we may speak of in relation to the ensemble's activities during the subsequent period.

IN VIENNA WITH HIS OWN MUSIC ENSEMBLE

In December 1716, in Vienna, diplomatic talks began between Austria, Hanover, Saxony and Poland-Lithuania over an alliance against Russia and Sweden.³⁷ At the same time, envoys of King August II, Count Robert Taparelli Lagnasco and the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Salerno, set about negotiating the future marriage of the king's son, Friedrich August, to one of the daughters of Emperor Joseph I, who had died in 1711. The crown prince himself arrived in Vienna on 6 October 1717 and stayed there until 4 March 1719. That 17-month stay in the Austrian capital represented the last, and longest, stage in his *grand tour* of more than seven years for the future King August III. As it would soon turn out, that was a time of important decisions not just for the prince himself, but also for Saxony and Poland-Lithuania.³⁸

In the negotiations, the question of a dynastic alliance soon came to the fore, with the projected political pact in second place on the agenda. During the first phase in the talks, Saxony and Poland were represented before Emperor Charles VI by Count Christoph August von Wackerbarth (1662–1734), but they would be finished by Flemming, who arrived in Vienna with that purpose in mind on 16 Sep-

37 Urszula Kosińska, *Sejm 1719–1720 a sprawa ratyfikacji traktatu wiedeńskiego* [The 1719–1720 Sejm and the matter of the ratification of the Vienna Treaty], Warsaw 2003, pp. 39–41.

38 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Podróże królewiczów polskich: Cztery studia z dziejów kultury muzycznej XVII i XVIII wieku* [Travels by Polish princes: Four studies from the history of musical culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries], Warsaw 1992, p. 27: chapter II 'Muzyczna podróż Fryderyka Augusta: Niemcy – Francja – Włochy – Austria (1711–1719)' [A musical journey by Friedrich August: Germany – France – Italy – Austria (1711–1719)]; Italian version, see Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Esperienze musicali del principe polacco Federico Augusto in viaggio attraverso l'Europa (1711–1719)', *Studi Musicali* 20 (1991) no. 1, pp. 155–173.

tember 1718.³⁹ The alliance he ultimately negotiated between Austria, Saxony, Poland and Hanover was signed on 5 January 1719, and the convention regarding the marriage between Friedrich August and Maria Josepha – Joseph I's elder daughter – on 14 January. After resolving these matters, Flemming returned briefly to Saxony, before travelling back to Vienna in the spring to oversee the further fortunes of the signed treatise and the preparations for the wedding. That took place on 20 August 1719 at the emperor's summer residence, the Favorita.

Many details of Flemming's stay in Vienna were recorded on the pages of his diaries, now held at the Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden.⁴⁰ They show that Flemming on one hand spent time on intense negotiations, political talks, and open and secret meetings, but on the other hand also took an active part in the life of the social elite in the Habsburgs' capital. Those two domains – the political and the social – were strongly intertwined. Hence the count attended balls, feasts, operas and other amusements in the salons of Viennese notables, to whom he repaid the favour at his temporary residence in the palace of Count Stratmann on Minoritenplatz. He also regularly visited Friedrich August, with whom he dined, hunted and visited the imperial court. The events described in his diary were nearly always accompanied by music. It is entirely understandable, therefore, that Flemming travelled to the Habsburg capital with his ensemble – as indeed he had when travelling to Brunswick in 1714.⁴¹

The company of musicians must have been well received in diplomacy at that time, particularly in the musical city of Vienna, since Flemming's predecessor in the negotiations there, Count Wackerbarth, was also accompanied by his modest *Cammer Musique*.⁴² So the presence of a *Kapelle* in Count Flemming's retinue not only

39 See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 3518 *Die zwischen Kaiser Karl VI., König Friedrich August und König Georg [...] errichtete Defensiv-Allianz betreffend, 1718–1723*; see also Flemming's letter of 15 September 1718 to the prime minister of Hanover, Andreas Gottlieb Bernstorff: D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 680 *Des Generalfeldmarschalls Herrn Graf von Flemming mit dem königlich großbritannischen und Kurhannoveraner Etatsminister, Herrn Baron von Bernstorff gehabte Korrespondenz*, vol. 10, fol. 93r: 'Je pars infaillement demain pour Vienne' ('I leave for Vienna tomorrow without fail') and the beginning of Flemming's Viennese diary: D-Dla, Geh. Kab. Loc. 3301/1 *Journal de Vienne 1718–1719*, fol. 1r.

40 D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 3301/1 *Journal de Vienne 1718–1719* and D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 3296/17 *Journal de Vienne 1718 pendant le séjour que S.E. le Comte de Flemming y a fait depuis le 16. de Stb: 1718 jusqu'au 17. Janv. 1719*.

41 Flemming's Viennese mission of 1718–19 is discussed in more detail in S. Paczkowski, 'Music and Diplomacy [...] The Wedding Ceremony' (see n. 4).

42 Noted in the accounts from Friedrich August's stay in Vienna is the expenditure of 200 thalers on Wackerbarth's musicians for their services to the prince, see D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 763/8 *Des Königlichen Prinzen Herrn Friedrich August, Hobeit, Hoffkassenrechnungen 1719, 1722, 1725, 1734*, fol. 47r: 'Grafen von Wackerbarts, Musicanten so öftters Music gemacht' ('Wackerbarth's musicians, who so frequently played music').

In 1719 Wackerbarth's *Cammer Musique* consisted of at least five musicians: harpsichordist Johann Gottfried Stiebner, oboists Johann Christoph Reinhard (Reinhardt) and Johann Wilhelm Hugo, bassoonist Johann B. Lincke and Italian cellist Arcangelo Califano, see Janice B. Stockigt and Jóhannes Ágústsson, 'Reflections and Recent Findings on the Life and Music of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745)', *Clavibus unitis* 4 (2015), p. 14; also Szymon Paczkowski, 'Christoph August von Wackerbarth (1662–1734) and his

enabled him to provide a suitable 'setting' to the social encounters and feasts that he hosted in his salons, but also represented an important element in the shaping of his image as a diplomat of refined tastes and an admirer of the arts, especially music. In that way he forged among his Viennese interlocutors not just his own splendour, but also his prestige as Saxon *dirigierender Kabinettsminister*.

The group of instrumentalists who accompanied the count throughout his stay in Vienna, besides those already present in the ensemble from the beginning, included two new musicians: violinist Joseph Frühwirth and lutenist Gottlieb Siegmund Jacobi.⁴³ On the Viennese lists of expenditure from the count's coffers between October 1718 and August 1719, they were noted alongside the above-mentioned lutenist Frantz Taubenberg and the four oboists Beylicher, Pauli, Lehmann and Braun, who were employed by Flemming from at least 1713.⁴⁴ Missing from the list, however, was the gambist Kühnel. Hence it cannot be excluded that he was indeed at the court in Weimar at that time.

It is not known how and when those new musicians, Jacobi and Frühwirth, joined Flemming's ensemble. Their appearance in the group certainly attests to his aspirations to both increasing the size of the ensemble and also raising the standard of the group. The fact that a lutenist was taken on confirms the deliberate path of forming a quite conservative – for those times – profile for the ensemble, probably linked to the count's personal musical preferences. The first documents in which Jacobi is mentioned date from April 1718.⁴⁵ Extant receipts of monthly payments from later years, signed by that musician (*G.S. Jacobi*) during future stays in both

Cammer-Musique', in: *Music Migration in the Early Modern Age: Centres and Peripheries – People, Works, Styles, Paths of Dissemination and Influence*, eds. Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak and Aneta Markuszewska, Warsaw 2016, pp. 109–126.

- 43 Cf. e.g. LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1632, fol. 14: '1718 Wien den 1. October von Musicanten Quartier' ('Vienna, 1 October 1718, for musicians' accommodation'): 1/ 'dem Frühwirth von gantz Monat October 4 thlr' ('4 thalers to Frühwirth for the whole of October'), 2/ 'dem Laut: Jacobi 4 thlr' ('4 thalers to the lutenist Jacobi'), 3/ 'dem Lautenist Taubenberg 4 thlr' ('4 thalers to the lutenist Taubenberg'); BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 109, fol. 39v: '1719 in Wien, Martius, Lohnungs Zulage' ('1719 in Vienna, March, payments additional to salary'): 1/ 'dem Musicus Frühwirth 4 thlr' ('4 thalers to the musician Frühwirth'), 2/ 'dem Mus: Jacobi 4 thlr' ('4 thalers to the musician Jacobi'), 3/ 'dem Mus: Taubenberg 4 thlr' ('4 thalers to the musician Taubenberg'), 6/ 'dem Lacquay Beylicher [sic] 4thlr' ('4 thalers to the lackey Beylicher'), 7/ 'dem Lacquay Lehmann 4 thlr' ('4 thalers to the lackey Lehmann'), 8/ 'dem Lacquay Paul 4 thlr' ('4 thalers to the lackey Paul'), 10/ 'dem Lacquay Braun 4 thlr' ('4 thalers to the lackey Braun'); cf. also PL-Wagad, AR/X 353, fols. 11, 27, 44, 63 (payments for accommodation in Vienna for Flemming's servants, including 12 florins per month each for accommodation for three musicians from September to December 1718).
- 44 See e.g. Flemming's accounts with expenditure on 4 musicians noted in Vienna in June 1719 (LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1621, fol. 5v), for the transport of 4 musicians in Vienna in July 1719 (LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1621, fol. 6v), for the sewing of new livery for 4 musicians in July 1719 in Vienna (LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1621, fol. 9v), for payments to musicians and lackeys-oboists in Vienna in October 1718 (LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1641, fol. 4r) and in August 1719 (LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1625, fol. 3r).
- 45 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 87, fol. 4r: 'Kost und Lohnung pro Mense Aprilis 1718' ('Musicus Jacobi' – 16,16 thlr).

Dresden and Warsaw, allow us to identify him as Gottlieb Siegmund Jacobi – a lutenist also known to have spent a short time at the court in Köthen.⁴⁶

Another new figure in Flemming's ensemble from the time the count arrived in Vienna, still practically unknown among music historians, was a violinist by the name of Frühwirth. The first documents indicating this musician – as in the case of Jacobi – date from April 1718.⁴⁷ Later receipts of monthly payments were signed by him with his full name, Joseph Frühwirth. His time in the count's ensemble came to an end in December 1725. Unfortunately, despite painstaking research, this figure has not been identified in any other environment besides the count's ensemble. The only information about this musician – found outside Flemming's archival materials – from a specification of the Dresden court's expenses from 1717 made at the behest of August II. In the document *Hof- und Ober-Kammerey Kassa Sachen de Ao 1717*, we find a note about a royal medal given to the violinist and the sum of 30 ducats paid to him for a performance in Karlsbad, no doubt in the presence of the king, when he was staying there for a cure in the early autumn of 1717.⁴⁸ It is possible that this artist, encouraged by this remuneration, decided to seek employment in the circle of the Dresden court, and thus came into the employment of Flemming. It seems that the count valued him highly, since he is noted, like the lutenist Taubenberg, in a palatial inventory as a recipient of gifts from the count's wardrobe.⁴⁹

Interestingly, in his *Lexicon*, Walther included an entry devoted to another violinist named Frühwirth – one Anton. This musician served in the Viennese Kapelle of the widowed Empress Amalia Wilhelmina between 1721 and 1727, so he cannot be

46 Cf. e.g. LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1, no. 1109, fol. 61: receipt of monthly salary signed by G.S. Jacobi for January 1721 in Warsaw (16.16 thalers); PL-Wagad, AR/X 358, fol. 17: receipt of monthly salary signed by G.S. Jacobi for March 1721 in Dresden (16.16 thalers); LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1848, fol. 24: receipt of monthly salary signed by G.S. Jacobi for December 1722 in Warsaw (16.16 thalers).

Information about Jacobi's activities prior to entering Flemming's service can be found in Ulrich Siegele, 'Aus dem Leben eines wandernden Musikers. Zur Biographie des Lautenisten Gottlieb Siegmund Jacobi', *Cöthener Bach-Hefte* 8 (1998), pp. 53–56. Siegele suggested that Jacobi was born in 1680 and lived in Leipzig in 1705 then in Rostock in 1706, where he studied law. According to him, enrolment records from the universities in those two cities indicate that he was born in Grimma, near Leipzig. However, Siegele did not know about the existence of Flemming's separate music ensemble and was convinced that Jacobi served at the royal-electoral court in Dresden. In the accounts of the court in Köthen, the name Jacobi appears between May and October 1724, then in 1726. On this question, see Maik Richter, *Die Hofmusik in Köthen. Von den Anfängen (um 1690) bis zum Tod Fürst Leopolds von Anhalt-Köthen* (1728), Saarbrücken 2008, pp. 73–74.

47 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 87, fol. 4r: 'Kost und Lohnung pro Mense Aprilis 1718' ('Musicus Fruhwirth' – 25 thlr).

48 See D-DI, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 898/16 *Hof- und Ober-Kammerey Kassa Sachen de Ao 1717* vol. XVIII, fol. 32v.

49 'Braun Tuchen Kleid, reich mit goldenen durchbrechenen Tressen besetzt', see PL-Wn, II. 6818, fol. 346v (as in n. 34).

identified with the musician from Flemming's ensemble.⁵⁰ Also noted in the court environment was one Maria Elisabeth Frühwirthin – a singer, daughter of the Viennese musician Philipp Frühwirth, who in 1720 was even mentioned among the members of the imperial *Hofkapelle*.⁵¹ It cannot be excluded, therefore, that Joseph Frühwirth, a violinist from the count's ensemble, was related to her and hailed from Vienna, which we may be able to confirm one day from research there.

Probably shortly before returning to Dresden in January 1719, Flemming took on one more musician for his *Capelle*: the double bassist Werner. On lists of monthly expenditure on the count's servants and staff, Werner was mentioned up to the end of 1725 as a *Bassiste* or *Musicus*. However, he always signed receipts of payments with his full name, Gregorius (or Gregor) Joseph Werner,⁵² which gave grounds for him to be identified with the later famous composer and kapellmeister to the dukes Esterházy in Eisenstadt, Joseph Haydn's predecessor in the post. Crucially, documents from the years 1719–25 confirming the presence of this Werner among Flemming's musicians at that time made it possible to largely fill a gap in that composer's biography, hitherto only pieced together in part.⁵³ Ultimately, the line-up of Flemming's ensemble during his stay in Vienna looked as presented in Table 2.

On 13 August 1719 Emperor Charles VI received Flemming and his Polish-Saxon delegation for an official audience, during which all of the conditions for the marriage between Friedrich August and Maria Josepha negotiated earlier by the count were confirmed. That same day, at 6 in the evening, trumpeters and drummers performed on the balconies of Flemming's Viennese residence, on Minoritenplatz, to inaugurate festivities for the people of Vienna, which lasted until 11 o'clock. White and red wine apparently flowed continuously, much to the joy of the city's residents, and Saxon officers threw coins into the happy crowd. And above the residence, a dazzling light show was arranged – all to emphasise the splendour and might of the Polish king and Saxon elector. Two days later, on 15 August, to mark the dynastic alliance between the Wettins and the Habsburgs, Flemming gave a grand ball. That event was noted both in imperial court documents and in the Viennese press:⁵⁴

50 J.G. Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, p. 265; see also Martin Eybl, 'Die Kapelle der Kaiserinwitwe Elisabeth Christine (1741–1750). I: Besetzung, Stellung am landesfürstlichen Hof und Hauptkopisten', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 45 (1996), pp. 33–66.

51 Dagmar Glüxam, 'Verzeichnis der Sänger in den Wiener Opern- und Oratoriumspartituren zwischen 1705–1711', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 48 (2002), pp. 269–319.

52 PL-Wagad, AR/X 359, fol. 23; LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1848, fol. 24; LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1109, fol. 60.

53 See S. Paczkowski, 'The Polish-Saxon Episode', p. 161. The earliest known documents in which Werner was noted on lists of payments to Flemming's musicians date from March and April 1719, see BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 109, fols. 4r and 39v.

