

# **From Munich to ‘Foreign’ Lands and Back Again**

## **Relocation of the Munich Court and Migration of Musicians (c. 1690-1715)**

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BERTHOLD OVER

At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Elector Max Emanuel of Bavaria moved his court several times. When he became governor of the Spanish Netherlands in 1692, he relocated his court to Brussels. In 1701, during the War of the Spanish Succession, he returned to Munich. When Max Emanuel had to flee from Munich due to the conquest of Bavaria by the emperor troops in 1704, he returned to the Spanish Netherlands and later moved to France. His wife, Therese Kuni-gunde was forced into exile in Venice in 1705. When the court was re-established after the peace agreement in 1715, both returned to Munich. It is obvious that the regents did not travel alone, but were accompanied by an, although reduced, entourage. Court officers, butlers, coachmen and other servants, including musicians, naturally traveled with them or met the regents at a later date. Other personnel was recruited to uphold a court befitting its status at the respective locations and, perhaps, returned to Munich with the regents. These movements are to be examined herein, focussing on the consequences with respect to the migration of musicians.

Speaking of migration in this context, this keyword is naturally not to be understood in terms of ‘exodus’, ‘emigration’ or ‘immigration’ in the modern sense; migration in this paper rather means – with stronger emphasis on the historical context – the relocation from one territory to

another. While this relocation can initially be understood as inland migration (as, in this case, it partially occurs within the borders of the Holy Roman Empire), one could secondly consider it as a migration beyond its borders (e.g. from/to France or Italy) and thirdly as a migration from one sovereign territory to another (e.g. from the electorate of Bavaria to the electorate of Saxony).

## 1692: from Munich to Brussels

For the Spanish Netherlands, ruled by governors since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a constant change of music-cultural orientation must be stated. Each governor set his own cultural ‘brands’ which are characterized by his preferences and experiences as well as the ‘import’ of personnel from his country of origin.<sup>1</sup> The organization of the court in Brussels made a distinction between ecclesiastic and secular musical activities. Chapel and court possessed two distinct ensembles which were each managed by a *Kapellmeister*. While the salaries of the chapel musicians were paid from the royal Spanish budget, the costs for the chamber musicians were generally at the expense of the governor.<sup>2</sup> The musicians were recruited from local sources; however, the governors often brought them to Brussels from their own territories (Spain, Italy, Austria, German territories). Thus, it is no surprise that the chapel and chamber music included Spanish musicians,<sup>3</sup> which were otherwise rather underrepresented, if not non-existent.

However, the intention of this paper is not the reconstruction of the personnel of the chapel and chamber music with reference to the governorship of Max Emanuel. Rather, the focus is on two types of musicians in Brussels who were on the payroll of the Munich court: Those who

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1 To date, there is no comprehensive study regarding the music culture of the governors.

2 THIEFFRY, 2002, pp. 165 and 168; STRYCKERS, 2013. According to LIPOWSKY (1820, pp. 11, 17-19 [only partially with reference]), Max Emanuel received 70,000 Reichstaler per month for his income from the Spanish crown. HÜTTL (1976, pp. 213-218) refers to two million fl. and a monthly payment of 30,000 fl. from Munich. However, these contributions were not sufficient to finance the governor’s court, forcing him to take up numerous credits.

3 CLERCX, 1950, p. 152.

had been ordered to Brussels from the Munich *Hofkapelle* and newly recruited members. Due to their payment from budgets located in Munich, the latter promise to have a closer connection to the Bavarian court. The payment of personnel costs from the Munich budget makes it seem feasible that the respective musicians went to Munich in the event of a relocation of the court. A scenario that would not be plausible if their wages would have been financed through the royal Spanish budget and/or that of the Spanish Netherlands. Musicians such as Pietro Antonio Fiocco,<sup>4</sup> Jean François Van der Linden<sup>5</sup> or Johann Philipp Kerckhoven,<sup>6</sup> who worked at the court in Brussels, or the transient soprano Domenico Mucciolanti in 1700,<sup>7</sup> are therefore ignored hereafter, as they were not paid by or employed from Bavarian funds. Also those musicians are excluded who, like Jeanne-Françoise Dandrieu, Nicolas Clérambault or Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre had contact to Max Emanuel during exile (1704-1715).<sup>8</sup>

The sources for the reconstruction of the respective musician corps in Brussels are quite exhaustive. Besides some lists documenting the Brussels court and other documents in the Secret House Archives (Geheimes Hausarchiv) of the Wittelsbach family, there are many small clues in the salary ledgers of the Munich court which comprise numerous marginal notes next to the paid amounts. Further sources are available in various decrees and applications. As far as permissible, based on the estimation of the files, the relocation of the court to Brussels had obviously no direct effect on the local chapel and chamber music.<sup>9</sup> It seems that both ensembles were more or less taken over completely and only missing personnel

4 RASCH, 2002; COUVREUR, 2001; STELLFELD, 1941.

5 CLERCX, 1942, p. 173.

6 In 1698-1700, Kerckhoven took the trouble for remuneration for works as a tuner (1693-1699). D-Mhsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 69, F 87; MÜNSTER, 1976, p. 296; ZUBER, 2012, p. 133. In the applications, he refers to his kinship with Abraham van Kerckhoven who worked in the chamber music of the governor Archduke Leopold Wilhelm between 1649 and 1652. THIEFFRY, 2002, pp. 166 and 174f.; regarding the musician dynasty “Van de Kerckoven”/“Van den Kerckhoven” see also CLERCX, 1942, p. 170 and CLERCX, 1950, pp. 164f.

7 D-Mhsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 69 (payment decree dated 15 April 1700); also ZUBER, 2012, p. 133.

8 See CESSAC, 2012.

9 HÜTTL (1976, p. 210) makes a general comment that nobody was dismissed from the Brussels court during the relocation.

was replaced. These were either recruited from the local musicians or ordered from Munich to Brussels.

Pietro Torri and Giovanni Paolo Bombarda traveled to Brussels together with Max Emanuel (see table 1). There, Torri worked as a valet, organist and *Kapellmeister* until the end of March 1701.<sup>10</sup> Bombarda (who was probably originally engaged in the entourage of Ercole Bernabei 1680 as a musician at the Munich court [in 1680?], but subsequently directed the electoral financial affairs from 1688) covered the financial requirements of the Elector and governor, was involved in the Opéra du quai au Foin from 1694 until 1697 and had the Théâtre de la Monnaie established, opening in 1700, which he directed and managed.<sup>11</sup> At the very beginning of his governorship, Max Emanuel employed the trumpeter Louis Petit in 1692, who was budgeted to the Munich *Hofkapelle* from 1695 and who previously must have been paid from other sources.<sup>12</sup> In 1694 at the latest, Felix Emanuel Deibner<sup>13</sup> and

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- 10 Specification/Waß von Ihre Ch: Drl: [...]; Verzaig/aller Persohnen, [...]. 12. July/1698; Chrfrl: Hoffstadt zu Brüssel (listed amongst the “Churfl: Ca[m]mer Diener”); Verzeichnuss./Der Churfrt: [...]. Regarding the Brussels time in general, cf. MÜNSTER, 1976, pp. 296f. Unproductive with reference to Torri is GROOTE, 2003.
  - 11 D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt (hereinafter KBH) 730 (Besoldungsbuch [payroll ledger] 1692), fol. 66r; COUVREUR/VAN AELBROUCK, 1996, particularly pp. 8-19; ZUBER, 2012, pp. 132f.; HÜTTL, 1976, pp. 213f.; regarding the construction of the theater HENNAUT/CAMPIOLI, 1996.
  - 12 D-Mhsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 69 (employment decree dated 7 October 1693); KBH 733 (Besoldungsbuch 1695), fol. 112r; Kriegsarchiv F 96, decree dated 27 January 1696 with attached “Specification” of 28 October 1695: Petit belonged to the court of the electress; Fürstensachen 677c, fol. 12r (decree dated 17 August 1701); Verzeichnuss./Was hernach folgent: [...] pro anno 1697 [...]; Verzaig/aller Persohnen, [...] .12. July/1698; Verzeichnuss./Der Churfrt: [...]; Verzeichnuss./Der angeschafften [...]. See also ZUBER, 2012, p. 133, and MÜNSTER, 1976, pp. 296f. SCHARRER (2012, p. 49) sees the employment of Petit as well as Le Cocq, Normand, Fivé and Poulain (see below) in connection with the Brussels opera maintenance from 1695, which can definitely not be the case with Petit.
  - 13 D-Mhsa, KBH 732 (Besoldungsbuch 1694), fol. 60v; Kriegsarchiv, F 87; Specification/Waß von Ihre Ch: Drl: [...]; Verzeichnuss./Was hernach folgent: [...] pro anno 1697 [...]; Verzeichnuss./Der angeschafften [...]. Deibner died in 1703 (KBH 742 [Besoldungsbuch 1703], fol. 80r) and