54 This ball became the subject of one of the drawings commissioned in 1728 by the Dresden court from Raymond Leplat (see Fig. 3), now accessible in the holdings of the Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. no. C 6730. The illustrations commissioned from Leplat also concerned the

On 15 August 1719, with the aim of showing his great joy at the approaching state wedding, the Polish royal and Saxon electoral minister plenipotentiary present here, Field Marshal Count von Flemming, gave a magnificent ball at his current residence in Stratmann's palace, to which he invited both ladies from the courts of the current emperor and the widowed empress and also other noble ladies from the city and the highest-ranking imperial ministers and knights, including ministers and knights from abroad. During the festivities, the guests amused themselves dancing and giving themselves over to various diversions.⁵⁵

Interestingly, in Flemming's diary for August 1719, there is no mention of this event. No doubt the count was so busy over the subsequent days with matters concerning the wedding that he had no time to dictate a suitable entry. His accountants, meanwhile, recorded all the expenses incurred for the ball on 15 August in a separate specification entitled *Beym Ball. Augustus 1719*. The first item noted there is the sum of 144 florins spent on 24 musicians,⁵⁶ which may seem a surprisingly large and extremely generous sum bestowed upon an equally surprisingly large number of musicians playing for the guests to dance to. That group undoubtedly included all the members of Flemming's ensemble staying with him in Vienna (eight musicians). Yet it is not known where the other sixteen came from. It could be that some of them were simply hired from the imperial *Hofkapelle*. It has also not been established whether the sums spent to that end were covered in their entirety by Flemming himself or were partly funded from the Dresden court coffers. One way or another, the case of the ball of 15 August shows what an important role was played by musicians in the count's forging of his personal prestige and also the splendour of the Polish-Saxon court, which he represented. Shortly after that event, Flemming's ensemble returned to Dresden. Its further participation in the Viennese wedding solemnities of Friedrich August and Maria Josepha was not necessary, as the musical setting of all the ceremonies was assumed entirely by the imperial *Hofkapelle*.

In the archive materials of Flemming's household for the years 1718–19, while the count was staying in Vienna, we note the presence of at least one musician,

firework display during the festivities at Flemming's residence, as well as the wedding in the chapel at the Favorita and the grand supper held afterwards.

55 'Festin bey Grafen v. Flemming. 15: Aug. 1719. gabe der dahier anwesend Königl. Pohnische und Chur Sächsische gevollmächtigte Minister, Herr Veldtmarschall Graff von Flemming zu mehrerer Bezeugung der über die bevorstehende hohe Vermählung tragender großen Freude in seinem Logiment dem Graff Strattmannischen Hauß ein herrliches Festin, deme sowohl die Damen von denen gesampnten Regierend= und verwittweten Kayßl. Hoffen, alß andere vornehme Damen auß der Statt, wie auch die vornehmste Kayß. Minister und Cavaliers, sambt denen frembden Ministern und Cavalieren beýgewohnt und mit Tanzen, wie auch sonst sich belustiget', see Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (A-WHh), AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 29 Akten 1719–1746 *Akten über die Vermählung der Erzherzogin Maria Josepha mit dem sächsischen Kurprinzen*, fasc. 4, fols. 8v–9r: 'Festin bey Grafen v. Flemming'. In the *Wiener Diarium* of 19 August 1719 (no. 1674, fol. 1v), the ball was described in almost the exact same words as in the text of the above-cited report in the court documents.

56 See LT-VIvia, F 459/1 no. 1661, fol. 2r *Beym Ball. Augustus 1719*, item 1: 144 fl.

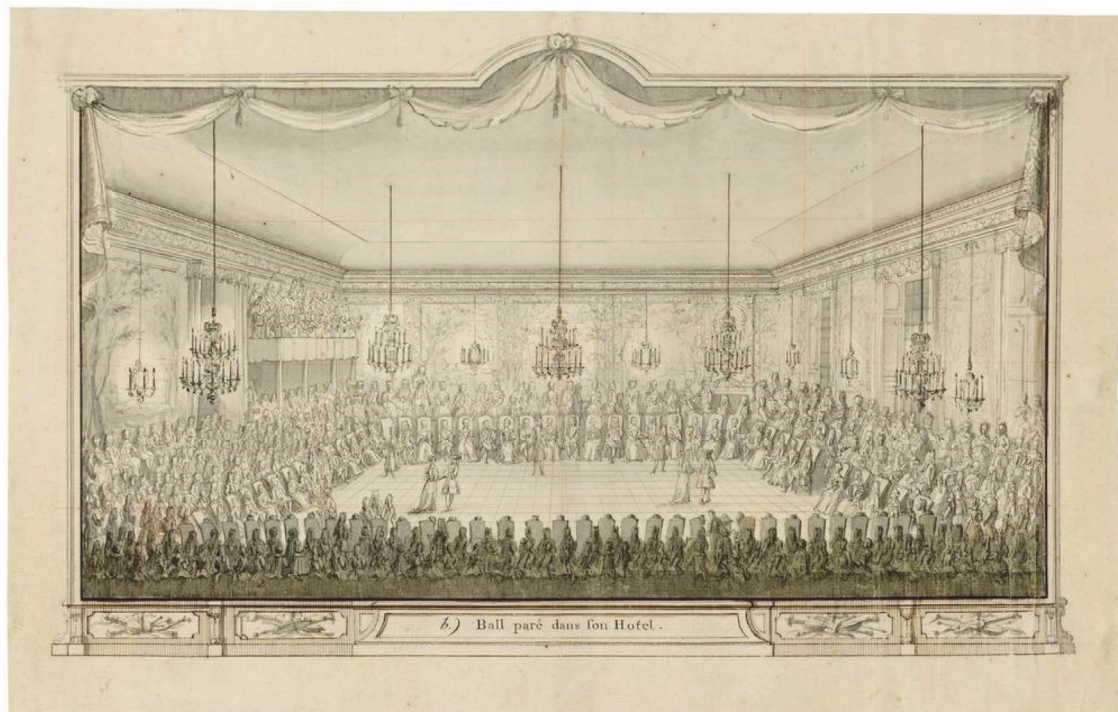


Fig. 3. Raymond de Leplat (1664–1742), ball given by Count Flemming on 15 August 1719 at the Strattmann Palace in Vienna; quill and brush drawing in grey and green, red crayon on the print, before 1728, Dresden, Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. no. C 6730, <https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/Details/Index/1119491>, accessed 30 December 2024. In the top left corner, on the balcony, the group of musicians playing for dancing

whom the count evidently did not take with him on his diplomatic travels. That was the violinist Peter Rummel, indicated on lists of payments made to members of the household in April 1718, for example, so before Flemming left for Vienna, then again in February and March 1719, when the other members of the count's ensemble were in the Austrian capital.⁵⁷ We do not know why Rummel stayed behind. And there is no evidence in the archive documents confirming that the violinist played for Flemming after his return. We do know that in the summer and autumn of 1719 Rummel played among the expanded forces of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* during rehearsals and all the performances of Antonio Lotti's opera *Teofane*, which was staged at huge expense and effort as part of the famous Saxon festivities for the wedding of

57 See BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 87, fol. 4r (list of payments for April 1718 'bey der Music': Musicus Rummel – 16.16 thalers); PL-Wagad, AR/X 355, fol. 7r (list of payments for February: Musicus Rummel – 16.16 thalers); LT-Vlvia, F 1280/1 no. 1109, fol. 5 (list of payments for March 1719 Musicus Rummel – 16.16 thalers).

Friedrich August and Maria Josepha.⁵⁸ A little over two years later, meanwhile, in an application made on 24 January 1722 to the chancellery of August II with a request to be taken on by the royal orchestra, Rummel mentioned that he had earlier been in service to Count Flemming, but had been let go.⁵⁹ We do not learn from the violinist’s petition how long he actually worked for the count and in what circumstances he left. However, it is hard to imagine that any conflict was involved, since otherwise his promotion to the Dresden *Hofkapelle* would have been highly unlikely. As we learn from the court archives, he was taken on by the royal-electoral *Hofkapelle* without any difficulties half a year after submitting his application, on 1 July 1722, with an annual salary of 250 thalers. That decision was signed by King August and Count Flemming in person. Henceforth, Rummel remained a fully-fledged member of that ensemble until his death, in 1728.⁶⁰

Table 2. Musicians in Flemming’s ensemble in August 1719

| Name | Title or function | Remarks |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Joseph Frühwirth | <i>Musicus</i> (violinist) | noted in documents from April 1718 |
| Gottlieb Siegmund Jacobi | <i>Musicus, Lautenist</i> | as above |
| Frantz Taubenberg | <i>Musicus, Lautenist</i> | noted in documents from April 1714 to June 1720 |

58 D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 383/2 *Die Engagements einiger zum Theater gehöriger Personen*, fol. 170r: ‘Heyeck [?] und Rummel, haben in Teofane und denen Repetitionem die Violin gespielet, und wären ieglichen 24 Thl. zu geben’ (‘Heyeck [?] and Rummel played on the violin in *Teofane* and in rehearsals, and should receive 24 thalers each’). The premiere of *Teofane* was held on 13 September 1719 in the new Opernhaus am Zwinger, with further performances on 21 and 27 September. The first official rehearsal took place on 13 August 1719. Details of the preparations for the premiere of *Teofane* can be found in Szymon Paczkowski, ‘Beyond the Work: The Story of the Opera Production for the Wedding of Friedrich August and Maria Josepha (1719)’, *Revue de musicologie* 109 (2023) no. 1, pp. 29–64.

59 See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 383/2 *Die Engagements einiger zum Theater gehöriger Personen*, fol. 178r–v (Rummel’s application to be taken on by the royal-electoral *Hofkapelle*).

60 See D-Dla, Oberhofmarschallamt 10006, K II no. 6 *Königl. Pohnisches und Churfürstl. Sächsisches Hoff-Buch von 1721 usq. 1725*, Vol. 6, fol. 78r; Oberhofmarschallamt 10006, K II no. 6 *Königl. Pohnische und Churfürstl. Sächs. Hoff-Bediente 1726 bis 1729*, Vol. 7, no pagination (‘Peter Rommel [sic] † den 25 Juni 1728, Alter 36, aus Mäynz, Bedienung: Violinist; Jähr. Besoldung 250 Thlr; woher selbige bezahlet wird: Accis Cassa; 1722 nach Hoffe gekommen’). Rummel was also noted in court lists of musicians and servants declaring themselves to be Catholics, see D-Dla, Geh. Konsilium 10025, Loc. 4636 *Den vor Ihr. Hoheit der Königl. Prinzessin Hoffstadt concedirten Begräbnüß-Platz zu Drefsden betr. de a[nn]is 1719. 1720–1734 [...]*, fol. 229r–v (1723: “Von der Capelle” Violonist [sic] Rommel [sic]), fols. 399v–401r (1726: „Von der Capelle” Peter Rommel [sic] Violoniste’), fols. 413v–415r (1727: “Königl: Capell Musici” Peter Rommel [sic] Violinist’. Cited after Jóhannes Ágústsson and Janice B. Stockigt, ‘Records of Catholic Musicians, Actors and Dancers at the Court of August II, 1723–32: The Establishment of the Catholic Cemetery in Dresden’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 45 (2014), pp. 39, 47 and 51, doi.org/10.1080/14723808.2014.901714. After Rummel’s death, the flautist Johann Joachim Quantz took his place in the *Hofkapelle* and his annual salary.

| | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Gregor Joseph Werner | <i>Bassist</i> | noted in documents from March 1719 |
| Peter Rummel | <i>Musicus</i> (violinist) | noted in documents from April 1718, not present in Vienna; in 1722 transferred to the <i>Hofkapelle</i> |
| Johann Ludwig Braun[e] | <i>Hautboist, Laquay</i> | noted in documents from November 1713 |
| Beylicher | <i>Hautboist, Laquay</i> | as above |
| Johann Andreas (?) Lehmann | <i>Hautboist, Laquay</i> | as above |
| Carl Pauli | <i>Hautboist, Laquay</i> | as above |

BETWEEN DRESDEN AND WARSAW, THE HEYDAY OF THE ENSEMBLE 1720–25

After settling matters in Vienna and returning safely to Dresden, at the beginning of September 1719, and after concluding there a series of dazzling celebrations for the wedding of Friedrich August and Maria Josepha, Flemming intensified his work in the field of artistic patronage and towards expanding his music ensemble. And it was between 1720 and 1725 that the ensemble reached the height of its glory. New musicians joined the group of eight who returned with the count from Vienna: the young and highly talented Italian violinist Francesco Cattaneo (the only Italian musician in Flemming's service) and the harpsichordists Johann Georg Kreysing and Johann Caspar Richter. Gambist Gottlieb Michael Kühnel also returned to the ensemble.⁶¹ At the same time, the count continued to increase his music collection, making further purchases, as noted in lists of expenditure, although they were not as detailed as in 1714. One such purchase seems extremely interesting on account of the potential seller. Noted in the list of expenses between August 1722 and July 1723 ('Specification deren Extraordinairen Ausgaben vom 1. August 1722 bis Julii 1723') is a payment of 16 thalers 'an Musicum Bachen vor präsentirte Musicalia' ('to the musician Bach for the presented musicalia'; see. Fig. 4)⁶².

61 The first documented monthly payment to Kühnel after his return to Flemming's ensemble dates from June 1720, see BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 270, fol. 75r (list of payments from Flemming's coffers for the month of June 1720: item 9 Musicus Kühnel – 16.16 thalers); see also BY-MInhab, F 694/6, fol. 196r (Kühnel's receipt of the sum of 25 thalers, Dresden, 1 June 1720).

62 See BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 276, fol. 121r. For consultation regarding the transcription of this entry, I am grateful to Professor Michael Maul of the Bach Archive in Leipzig.

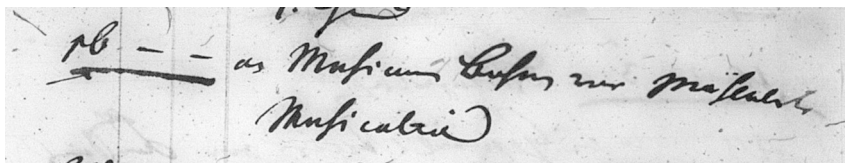


Fig. 4. Record of a payment of 16 thalers 'an Musicum Bachen vor präsentirte Musicalia' in a list of exceptional expenditure from Flemming's coffers between August 1722 and July 1723, Minsk, Natsyyanal'ny historychny arkhiv Byelarusi (BY-MInhab), shelf mark F 694/6 d. 276, fol. 121r

If the seller of that music was Johann Sebastian Bach himself, this entry would constitute not just another indication of Flemming's possible contacts with that composer, but also of the potential source of that music, namely, the court at Köthen. At that time, Bach was kapellmeister there. In this situation, further explanation would be needed of why he would carry out such a transaction and what music manuscripts could have been the subject of the sale. Given that several of Flemming's musicians, including Kühnel, came from Friedrich I's disbanded *Hofkapelle*, as did some members of the ensemble of Prince Leopold von Anhalt-Köthen, one may assume that former colleagues from the Prussian king's *Kapelle* had remained in touch, which resulted in the circulation of information between Berlin, Köthen and Dresden regarding possible offers to sell music manuscripts or prints. It is also possible that Bach's move from Köthen to Leipzig in 1723 forced him to sell some of the music he had at his disposal as the prince's kapellmeister, which may not have been of any use to him in his new role as cantor of St Thomas's Church. Such potentially 'unneeded' music could have included secular instrumental and vocal compositions by composers from the Köthen environment, which in turn would have been perfectly suited to the 'German' profile of the collection of music manuscripts belonging to Flemming and his ensemble. We will return to the links between Flemming's ensemble and the music milieu in Köthen below.

In the years 1720–25, the count expanded also his collection of musical instruments, and his purchases during that period included an exclusive violin by the famous Venetian luthier Pietro Guarneri (1695–1762), also known as Pietro da Venezia, the last in a dynasty of outstanding string instrument makers. This spectacular purchase cost the count 600 thalers, and the go-between in the sale was one 'Frau Zendroni'⁶³ (see Fig. 5). It is possible that this instrument was intended mainly for Francesco Cattaneo – the leading violinist in Flemming's ensemble.

63 See BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 148, fol. 49r. It is possible that the 'Frau Zendroni' named in the document came from the Zendroni family of Trento, which in 1715 was elevated by Emperor Charles VI to the Austrian nobility. However, no further information has been obtained about this figure or how she mediated in the purchase of the Guarneri violin. For more on Flemming's collection of instruments, see S. Paczkowski, 'Muzyka na dworze marszałka', pp. 70–71. See also inventories of Flemming's palatial moveables from the years 1717 and 1727: *General Inventarium 1717*, PL-Wn, II. 6818, fol. 316 ('Musicalische Instrumente') and *General Inventarium 1726*; LT-Vlvia, F 1280/1 no. 1084, fol. 175r ('Musicalische Instrumente').

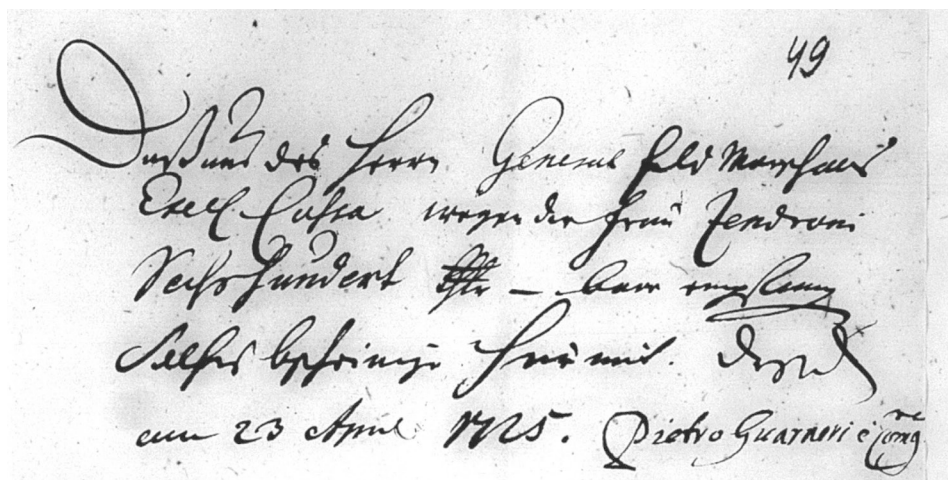


Fig. 5. Receipt of the sum of 600 thalers on 23 April 1725 for a violin made for Flemming by Pietro Guarneri (1695–1762), known as Pietro da Venezia, Minsk, Natsyyanal'ny historychny arkhiv Byelarusi (BY-MInhab), shelf mark F 694/6 d. 148, fol. 49r; in the bottom right corner, the signature: *Pietro Guarneri*⁶⁴

On 21 December 1719, when King August II moved with his court from Dresden to Warsaw for a whole year, before spending the subsequent years moving regularly between the capitals of Poland and Saxony, Flemming usually followed him. He would travel to Poland with his ensemble, as evidenced by numerous receipts signed by his musicians for payments made in Warsaw. Thus, the count's residence at that time, in Solec, near Warsaw, must have been – like his palace in Dresden – a site of various forms of artistic activity. Although in his diaries from sojourns in Poland between 1720 and 1724 he rarely mentions musical events at his Warsaw seat,⁶⁵ it did occur that he referred to musicians he had met in Warsaw. Fortunately, his books of accounts have preserved numerous annotations concerning payments for guest performances of one kind or another, some of them quite 'exotic', such as a payment for six Jewish musicians, who received 66.16 thalers each, at least twice in a row, in September and in October 1727,⁶⁶ or for concerts by Cossack bandurists from an en-

64 'Daß uns des Herrn General Feld Marschalls Excel Cassa wegen der Frau Zendroni Sechshundert Thlr – barr empfang[en] Selbes bescheinige hiermit [derselbe] am 23 April 1725. Pietro Guarneri [...]' ('I hereby declare that we have received from the coffers of His Excellency the General Field Marshal six hundred thalers in cash, via the intermediary of Mrs Zendroni, which occurred on 23 April 1725. Pietro Guarneri [...]'). For more on Flemming's collection of instruments, see S. Paczkowski, 'Muzyka na dworze marszałka', pp. 70–71.

65 D-Dla Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 3304/11-14 *Journal, so von dem Generalfeldmarschall, Herrn Grafen von Flemming während seines Aufenthaltes zu Warschau über dessen Particulieraffären*, 3 vols, *passim*.

66 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 265, fol. 146r ('denen 6 Juden Musicanten mo oct:'), fol. 150r ('denen 6 Juden Musicanten pro September').

semble maintained by the 'Duke of Spiš', Teodor Józef Lubomirski (1683–1745), and loaned by Flemming in 1724.⁶⁷ Of course, the count's musicians were also obliged to play for dancing at balls and during other social events at the count's palace, which was also noted in the accounts.⁶⁸ Finally, Flemming himself was also a keen viola da gamba player, often in the company of Colonel Glasenapp, who was apparently a highly talented amateur violinist.⁶⁹

One of Flemming's most important diplomatic journeys during this period was a trip to Prague for the coronation of Emperor Charles VI as King of Bohemia in September 1723. The count's stay in Prague lasted from 4 August to 24 September. As usual, he took musicians on the journey with him, but this time only five of them. Among those to feature on a list of payments from 1 September 1723 to members of the household residing with him in the Bohemian capital were violinist Francesco Cattaneo, Johann Caspar Richter (probably in the role of harpsichordist) and bassist Gregor Joseph Werner, as well as the two oboists Beylicher and Pauli. At that time, the customary monthly salary paid to them increased considerably, no doubt due to the extra tasks, over and above the norm, which they had to perform. The pinnacle of the musical events connected with Charles VI's coronation in Prague was the premiere of Johann Joseph Fux's 'festa teatrale' *Costanza e Fortezza*, to a libretto by the imperial poet Pietro Pariati, given on 28 August in an open-air theatre built specially for the occasion on the grounds of a riding school near Prague Castle. According to a familiar account by Johann Joachim Quantz, who personally participated in the performance of Fux's work, playing in the orchestra that accompanied the spectacle: 'Just twenty people were taken from the [imperial] Viennese Kapelle. The remaining instrumentalists were sought in Prague, and they comprised students, members of some ducal ensembles and foreign musicians'.⁷⁰ In actual fact, 37 instrumentalists travelled to Prague from the imperial *Hofkapelle*, not including the kapellmeisters Fux and Antonio Caldara, the latter of whom conducted the performance, two tuners and one person in the orchestra's service.⁷¹ Although there are no documents confirming that Flemming's musicians played in the Bohemian capital with the or-

67 See PL-Wagad, AR/X 360 *Rachunki wydatków pieniędzy na potrzeby domowe i osobiste*, fol. 7r.

68 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 107, fol. 6r (extra payments to musicians for playing for balls on 13 and 25 September 1725, 8 and 27 January 1726 and 28 February 1726), fol. 25 (extra payment of 34 groschen 'vor die Musicanten im Vorzimmer').

69 See A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II*, pp. 317 and 355, n. 144 (with reference to archival sources). To date, the first name of that military man has not been identified.

70 'Von dem Wienerischen Orchester aber waren nur etliche zwanzig Personen mitgebracht worden. Die übrigen Instrumentisten wurden in Prag zusammengesuchet, und bestanden aus Studenten, aus den Mitgliedern einiger gräflicher Capellen, und aus fremden Musicis'; in *Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen*, in: Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 1, Berlin 1755, pp. 197–250 (account from Prague: pp. 216–221, at p. 219).

71 A-Whh, AT-OeStA/HHStA OMeA ÄZA 32-14-1 *Mitgliederverzeichnis der Stäbe der obersten Hofämter, die Karl VI. nach Prag begleiten sollen 1723*, fols. 23–24: 'Verzeichnis der mitreisenden Musiker'.

chestra performing Fux's opera, it seems almost obvious and fully in keeping with Quantz's account of the numerous presence in that ensemble of artists from ducal and aristocratic ensembles who had travelled to Prague for the occasion. The addition of the count's musicians to the imperial *Kapelle* for the performance of Fux's opera would not only have enhanced their standing, confirming the lofty stature and standard of Flemming's *Kapelle*, but would also have highlighted the count's personal and special role in international diplomacy. According to Quantz, the orchestra playing during the premiere of *Costanza e Fortezza* may have consisted of as many as 200 musicians. Even if that number was exaggerated, Flemming's musicians could still have found a place in it.⁷²

Between 1720 and 1725, Flemming's *Kapelle* was undoubtedly one of the most important music ensembles in Saxony outside the royal-electoral court. Yet its heyday came to an end around the turn of 1725 and 1726, a year or so after Flemming's marriage to Tekla Radziwiłł, which took place in Biała on 8 January 1725, and the departure or dismissal from the ensemble of several important musicians. For the time being, we do not know why the count decided to considerably reduce the forces of his ensemble at the beginning of 1726. We do know that Cattaneo entered the service of Prince Friedrich August at that time and that Jacobi had left a little earlier, probably at his own request, to seek a post outside Dresden, as we will discuss below. The fortunes of Taubenberg and Frühwirth after 1725 remain unknown, and it is difficult to establish whether they left the count of their own free will or were simply dismissed. As we will see below, one of the reasons for the sudden reduction in the size of the ensemble and the loss of its importance after 1725 may have been pressure from members of the royal family for some of Flemming's musicians to switch to their service. Henceforth the count would 'compensate' himself for the transfer of his musicians by taking instrumentalists from the Dresden *Hofkapelle* on diplomatic travels.

FRANCESCO CATTANEO

The stand-out figure in Flemming's ensemble between 1720 and 1725 was undoubtedly the Italian violinist Francesco Maria Cattaneo (1698[?]-1758). This brilliant musician was employed in the count's ensemble for a period of almost six years, as we learn from extant documents, at least from mid-June 1720 (see Fig. 6) until the end of December 1725, after which he transferred into the service of Prince Friedrich August.⁷³ When the prince took to the electoral throne of Saxony in 1733 (as Frie-

72 For more details of Flemming's stay in Prague and a description of the musical setting to the coronation of Charles VI as King of Bohemia, see S. Paczkowski, 'Flemming i praska koronacja', pp. 185-204.

73 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 45, fol. 199r (see Fig. 6). For details of Francesco M. Cattaneo's activities after he transferred into the service of Friedrich August, and then after his promotion to the Dresden *Hofkapelle*, see Sebastian Biesold, 'Experiment Musikprotektion. Die Geschwister Maria Santina und Francesco Maria Cattaneo am sächsisch-polnischen Hof im 18. Jahrhundert', in: *Venedig – Dresden*.

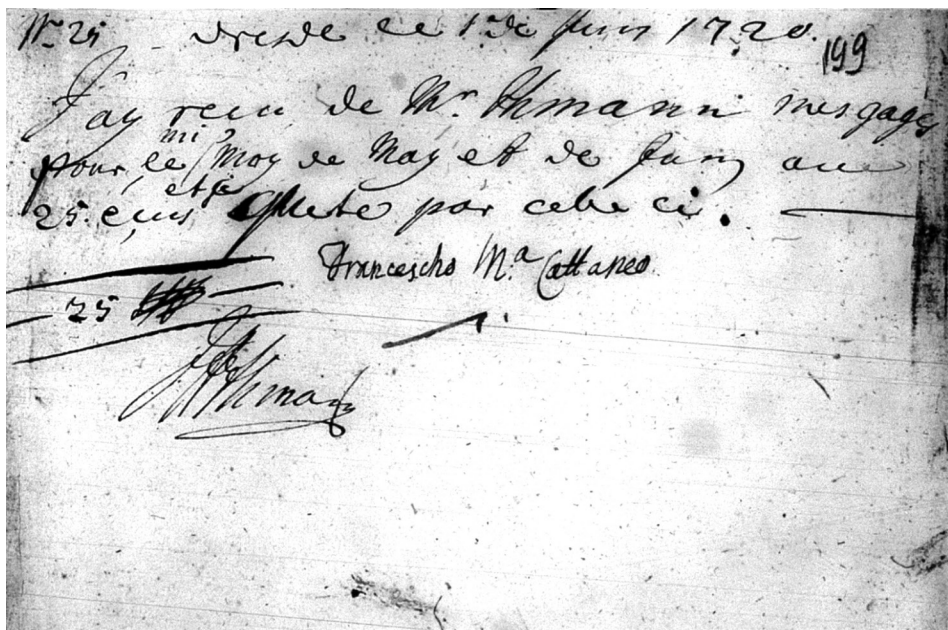


Fig. 6. Receipt of the payment of 25 thalers for the months of May and June 1720 (Dresden, 1 June 1720) with Cattaneo's signature, Minsk, Natsyyanal'ny historychny arkhiv Byelarusi (BY-MInhab), shelf mark F 694/6 d. 45, fol. 199r

drich August II) and became King of Poland (as August III), Cattaneo was promoted to the Dresden *Hofkapelle*, as a violinist, and on the death of Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755), in 1756, he became its leader. Thus, the period spent with Flemming proved to be an important beginning and a springboard to the Italian's outstanding career at the Polish-Saxon court in Dresden.

Today, little is known about Cattaneo's life and work before he joined the count's ensemble. We have no information about the early years of his life or the circumstances in which he began learning the violin. His first employment came at the court of the Bavarian elector Maximilian II Emanuel, where in 1717–18 he worked as a *Cammer Musicus*, but as yet we have no details of his time in Munich. Nor has it been established how he ultimately came to be in Dresden.⁷⁴ One way or another, for his age, he found in Flemming's ensemble an extremely secure and well-paid post.

Begegnung zweier Kulturstädte, eds. Barbara Marx and Andreas Henning, Leipzig 2010, pp. 153–175; A. Żorawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II*, pp. 424–425.

⁷⁴ See S. Biesold, 'Experiment Musikprotektion' (as in n. 73 above); Hans-Joachim Nösselt, *Ein ältestes Orchester 1530–1980. 450 Jahre Bayerisches Hof- und Staatsorchester*, Munich 1980, p. 222; Norbert Dubowy, 'Italienische Instrumentalisten in deutschen Hofkapellen', in: *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm, Turnhout 2001, pp. 74–75, and 80.

The young violinist's annual salary was 400 thalers from the start, to say nothing of the numerous extras for accommodation and various additional payments in cash or in kind connected with that, which represented the highest salary among all the count's musicians, comparable to the average salary in the royal-electoral *Hofkapelle*.⁷⁵ It seems that Flemming took the young Italian very much under his wing from the very beginning. Such is evidenced by extant correspondence between the count and the violinist's father, Nicolò Maria Cattaneo, who was living in Venice at that time.⁷⁶ We learn from their letters that Nicolò Maria was perfectly au fait with events in the musical world of Dresden and took great pains to ensure that his son, thanks to Flemming's protection, enter the service of King August II as soon as possible, or at least the retinue of Prince Friedrich August.⁷⁷ He was very well informed, for example, about the attempted suicide, on 13 August 1722, of the Italian violin virtuoso Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768), a favourite of Friedrich August. Although he survived the attempt with no major detriment to his health, Veracini was forced to leave Saxony soon after.⁷⁸ Thereafter, Nicolò Cattaneo exerted intense pressure on Flemming to recommend his son Francesco for the position vacated by Veracini, as we learn from a letter of 1 December 1724:

To fill that post, I would like to hope that my son would be worthy of the kindness of His Majesty, not so much with regard to any ability [he may possess], but more because he enjoys the protection of Your Excellency, which makes everything possible.⁷⁹

Today it is difficult to assess whether in 1724 Flemming was prepared to relinquish the services of a musician who was perhaps the most admired in his ensemble merely in order to pave his way to a career at the royal-electoral court. After all, he could pride himself on having such an excellent violinist in his service both on prestigious diplomatic trips and at home in Dresden or Warsaw. Cattaneo's abilities on the violin meant that the count's ensemble was perceived as one of the more attrac-

75 In *Kurze Relation von der Hofhaltung [...] des heiligen Römischen Reichs Grafen von Flemming* (as in n. 3 above), there was mention of '8 Kammermusikanten, darunter ein italienischer Violinist Cataneo, mit 400 Thlr.i.J.'; S. Biesold ('Experiment Musikprotektion', p. 157) expressed doubts over the reliability of this calculation of Cattaneo's annual salary, but he did not have access to other documents, the contents of which confirm the specified sum.

76 Cattaneo senior's correspondence with Flemming was discussed in detail by S. Biesold, *ibid.*, *passim*. The present article makes use of his transcriptions and translations of the letters in question.

77 Five letters from the years 1724–26: D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 681/11 *Des Generalfeldmarschalls Herrn Graf von Flemming Korrespondenz mit [...] Cattaneo, Musicus, 1724–1726*, fols. 247–251.