Vinzenz Lampert<sup>14</sup> from Munich arrived in Brussels. Next to their regular salary of the Munich *Hofkapelle*, both also received special payments for their living expenses. The theorbo player Giuseppe Trevisani can be verified in Brussels in 1695, 1697 and 1698 and was still traveling in 1702, after the return of the court to Munich.<sup>15</sup> In 1695, Gerhard Sové

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was one of the “three Teybner brothers” (“drey Teybner gebrüder”) Johann Anton Franz, Felix Emanuel Cajetan and Sigmund Joseph Victor Amadee, who were sent for education to Paris together with Dominique/Dominikus Mayr in 1684-1685 (see SCHARRER, 2012, pp. 46f.) and employed as violinists on 25 January 1686 (employment decree in Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 43r). At the time of relocation of the court, Hans Caspar and Felix Emanuel Deibner are found in the *Hofkapelle*; Mayr was a member of the *Hofkapelle* up to his death in 1698. See D-Mhsa, KBH 728 ff. (Besoldungsbuch 1690 ff.). All are sons of Wolfgang Teubner, who came from Saxony and worked, prior to his employment in Munich in 1658, in Brussels in the chapel of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. At the same time, Johann Caspar Kerll was active in the Archduke’s chapel as organist. In 1656, Kerll was employed as *Vizekapellmeister* at the Munich court and was promoted to *Kapellmeister* in the same year (D-Mhsa, KBH 694 [Besoldungsbuch 1656], fol. 72v). Probably as a consequence, also Teubner came to Munich in 1658 (D-Mhsa, KBH 696 [Besoldungsbuch 1658], fol. 141r: “Härpfenist” [harpist] and valet with a salary of 600 fl., the second highest amongst the instrumentalists). See THIEFFRY, 2002, pp. 166-167; HARRIS/GIEBLER; D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 676 (the “Hatschier” Joseph Leb on origin and relationship).

- 14 D-Mhsa, KBH 732 (Besoldungsbuch 1694), fol. 60v; Verzeichnuss./Der angschafften [...]; Verzeichnuss./Der Churfrt: [...]; Verzeichnuss./Was hernach folgent: [...] pro anno 1697 [...]; Specification/Waß von Ihro Ch: Drl: [...]. In a decree of 1686, Lampert (Lambert) is described as a French musician. See D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 48r (8 May 1686), also SCHARRER, 2012, p. 48. In 1689, he was in Max Emanuel’s service, when he was obviously dismissed together with other musicians; however, he is continuously kept in the ledgers from 1690. D-Mhsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 83 (decree draft, 19 August 1689); KBH 728 ff. (Besoldungsbuch 1690 ff.). In 1705, he was dismissed by the Austrian administration (see below); since 1711, he belonged with interruptions to the court of Elector Joseph Clemens of Cologne, Max Emanuel’s brother, in Valenciennes and Bonn. See BRAUBACH, 1967, p. 42, and the Bonn court calendars 1719-1724 (“Lambert”, without first name, concertmaster).
- 15 D-Mhsa, KBH 733 (Besoldungsbuch 1695), fol. 68v (entry under Georg Elias Gottfried Neuner, which contained special payments for his tuition by Tre-

(Sauvé?) traveled to the Spanish Netherlands. As is evident from a letter of the Munich *Obersthofmeister* (High Steward), he had originally planned a mere three to four month stay in Antwerp,<sup>16</sup> but seems to have subsequently traveled on to Brussels, where he served in Max Emanuel's *Hofkapelle* until 1701.<sup>17</sup> Also in 1695, the Walloons or Frenchmen Franz Anton Le Cocq<sup>18</sup> and Remy Normand (Oboist)<sup>19</sup> as well as in 1696 Peter Fivé<sup>20</sup> and Toussain Poulain<sup>21</sup> were employed at the expense of the

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visani, which, however were omitted due to the absences of the theorbist). VAN AELBROUCK (2012, p. 123) mentions without a source that Trevisani participated in the opera performances in Brussels in 1697. Verzaig/aller Persohnen, [...] .12 July/1698; D-Mhsa, KBH 741 (Besoldungsbuch 1702), fol. 79r.

- 16 D-Mhsa, GHA, Obersthofmeisterstab 2164, letter of the High Stewart, 13 April 1695, see Letters in the appendix.
- 17 D-Mhsa, KBH 741 (Besoldungsbuch 1702), fol. 79v. In earlier documents (1685), Sové is described as a French musician. See SCHARRER, 2012, p. 48 (“Gerard Sonne”).
- 18 D-Mhsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 69 (employment decree dated 1 December 1695); KBH 733 (Besoldungsbuch 1695), fol. 64v; see also ZUBER, 2012, p. 133. However, Le Cocq is already mentioned in a “Specification” dated 28 October 1695 as paid court musician at the court of the electress (D-Mhsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 96, decree dated 27 January 1696). Specification/Waß von Ihro Ch: Drl: [...]; Verzeichnuss/Der Churfrt: [...]; Verzeichnuss/Was hernach folgent: [...] pro anno 1697 [...]; Verzeichnuss./Der angschafften [...]. Le Cocq had left the *Hofkapelle* again as early as 1701. The Besoldungsbuch 1702 (KBH 741) does not contain payments to him; the Besoldungsbuch of 1703 (KBH 742, fol. 76r) notes: “No longer in service” (“Ist nit mehr in diensten“). A Jacques Cocq was in the Brussels chapel and chamber music between 1647 and 1652. It is not known whether he was related to Franz Anton. Regarding the older Cocq see THIEFFRY, 2002, pp. 166, 169-170 and 174-175; regarding the musician dynasty of “Lecoq” see CLERCX, 1942, p. 170. Hand-written tablature books for guitar of the “Musicien Jubilaire de la Chapelle Royale” “Francois Le Cocq” are preserved in B-Bc (Ms. Littera S, No. 5615, dated 1729 and 1730) and B-Br (Ms. II. 5551, approx. 1730-1740) (BOETTICHER, 1978, pp. 53f., 66).
- 19 D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 85r (decree dated 19 November 1696), 86r (decree dated 18 January 1697); KBH 734 (Besoldungsbuch 1696), fol. 66r.
- 20 D-Mhsa, KBH 734 (Besoldungsbuch 1696), fol. 61v; Verzeichnuss./Der angschafften [...].
- 21 D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 90r; KBH 734 (Besoldungsbuch 1696), fol. 61v; Kriegsarchiv, F 87 (several documents and notes from 31 Octo-

Munich *Hofkapelle*. In the same year, Franz Simon Schuechpaur was ordered to Brussels, where he probably stayed until 1698.<sup>22</sup> In 1697, the singers Filippo Pantani and Philipp Jacob Seerieder (bass) were called to Brussels. In addition to their wages from Munich, they received remuneration from the budget of the chapel music,<sup>23</sup> so that it is possible to safely state that they had worked in the Spanish *Kapelle* which was, however, also utilised for secular occasions.<sup>24</sup> Peter Le Vray was initially employed in Brussels as aspirant in chamber and chapel from 1694,<sup>25</sup> before becoming valet. From 1697 he additionally worked as musician paid by the Munich *Hofzahlamt* (court payment office).<sup>26</sup> The singers Clemen-tin Hader<sup>27</sup> and Giovanni Giacomo Riccardini<sup>28</sup> as well as a certain “Herr

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ber 1699 to 20 April 1700); Verzeichnuss/Der Churfrt: [...]; Verzeichnuss./Der angeschafften [...]. Poulain, who traveled to Munich with Max Emanuel, probably traveled to Brussels once again after the relocation of the court, as evident from a decree dated 15 December 1702 regarding a special payment (Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 114r).

- 22 D-Mhlsa, GHA, Obersthofmeisterstab 2164, decree Max Emanuel's dated 18 June 1696 (see Letters in the appendix); Verzaig/aller Persohnen, [...] .12. July/1698: “Puenspaur Simon”.
- 23 D-Mhlsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 89r (decree dated 16 December 1697); KBH 735 (Besoldungsbuch 1697), fol. 62r, 64r; Specification/Waß von Ihro Ch: Drl: [...]. Both receive allowances in October 1699 (D-Mhlsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 69, decree dated 20 and 25 October). Regarding Pantani see also ZUBER, 2012, p. 133.
- 24 Regarding the tasks of both *Kapellen* see THIEFFRY, 2002.
- 25 D-Mhlsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 69, employment decree dated 19 November 1694; Verzeichnuss./Der angeschafften [...]; see also ZUBER, 2012, p. 133.
- 26 Verzeichnuss/Der Churfrt: [...]; D-Mhlsa, KBH 735 ff. (Besoldungsbuch 1697 ff.). As aspirant, Lambert initially received 300, then 500 and, from 1701, 700 fl. wages; see D-Mhlsa, Fürstensachen 677b/I, fol. 264r (decree dated 4 May 1701).
- 27 Chrfrl: Hoffstadt zu Brüssel: “.1. Clementin”; Verzaig/aller Persohnen, [...] .12 July/1698: “H: Clementin”. See also OVER, 2007, p. 274; MÜNSTER, 1976, p. 305. According to KÖCHEL (1869, pp. 63, 68), Hader was employed in the Vienna *Hofkapelle* between 1672 and 1687, but he is recorded in Munich as early as the beginning of 1686. See D-Mhlsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 44r (decree dated 3 February 1686 regarding the reimbursement of his travel expenses).
- 28 Specification/Waß von Ihro Ch: Drl: [...]; Verzaig / aller Persohnen, [...] .12. July/1698: “Herr chacometto [Giacometto]”.

Pezl”, which probably refers to Johann Christoph Pez,<sup>29</sup> and a certain “Herr Rodier”,<sup>30</sup> surely dance master François (Franz) Rodier, who is also verified in wage ledgers,<sup>31</sup> were in Brussels in 1698 at the latest. During this time, the documents list at least two other musicians, whose identity cannot be clarified. It could possibly be choirboys, to which the specification “Choralisten” and “Discantisten” may refer.<sup>32</sup> The participation of Evaristo Felice Dall’Abaco in the chapel or chamber music mentioned occasionally in secondary literature cannot be verified in archives, but is quite probable as Dall’Abaco was engaged in the theater.<sup>33</sup>

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- 29 Verzaig/aller Persohnen, [...] .12 July/1698. In 1689-1692, Pez was “in Rome for his further training” (“zu seiner mehrer[en] perfectionirung zu Rhom”) and was in the service of the Elector of Cologne in 1695. See D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 60r (decree dated 28 May 1689); KBH 728 ff. (Besoldungsbuch 1690 ff.); KBH 732 (Besoldungsbuch 1694), fol. 61v, and BRAUBACH, 1967, p. 47. It is possible, however not verified in documents, that he traveled to Brussels in 1698. In 1702, he returned to Munich and received a waiting pay up to the vacancy of an adequate position, see KBH 741 (Besoldungsbuch 1702), fol. 77v; also Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 113r (decree dated 1 September 1702).
- 30 Verzaig/aller Persohnen, [...] .12 July/1698.
- 31 According to VAN AELBROUCK (2012, pp. 121f.) Rodier came to Brussels in 1692 and returned to Munich in 1699. However, christenings are only documented in Brussels for the years 1696-1698. The ledgers of the court payment office record a “Franz” Rodier from at least 1690 to at least 1727 (D-Mhsa, KBH 728 ff.). In 1700, a dance master of the same surname died in Düsseldorf (“Mons<sup>r</sup> Rodié”, see EINSTEIN, 1908, pp. 403f.), who may have been related to François.
- 32 Verzaig/aller Persohnen, [...] .12 July/1698.: “Musici 2”; Specification/Waß von Ihro Ch: [...]: “zwey Choralisten”. However, in a decree dated 4 May 1699 it is decided that “the two treble boys who were victualled by him [Torri] should return to Munich” (“die zwey Discantisten Knaben aber bey ihme in der Cosst gewest, wider nacher München gehen sollen”; D-Mhsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 53). MÜNSTER (1976, p. 296) points out the fact that Pietro Torri took care of two choir boys, among them one of the Asam brothers in 1698/99.
- 33 ZUBER, 2012, p. 133; SCHARRER, 2012, p. 48. Pietro Zambonini, mentioned by MÜNSTER (1976, p. 296) could not be verified in the documents.

## 1701: from Brussels to Munich

Following the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, Max Emanuel left the Spanish Netherlands due to political-strategic reasons and returned to Munich. The reasons were based on the political orientation of the elector who, once his son Joseph Ferdinand, who was designated as the heir to the Spanish throne by King Charles II, died in 1699, changed sides and became an ally of France. The latent threat through Austria, adjacent to Bavaria, rendered the personal presence of the elector in his territory unavoidable.<sup>34</sup>

Musicians from Brussels came to Munich with the relocation of the court. As well as the electoral musicians, who had been ordered to the Spanish Netherlands (Deibner, Lampert, Pantani, Riccardini, Rodier, Sové, Schuechpaur, Seerieder, Trevisani), those, who had been engaged by Max Emanuel in Brussels, came to the Bavarian residence city (Le Vray, Normand, Poulain). Others (Bombarda, Le Cocq, Petit) remained in Brussels, even though they formally belonged to the Munich court personnel, as they had been paid by the court budget. A variety of personal reasons were sure to be responsible for or against a move to Munich. While Le Vray and Normand left the service in 1705, and Poulain in 1706,<sup>35</sup> when Max Emanuel had to hastily retreat from his residence city during the chaos of the War of the Spanish Succession and the *Hofkapelle* was entirely dissolved in June 1706, only Normand returned to court in 1715. Normand is an interesting figure because he had a career in Brussels as well as in Munich. Initially employed as vocalist, he changed over to the instrumentalists in 1697.<sup>36</sup> In 1715, next to his function as musician, he took up the role as valet in Munich, which provided him with direct access to the court's power center, the elector. At the same time, he took over the office of residence caretaker, which led to the doubling of his wages.<sup>37</sup>

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34 See here in detail SCHRYVER, 1996, pp. 99-140.

35 D-Mhsa, KBH 744-746 (Besoldungsbuch 1705 [fol. 75r, 79v, 85v], 1705 [6 June-31 December, fol. 55r] and 1706 [fol. 61r]).

36 D-Mhsa, KBH 734 and 735 (Besoldungsbuch 1696 and 1697).

37 As valet and musician, Normand received 450, as residence caretaker 400 fl. See D-Mhsa, KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 124r, 133v. See also the contribution by Britta Kägler in this volume, pp. 73-90.