78 Cattaneo senior's letter to Flemming of 1 December 1724; D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 681/11, fol. 250r. For unexplained reasons, on 13 August 1722, Veracini threw himself from a window of his Dresden apartment.

79 'per subintrar nel quale spererei che dalla Clemenza di Sua Maestà fatto esse possa degno esso mio Figlio non tanto per la di qualsiasi abilità, quanto perche promosso dall'alto Patrocinio dell'Ecce[ellen]za V[ost]ra, che tutto può.' See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. Loc. 681/11, fol. 250r (letter from Cattaneo senior to Flemming of 1 December 1724).

tive music ensembles in the Saxon capital. The Italian was undoubtedly admired by Flemming's friends, his guests and even the royal-electoral family itself, and that in turn made the count's musical patronage even more praiseworthy.

The count expressed his satisfaction at the young musician's presence in his ensemble in various ways.⁸⁰ The correspondence between the violinist's father and Flemming allows us to illuminate quite well the relations between the gifted protégé and his employer. As Biesold rightly points out, from the letters of Cattaneo senior to the count, we may conclude that the father was entrusting Flemming with the care of his son and – in keeping with the conventions of the day – expressed the expectation that the count would remain kind-hearted towards his musician, but would not indulge his youthful foibles. On 12 August 1724, for example, Nicolò Cattaneo wrote the following to Flemming with regard to his son:

I must also beseechingly prostrate myself and implore that, just as Your Excellency looks upon him [Francesco] with a paternal, benevolent eye for his own good, you not allow him to waste the fruits of the same in games or in some other way and leave me to languish after I have consumed all of my wealth to train him in the art, thanks to which he may gain profit from it for himself and for me.⁸¹

We can only speculate as to what aspect of the young violinist's character was at issue here, or perhaps it was simply the expression of excessive paternal solicitude. One way or another, this letter and the reply to it seem to provide quite unusual testimony, given social relations at that time, of a rare bond between a patron and an artist in his care. Moreover, this is borne out by the count's words addressed to Nicolò Cattaneo in response to the latter's request: 'I will readily serve your son, sir, with whom I am very content; and I will not omit to convey to him the remarks with which you charged me for him'.⁸²

The young Italian's talent must have been increasingly noted in both Dresden and Warsaw, given that with time both Prince Friedrich August and his mother, the Saxon electress and wife of August II, Christiane Eberhardine, began to petition Flemming to ensure his presence in their salons. At this time, the electress was living far away from her husband, in Pretzsch, near Wittenberg. There she kept her own

80 See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 681/11, fol. 248r (letter from Flemming to Cattaneo senior of 2 August 1724).

81 'Pure debbo supplichevole prostrarmi, implorando, che come l'Ecc[ellen]za V[ost]ra lo riguarda con occhio benefico di Padre a di lui vantaggi, così non permetta ch'egli dissipi il frutto de medesimi nel Gioco, o in altro modo, e faccia me languire doppo aver io consunto ogni mia sostanza per abilitarlo alla virtù, con cui possa, e per lui, e per me approfittarsene.' See D-Dla, Geh. Kab., Loc. 681/11, fol. 247 (letter from Cattaneo senior to Flemming of 12 August 1724).

82 'Je me feray un Plaisir de server Monsieur votre fils, dont je suis fort content; et je ne manqueray pas de luy faire les remonstrances, don't vous m'avés chargé pur luy'. See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 681/11, fol. 248r (draft of a letter from Flemming to Cattaneo senior of 2 August 1724).

music ensemble, but she also readily invited selected musicians from Dresden to join her.⁸³ In the late summer of 1725, two members of Flemming's ensemble, 'our' violinist Cattaneo and the harpsichordist Richter accompanied the electress on her journey to Karlsbad, after which – at her request – they spent at least two months at her residence in Pretzsch. The count's correspondence with the electress's *Hofmeister*, Johann Ehrenreich Geyersberg (1672–1741), over consent to his musicians staying for a while with August II's wife not only constitutes indirect evidence of the esteem that Cattaneo had acquired over time in the royal family, but also documents the surprisingly unceremonious way in which musicians were treated in the court environment, even the most outstanding among them, which in itself might be a pretext for separate considerations of the position of an artist-musician in society at that time. The letters cited here also reveal the count's highly personal attitude towards the functioning of his music ensemble. Hence it seems appropriate to cite here lengthier extracts and make them an element in the narrative of this article.

From Karlsbad, on 27 September 1725, Geyersberg asked Flemming, on behalf of the electress, who is referred to here as the 'Queen' (she was never actually crowned in Poland, as she did not convert to Catholicism), to allow Cattaneo and Richter to travel with her from Karlsbad to Pretzsch:

My lord,

Her Majesty the Queen commands me to thank Your Ex[cellency] for continuing to send her news from Poland, which she will always receive through Coubert with pleasure; the Queen also asks Your Excellency to allow her, and not to take it in bad heart, to take the two musicians, with whom she is most satisfied, with her for a month or two to Pretsch, and I myself always remain in respect to you, my lord, your most humble and obedient servant, Count de Geyersberg.⁸⁴

Flemming replied from Warsaw on 6 October 1725 with a disarmingly polite acceptance:

83 A brief profile and line-up of Christiane Eberhardine's ensemble can be found in Silke Herz, *Königin Christiane Eberhardine – Pracht im Dienst der Staatsraison: Kunst, Raum und Zeremoniell am Hof der Frau Augusts des Starken*, Berlin 2020 (= Schriften zur Residenzkultur 12), pp. 116–119. We know that the electress also engaged for Pretzsch musicians from the ensemble of Count Christoph August von Wackerbarth (1662–1734), with whom she also undertook journeys to Karlsbad, see S. Paczkowski, 'Christoph August von Wackerbarth', pp. 117–118 (that article includes an indication of the correspondence between the electress's Hofmeister, Geyersberg, and Wackerbarth on the question of 'loans' of his musicians in the year 1719).

84 'Monseigneur, Sa Maj. La Reine m'ordonne de remercier l'Ex... qu'elle veut bien continuer de Luy envoyer des nouvelles de Pologne et le recevray toujours par Coubert avec plaisir; La Reine prie aussi V.E. qu'elle fait Luy accorder, et ne pas prendre en mouesse part, qu'elle prens les deux musiciens, lesquelles Luy ont fort contente, pour un ou deux mois avec Elle à Pretsch, et moi je suis toujours en respect Monseigneur [...] de le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur Le C. de Geyersberg'. See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 687/7 *Des Generalfeldmarschalls Herrn Graf von Flemming gehabte Korrespondenz mit [...] Geyersberg, Kammerherr Graf von, 1714–1726*, fols. 142r–143r (letter from Geyersberg to Flemming of 27 September 1725).

I have seen from the letter which you did me the honour of writing on 27 ultimo that Her Majesty the Queen wishes to keep my two musicians for a month or two. I ask you, Sir, to place at her feet my assurance that, since she commands it, I most willingly consent. I will continue to send you the paper with news from that country [Poland] [...] ⁸⁵

In the meantime, a son was born to Flemming and his wife Tekla, whom they named Jakub Karol. To mark the occasion, in her next letter, the electress, again via Geyersberg's intermediary, offered the count her congratulations, to which Flemming again replied with elaborate courtesies. ⁸⁶ However, when the time was approaching for her to return his musicians, another letter arrived from Pretzsch via Christiane Eberhardine's *Hofmeister*, with the date 6 December 1725:

My lord,

Since the time of the permission for these two musicians, with whom Her Majesty the Queen is very pleased in respect to both their music and the musicians themselves, has elapsed and they will be returning to Dresden in a few days' time, she bids me to thank Your Excellency for having permitted [them] to stay at her court for two months. When asked about the permission for these two musicians, and Her Majesty the Queen's wish to take them entirely into her service, His Excellency replied most generously that he would also be most content, but Her Majesty wishes only to share. She would leave Mr Cattanio [*sic*] to Your Excellency and would keep Mr Richter, if His Excellency would kindly allow it [...] Your most humble and obedient servant. ⁸⁷

In the correspondence preserved in the archives, no letter or document confirming the count's consent to this unfortunate – as it would turn out – proposition from the electress has been found. In any case, in a letter sent from Warsaw on 24 December 1725, the count firmly refused, although he obviously couched his negative reply in words full of courtesy:

85 'J'ay vu par la lettre que Vous m'avez fait l'honneur d'écrire le 27 d.p. que Sa Mté La Reine souhaite de garder encore un Mois ou deux mes deux Musiciens. Je Vous prie, Mr, de me mettre au pieds de Sa Mté, l'assurant, que puisque Elle l'ordonne, aussi j'y consens très volontier. Je continue de Vous communiquer la feuille des nouvelles de ce Pays-cy', see D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 687/7, fol. 144r (draft of a letter from Flemming to Geyersberg, Warsaw, 6 October 1725).

86 D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 687/7, fol. 145r–v (letter from Geyersberg to Flemming of 15 November 1725) and fol. 147r (draft of a letter from Flemming to Geyersberg, Warsaw, 24 November 1725).

87 'Monseigneur, comme le temps de permission de ce deux Musiciens est passe et qu'ils retournerons en peu de jours a Dresde, dont Sa Maj. La Reine est tres contente de leur Musique si bien que de leur [...], Elle m'ordonne de remercier a V. Ex. d'avoir permis de rester deux mois à Sa Cour, mais comme S. Ex. en Luy demandent permission pour ce deux Musiciens. S. Ex. me repliquoit tres genereusement en ca que Sa Maj. La Reine Le souhaitoit de prendre toutaffais dans Ses services, S. Ex en sera aussi content, mais Sa Maj. ne voudrais que partager, Elle laissera Mons. Cattanio a V. Ex. et gardera Mons. Richter, si S. Ex. le permettra, par une complaisance tout particulier; je me recomende dans l'honneur de ce bon [...] De Votre Excellence le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur', see D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 687/7, fols. 150r–151r (letter from Geyersberg to Flemming of 6 December 1725).

I received the letter you gave me the honour of writing of 6 inst. in which you remark that Her Majesty the Queen would be very glad to keep one of my musicians. But allow me, sir, to tell you that if I were to release one, that would render my ensemble incomplete, besides the fact that my wife, who is very fond of music and has a pregnant woman's desire for it, would have great difficulty in consenting to it, such that I ask you kindly to politely steer Her Majesty the Queen away from that intention. (*)

I will be most obliged, sir, for the service you render me in this matter, and it will be a pleasure to show you at all times that I am perfectly [...]. (*) And when I told you that I would be glad if Her Majesty the Queen would deign to take my musicians, I was speaking of the whole ensemble and not about separating one or two of them.⁸⁸

Two aspects highlighted by Flemming in this reply require comment. One is surprised above all by the count's concern over the integrity of his ensemble, which – if we are to believe the sincerity of the argument in the postscript – he would be prepared to transfer in its entirety to Christiane Eberhardine, as long as the ensemble be kept intact, in its current line-up. Of course, one may wonder if he did indeed entertain the possibility of parting with his *Musique* solely in order to satisfy the electress's whim. That idea seems strange if we consider that – as already mentioned – August II's wife maintained her own ensemble in Pretzsch. Might she have been dissatisfied with it? One is also struck by the fact that in order to divert the 'queen' from her unfortunate idea, the count used the argument that his wife Tekla, 35 years his junior, craved music like a pregnant woman. Perhaps he assumed that this would speak more forcefully to Christiane Eberhardine's female conscience. Ultimately, things turned out in his favour. On 27 December, Geyersberg reported from Pretzsch:

My lord, I assure Your Excellency that as soon as I explained to the Queen that if the musician Richter were to be separated from the ensemble it would be much to Your Excellency's detriment, Her Majesty took it very well. She thinks nothing more about the matter, and is only too glad to allow you what gives Your Excellency pleasure, and the Queen even commanded me to let her know when the matter is resolved, and I respectfully remain, sir, Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant.⁸⁹

88 'J'ay reçu celle que Vous m'avez fait l'honneur d'écrire du 6 d.c. laquelle Vous me marquez que S.Mté la Reine seroit bien aise de garder un des mes Musiciens : Mais Mr permettez moy de Vous dire que si j'en cedeois un, cela rendroit ma bande incomplète, outre que ma femme, qui aime fort la Musique et qui en a une envie de femme grosse, auroit bien de la peine a y consentir, de force que je Vous prie de détourner S.Mté la Reine de bonne maniere de cette intention. (*). Je Vous seray tres oblige Mr du service que Vous me rendrez la dedans, et me seray un plaisir de Vous faire voir en toute occasion que je suis parfaitement [...]. (*) Et quand je Vous ay dit, que je serois content, si S.Mté la Reine vouloit prendre mes Musiciens, j'ay parle de toute la bande et non d'en detacher un ou deux', see D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 687/7, fol. 152r-v (draft of a letter from Flemming to Geyersberg, Warsaw, 24 December 1725).

89 'Monseigneur, J'assure V. Ex. que si tôt que j'ay referé à la Reine que si le Musicien Richter soit separe de La Bande V. Ex en aura un grand damage, Sa Maj. L'ont tres bien prise. Elle en pense plus – et S'ai fait une jois de Luy laisser ce qui fait plaisir a V. Ex. et meme la Reine m'ordonne de Luy temoigner de Sa part, de que je m'aquite, et je suis avec respect, Monseigneur, [...] de Votre Excellence le tres humble

The electress's gracious consent for both musicians to return to Flemming, and not just one of them, even though the one who was to return would have been Cattaneo, and not the harpsichordist Richter, less well-known and admired at that time, certainly pleased the count sufficiently for him to reply to Geyersberg with a touch of irony, in a letter sent from Warsaw on 8 January:

I received the letter that you gave me the honour of writing on 27 ultimo and I ask you to place myself at the feet of Her Majesty the Queen and to thank Her most humbly that She consented so graciously to me keeping this musician whom Her Majesty wished to have from my ensemble, and I am obliged to you, sir, for the trouble you voluntarily took upon yourself regarding the matter.⁹⁰

It would soon turn out, however, that in any case Flemming ultimately failed to preserve the integrity of his music ensemble, and Cattaneo himself – no doubt to his father's satisfaction – in the spring of 1726 transferred into the service of the elector's son Friedrich August. Moreover, as already mentioned, the Italian violinist was not the only musician to leave the count's *Kapelle* in 1726. The reasons for this are unclear, and the possible causes will be presented in the further part of this article.

Since the fact that Cattaneo was delegated to the service of the electress during the second half of 1725 has not been widely known to scholars to date, information about his status in Flemming's ensemble at that time requires verification. First, despite the violinist's actual presence at the court of Christiane Eberhardine in Pretzsch, he continued to be scrupulously listed on the monthly records of payments made to members of the count's household up to and including December 1725. It is not known how August II's wife recompensed the musician, and indeed Flemming, for his services between the summer and the winter of that year.⁹¹ Secondly, in light of the count's correspondence with the electress's *Hofmeister*, Alina Żórawska-Witkowska's assumption that Cattaneo occasionally collaborated with the *Polnische Kapelle* during August II's journeys to Warsaw in the autumn of 1725 becomes void.⁹² Finally, we do not know

et tres obeissant serviteur', D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 687/7, fol. 153r–v (letter from Geyersberg to Flemming of 27 December 1725).

90 'J'ay reçu la lettre que Vous m'avez fait l'honneur d'écrire le 27 d.p. et Vous prie de me mettre au pieds de S. Mté La Reine et de La remercier tres humblement de ce qu'Elle a si gracieusement consenti que je gardasse ce Musicien que Sa Mte avoit envie d'avoir de ma Bande et je Vous suis obligé, Mr, des peines que Vous avez bien voulu Vous donner la dedans'. See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 687/7, fol. 153r (draft of a letter from Flemming to Geyersberg, Warsaw, 8 January 1726).

91 It is also possible that the electress did not pay Flemming's musicians at all for the time they spent in Pretzsch. We know, for example, from Geyersberg's earlier correspondence with Wackerbarth that in the spring of 1719 she 'borrowed' his musicians for a trip to Karlsbad, but in one of the subsequent letters to her Hofmeister Wackerbarth did not omit to bemoan the fact that his musicians had still not received from the electress remuneration for their last journey with her, see D-Dla Loc. 722/1 *Briefe von Grafen Geyersberg an den Grafen v. Wackerbarth 1719–1727*, fols. 4r–6v.