## 1704/05: in Dutch-French and Italian exile

Based on the disastrous military losses which culminated in the occupation of Bavaria by the Habsburgs, Max Emanuel was forced to flee from Munich in 1704. Initially, he went to Brussels to reassume his position as governor of the Spanish Netherlands – this time allied with France. The battles, which were lost here, forced him once again to leave and seek protection in France.<sup>38</sup> Musicians of the Munich *Hofkapelle* accompanied him (see table 2):<sup>39</sup> Pietro Torri, Peter Le Vray, Giuseppe Trevisani, Valeriano Pellegrini, Stefano Frilli, Franz Anton Le Cocq, Evaristo Felice dall'Abaco, Clementin Hader (von Hadersberg) as well as a number of trumpeters. The latter were already members of the court (Abraham Ebenpöck, Franz Ories, Dominikus Zehetner)<sup>40</sup> or doubtlessly belonged to the troops of the Bavarian-French alliance in the War of the Spanish Succession and moved with Max Emanuel in their specialised function as troop-specific signal trumpeter (Matthias Anton Fink, Johann Caspar Burger, Hyacinth Hochpain).<sup>41</sup> Also oboe players served military purpo-

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38 Regarding the political situation, see SCHRYVER, 1996, pp. 140 ff.; HÜTTL, 1976, pp. 281 ff.

39 Payments and employments for the years 1704-1709 are documented in Bombarda's ledger in D-Mhsa, MF 19581, particularly from fol. 132, and for the years 1710-1712 in MF 19582 (without foliation). The musicians were accompanied by the servant Paul Führschildt/Fischenschildt, who received money for his return trip to Bavaria in 1705 and applied for a position as blower on 31 December 1705 (D-Mhsa, MF 19581, fol. 33v; MF 19590, n. 11, with certificate from Valeriano Pellegrini and Stefano Frilli).

40 Ebenpöck was employed at the Munich court before 1690; D-Mhsa, KBH 728 ff. (Besoldungsbuch 1690 ff.). Ories' employment occurred 1690; D-Mhsa, KBH 728 ff. (Besoldungsbuch 1690 ff.). He could possibly be identified as the "trompette felbries", who was paid in 1709; D-Mhsa, MF 19589 (letter dated 18 November 1713 regarding payments in Mons). The same source notes a salary payment to the "Trompette Dominique [Zehetner]". Zehetner was employed at the Munich court in 1704; D-Mhsa, KBH 743 (Besoldungsbuch 1704), fol. 133v (entry under Johann Pocorni).

41 Fink was possibly related with the trumpeter and violinist Johann Franz Fink, who is verified at the court in Bonn in 1697. BRAUBACH, 1967, p. 37. Regarding the trumpeter's function see ALTENBURG, vol. 1, pp. 88-93; with respect to their important functions in the court ceremonial (here at the Dresden court), which justified their generally high salary see MÜCKE, 2006.

ses. They can be verified in the exile court since 1705, were recruited under German and Wallonia-French forces and dismissed in 1711: Matthias Valentin Bartscher, Gottfried Ludwig Santer (from 1705), Johann Joseph Maillien (from 1706), Johann Anton Marchand (from 1710), Laurent Le Clerc (1711).<sup>42</sup> Other musicians joined the court only later and/or were recruited locally: Vinzenz Lambert<sup>43</sup> and Remi Normand<sup>44</sup> (from 1706) as well as the newly employed Pierre (?) Dechars (from 1704, dance master),<sup>45</sup> “Bonel” (from 1705), “Legrand” (from 1707), Cornelius Gerbl (from 1705, timpanist) and Franz Xaver Lorenz (from 1707, trumpeter). However, only Lorenz seems to have had a connection with the Elector’s court as he should have been related to the timpani player Johann Anton Lorenz, who had worked in the *Hofkapelle* at least since 1690.<sup>46</sup> The also paid Gregoire Bloy (from 1704) seems to have been a musical buffoon “who played the fagot with his mouth as if he had an instrument.”<sup>47</sup> It looks as if further musicians had only been hired at the end of Max Emanuel’s stay (see below), others again were temporarily in his service or were in contact with him (see above). One of these musicians is the violin player Jean-Baptiste Anet, who was not formally employed, but received a pension.<sup>48</sup>

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- 42 According to Bombarda’s ledger (D-Mhsa, MF 19582), a sixth oboe player was on the payment list in 1711 when all were dismissed in August. The oboe players served in the “squadron of mounted privates” (“Grenadiers à cheval esquadron”). In the case of Bartscher and Santer it can be assumed that they were not Walloons or Frenchmen. “Barcher” was employed in 1717 retrospectively as at 1 April in Munich. D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 174r (employment decree dated 16 April 1717).
- 43 In the source “Monsieur Lambert”, surely the violinist Vinzenz Lampert, as mentioned above.
- 44 Normand, also dismissed by the Austrian administration in 1705 has been in Max Emanuel’s service since 1695, see above.
- 45 Dechars (de Chars, Deschars) was dance master at the Opéra du quai au Foin during the time of the governorship. See VAN AELBROUCK, 2012, p. 122; ZUBER, 2012, p. 138.
- 46 D-Mhsa, KBH 728 ff. (Besoldungsbuch 1690 ff.). Regarding the role of family relationships in the context of musicians’ recruiting, see OVER, i.pr.
- 47 “welcher mit den Maull den fagot blaset, als ob er ein instrument hette”; D-Mhsa, MF 19581, fol. 187r.
- 48 He was recruited by Max Emanuel in France in 1710 and, together with other musicians, dismissed on 22 March 1715 (see ANTOINE, pp. 88f.). Next

Also Electress Therese Kunigunde left Munich. Her trip to Italy in 1705 served the purpose to deliberate her situation with her mother Maria Casimira, who resided in Rome after the death of her husband, King Jan Sobieski of Poland. The occupying force Austria allowed the electress to depart, but refused re-entry under the pretense of a lacking visa, which forced her into exile in Venice. There, she was met by dismissed court musicians from Munich which documents that also the electress practiced keen musical art as well as that the Munich musicians made musically-stylistic experiences in Venice, which enhanced their professional profile. The exile court documents the singers Pietro Lemoles (1706, 1711-12, 1714/15) and Massimiliano Gaetano Manzin (Maximilian Manzini/Mancini, 1707/08), who had surely already been born in Germany,<sup>49</sup> as well as the instrumentalist Franz Simon Schuechpaur (1708-09, table 3).<sup>50</sup>

## 1715: from exile to Munich

The end of the War of the Spanish Succession brought the reinstatement of their rights for Max Emanuel and his wife, which made the return to Munich possible. As the court personnel had been reduced to a minimum due to the Austrian occupation, the establishment of a new, representative court had to commence. In the process, a new constitution of the *Hofkapelle* was necessary, which had been completely liquidated in 1706 as mentioned above. Contrary to all expectations from a historically removed aspect, the dismissed musicians had taken on new positions only in exceptional cases, so that approx. 70% of the musical personnel of 1706 could be re-engaged in 1715.<sup>51</sup>

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to the final payment in March 1715, a payment is documented in August 1711: "To the violinist Baptist for his pension" ("Dem Violinisten Baptist a conto dessen pension"; D-Mhsa, MF 19582).

- 49 Manzini was the son of Dario Manzini, a singer in the *Hofkapelle* who died in 1695. As well as a grace payment for his mother, he was initially paid a reduced wage of 200 fl. (he may have been in training), which was increased to 400 fl. in 1701. D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 80r (decree dated 15 December 1695); KBH 733-740 (Besoldungsbuch 1695-1701).
- 50 OVER, 2007, particularly pp. 265f.; OVER, 2012, p. 91; regarding the exile time in general KÄGLER, 2011, pp. 446-469.
- 51 OVER, i.pr.

This was reinforced by the personnel originating from the various cultural spheres of the regents, with whom they came into contact during their exile: Max Emanuel brought musicians from the Spanish Netherlands and France, Therese Kunigunde those from Italy into the *Hofkapelle*. The personnel was often recruited specifically for the Munich court (see table 4).

The targeted engagement of musicians on the 'free market' can be demonstrated by the search for singers conducted by Electress Therese Kunigunde in Venice (see table 3). Numerous letters and other documents, which have been addressed elsewhere,<sup>52</sup> prove that the electress, who was extraordinarily well acquainted with the opera scene of the lagoon city and had acquired critical musical competence contacted successful singers who performed in the theaters of the city, as well as (due to cost reasons) those still in training. This is how Bartolomeo Bartoli (soprano-castrato), Francesco Maria Venturini (bass) and Vincenzo Corradi (instrumentalist and alto-castrato) arrived at the Munich court. She also consulted her sister in law, Violante Beatrix of Bavaria, who resided as the widow of Ferdinando de' Medici in Siena, and took over from her services the tenor Francesco Cignoni. A further musician, whom Therese Kunigunde recruited in Venice, was the violin player Giuseppe Brescianello who, following a short interval in Munich, became concertmaster in 1717, then *Oberkapellmeister* in 1721 in Stuttgart.<sup>53</sup> Ultimately, it has to be mentioned that the Electress obviously had contact to Antonio Vivaldi, whom she recommended to her husband as possible *Hofkapellmeister*. However, Max Emanuel declined with reference to the already employed 'opera expert' Pietro Torri.<sup>54</sup>

The origin of the new musicians was noted in the ledger 1715 not quite consistently. Thus, reference is made to the presence of musicians in a "Netherland ledger": these include the previously mentioned musicians who had partially returned to Munich as well as those who were obviously employed not long before the end of the exile time: the blower Adam Niedermayr (who was obviously not Flemish or Walloon), the scribe Franz Couvin and the Italian instrumentalist Thomas de Piani.<sup>55</sup>

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52 OVER, 2007, and OVER, 2012.

53 OVER, 2007, pp. 276-281; OVER, 2012, pp. 98f.; D-MhSa, KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 54r, 114v, 115r, 122r. Regarding the employment of Brescianello in Stuttgart see OWENS, 2011, pp. 172f.

54 OVER, 2004; OVER, 2007, pp. 282f.; OVER, 2012, pp. 99f.

55 D-MhSa, KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 113r, 118r, 118v, 123r. Regarding the employment of de Piani see also OVER, 2007, p. 281. (De) Piani

However, the majority of the newly employed musicians came with the elector from France, as indicated by respective notes. Thus, it is particularly those trumpeters already employed during the exile court, who are indicated with a respective side note in ledger 1715 (“court trumpeter who came along from France”).<sup>56</sup>

Two other trumpeters seem to come from a similar context, however it is not mentioned from which territory they came to Munich. Thus, Lorenz Böhmer and Johann Michael Leser were employed from the regiment of Count of Arco – this is probably the Bavarian Field Marshall Johann Baptist von Arco, who died on 21 March 1715 –<sup>57</sup> as well as Johann Georg Leitenroth from the cuirassier regiment of Count of Taufkirchen – most probably the Colonel and Brigadier Ferdinand Johann of Taufkirchen, whose “Taufkirchen-Kürassiere” existed since 1 November 1711 and were dissolved with the decree of 15 June 1715.<sup>58</sup>

The engagement of a court oboist band could have been based on French as well as military experiences, as recorded in ledger 1715 (“five oboists coming from France”): the earlier mentioned Johann Joseph Maillen, Gottfried Ludwig Sander and Johann Anton Marchand, who are verifiable in the French Bavarian troops, were supplemented by Marin

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came from Naples, where he was taught at the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini until 1705. He remained in Munich until 1716 (KBH 756 [Besoldungsbuch 1716], fol. 93v) and can be found in the Vienna *Hofkapelle* from 1717 until his death in 1760. His cousin (?), Giovanni Battista Piani, has been in the service of Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, Comte de Toulouse since 1704 and is found in the Vienna *Hofkapelle* from 1720. Regarding both Piani see PIANI, 1975, p. vii, as well as KÖCHEL, 1869, pp. 76f., 83, 86.

56 “aus Franckhreich mitko[m]mener hoff=Trompeter” and similar. D-Mhsa, KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 196v-197v.

57 Böhmer: D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677b/II, fol. 57r (employment decree dated 9 May 1715); KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 197v. Leser: Fürstensachen 677b/II, fol. 56r (decree dated 9 May 1715). Regarding Johann Baptist von Arco see ARETIN, 1953.

58 D-Mhsa, employment decree with reference to his fifteen-year activity as military trumpeter dated 11 October 1715 in Fürstensachen 677b/II, fol. 113r; KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 198r. Regarding Taufkirchen see STAUDINGER, 1904, vol. 2, pp. 816-818. Taufkirchen had accompanied Max Emanuel in various functions in the Spanish Netherlands and into exile (see *IBID.*, vol. 1, p. 82; vol. 2, pp. 784, 801, 810, 814, 1192).

Pourveu and Ignaz Balthasar.<sup>59</sup> With the employment of oboists at court, which – as far as the rather inconsistent information in the documents on the instruments available in the *Hofkapelle* allow – had not been present prior to 1706, Max Emanuel joins a general tendency observable at German courts around 1700,<sup>60</sup> but adopts this tendency late.

Also French-inspired was the employment of a French theater troupe (the “französischen Co[m]moedianten”)<sup>61</sup> which, next to actors, comprised of personnel which could also be utilised for ballet and opera performances: the dancers Jean Pierre and Pierre Dubreil as well as Marie Le Fevre, the “Simphonist” Pierre Gravier, the stage designers Pierre Laurent (“decorateur”), Nicolas Roger and Pierre Henry (both “Soudecorateur”), the wardrobe ladies Catherine Duclos and Marie Laurent as well as the prompter Bonne Daufliise.<sup>62</sup> That this personnel was also interesting for the realization of non-French plays and other performances is proven by the fact that the two Dubreil (now dance master), Laurent (from 1721 “Theatres und Scennen Decorator”) and Henry continued to be employed after the dismissal of the troop in 1720.<sup>63</sup> Also the “Symphonist” Pierre Rey, who replaced the retired

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59 “auser franckhreich geko[m]menen .5. Hautboisisten”. D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 137r (employment decree dated 12 September 1715); KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 123v-124r. Here, it is pointed out that the oboists had already been in the service of Max Emanuel prior to their employment in Munich. Regarding oboist bands as independent corporations see DUBOWY, 2001, pp. 92f., and BRAUN, 1971. Regarding oboists in the Bavarian and Netherland regiments, which had occasionally existed since 1689 and which were only permitted in the personal regiment of the elector and that of the electoral prince since 1699/1700, see STAUDINGER, 1904, vol. 1, pp. 97f., 117, 121f.; vol. 2, pp. 815, 1336.

60 BRAUN, 1971, pp. 45-50.

61 During the French exile, Max Emanuel had engaged a theater troupe between 1708 and 1712. This troupe comprised a major part of the personnel from the time of the governorship (ZUBER, 2012, pp. 138-140) and is not identical with the Munich troupe.

62 D-Mhsa, KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 149r-149 1/2r.

63 The ongoing employment was surely connected with the preparations for the wedding of the heir to the throne, Prince Elector Karl Albrecht with Archduchess Maria Amalia of Austria in 1722. This event was celebrated with scenic spectacles of all kinds (see WERR, 2010, pp. 233-248; SOMMER-MATHIS 1994, pp. 53-67). The imperial decision to marry Maria Amalia to

Gravier in 1719 was taken over and recorded in the Hofkapelle as violinist from 1722.<sup>64</sup>

In addition, two further instrumentalists were recruited in France: Jacques Loeillet (Le Lieu, Loeilliet, Loeillier or similar, oboe; he receives “the salary he enjoyed in France”), who originated from Ghent (Gent) and possibly met Max Emanuel as early as in the Spanish Netherlands, and Gabriel Dubuisson (“chamber musician with the salary he enjoyed in France”).<sup>65</sup> Two musicians can be recognized as coming from French-speaking areas by their name, whereby it has to remain open when and where they were engaged and whether they came from Wallonia or France. Worth mentioning are the dance master at the University of Ingolstadt, Carl Gouvillet, and the “discantist” Johann Romedi Piubelin (who was probably a choir boy as he only remained in Munich until 1721).<sup>66</sup>

However, not only the exiles of the regents were decisive factors; also others determined the recruiting of musicians. Some musicians had belonged to the court of the princes in their exile in Klagenfurt and Graz and now followed them to Munich: the dance master Johann Ferdinand Le Comte from Vienna (since 1707), the double-bass player Franz Anton Hindermaier (since 1711) and the lute player Wolff Jacob Lauffensteiner, who had taught the princes in music since 1712.<sup>67</sup> The violinist Johann

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Bavaria and her older sister Maria Josepha to the competing Dresden court was already made on 28 February 1719 (STASZEWSKI, 1996, p. 94).