92 A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II*, p. 99.

if Cattaneo's transfer into the service of Friedrich August was sought by the crown prince himself or whether Flemming made such an offer to him. The last letter from Cattaneo's father, in which he asked the count once again for protection for his son, is dated February 1726.⁹³ The young Cattaneo probably came from Pretzsch to Warsaw by that time and could have joined the retinue of Friedrich August, which happened to be in the Polish capital. He was formally engaged on 8 June 1726, in the Polish capital, after a post was vacated by the death of the musician Du Mont, and it was recorded in the court documents as follows: 'Maria Francesco Cattaneo has been accepted into our orchestra as a violinist, and his salary has been assigned on the basis of the vacancy that arose in connection with the death of Du Mont'.⁹⁴

It is worth drawing attention to Biesold's suggestion that from the prince's perspective Cattaneo was to have been someone who could worthily fill the shoes of the violinist Veracini, who had left Dresden three years earlier. In the court records, however, Francesco Maria Cattaneo was not documented until the year 1733, which shows that for those years he remained *de facto* a musician in the private service of Friedrich August.⁹⁵ This is confirmed by a letter from the Saxon ambassador to Venice, Count Emilio de Villio, to Baron Pierre de Gaultier (assessor to the Saxon Privy Council) of 1727, in which Cattaneo was described as 'a violinist [...] currently in service with the prince'.⁹⁶

There is much to suggest that Cattaneo's fortunes, even after his departure from Flemming's ensemble, were not a matter of indifference to the count. On 26 May 1726 the Colonel (Generalmajor) Glasenapp, the above-mentioned partner of the count in domestic music making on the gamba, sent him from Warsaw a letter in which he gave an extensive account of various social events connected with the sojourn of August II and his son Friedrich August in the Polish capital. He devoted a few sentences to Cattaneo's success at the royal court, expressing his admiration for the beauty of his playing:

His Majesty the King has not yet completed his cure, but it is said to be proceeding quite splendidly; the prince royal is also in perfect health and always attends the music concerts that are given in the king's garden on Mondays and Fridays. Mr Catanio shines there and causes great agitation to the poor Volumier [leader of the royal *Hofkapelle* at that time]. I advise him to say, like myself on certain occasions: one cannot stay young forever.⁹⁷

93 See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 681/11, fol. 251r.

94 'Maria Francesco Catanio bey unserm Orchestre als Violin in Dienste genommen, und ihm zu seinem Gehalt das durch des Du Mont ableben zur vacanz gediehene tractament bestimmet'. See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 383/5, fol. 153r. See also S. Biesold, 'Experiment Musikprotektion', p. 161.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 161.

96 'Violon [...], qui est au Service de Ms^e le Prince Royal', see D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 3350/13, fol. 6r. Quoted after A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II*, p. 147, n. 91.

97 'S.M. le Roy n'a pas encore achevé sa cure, l'on dit que cela va a merveille; le Pr. Royal se porte parfaitement bien aussi, et assiste toujour au concert de Musique qui se donne au Jardin du Roy les Lundie[s], et Vendris, Mr. Catanio y brille et donne la fièvre au pauvre Wolomnier, je luy conseille de dire comme

Flemming, in Leipzig at the time, reacted warmly to that account: 'I am pleased by Cattaneo's success'.⁹⁸

OTHER MUSICIANS RETAINED BY FLEMMING UP TO 1725

Unfortunately, the state of preservation of the archive materials left by Flemming does not allow us to fully and chronologically reconstruct the evolution of his music ensemble or its detailed profile. The most reliable way of documenting the ensemble's work therefore seems to be to follow the fortunes of individual musicians, insofar as the available archive materials allow.

As already emphasised, on the count's return from Vienna to Dresden, towards the end of August 1719, his *Kapelle* increased significantly, and the names of musicians not previously listed at all appeared on lists of payments made from Flemming's coffer. Besides the above-mentioned Kühnel, Taubenberger, Frühwirth, Jacobi, Werner, Rummel and Cattaneo, as well as oboists, who stood lower in the hierarchy, the following began to be mentioned among the *Musici*: harpsichordist Johann Caspar Richter, already mentioned above in connection with his stay with the electress Christiane Eberhardine, another harpsichordist, Johann Georg Kreysing, flautist Johann Michael Huttman, and a musician with no declared speciality, one Carl, who should probably be identified, as we will see below, with the oboist Pauli, already familiar from documents dating from 1713. The situation of each of them was different, as were their fortunes, both in Flemming's ensemble and after its disbandment. After 1726, the only ones left were Richter, Huttman, Beylicher and Carl (the last two were previously listed as oboists or lackeys). Henceforth, a more appropriate term for Flemming's ensemble would be *Cammer Musique*, which the count had already used earlier.

Gottlieb Siegmund Jacobi

Jacobi remained in Flemming's service for five years; from 1718 to 1723. As we have seen, in the count's archive materials studied to date, he was first mentioned in the accounts from April 1718.⁹⁹ It seems that he soon gained the recognition of his patron, given that in October, together with the whole ensemble, he travelled to Vienna, where he stayed with the other musicians of the ensemble until August 1719 inclusively.¹⁰⁰ For the time being, we know nothing about this lutenist's origins. Little can also be said about the circumstances in which he began his service with

moy dans au certaines occasion: [l']on ne peut pas estre et avoir esté.' See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 688/2 *Des Generalfeldmarschalls Herrn Graf von Flemming gehabte Korrespondenz mit [...] Glase-napp, Generalmajor, von, 1709–1728*, fol. 100r.

98 'Je suis bien aise de ce que Cattaneo reussit si bien'. See D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 688/2, fol. 101v.

99 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 87, fol. 4r (as in n. 45)

100 See above, nn. 43 and 46.

Flemming and how it proceeded. The best documented seems to be the final phase in Jacobi's time in the count's ensemble, essentially the process of his departure from the *Cammer Musique*; hence our discussion of Jacobi is placed in this section of the article.

On 4 May 1723 Jacobi sent to the count an obsequious letter in which he expressed his gratitude for the protection afforded him thus far, while at the same time informing his employer of his intention of moving to Leipzig. There, so he stated, he was hoping to find fortune in a different profession. It is hard to determine what caused him to wish to abandon the profession of musician. Were the working conditions in the count's ensemble unsatisfactory? Or perhaps there were some other, non-musical factors? As he departed, Jacobi asked his patron to put in a good word for him with the municipal authorities of Leipzig. He was no doubt hoping – rightly, to a degree – that Flemming would avail himself of his personal contacts with the incumbent mayor, Gottfried Lange (mistakenly named by Jacobi as F. Lang), as we learn from his letter to the count:

I express my subservient gratitude to His Excellency the Most Honourable Count for the utmost grace shown to me to date. At the present time, however, with the humblest devotion, I wish only to ask whether, in view of the difficulty in my present situation, unable to continue in my musical profession, and given that in previous years I studied in Rostock and Leipzig [...], having the intention of seeking my fortune in the latter, His Highness the Count might deign to graciously grant me a recommendation in writing to the Municipal Council in Leipzig or to the mayor of that city, Mr F. Lang [...]. This great favour, being necessary for the stabilisation of my earthly fortunes, I will extol for the rest of my life, never forgetting it, and remaining your humble devoted servant.¹⁰¹

It is not clear whether Jacobi did indeed wish to abandon the profession of musician and was counting on a more lucrative position in Leipzig. Whatever the case may be, Flemming granted the musician's request and on 8 May 1723 sent the following letter to Lang:

Mr Jacobi, who for several years was a lutenist in my Cammer Musique, and has now decided to seek his fortune in Leipzig, has approached me with a request for a recommendation to

101 'Die E. Hoch Gräf. Excellenz vor die bis anhero genoßene Hohe Gnadenbezeugung unterthänigsten Danck abstatte. Also habe vor desmahl nur noch dieses in gehorsamster Submission erbissen wollen, daß, da die ietziige Beschaffenheiten meiner Sachen nicht länger zulaßen, von der Music förderhin profession zu machen, hingegen aber sallbereit in vorigen Jahren zu Rostock und Leipzig meine studia tractirt und absolviret, [...] an letztbemeldtn Ort mich wiederum zubegeben, des Vorhabens, daselbst mein Glück zu suchen, Ew. Hochgräfl. Excellenz mit einer gnädigsten Vorschrift und Recommendation an den Rath zu Leipzig, oder an den dasigen Bürgemeister Hr Fr. Langen [...] Welche hohe Gnade, wie sie zu Stabilirung meines Zeitlichen Glücks gereicher; Also werde, selbige Zeitlebens zurühmen, niemahls vergessend seyn, in gehorsamster Devotion allstets verharrend', see D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 691/4, fol. 6r-v.

Your Excellency, which I have gladly granted him. I will be grateful if Your Excellency, when a suitable opportunity arises, could assist him in his further advancement.¹⁰²

It is not known, however, if Jacobi moved to Leipzig. And even if he did, there is nothing to suggest that he succeeded in realising there his plan of changing profession, given that just ten months later, in a letter of 28 February 1724, he again asked Flemming for help in finding a position. On 15 March, in a letter sent from Warsaw, Flemming suggested to his ex-lutenist that he might recommend him for service, this time with a member of the royal-electoral Privy Council (*Geheimer Rath*), Count Ludwig Adolph von Zech.¹⁰³ And again there is a lack of any information about whether the anticipated watershed occurred in the musician's life. Ultimately, Jacobi changed his place of work, since from Flemming's *Cammer Musique*, he somehow ended up in Köthen, where he joined the prince's ensemble. But he did not remain there very long, since on 9 October 1724 a final payment to Jacobi of 50 thalers was recorded in Prince Leopold's accounts for a period of more than seven months spent at the court of Anhalt-Köthen, and two days later he was paid an extra 32 thalers for accommodation expenses.¹⁰⁴

Thus, on 2 November that same year, Jacobi again wrote to Flemming, this time from the distant town of Blankenburg, once more asking for a recommendation and for support in his endeavours, this time to secure a post at the court of Duke Ludwig Rudolf von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel:

Your Highness, Excellency the Count, I hereby wish, with the greatest respect and humility, to relate how I recently arrived in this town, where I was at once appreciated by His Ducal Highness for my modest music on the lute [...]. I was fortunate that His Ducal Highness showed me favour on account of the engagement for which I had earlier submitted a humble request, [...] However, before [...] on the basis of several attestations of my previous service with Your Excellency and thanks to Your understanding, I will be able to obtain the appropriate legitimation, and His Ducal Highness will consider deciding in my favour in this matter [...], since the assurance of my happiness depends entirely on your decision, I humbly beseech you, in your supreme magnanimity, to graciously consider my request, and also, should the need arise, to support me with a suitable letter to His Ducal Highness [...].

I will forever keep this great favour with gratitude in my memory, and in exchange I will pray to Almighty God for constant prosperity and happiness for Your Highness the Count's home.¹⁰⁵

102 'M. Jacobi so seit einigen Jahren Lautenist in meiner Cammer Musique gewesen, anitzo aber reolviret ist sein glück in Leipzig zu suchen, hat mich um eine Vorschrift an Ew. HochExc. ersucht, welches ihm gerne zugestanden, und werden Ew. hochEgebl mich obligiren, wenn sie bey einen sich ereignender Gelegenheit ihm zu seiner Beförderung behülflich seyn wolten', see D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 692/6, fol. 177r.

103 D-Dla, Geh. Kab. 10026, Loc. 691/4, fol. 7r (draft of a letter from Flemming to Jacobi of 15 March 1724, with confirmation of having received the musician's request of 28 February and ensuring him that he will send a letter of recommendation to Count von Zech).

104 See M. Richter, *Die Hofmusik in Köthen*, pp. 73–74, n. 368.

105 'Gnädigster Herr Ew. Hochgräffl. Excellenz habe hierdurch in gehorsamster Submission eröffnen wollen, welcher Gestalt ich vor einiger Zeit hiesigen Orts angelanget, umb sofort bey Durchl.

In a letter sent on 11 November from Warsaw to his former lutenist, Flemming assured him that he had received the request, and to his reply he appended the anticipated letter with references and wishes that his recommendation 'have a positive effect and support his happiness'.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, Jacobi's further fortunes at the court in Brunswick have not come to light. However, it can be assumed that he did not secure the desired employment there, since some time later, on 21 March 1726, he again appeared on a list of payments made by the prince's court in Köthen, this time for an eight-week stay there.¹⁰⁷ And there ends all known trace of the activities of the lutenist Jacobi.

It seems that after leaving Flemming's ensemble, Jacobi did not enjoy a great deal of success. Yet there is much to suggest that he was a very good lutenist; otherwise, Baron would not have mentioned him in the above-cited *Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten*, from 1727:

Mr Jacobi of Meissen has shown all devotees of this beautiful instrument that he is also very gifted in composing for the lute. His works, although they are rather wistful, sound good to the ear and contain a pleasing spirit.¹⁰⁸

The wording 'Jacobi of Meissen' should no doubt be read as information that the musician was born in that town, and not in Grimma, as Ulrich Siegele suggested in an article devoted to this lutenist.¹⁰⁹ For the time being, no confirmation has come

Herrschaft mit meiner geringen Lauten-Music eines unterthänigsten Accesses gewürdiget zu werden, das Glück gehabt wobey Ihro Hochfürstl. Durchl. wegen eines engagements, als worum ich allbereit unterthänigst Ansuchung gethan, sich dergestalt gegen mich heraus gelassen, wie Sie zwar hierinnen gnädigst mir zu fügen, nicht abgeneigt. Ehe und bevor aber, vermittelst einigen Certificats meiner vormahligen bey Ew. Hochgräffl. Excellenz gehaltenen Dienste, und derfelben Erlassung, ich gewisser Massen mich zu legitimiren nicht vermögend wäre, Ihro Hochfürstl. Durchl. in Faveur meiner etwas zu resolviren Bedencken trügen. Wann enhers denn, gnädigster Graff und Herr, da solcher Gestalt die Befestigung meines Glücks lediglich bey Ihro beruhet ich unterthänigst gehorsamst bitte, Sie geruhen, nach dero höchstgepriesenen Clemenz auch noch dieses Wahl dero hochvermögenden Intercession hierunter mich geniessen zulassen, und (iedoch sonder alles Maßgeben, in einem an Ihro Hochfürstl. Durchl. gerichtetem Handschreiben die Beschaffenheit meines Anführens zubestärcken, wobey Ew. Hochgräffl. Excel. hohem Ermeßen anheim gebe, ob Sie, daß solches unmittelbar an Ihro Hochfürstl. Durchl. spediret oder aber nur zu gebührender Insinuation zugefertigt, werde, in Gnaden verfügen wollen. Solches werde ich Lebenslang mit unterthänigster Dankbezeugung in meinem Gedachtnüß zuverehren, und dagegen von Gott dem Allmächtigen, zu Dero Hochgräfflichen hohen Hauses Flor und Wachsthum alles beständige hohe Wohlergehen zuerbitten'. See D-Dla, Loc. 691/4, fol. 8r-v.

106 'Hierbey folget die verlangte Vorschrfft ich wünsche, daß solche guten Effect habe und sein Glück befördern möge'. D-Dla, Loc. 691/4, fol. 9r.

107 M. Richter, *Die Hofmusik in Köthen*, p. 74, n. 368 (with sources indicated); U. Siegele, *Aus dem Leben*, p. 55.

108 'Monsieur Jacobi ein Meißner hat auch allen Liebhaber dieses schönen Instrument gezeigt, daß er auf die Laute zu componieren, sehr geschickt ist. Seine Sachen, ob sie schon etwas tieffsinnig fallen, doch wohl ins Gehör, und steckt ein artiger Geist darinnen'. See E.G. Baron, *Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung*, p. 82.

109 Ernst Ludwig Gerber reiterated after Baron: 'Jacobi [...] ein Lautenist aus Meissen, dessen Kompositionen für sein Instrument Baron in seiner Untersuchung der Laute, S. 82, rühmet. Er scheint

to light for Baron's statement that Jacobi was also a talented composer, as no work of his has yet been identified.