64 D-Mhsa, KBH 759 (Besoldungsbuch 1719), fol. 118r; KBH 760 (Besoldungsbuch 1720), fol. 126r, 128r, 130r; KBH 761 (Besoldungsbuch 1721), fol. 120r-121r; KBH 762 (Besoldungsbuch 1722), fol. 113v, 123r-124v.

65 “die in franckreich genossene besoldung” resp. “Ca[m]mer Musico mit der in franckreich genossenen besoldung”. D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 138r (employment decree for “Lellie” dated 19 September 1715), fol. 144r (employment decree for Dubuisson dated 10 January 1716); KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 118v, 124v. Regarding Loeillet see SKEMPTON/ROBINSON and SL/(PRIESTMAN), 2004, col. 380, who specify 1726 as employment year in Munich; OVER, 2007, p. 281; JANZEN, 1983, p. 503; MÜNSTER, 1976, p. 305.

66 D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 132r (employment decree for Piubelin dated 10 June 1715); KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 115r, 142r.

67 ZEDLER, 2012, pp. 342, 349, 351, 356; ISER, 2000, p. 98; FLOTZINGER, 1966, pp. 212-239; D-Mhsa, KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 66r, 120v, 149 1/2v. Following the time in exile, Lauffensteiner was employed as valet to Ferdinand Maria and, for his teachings to the prince (lute and other instruments) and own compositions, received a pay rise of 100 fl. to

Pluemb or Bluemb, who also worked at the court of the princes, had been in the Munich *Hofkapelle* since 1704 and was one of the musicians who were dismissed in 1706.<sup>68</sup> In 1715, he also returned.

Two further court and field trumpeters, whose employment is only indirectly related with the exile of the regents, were recruited from the troops of the occupying forces. Elias Anton Taunickh and Lorenz Bruno Kern came from the entourage of Prince Maximilian Karl of Löwenstein<sup>69</sup> who, as administrator of the dukedom Bavaria, was responsible for the hard Austrian occupation.<sup>70</sup>

A different case is the Bohemian Anton Alexius Haveck (Havek), *Kapellmeister* of the *Hochstift* Regensburg, whose *vita* is closely connected with Max Emanuel's brother, Joseph Clemens. Until 1702, Haveck was "employed in Munich in the [Jesuit?] school" and subsequently worked in Regensburg upon recommendation by Count Törring,<sup>71</sup> the bishopric seat of which was held by Joseph Clemens since 1685. 1715, when Joseph Clemens had to surrender this office due to ecclesiastical-legal reasons,<sup>72</sup> Haveck returned to Munich as an organist,<sup>73</sup> where he possibly held a waiting position, similar to Johann Christoph Pez in 1702.<sup>74</sup> Haveck left the Munich court as early as 1717 in order to accept a position at the Bonn court of Joseph Clemens, where he died in 1723.<sup>75</sup>

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450 fl. on 20 July 1715 and by 150 fl. to 600 fl. on 23 April 1717 (D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677b/II, fol. 99r, 213r).

68 ZEDLER, 2012, pp. 342, 349; ISER, 2000, p. 98; D-Mhsa, KBH 743-746 (Besoldungsbuch 1704-1706 [resp. fol. 83v, 80r, 55r, 61r]); KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 120r.

69 Taunickh: D-Mhsa, KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 198v; Kern: fol. 199r. Employment decrees from 7 and/or 8 July 1715 in D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677b/II, fol. 94r, 96r.

70 Regarding Prince Löwenstein see ZUBER, 1987.

71 "in München bei der Schul angestellt". METTENLEITER, 1866 (p. 120, without reference, but "processed from archival documents and other sources").

72 ENGELBRECHT, 1999, p. 14.

73 D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 133r (employment decree dated 12 June 1715); KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 121r.

74 Regarding Pez see OVER, i.pr., and the contribution of OVER/ROEDER in this volume.

75 D-Mhsa, KBH 758 (Besoldungsbuch 1718), fol. 94r: „ist aus dem dienst gangen“. His name is recorded in the Bonn court calendars from 1717 to 1724 ("Haveck", "Haveck senior", without first name) as instrumentalist

Other musicians were newly employed at court due to family relationships, whereby the most interesting case should be that of the violinist and oboist Nikolaus Joseph Thomas. Thomas was surely related with Ferdinand Matthias Thomas, who was employed in 1703 and reemployed in 1715; both were sent to the Spanish court to Madrid by Max Emanuel (in diplomatic mission?).<sup>76</sup> Due to the political alliances and constellations, the stay would have fallen in the period after 1701,<sup>77</sup> when Bourbon Philipp V ascended his throne in Madrid,<sup>78</sup> while his Habsburg counterpart Archduke Karl III (the latter Emperor Karl VI) resided in Barcelona since 1705.<sup>79</sup> The organist Johann Christoph Kerll (“Kerll”) was also employed due to his kinship with Johann Caspar Kerll (he was his son), organist at the Munich *Hofkapelle* from 1656 to 1674, where he died in 1693. According to Siegbert Rampe and Andreas Rockstroh, Johann Christoph was educated at the expense of the court and employed as early as 1702.<sup>80</sup> The latter cannot be verified in the ledgers; however, reference is made that he worked for the court orchestra unpaid for two years – and that his employment was the consequence of his father’s long service.<sup>81</sup>

Ultimately, there are musicians whose origins are not specified in the sources and who possibly came from Munich and surrounding areas. These included the two hornists Johann Kaspar and Matthias Ganspöck,

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and valet. He died in 1723, see court calendar 1724 (rubric “*Abgestorbene Hoff-Bediente vom Jahr 1723.*”). See also BRAUBACH, 1967, who refers to Haveck’s name in a nondescript list of 1716 (p. 40) and assumes that the family originated in Bavaria (p. 60).

- 76 Ferdinand Matthias: D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 117r (28 January 1703); Nikolaus Joseph: D-Mhsa, KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 121v.
- 77 Both Thomas’ have obviously left no traces at the Spanish *Hofkapelle* and are not mentioned in SÁNCHEZ-BELÉN, 2005, SANHUESA FONSECA, 1997, KENYON DE PASCUAL, 1995, SÁNCHEZ-BELÉN/SAAVEDRA ZAPATER, 1995, JAMBOU, 1989, and KENYON DE PASCUAL, 1987.
- 78 He arrived in Madrid on 22 January 1701 and moved in officially on 18 February. See SCHNETTGER, 2014, p. 121 (chronology); SCHRYVER 1996, p. 117.
- 79 Regarding the court of Archduke Karl III see CASADEMUNT I FIOL, 2011, and SOMMER-MATHIS, 1996.
- 80 RAMPE/ROCKSTROH, 2003, col. 31.
- 81 See D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 130r (employment decree dated 20 May 1715).

instrumentalist Paul Reininger and the trumpeter Veith Augeneder.<sup>82</sup> It is also unknown how the singer Lucrezia Panizza, who originated from Trent, was engaged.<sup>83</sup>

However, the latter may have encountered similar happy circumstances as in case of Filippo Balatri, who was engaged at the Munich court while traveling through. Balatri, who provides ample information with respect to migration research and who left behind an autobiography in verse form, was at the court of the Wittelsbach branch Pfalz-Neuburg in Düsseldorf from July until September 1715, where he was ordered by Cosimo III de' Medici to return home to Tuscany.<sup>84</sup> Elector Johann Wilhelm of the Palatinate was, due to his ancestors, connected to the Bavarian Wittelsbach branch as well as the Florentine Medici due to his marriage to Maria Anna Luisa, Cosimo's daughter. Cosimo's son Ferdinando, who died as early as 1713, had furthermore married Max Emanuel's sister, Violante Beatrix. The diverse familial connections possibly caused that Johann Wilhelm issued a letter of recommendation for Balatri which was to secure for him a benevolent reception at the Munich court.<sup>85</sup> Possibly arriving in Munich in October 1715, Balatri presented the letter to the electoral prince Karl Albrecht; he was then introduced to the Elector by Pietro Torri. The Elector auditioned the castrato and, again via Torri, asked him to stay. Following negotiations with Cosimo,

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82 D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 128r (employment decree for Reininger dated 8 May 1715), 129r (employment decree of both "Ganßspekh" dated 8 May 1715); KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 120r-v, 121v, 198r, 199r.