Johann Georg Kreysing

Another musician from Flemming's ensemble with a biography that is difficult to trace is Johann Georg Kreysing.¹¹⁰ And again, as with Jacobi, we have no knowledge of his origins or date or birth, or how his career unfolded. Kreysing's work in the count's ensemble is documented between April 1721 and June 1725. During that period, he appeared regularly on the monthly lists of payments made to members of the count's household. We also have from that period several salary receipts signed by him, in Dresden or in Warsaw (see Fig. 7).¹¹¹ Yet that is too little to be able to say anything more about the circumstances in which this musician was taken on by Flemming and how his service proceeded. Unlike Frühwirth and Taubenberg, however, on leaving the count's ensemble, he did not disappear entirely from the scholar's purview. The Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Günther Uecker is in possession of a group of manuscripts of compositions signed with his name, which include dedication copies of a *Harpsichord Partita ex G* 'pour S. A. S. Madame la Princesse de Meclenburg' (D-SWL, Ms.3170) and a *Harpsichord Concerto in F major* 'Pour S. A. Roÿale Msr le Prince de Prusse' (D-SWL, Ms.3171).¹¹² If we assume, as seems justified, that these manuscripts are Kreysing autographs, then there are grounds to surmise that some time after leaving the count's ensemble this musician ended up at the ducal court in Schwerin,

also gegen das J. 1720 gelebt zu haben'. See Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, vol. 3, K–R, Leipzig 1813 (repr., Graz 1966), col. 758. A similar entry about Jacobi, also citing Baron, was published earlier in J.G. Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, p. 324. The assertion that Jacobi was born in Grimma is also contradicted by information included in Ortrun Landmann, *Die Telemann-Quellen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek. Handschriften und zeitgenössische Druckausgaben seiner Werke*, Dresden 1983 (= Studien und Materialien zur Musikgeschichte Dresdens 4), pp. 16 and 17. The author mentions one Samuel Jacobi of Grimma, who was cantor there between 1680 and 1721. See also Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Zur Sammlung Jacobi der ehemaligen Fürstenschule Grimma', *Musikforschung* 16 (1963) no. 4, p. 324ff, doi.org/10.52412/mf.1963.H4.2389.

¹¹⁰ His surname is also written Kreising.

¹¹¹ See PL-Wagad, AR/X 358, fol. 17r (receipt of monthly salary of 16.16 thalers, Dresden, 8 March 1721); BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 197, fol. 36r (receipt of monthly salary of 12.12 thalers, Dresden, 1 May 1721); PL-Wagad, AR/X 360, fols. 22r, 36r (receipt of monthly salary of 16.16 thalers, Warsaw, 1 November 1722); LT-Vlvia, F 459/1 no. 1849, fol. 23r (receipt of monthly salary of 16.16 thalers, Warsaw, 1 December 1722); BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 196, fol. 69r (receipt of monthly salary of 12.12 thalers, Dresden, 1 March 1723); BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 265, fol. 216r (receipt of 75 thalers on the basis of a half-yearly contract up to September 1723, Dresden, 1 April 1723).

¹¹² See Otto Kade, *Die Musikalien-Sammlung des Grossherzoglichen Mecklenburg-Schweriner Fürstenhauses aus den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten*, vol. 1, Schwerin 1893, p. 454 (repr., Hildesheim–New York 1974). See also other autographs of compositions by Kreysing in Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Günther Uecker, Musikaliensammlung (D-SWL), Mus.3168 (Sonata for violin, cello and harpsichord in G major); Mus.3169 (*Suite pour le clavecin*), Mus.3167 (set of 6 arias in German).

where he found favourable conditions in which to develop his talent for composition. However, in the sole existing monograph of the ducal chapel in Schwerin, *Geschichte der Mecklenburg-Schweriner Hofkapelle*, from 1913, its author, Clemens Meyer, makes no mention of Kreysing whatsoever.¹¹³ However, we should accept as highly likely Ekkehard Krüger's assertion that the autographs of Kreysing's compositions and copies of works by other composers written in his hand, even if they were not prepared in Schwerin, were meant almost certainly for the music collection of Duchess Louise Friederike von Württemberg (1722–91), wife of the local ruler, Duke Friedrich von Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1717–85). After arriving in Schwerin, in 1746, she launched an ambitious campaign to restore the former glory of the Mecklenburg *Hofkapelle*, particularly between 1747 and 1753, when its *Kapellmeister* was Johann Gottfried Mützel (1728–88), a pupil of Bach's.¹¹⁴ Probably the same Kreysing from Flemming's ensemble, although his first name is not given, was mentioned later by Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg in his *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, from 1753, considering him to be an authority on counterpoint.¹¹⁵

In researching J.S. Bach's copyists, Leipzig-based musicologist Peter Wollny stated that Kreysing's handwriting from the sources in Schwerin was identical to that of the scribe known as 'J. Theile II' from the manuscript collection of the Amalien Bibliothek in Berlin (MS D-B Am.B. 511/2, *Musicalisches Kunstbuch* of Johann Theile, part II). For that reason, Wollny identified this 'Berlin' scribe with Kreysing from Schwerin, namely, the Johann Georg previously in the service of Flemming, though stipulating the hypothetical character of his findings.¹¹⁶ Crucially, however, Wollny's research allows us to piece together a set of seemingly unrelated occurrences featuring the name Kreysing into a logical and chronologically explicable sequence. As Wollny noted, two sources written in the hand of the copyist 'J. Theile II', so de facto in Kreysing's hand, found their way into the legacy of Bach's pupil Johann Gottfried Mützel, now held in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.¹¹⁷ Since Mützel worked in the *Hofkapelle* at the Mecklenburg court up to 1753, after which he moved to Riga, it seems justifiable, in Wollny's opinion, to assume that he could have come into

113 Clemens Meyer, *Geschichte der Mecklenburg-Schweriner Hofkapelle: Geschichtliche Darstellung der Mecklenburg-Schweriner Hofkapelle von Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, Schwerin 1913.

114 Ekkehard Krüger, 'Kreysing, Kreysing', MGG Online, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/533184>, accessed 18 February 2025.

115 Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge nach den Grundlagen und Exempeln der besten deutschen und ausländischen Meister*, Berlin 1753, chapter 1, §. 19, p. 23.

116 Peter Wollny, 'Anmerkungen zu einigen Berliner Kopisten im Umkreis der Amalien-Bibliothek', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1998), pp. 148–149.

117 See D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 400a (Johann Sebastian Bach, *Organ Concerto in G major*, BWV 592, after the *Violin Concerto in G major* No. 8 by Ernst von Sachsen-Weimar) and D-B, Mus. ms. 30194, Fasc. 15 (Johann Georg Kreysing, *Canon in G major*). Both sources were acquired by the Königl. Bibliothek in Berlin with the collection of Georg Poelchau. Information after P. Wollny, 'Anmerkungen zu einigen Berliner Kopisten', pp. 148–149.

possession of those 'Berlin' manuscripts prepared by Kreysing only during his time in Schwerin. That in turn lends credence to the hypothesis of the presence there of the former musician from Flemming's ensemble. What needs revising, meanwhile, is Wollny's suggestion that Kreysing died no later than 1753. In light of the court accounts from Zerbst, it turns out that in that town, on 16 February 1754, the modest sum of 4 thalers was paid to 'einem Musico Joh. George Kreising', no doubt for a guest performance on some occasion not specified in the source.¹¹⁸ One way or another, it is hard to imagine that this might not be the Johann Georg Kreysing (or Kreising) from Flemming's ensemble.

In 1953 musicologist Hans Löffler, citing Gustav Schilling's *Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst*, suggested that Johann Georg Kreysing belonged c.1720 to the group of Bach's pupils in Köthen.¹¹⁹ However, he was confusing Flemming's musician with one Hinrich Conrad Kreising (?–1771) of Hamburg, who from 1735 was organist at the Anglican church of St Thomas à Becket in that city. Contacts between *that* Kreising and Bach were indeed demonstrated by Ernst Ludwig Gerber in his *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*.¹²⁰ Yet there is no evidence to confirm Löffler's conviction that Johann Georg Kreysing could have been a pupil of Bach's in Köthen c.1720. Similarly, there are no grounds for the time being to posit any kinship between Flemming's Kreysing and the 'Hamburg' Kreising.¹²¹ It will certainly be worth developing or verifying in the future Wollny's observation regarding 'the strong reference of Kreising's compositions to the concerto style associated with Weimar and the practice of arranging works for keyboard instruments cultivated there by Bach and his cousin Johann Gottfried Walther'.¹²²

118 Dessau-Roßlau, Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt – Abteilung Dessau (D-DElsa), Z 92 *Kammerrechnungen 1753–1754*, fol. 283r (payment of 4 thalers 'einem Musico Joh. George Kreising'). On that same day, also on some unknown occasion, modest sums were paid also to two horn players and two singers, including the *Bassist* Miltendorf and the *Sänger* Scirus, that is, Johann Michael Scirus (d. 1784) – a bass singer and lutenist whose guest performances were noted earlier, not only in the court accounts in Zerbst, but also in Köthen. I am grateful to Barbara Reul (Luther College, University of Regina) for conveying to me full information about the document in question. It is not impossible that this guest performance by Kreysing in Zerbst took place at the invitation of the local kapellmeister, Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758), or the first violin, Carl Hoeckh (1707–73), who joined the court of the parents of Catherine II in 1734, when he left the chapel of Fabian Szaniawski in Sochaczew.

119 Hans Löffler, 'Die Schüler Joh. Seb. Bachs', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 40 (1953), p. 26; Gustav Schilling, *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst*, Stuttgart 1840–42, 2nd ed., vol. 2, p. 130.

120 E.L. Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1, col. 643, entry 'Cario (Johann Peter Heinrich)'.

121 Bernd Koska, in a study on Bach's private pupils, included Johann Georg Kreysing in the group of 'doubtful' pupils ('Vermeintliche Schüler'), see Bernd Koska, 'Bach Privatschüler', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 105 (2019), p. 70.

122 P. Wollny, 'Anmerkungen zu einigen Berliner Kopisten', p. 149.

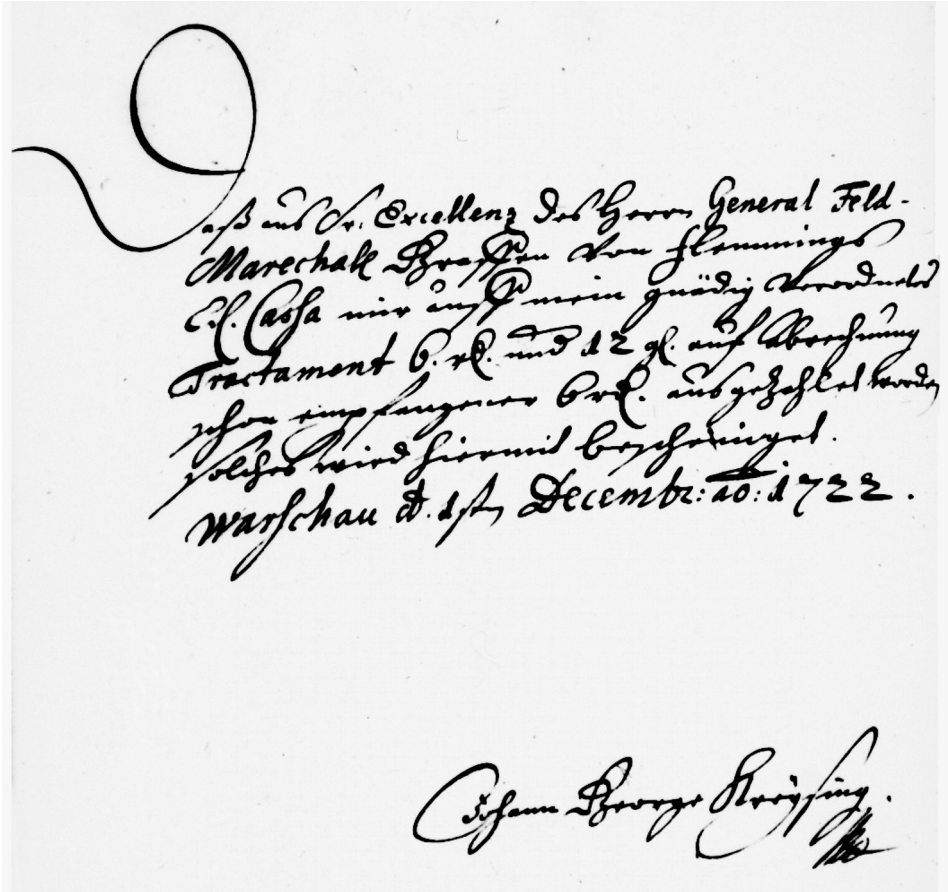


Fig. 7. Kreysing's receipt of a bonus for the month of December 1722 (6 thalers and 12 groschen); Warsaw, 1 December 1722, Vilnius, Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (LT-Vlvia), shelf mark F 459/1 1848, fol. 25r

Table 3. Line-up of Flemming's ensemble between 1720 and 1725

| Name | Title or function | Remarks |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Francesco Cattaneo | <i>Musicus</i> (violinist) | recorded in documents from June 1720 to December 1725 |
| Joseph Frühwirth | <i>Musicus</i> (violinist) | recorded in documents from April 1718 to December 1725 |
| Johann Georg Kreysing | <i>Musicus</i> (harpsichordist) | recorded in documents from May 1721 to June 1725 |
| Johann Caspar Richter | <i>Musicus</i> (harpsichordist) | recorded in documents from September 1721, as a member of the <i>Kapelle</i> from October 1722 to September 1728 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Gottlieb Siegmund Jacobi | <i>Musicus, Lautenist</i> | recorded in documents from April 1718 to April 1723 |
| Frantz Taubenberg | <i>Musicus, Lautenist</i> | recorded in documents from April 1714 to June 1720 |
| Gottlieb Michael Kühnel | <i>Musicus, Violdigambista</i> | recorded in documents again from June 1720 to September 1723 |
| Gregor Joseph Werner | <i>Musicus, Bassist</i> | recorded in documents from March 1719 to December 1725 |
| Johann Michael Huttman | <i>Musicus</i> | recorded in documents from January 1725 to September 1728 |
| Johann Ludwig Braun[e] | <i>Hautboist, Laquay</i> | recorded in documents from November 1713 until Whitsun 1725 |
| Beylicher | <i>Hautboist, Laquay, Musicus</i> | recorded as an oboist or lackey, from November 1713, from September 1723 sporadically as <i>Musicus</i> , from January 1726 to September 1728 solely as <i>Musicus</i> |
| Carl Pauli | <i>Hautboist, Laquay, Musicus</i> | recorded alternately as <i>Hautboist</i> or <i>Laquay</i> Pauli from November 1713, or as <i>Musicus</i> Carl or Pauli (or Carl Pauli) sporadically from February 1723 to December 1725, solely as <i>Musicus</i> from January 1726 to September 1728 |

DECLINE OF THE ENSEMBLE 1726–28; EVERYDAY AFFAIRS AND DISSIPATION

As already mentioned, following the departure of its leading lights, between 1726 and 1728, Flemming's ensemble was reduced to a group of just four musicians: Johann Caspar Richter, Johann Michael Huttman, Beylicher (first name not known) and Carl Pauli. For the time being, extant archive materials do not allow us to explain the causes of such a drastic reduction in the number of ensemble members at that time. We do not know whether it was simply a case of Flemming becoming less interested in music, which seems rather unlikely, or for example that in the last years of his life he focussed more on family life, on his second marriage, which, despite the substantial difference in age between the spouses, seems to have been a happy one and to which two children were born. Or perhaps it was influenced in some way by the count's health problems, which manifested themselves after 1726, or some other unknown reason? One way or another, those musicians who remained in the count's service, although they were certainly not instrumentalists with significantly inferior qualifications, did not enjoy such favour on the part of their patron and were not treated as well as Cattaneo earlier, or Taubenberg, Kühnel and Frühwirth. One thing is certain: on his diplomatic travels after 1726, Flemming did not take his musicians with him. Now the count's *Cammer Musique* performed mainly during *Tafel-Musik* of various kinds, organised at his residences, and the ensemble's principal task was to

play for social gatherings, feasts and balls. Routine and monotony in the functioning of the ensemble may have led the musicians to feel undervalued or even frustrated. Preserved in archive materials left by Flemming is a report from June 1727, no doubt one of many like it, in which the count's major-domo gave him a detailed account of problems, conflicts and difficulties he encountered in his everyday contacts with the servants under his supervision. And he noted insubordination from two musicians: Huttmann and Beylicher. This account, even if from today's perspective it may seem quite amusing, sheds a little more light on that rather mundane side to the work of Flemming's ensemble, on its everyday affairs, and by extension on the daily life of musicians in service at the residences of the aristocracy at that time. This document also gives us a better idea of the actual place in the social hierarchy occupied by the average eighteenth-century musician. The incidents described seem sufficiently colourful in their realism that it is worth quoting them here in full, so that they can appeal more to the imagination of a present-day reader:

*Remarks on the servants, how they behaved in the month of June past
Musician Huttmann:*

On 24 June, when His Excellency had a meeting in Übigau [one of Flemming's Dresden residences], [Huttmann] was absent from service, although he knew about it very well and could have found out about it. Although all of his fellow musicians were present, he stated that he was not informed. [...] a poor excuse.