83 She is specified as "Lugrezia Panizza di Trento" in the only libretto, which mentions her name (*La Partenope*, Trent 1713). See SARTORI, Nr. 17824. Regarding her Munich employment until 1716 see D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 139r (employment decree dated 30 October 1715): retrospective employment as at 1 June; KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 116v; KBH 756 (Besoldungsbuch 1716), fol. 92r. She can be verified from 1723 to 1740 in the Vienna Hofkapelle (KÖCHEL, 1869, p. 76) and was possibly related to Jacob Anton Panizza "of Trent", who requested the financing of his education by the Vienna court in 1675. See KNAUS, 1967-69, vol. 2, p. 34.

84 BALATRI, vol. 2, fol. 94v. The duration of the stay is evident from the fact that Balatri arrived in Düsseldorf prior to the name day of the Electress (26 July) (fol. 92v) and stayed for three months, according to his own information (fol. 94r).

85 BALATRI, vol. 2, fol. 94v-95r.

to whom Balatri felt obligated as his governor and who probably released him without fuss, he initially procured – according to his own words (this cannot be verified by the documents) – employment for his brother Ferrante, in order to ultimately join the *Hofkapelle* in Munich as a singer:<sup>86</sup>

A Monaco arrivato, io presento  
al Conte Alberto il Foglio Palatino.  
Il Torri (ch'in compor' hà del Divino)  
all'Elettor' mi guida (a un' lieto evento.)

Il Gran' Massimiliano, d'ascoltare  
il canto mio si degna; e buon' desio  
al Torri ne dimostra acciocche io  
risolvami in Baviera di restare.

Quello, che è suo Mastro di Cappella,  
contento mene fà proposizione.  
Rispondo, che il Granduca è mio Padre:ne,  
e gl'appartiene l'Asino e la sella.

Scrivine (mi risponde) prontamente,  
e son' sicuro che il tuo Signore  
privato non vorrà di tant'Onore,  
servendo à sì Gran Prence, e suo Parente.

Inpenno un' Foglio, e con rassegnazione  
à quanto piaceranne al mio Sovrano.  
Risponde, ch'egli gode in dar' la mano  
di tanto mio vantaggio all'occasione.

[...]

Ne mostra del piacere l'Elettore,  
e mi fà dir', quanto ch'io voglio avere?  
Rispondo, che non vuò ch'il suo volere,  
purche inpieghi il German; per cui hò amore.

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86 BALATRI, vol. 2, fol. 101r-102v.

Subito al caro Frate fà assegnare  
trecento buon' Fiorini per ciasch'Anno;  
Con questo, ch'abbia il peso (e grave danno)  
di dormir', meglio bere, e più mangiare;<sup>87</sup>

[...]

Veggio dunque il German' accomodare,  
in stato dannon far' ch'il Cavaliere.  
A Fiorenza (al ministro) fo sapere,  
ch'hò piazzato l' Fratel', senza sudare.

Mille Fiorini all'Anno mi fà dare  
l'Elettore, Clemente e Generoso.  
Il servirlo può dirsi un' ver riposo,  
essendo le fatiche poche, e rare.<sup>88</sup>

## Conclusion

The investigations of the relocation of the court of the Bavarian elector couple leads – perfunctory – to a seemingly mundane result that musician migrations are linked to the traveling regents. However, if one considers the traveling musicians/musician groups as individual cases, the different motivations leading to migration become obvious. It seems not without reason that Max Emanuel 1694/95 had ordered the musicians Deibner, Lambert and possibly Sové to Brussels. With this action, he summoned personnel to the Spanish Netherlands which had been educated in France and was probably to be assigned for his opera plans, which were realized in form of operas by Jean-Baptiste

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87 However, Ferrante Balatri was only employed on 15 December 1716 and is recorded in the ledgers as vocalist (“musicus”) from 1717. D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 149r; KBH 757 (Besoldungsbuch 1717), fol. 91r. In 1721, he sang in the opera *L'amor d'amico vince ogni altro amore* (SARTORI, Nr. 1333, “Fernante Ballatri”).

88 With decree dated 6 February 1716, Filippo Balatri was employed retrospectively from 1 October 1715. D-Mhsa, Fürstensachen 677e, fol. 145r; KBH 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715), fol. 116v.

Lully in the Opéra du quai au Foin and in the Théâtre de la Monnaie since 1695.<sup>89</sup> The strong French orientation, which is also manifest in the employment of French-Walloon personnel (Le Cocq, Le Vray etc.), is not reduced by the presence of foreign instrumentalists such as Schuechpaur and Trevisani. These expanded their stylistic and performance-technical competences in Brussels, as can be verified for Torri on a compositional level.<sup>90</sup> The singers whom Max Emanuel fetched to Brussels are mostly Italians or personnel educated in Italy (Hader, Pantani, Riccardini), with the exception of bassist Seerieder. Overall, this correlates with Max Emanuel's preference for Italian singing and French instrumental performances.<sup>91</sup>

On one hand, the migration of musicians from Brussels to Munich is motivated by the return of the musicians called to Brussels and, on the other, by the employment rooted in Munich, whereby aspects such as appeal – one obviously held a position for life as court musician – and loyalty – court service seems to have been more or less synonymous with a fiduciary relationship – were decisive for the migration.<sup>92</sup>

Exile also provided musicians with the option of an expansion of competencies abroad due to accompanying and/or following the regents. For example, the German Schuechpaur was able to expand his spectrum, which had already been enriched in the Spanish Netherlands, by stylistic and performance-technical experiences in Italy.

The reorganization of the *Hofkapelle* in 1715 indicates the diversity of “sources” from which the musicians were recruited, who subsequently migrated to Munich. Next to a large contingent of court musicians who remained “loyal” during the time of exile (i.e. without entering into a new employment), the respective personal experiences of the regents in the different countries were decisive, leading to a certain selection of musicians/musician groups (oboist band, actor troupe, Italian singers). Also here, the French orientation with respect to the instrumentalists and the Italian orientation with respect to the singers become evident, particularly also by the fact that Max Emanuel expressed reservations with respect to the Italian violinist Brescianello.<sup>93</sup>

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89 VAN AELBROUCK, 2012, pp. 122-124; COUVREUR, 2001, pp. 154-163.

90 JAHRMÄRKER, 2012.

91 OVER, 2007, p. 281; SCHARRER, 2012.

92 See also OVER, i.pr.

93 OVER, 2007, p. 281.

The musicians newly engaged in 1715 furthermore show that musicians in the entourage of the elector naturally reflected the stations of his exile. Some musicians accompanied him into Dutch exile or were hired there. Some seemed to join the entourage of the elector in France, as in case of the oboist band or the French actor troupe, which brought a reflection of the French lifestyle to Munich. Despite this, it is rather unlikely that a “court trumpeter who came along from France” or a timpanist with a German name was only recruited in France. It seems rather more likely that he joined the court with the troop movements of the Bavarian-French alliance during the war in Bavaria, the Spanish Netherlands and France.<sup>94</sup> The reasons for this can surely be found in the military function of the instruments and the related signal-call competency.<sup>95</sup> Also the employment of Louis Petit in Brussels, who remained there after Max Emanuel’s departure but was paid until his death, is possibly motivated by his specific knowledge of Spanish-Dutch signal calls – next to the fact that he could be used for courier services due to his linguistic skills.<sup>96</sup> Ultimately, the admission of trumpeters would only have been possible for the occupying forces if these mastered Bavarian signal calls – surely *the* motive why Prince Löwenstein had already hired them.