In my opinion, he may be punished with the sum of 8 groschen for his negligence.

The musician appeared three or four times each day with the *Tafelmusik*, but did not play, stating that he did not have his instrument with him, because he had left it in Übigau. When I pointed out that he could have taken the trouble to obtain Your [Flemming's own] instrument and had a messenger bring that instrument for two groschen or go for it himself, which would have amounted to the same. [...]

He might be fined 6 groschen for his obstinacy.

Musician Beylicher:

On 23 June, around seven in the evening, when I received an instruction from His Excellency that the following evening His Excellency would be having a meeting with Count Hoffstadt in Übigau and that music should be organised, I informed Beylicher to announce to the regimental musicians, on behalf of His Excellency, that they were to perform. When I asked him why he had not announced this to all of our musicians and that Huttmann had not appeared, he answered me in an impertinent way that he was innocent, as he was not a servant to his fellows.

For his boorish reply, right in my face, I consider that he should be fined 8 groschen and instructed to take more care in the future and execute instructions issued on behalf of His Excellency.¹²³

123 'Remarquer Über die Bedienten[,] wie sie sich in diesem verwichenen Monath Junio haben auffgeführt | Musicus Huttman: | Ist den 24. Junii[,] wie Ihro Exc. zu Ipigau tractirt haben[,] nicht dageweßen zur auffwartung[,] da er es woll gewust und erfahren hat können[,] sintemahln alle seyne Cammerrathen

Musicus Huttmann

That apparently recalcitrant *Musicus* Huttmann was Johann Michael Huttmann, known to scholars as a later flautist in the *Polnische Kapelle* of King August III. According to documents cited by Alina Żórawska-Witkowska in her monograph on music at the Polish court of August III, he joined the Polish ensemble in Warsaw in 1743 and played in it until 1762, with a modest salary of 200 thalers, after which he retired.¹²⁴ Huttmann himself apparently stated that he found himself in the *Polnische Kapelle* during the reign of August II, that is, before the year 1733.¹²⁵ He should probably be believed, since in a Dresden *Addressbuch* of 1738 not only do we find his current place of residence, on Töpffergasse bey Schäfermeyern, but he is also termed a royal musician (*Königl. Musicus*).¹²⁶ Hence it cannot be excluded that shortly after Flemming's death, in 1728, and after the definitive disbandment of his *Cammer Musique*, Huttmann did indeed find employment in the *Polnische Kapelle* and thereby became another one of the count's musicians to have advanced from his ensemble to the royal court.

Huttmann probably joined Flemming's ensemble in January 1725¹²⁷ and stayed until at least four months after the count's death, on 30 April 1728, no doubt until Flemming's burial, in Putzkau, and the solemnities held to commemorate the late

von der musiq dageweßen sint[,] er giebet vor[,] man hette es Ihm nicht angesaget, [...] und schlechte entschuldigung | *meines Erachten kan er mit 8 gr bestraffet werden wegen seine negligentz* | Musicus | Hat sich täglich 3 a 4 gezeigt bey der Taffel-Music aber nicht gespiehlet, vorgebend er hette seyn Instrument nicht bey sich[,] sondern zu Ipgau wehre es beliegen geblieben, wie [ich] Ihm es vorhielte daß [er Ihro?] neues Instrument [...] besorgen solte wieder heran zu schaffen, und wehre mit 2 gr. bothen Dienst Lohn er seyn Instrument könnte hohlen laßen oder selbst en gehen[,] so wehre dießes geschehen [...] | *Zu straffen mit 6 gr vor seyne Obstinatitet* [...] | Musicus Beylicher | den 23. Junii gegen abend umb 7 uhr wie ich ordre von Ihro Hoch-Gräffl. Excell: behufe daß den andern Tag abendß Ihro Excell. den Graffen Hoffstadt zu Ipgau tractiren wolte und die Music dabey beordnete. | Sagete Ich es dem Beylicher an[,] daß er solches alle H.[erren] musice ansagen[,] und dabey die Music von den Cadets im Nahmen Ihro Exc: zu ersuchen, wie ich den [...] ihme fragete[,] warumb daß er nicht alle unsere Musice angesaget und daß der Huttman ausgeblieben wahr[,] gab er Mir die Impertinente Antworth[,] daß were er nicht schuldig[,] er wehre kein Knecht seiner CammerRathen umbe deßen grobe Antworth in facie braucht daß er | *Mit 8 gr zu straffen seyn werde wie umb andermalen besser zu observieren*[,] *waß ihm im Nahmen Ihro Excell. Befohlen*', see BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 520, fols. 8v–9r.

124 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III. Część I* [Music at the Polish court of August III. Part I], Lublin 2012, pp. 173–174, 179, 183, 189 and 191 (the shelf marks of archive sources are given).

125 Ortrun Landmann, *Namenverzeichnisse der Sächsischen Staatskapelle Dresden: eigene Benennungen, Namen der Administratoren, der musikalischen Leiter und der ehemaligen Mitglieder von 1548 bis 2013, in systematisch-chronologischer Folge*, p. 24; https://www.staatskapelle-dresden.de/fileadmin/home/Archiv/pdf/diverses/Historische_Verzeichnisse_Stand_September_2017.pdf, accessed 5 May 2025. The author unfortunately failed to indicate the sources of her information.

126 *Das jetztlebende Königliche Dresden in Meissen, vorstellende den im Jahre MDCCXXXVIII befindlichen und darin sich würcklich wohnhaft aufhaltenden resp. Königl. und Churfl. Hof-, Regierungs-, Militair-, Hauß-, Kirchen- und Privat-Etaat*, Dresden 1738, p. 43.

127 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 382, fol. 11r. 'Ausgabegeld' (February 1725), payment for Huttmann – 12.12 thalers.

count held at the Kreuzkirche in Dresden towards the end of August that year.¹²⁸ On available lists of payments made to members of Flemming's household, the last entries concerning Huttman date from July and September 1728.¹²⁹ On 16 September, the count's widow, Tekla (née Radziwiłł), sent to the Dresden court a petition addressed directly to King August II with a request for the payment of a further annual salary for all clerks and servants employed in her late husband's household. Among the *Offizianten und samblichen Domestiquen* named by her, there were four musicians – the few who remained in Flemming's service after 1726. It was written in this document that Huttman's annual salary in the count's ensemble was 200 thalers.¹³⁰ Interestingly, Huttman received the same amount later, as a flautist in the *Polnische Kapelle*.

Although Huttman is named solely by surname in all of the documents left by the count, between 1722 and 1727 this musician was recorded with his full name in Dresden church books on various private occasions, always with the epithet *Musicus*. This allows us to fully and unequivocally identify this musician as a member of Flemming's *Cammer Musique*.¹³¹

Musicus Beylicher

This other 'insubordinate', at times even 'impertinent', musician, as we learn from the account quoted above, went by the name of Beylicher.¹³² His first name has not been identified to date from any of the documents informing research into Flemming's musical patronage. This situation may seem surprising, as he was working in the count's ensemble from its very inception until its disbandment a few months after the count's death. In Flemming's household accounts, Beylicher was listed among

128 Cf. above, n. 11.

129 LT-VIvia, F 459/1 no. 3775-1, fol. 12r. 'Lohnungs Liste pro Mense July 1728'; BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 198, fol. 56r. 'Lohnungs Liste pro Mense September 1728' (the four musicians recorded on both lists: Richter – 25 thalers, Huttman – 16.16 thalers, Beylicher – 9 thalers and Carl – 9 thalers).

130 D-LEsta, 20578 'Rittergut Wolkenburg mit Kaufungen', no. 1052 *Finanzangelegenheiten der Familie von Flemming (Fragmente)*, fols. 9r–12r. Tekla justified her request by stating that Flemming's death had occurred suddenly and the count had not managed to prepare a proper will, in which not only would he have disposed of his estate, but also would have safeguarded the annual salaries of all those employed in his household.

The count's brothers, Joachim Friedrich (governor of Leipzig) and Boguslav, made the same request, with the same justification, to King August II, see D-Dla, 10025 Geh. Konsilium, Loc. 5555/7 *Die von der verwitweten Frau Generalfeldmarschallin [Thecla] Gräfin von Flemming, geborener Fürstin von Radziwiłł [...] untertänigsten Ansuchen um [...] die Vormundschaftsbestätigung ihrem unmündigen Sohne zu dessen Lehn-, Allodial- und Erbteilungssachen betreffend*, 1728, fols. 73r–75r. I do not know what decision the king made, but it could have led to Huttman being taken on in the *Polnische Kapelle*.

131 See D-Dsta, *Kirchenbücher*, fols. 38, 146, 231, 240, 247, 250, 465 and 588. I am again grateful to Jóhannes Ágústsson (Reykjavík, Iceland) for kindly sharing this information with me.

132 His name was also spelled Beylicher, Beilicher, Beylcher and Beylich.

the *Hautboisten* from November 1713 for another ten years. He accompanied Flemming at least on two diplomatic journeys: to Vienna in 1718–19 and to Prague in 1723.¹³³ As already emphasised, the *Hautboisten* in the count's service stood lower in the household hierarchy than the so-called *Musici*, which resulted not only in much lower salaries, but also their treatment on a par with lackeys and other servants. Yet they were not instrumentalists from the regiment, since the names of regimental musicians – as also stressed above – were never given in Flemming's accounts. The count's *Hautboisten*, like his *Musici*, certainly played on multiple instruments, both wind and string, hence the term 'oboists' can be confusing.

Beylicher began to appear sporadically on the lists of payments made from Flemming's coffers, alongside the *Cammer Musici*, from 1723, then from January 1726 on a regular basis. It would seem, therefore, that this musician's status in the count's ensemble changed after the sojourn in Prague. Perhaps he also joined the orchestra performing Fux's famous 'festa teatrale' *Costanza e Fortezza*, which could have led to a permanent promotion for this oboist in the count's ensemble. Be that as it may, on returning from the Bohemian capital to Dresden, he was recorded regularly only on the lists of payments made to members of the ensemble. Beylicher's annual salary was a modest 108 thalers, and it never increased.¹³⁴ Despite his long and no doubt loyal service to Flemming, this musician never acquired the kind of esteem from his patron that would have led to a pay rise. After the ensemble finally disbanded, in September 1728, Beylicher disappeared entirely from the view of scholars.

Musicus Pauli

The other musician besides Beylicher who worked in Flemming's ensemble for its entire existence was one Pauli. He was also first recorded on a list of payments made to members of the count's household in November 1713 among the *Hautboisten*.¹³⁵ Moreover, his further fortunes in the count's ensemble were very similar to those of Beylicher, the only difference being that in his case no acts of insubordination were recorded. Like Beylicher, he was noted alternately as an oboist or a lackey, and it was only from 1723 that he appeared more often among the *Musici*. He too accompanied the count on that journey to Vienna in 1718–19 and to Prague in 1723, and he was also paid 15 thalers, so a sum more than twice the month salary of less than six thalers that he had received previously.¹³⁶ This musician stayed with Flemming's ensemble

133 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 334, fol. 52r ('Lohnung Liste derer in Prag befindl. Domestiquen auf den Monat Sept. 1723', payment for Beylicher – 15 thalers); documents attesting to Beylicher's stay in Vienna as *Hautboist*: as in nn. 43 and 44 above.

134 D-LEsta, 20578 'Rittergut Wolkenburg mit Kaufungen', no. 1052 *Finanzangelegenheiten der Familie von Flemming (Fragmente)*, fols. 9r–12r (as in n. 130 above).

135 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 41, fol. 56r (as in n. 15 above).

136 As in n. 133 above.

until the very end, in 1728, with exactly the same annual salary of 108 thalers as Beylicher.¹³⁷

Despite some grey areas, in Pauli's case it is possible to attempt to identify his first name, and even his middle name as well, because on a list of payments made in Prague, a *Hautboist* Pauli was first noted with the first name Carl (see Fig. 8). The second such full inscription of this musician's name comes from a specification of tailoring expenses for new livery for the servants in Flemming's household in 1724.¹³⁸

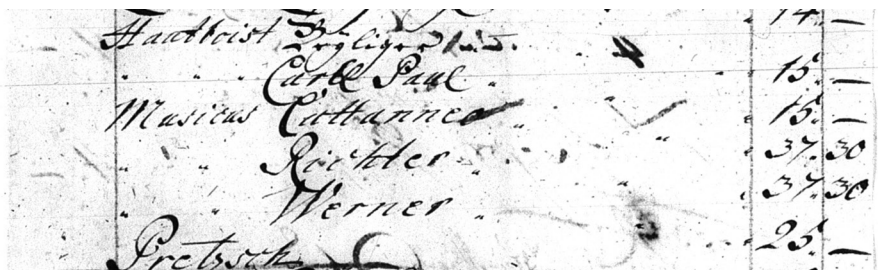


Fig. 8. Fragment of a list of payments made to members of Flemming's household who stayed with him in Prague in September 1723, Minsk, Natsyyanal'ny historychny arkhiv Byelarusi (BY-MInhab), shelf mark F 694/6 d. 334, fol. 52r. *Hautboist* Beylicher and *Hautboist* Carl Paul – payments of 15 thalers each; *Musicus* Cattaneo and *Musicus* Richter – payments of 37.30 thalers; *Musicus* Werner – a payment of 25 thalers

Since Flemming's clerks were not accustomed to giving first names in monthly specifications of payments made to members of the count's household, this exceptional situation may be regarded as a coincidence, which does not give us any grounds on which to draw any definitive conclusions. Intriguingly, however, in the Dresden *Kirchenbücher* of Lutheran parishes, under the date 3 September 1724, we find the entry 'Carl Ludwig Pauli', with the addition *Cammer Musicus*, while recorded on 26 May 1726 was the baptism of that musician's daughter: 'Carl Ludewig Pauli, Herrendieners Töchterl.'¹³⁹ The fact that these entries in church documents and archive materials left by the count were made around the same time and the coincidence of the first name Carl and surname Pauli in the indicated archive documents appears to show unequivocally that we are dealing here with the same person as the musician from Flemming's ensemble. No doubt the count's clerks failed to maintain the requisite care, and when recording in the accounts in alternation the first name Carl and the surname Pauli (sometimes Paul), as much evidence suggests, they were actually describing one and the same individual. Such is indicated for example by the fact that

137 As in n. 134 above.

138 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 381, fol. 6v.

139 D-Dsta, *Kirchenbücher*, fols. 342r and 177r. I am grateful to Jóhannes Ágústsson (Reykjavík, Iceland) for sharing this information with me.

in the last two known lists of payments made to members of Flemming's household, after his death, once among the four musicians from the count's ensemble, alongside Richter, Huttmann and Beylicher, also listed was Carl (list of payments for July 1728, Carl – 9 thalers), while little over a month later, alongside Richter, Huttmann and Beylicher, we once more find Pauli (list of 16 September 1728).¹⁴⁰

In light of this, the proposition of identifying the musician Carl from Flemming's ensemble with the violinist Carl from the ensemble of the bishop of Pressburg and primate of Hungary Emmerich Esterhazy, presented in my article 'The Polish-Saxon Episode in the Life of Gregor Joseph Werner', in 2019, is no longer valid.¹⁴¹ That in turn means that at the current stage in archive research, we should assume that one Carl Ludwig Pauli was active in Flemming's ensemble for the whole period of its existence, alongside many other musicians, but for the time being nothing can be said regarding his origins or his activities after he left the count's ensemble.

Musicus Richter

Johann Caspar Richter is another artist who joined Flemming's ensemble from Berlin. However, the way in which the count acquired his services is rather surprising, and from our present-day perspective even shocking, since in this case it was not just ordinary migration, but trade in human trafficking. One of King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia's military whims was to constantly increase the size of his 'Regiment of Giants' ('Riesen Garde'), created by his father, in which only men over 180 cm tall could serve. They were recruited, and at times even 'hunted', both in Prussia and abroad, with no consideration of their nationality. Potential recruits soon became the object of a vibrant slave trade, and Saxony was one of the fields of exploration in that direction. It turns out that Flemming and some other Saxon dignitaries readily participated in that shady business. It was described c.1860 by the German historian Karl von Weber, citing original documents from the Dresden court from the first half of the eighteenth century which he had consulted in person:

Flemming was not put off doing private business with the king of Prussia using 'tall men'. On one occasion, he gave him four men for 5000 thalers; another time two men, in order to secure 'le pardon de Mr. de Sparfeld'. To the same end, on 3 June 1721, he wrote to another Saxon officer: 'If I manage to acquire a handsome chap by the name of Andreas Hessen, from Crieger's regiment, I'll be quite happy, but I'd be even more glad if he didn't cost too much. I've earmarked him for His Royal Highness in Prussia, in exchange for a bassoonist.'

140 See respectively LT-VIv, F 459/1 no. 3775, fol. 12r ('Lohnungs Liste pro Mense July 1728') and D-Dla, 10025 Geh. Konsilium, Loc. 5555/7 *Die von der verwitweten Frau Generalfeldmarschallin [Thecla] Gräfin von Flemming, geborener Fürstin von Radziwill [...] untetänigsten Ansuchen um [...] die Vormundschaftsbestätigung ihrem unmündigen Sohne zu dessen Lehn-, Allodial- und Erbteilungssachen betreffend, 1728*, fol. 74v.

141 S. Paczkowski, 'The Polish-Saxon Episode', pp. 162–163.

Weber goes on to explain:

The musician by the name of Richter whom Flemming wanted to acquire was the foremost virtuoso on his instrument, particularly esteemed by the queen of Prussia [Sophie Dorothea of Hanover, wife of Friedrich Wilhelm I], who often had him play for her. Although she greatly bemoaned his loss, he was sent to Flemming for his household orchestra.¹⁴²

The story related by Weber, although – as often occurred in the nineteenth century – without indicating the shelf marks of the archive sources, is confirmed in the financial papers left by Flemming. In a list of expenditure from 1721 for the period between 7 and 13 September, we find the following note: ‘einem Bassisten, so dem Musico Richter in Berlin accompagnieret: 4 thlr’.¹⁴³ Although it is difficult to say if this entry concerns payment for some private performance for the count when he stayed for a short time in Berlin on another diplomatic mission, the fact that the events described by Weber coincide with the payment of four thalers to someone who accompanied ‘dem Musico Richter’ is certainly no mere coincidence. A year later, he appeared on lists of the count’s household, among his *Cammer Musici*, and with an annual salary of 300 thalers, paid to him in that amount until the end of his service with the count, in September 1728.¹⁴⁴ The musician signed the few extant receipts of monthly payments from Flemming’s coffers with his full name, Johann Caspar Richter, which allows us to fully identify him (see Fig. 9).

From the account of the stay of two of Flemming’s musicians at the court of the electress Christiane Eberhardine in the second half of 1725, related in connection with the activities of the violinist Cattaneo, it is clear that the *Musicus* Johann Caspar Richter performed at the electress’s court mainly as a harpsichordist. So, he must have been a proficient multi-instrumentalist, given that he had previously dazzled the count with his virtuosity on the bassoon. Besides the trip to Prague for the coronation of Charles VI and the episode at the court in Pretzsch, we know of no other details of Richter’s service in Flemming’s ensemble. It ensues from archive materials, however, that he remained a member of that ensemble to the very end.

142 Karl von Weber, *Aus vier Jahrhunderten. Mittheilungen aus dem Haupt-Staatsarchive zu Dresden. Neue Folge. In zwei Bänden*, Leipzig 1861, vol. 2, pp. 190–228 (chapter ‘Die Potsdamer Garde’, at pp. 200–201): ‘Flemming ließ sich aber dadurch nicht abschrecken, für sich Privatgeschäfte in “langen Kerls”, mit dem König von Preußen zu machen. Ein Mal überließ er dem Letztern 4 Mann für 5000 Thlr., bei einer andern Gelegenheit 2 Mann um dadurch zu Erlangen “le pardon de Mr. de Sparfeld”. Zu gleichem Zweck schrieb er an einen andern sächsischen Offizier am 3. Juni 1721: “Kann ich den landten schönen Kerl, Namens Andreas Hessen vom Criegerschen Regiment bekommen, so ist es mir lieb, noch lieber aber wird es mir sein, wenn er nicht viel kostet. Ich habe ohn vor Ihre K.M. in Preußen, gegen Basson (Fagottist) destinirt [...]”

Der Musikus, Namens Richter, den Flemming einhandeln wollte, war der Erste der Virtuosen auf seinem Instrument, und besonders von der Königin von Preußen geschätzt, die ihn oft bei sich blasen ließ. So sehr sie seinen Verlust beklagte, er ward Flemming für sein Hausorchester überlassen.’

143 BY-MInhab, F 694/6 d. 273, fol. 169v (‘Ausgabe Geld vom 7. bis mit 13. September 1721’).

144 As in n. 130 above.

Fünff und Zwanzig Thlr im Monnatl.
Gehaltung pro December Anno 1722 Labr
aus Ihr. Hof. Gnädigste Excellenz Caspar
iustig. fullkommen. Wilh. f. v. m. q. d. d.
und bezeugt. Ingnatum Warschau den
1 December Anno 1722

Johann Caspar Richter

25 Thlr

Fig. 9. Receipt of a payment of 25 thalers from Flemming's coffers on 1 December 1722 signed by Johann Caspar Richter, Vilnius, Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (LT-Vlvia), shelf mark F 459/1 no. 1848, fol. 22r

We also know little about this musician's further fortunes, though we can certainly state that on leaving Dresden, at some point he returned to the court of Queen Sophie Dorothea in Berlin. If the queen – as Weber wrote – had difficulty parting with her musician in 1721, she would surely have gladly welcomed him back into her modest ensemble when the opportunity arose. In specifications of payments made to members of the household of Sophie Dorothea in 1752–53 held in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Berlin, we also find records of the salaries of her four musicians, including Johann Caspar Richter. At that time, he received an annual salary of 300 thalers, which was exactly the same amount he had received previously from Flemming.¹⁴⁵ Since the name Richter was just as popular in eighteenth-century Germany

145 Geheimes Staatsarchiv SPK Berlin-Dahlem (D-Bga), BPH Brandenburg-Preußisches Hausarchiv, Rep. 46 *König Friedrich Wilhelm I. N*, Nr. 20a (Quittungen Trinitatis 1752 bis Trinitatis 1753, no. 81 Johann Caspar Richter, Berlin Juli 1753, 300 Reichsthaler). I am grateful to Mr Rashid Sasha-Pegah of Berlin for indicating information about the musician Richter in Weber's work cited above and for making

as it is today, it is difficult to state unequivocally whether entries concerning a musician or musicians by the name of Richter that appear also in archive documents from the courts in Zerbst, Schwerin or other ducal centres of that time can be linked to Flemming’s musician. We can only hope that future archive research will enable us to make further findings in this respect.

Table 4. Line-up of Flemming’s ensemble between 1726 and 1728

| Name | Function | Remarks |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Johann Caspar Richer | <i>Musicus</i> (harpsichordist) | recorded in documents up to September 1728 |
| Johann Michael Huttmann | <i>Musicus</i> | as above |
| Beylicher | <i>Musicus</i> | as above |
| Carl Pauli | <i>Musicus</i> | as above |

EPILOGUE

The hitherto unknown history of Flemming’s music ensemble discussed here and the European scope to the count’s musical patronage, shown here in connection with the activities of that ensemble, allow us not only to fill in a gap in our knowledge to date about the history of musical culture in Saxony, Poland-Lithuania and more widely Central Europe during the first half of the eighteenth century, but also to gain a better understanding of issues relating to migration at that time and the role and place of musicians in the feudal social structure of Saxony and Poland-Lithuania during the eighteenth century. They also shed new light on the development of the surprisingly dense network of connections between artists in various centres, both central (Dresden, Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw) and peripheral (Zerbst, Schwerin, Köthen, Eisenstadt), which also resulted in the multi-directional transferral of sources. The transfer of musicians into and from Flemming’s *Kapelle* and the count’s travels with his ensemble to Brunswick, Berlin, Vienna, Prague and Warsaw, although the ensemble was based permanently in Dresden, made it a music band of supra-regional significance. Flemming’s ensemble not only played an important role in the everyday domestic life of that aristocrat but was also an element in the forging of his prestige, a medium that supported his political and propaganda activities. Flemming shaped his music ensemble not only in terms of his own sizeable financial possibilities, which is reflected in the relatively high salaries paid to his musicians, not only according to the ‘availability’ of artists on the ‘music market’ at that time, but also in opposition to the tastes and preferences of the royal-electoral court in Dresden, for the benefit of which, moreover, he worked throughout his life. With the exception

available to me his transcriptions of archive documents from Berlin, Zerbst and Schwerin in which the name Richter appears. See also M. Oleskiewicz, ‘The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia’, p. 81.

of Cattaneo, Flemming employed in his ensemble only German-speaking musicians. It comprised solely instrumentalists, and its repertoire was dominated by the music of German composers. Evidence to that effect includes purchases of music in Berlin, Brunswick and Köthen. It is also confirmed by an inventory of sheet music owned by Flemming, held in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, which is clearly dominated by German instrumental music, with works by Italian composers representing just a small proportion; moreover, those Italian works were probably bought in Germany as well.¹⁴⁶

Flemming's music ensemble was a fully independent group, shaped in accordance with an artistic profile defined by its founder and patron. Over its short existence, lasting just 15 years, at least 20 musicians passed through it, many of them quite outstanding, and for some of them joining this ensemble constituted a springboard to a future career, be it at the royal-electoral court in Dresden or in other ducal centres across the Reich.

The reconstruction of the line-up of Flemming's music ensemble and at least partial reconstruction of its history allow us today to take a completely differently look at the panorama of musical life in Saxony during the first three decades of the eighteenth century. Its 'German' profile was something exceptional compared to the royal-electoral court, and it was the effect of both the migration of musicians and Flemming's personal preferences. Paradoxically, this brings out and confirms the cosmopolitan character of musical culture in Dresden during the reign of August II. The conducted research also enables us to assert that it was the only ensemble of its size and activeness outside the royal court on the territory of Saxony at that time. Without it, the network of artistic connections between the satellite ducal courts around the Electorate would have been 'gappy'. Finally, the history of Flemming's ensemble affords us a better understanding of the configuration of musical links and contacts between Dresden, Köthen, Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Zerbst, Leipzig and even Brunswick.

Crucially, some members of the ensemble, including Kühnel, Cattaneo, Kreysing, Taubenberg and Jacobi, developed their careers as composers after leaving Flemming's ensemble. Did they try their arm in that domain while still in the count's service? We do not know. If they did, then no trace of that activity has survived, as not a single work by any of Flemming's musicians is recorded in either of the known inventories of the count's music collection. Another singularity to Flemming's ensemble was the fact that it did not have a leader in the person of a *Kapellmeister*

146 See PL-Wagad AR/X 376, pp. 186–201 'Specification was an Musicalien vorhanden'. It seems unlikely that any of that music has been preserved; in any case, none has been found and located. The ensemble's repertoire will be the subject of further works. This subject has been previously explored in S. Paczkowski, 'Z dziejów muzycznej biblioteki'. An initial profile of the inventory of Flemming's music collection was presented, in the context of its donation, after 1730, to the library of the Radziwiłł family, in Irena Bieńkowska, *Muzyka na dworze księcia Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła* [Music at the court of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł], Warsaw 2013, pp. 99–103.

or concertmaster. In this respect, therefore, Flemming's ensemble remained rather a larger *Cammer Musique*.

To sum up, it is no exaggeration to state that the count's orchestra initiated the tradition of separate musical patronage cultivated by future Saxon prime ministers. The current state of knowledge about this ensemble allows us to state with confidence that it represented a model for the artistic patronage of the prime minister in August III's cabinet, Heinrich von Brühl (1700–63), in the field of music. Just like Brühl's celebrated music *Kapelle* that came after it,¹⁴⁷ Flemming's ensemble constituted additional resources for the musical needs of the royal-electoral court, both in Dresden and in Warsaw, during the times of the Wettins. Finally, just like Brühl's music ensemble, Flemming's band, thanks to its sojourns in Warsaw, significantly enriched the musical panorama of the Polish capital, at least during the time when King August II and his ministers were in residence there.

Translated by John Comber

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147 On Brühl's music *Kapelle*, see e.g. Ulrike Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer (1703–55), Kapellmeister des Grafen Heinrich von Brühl am sächsisch-polnischen Hof und Thomaskantor in Leipzig*, Beeskow 2006 (= *Schriften zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte* 12), and chapter VII 'Kapela Heinricha von Brühla' [The *Kapelle* of Heinrich von Brühl], in: A. Żórawska-Witkowska's *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III*, pp. 231–243.

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W CIENIU DREZDEŃSKIEJ HOFKAPELLE. JACOB HEINRICH VON FLEMMING I JEGO
ZESPÓŁ MUZYCZNY

Jakob Heinrich v. Flemming (1667–1728) to jedna z najważniejszych postaci życia politycznego Saksonii i Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Augusta II. Należał do najbardziej zaufanych współpracowników króla od czasu, gdy ten jako elektor saski ubiegał się o koronę polską w 1697 roku. W 1711 r. awansował do rangi saskiego feldmarszałka, a w 1712 r. objął przewodnictwo nad saskim *Geheimes Kabinett*. W tej roli pełnił faktycznie urząd pierwszego ministra Saksonii, pozostając aż do śmierci najpotężniejszą osobą w państwie, zaraz po królu Augustcie. Z Rzeczypospolitą związał się przez dwa małżeństwa, z Franciszką Izabelą z Sapiechów w 1701 r. i z Teklą Różą z Radziwiłłów w 1725 r., które utrwaliły jego pozycję, jako jednego z polskich panów. Uchodził za polityka nader sprawnego i wpływowego, arystokratę o wytwornym guście i znakomitych manierach. Grywał namiętnie na violi da gamba. Uważał się z tego powodu za muzyka „par inclination”. Muzykę traktował nie tylko jako rozrywkę dla ducha czy ciała, ale też element splendoru, jakim się otaczał i sposób uzewnętrznienia osiągniętego statusu. Przypisuje się mu, że był gospodarzem słynnego pojedynku klawesynowego Johanna Sebastiana Bacha z Louisem Marchandem, który miał się rzekomo odbyć jesienią 1717 r. w jego drezdeńskim pałacu przy Pirnaische Gasse.

W 1713 r. powołał do życia własną kapelę muzyczną, odpowiadającą jego osobistym upodobaniom oraz deklarowanemu na różne sposoby poparciu dla „muzyki niemieckiej”. Długo nic nie wiadano o tym zespole. Artykuł niniejszy poświęcony jest jego historii, obsadzie i charakterystyce. Wykazano, że w trakcie 15 lat istnienia kapeli Flemminga, działało w niej co najmniej 20 muzyków, w tym tak znakomici, jak włoski skrzypek Francesco Cattaneo czy Gregor Joseph Werner – od 1728 r. kapelmistrz książąt Esterházy w Eisenstadt (poprzednik Josepha Haydna) oraz wielu późniejszych członków *Hofkapelle* w Dreźnie. Był to jedyny tak duży i aktywny zespół w ówczesnej Saksonii poza dworem królewsko-elektorskim. Kapela Flemminga stanowiła ważne spoiwo w sieci artystycznych kontaktów między różnymi dworami niemieckimi. Historia zespołu naświetla znakomicie konfigurację powiązań i kontaktów muzycznych między Drezniem, Köthen, Berlinem, Wiedniem, Warszawą, Lipskiem, Brunszwikiem, Zerbst i Schwerinem w pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XVIII wieku.

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