Many special cases exhibited other constellations and dynamics connected to musician migrations. Musicians were able to come to Munich in the entourage of the princes (Hindermair, Le Comte, Lauffensteiner), be employed due to dynastic contexts (Haveck), return following missions at foreign courts (Thomas) or receive the offer of an engagement while traveling through (Balatri).

However, collectively it has to be stated that migration of the musicians connected with the Munich court seems to have been in most cases motivated by their dependency on the regent couple and their children rather than by personal (career) objectives (which could, at the most, be presumed in case of Sové and Haveck).<sup>97</sup> The relocation of the electoral family court resulted in migrations; their preferences and desires were responsible for the change of residence of musicians.

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94 See here SCHRYVER, 1996, pp. 140 ff.; HÜTTL, 1976, pp. 377 ff.

95 During the times of Max Emanuel, military personnel were at any rate predominantly recruited among native children. ALBRECHT, 1988, pp. 662f.; HÜTTL, 1976, pp. 308-313.

96 D-Mhsa, Kriegsarchiv, F 69 (employment decree dated 7 October 1693).

97 See here also OVER, i.pr.

## Appendix

Table 1: Musicians in Brussels 1692-1701 (B = Brussels, BN = Bonn, M = Munich, R = Rome)

Name	1691	1692	1693	1694	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702	Remarks
Bombarda, Giovanni Paolo	M	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	opera entrepreneur in Brussels: 1694-97 Opéra du quai au Foin, 1700-1706? Théâtre de la Monnaie
“zwey Choralisten”										B	B		
Deibner, Felix Emanuel	M	M	M	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	M	supplementary grant for maintenance in Brussels paid until March 1701
Fivé, Peter						B	B						died in 1697
Hader, Clementin								B					since 1698 in Brussels at the latest, no entry in the salary books
Lampert, Vinzenz	M	M	M	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	M	supplementary grant for maintenance in Brussels paid until March 1701
Le Cocq, Franz Anton					B	B	B	B	B	B	B		employed at the expense of the Munich <i>Hofkapelle</i>
Le Vray, Peter							B	B	B	B	B	M	



Table 2: Musicians in Max Emanuel's exile in the Netherlands and France (1704-1715)

<b>Name</b>	<b>Function</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
<i>Chamber musicians</i>		
Torri, Pietro	director of the chapel	payments documented: 1704-1708
Levray, Peter	chamber assistant, musician	payments documented: 1704-1708
Trevisani, Giuseppe	[theorbo player]	payments documented: 1704-1708
Pellegrini, Valeriano	[singer]	payments documented: 1704-1706
Frilli, Stefano	[singer]	payments documented: 1704-1706
Le Cocq, Franz Anton	instrumentalist	payments documented: 1704-1707
Dall'Abaco, Evaristo Felice	chamber musician	payments documented: 1705-1709
Hadersberg, Clementin von	chamber musician [singer]	payments documented: 1704-1707, 1709, 1711, also with Max Emanuel in 1710*
Bonel, ?	musician	employed 1 <sup>st</sup> June 1705, payments documented: 1705-1707, 1710
Lambert, Vinzenz?	violin?	employed 1 <sup>st</sup> January 1706, payments documented: 1706
Normand, Remi	chamber musician	employed 1 <sup>st</sup> February 1706, payments documented: 1706-1707, 1709
Legrand, ?	musician	employed 1 <sup>st</sup> January 1707, payments documented: 1707-1708
<i>Trumpeters</i>		
Ebenpöck, Abraham	trumpet	payments documented: 1704-1707, 1711
Ories, Franciscus	trumpet	payments documented: 1704-1708, 1709?

Zehentner, Dominicus	trumpet	payments documented: 1704-1707, 1709
Fink, Matthias Anton	trumpet	payments documented: 1704-1707
Burger, Johann Caspar	trumpet	payments documented: 1704-1707, 1711
Hochpain, Hyacinth	trumpet	payments documented: 1704-1707
Gerbl, Cornelius	kettledrum	employed 6 March 1705, payments documented: 1705-1707
Lorenz, Franz Xaver	trumpet	employed 1 <sup>st</sup> April 1707, payments documented: 1707-1708, 1711
<i>Other artistic staff</i>		
Dechars, Pierre?	dance master	employed 1 <sup>st</sup> October 1704, payments documented: 1704-1709, 1711
Bloyy, Gregoire	buffonesque musician	payments documented: 1704-1706
Anet, Jean-Baptiste	violin	payments documented: August 1711 (pension), March 1715 (final payment)
<i>Military musicians</i>		
Le Clerc, Laurent	oboe	payments documented: 1711
Santer, Gottfried Ludwig	oboe	payments documented: 1705-1706, 1710-1711, unidentified (without month and year)
Bartscher, Matthias Valentin	oboe	payments documented: 1705-1706, 1710-1711, unidentified (without month and year)
Mallien, Johann Joseph	oboe	payments documented: 1706, 1710-1711, unidentified (without month and year)
Marchand, Johann Anton	oboe	payments documented: 1710-1711, unidentified (without month and year)

\* In November 1710 he receives a payment, in June 1711 the reimbursement for his travel costs to Paris. D-Mhsa, MF 19582.

Table 3: Musicians in Therese Kunigunde's exile in Venice (1705-1715)

<b>Name</b>	<b>Function</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
<i>Musicians from Munich</i>		
Lemoles, Pietro	singer	payments documented: 1706, 1711-12, 1714/15; 1709 presence in Venice documented
Manzini, Maximilian	instrumentalist	payments documented: 1707/08
Schuechpaur, Franz Simon	instrumentalist	payments documented: 1708-1709
<i>Newly recruited musicians</i>		
Cignoni, Francesco	tenor	employed in November 1713
Bartoli, Bartolomeo	soprano	employed 1 <sup>st</sup> May 1714
Venturini, Francesco Maria	bass	employed 1 <sup>st</sup> October 1714
Brescianello, Giuseppe	violin	employed 19 November 1714
Corradi, Vincenzo	instrumentalist (later alto)	employed 12 March 1715

Table 4: Newly employed musicians in 1715

<b>Name</b>	<b>Function</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
<i>Provenance: Spanish Netherlands</i>		
de Chars [Pierre Deschars?]	pages's dance master	see table 2
Couvin, Franz	copyist	

de Piani, Thomas	instrumentalist	1717 in Vienna <i>Hofkapelle</i>
Niedermayr, Adam	blower	
<i>Provenance: France (trumpeter)</i>		
Burger, Hans Kaspar	trumpet	see table 2
Fink, Matthias Anton	trumpet	see table 2
Hochpain, Hyacinth	trumpet	see table 2
Lorenz, Franz Xaver	trumpet	see table 2
Gerbl, Cornelius	kettledrum	see table 2
<i>Provenance: France (oboe band)</i>		
Balthasar, Ignaz	oboe	
Maillen, Johann Joseph	oboe	see table 2
Marchand, Johann Anton	oboe	see table 2
Pourveu, Marin	oboe	
Santer, Gottfried Ludwig	oboe	see table 2
<i>Provenance: France</i>		
Loeillet, Jacques	instrumentalist	from Ghent, maybe already in service in the Spanish Netherlands, but no payments documented
Dubuisson, Gabriel	instrumentalist	
<i>Provenance: France (French actors)</i>		
Du Breil, Jean Pierre	dancer	

Du Breil, Pierre	dancer	
Le Fevre, Marie	dancer	dismissed in 1720
Gravier, Pierre	“Simphonist” (instrumentalist)	substituted by Pierre Rey in 1719
Henry, Pierre	stage designer	
Laurent, Pierre	stage designer	
Roger, Nicolas	stage designer	dismissed in 1720
Du Clos, Catherine	costumer	dismissed in 1720
Laurent, Marie	costumer	dismissed in 1720
Dauflice, Bonne	prompter	dismissed in 1720
<i>Provenance: Wallonia or France</i>		
Gouvillet, Carl	dance master at the University of Ingolstadt	
Piubelin, Johann Romedi	“Discantist”	maybe choir boy
<i>Provenance: Italy</i>		
Bartoli, Bartolomeo	soprano	see table 3
Brescianello, Giuseppe	violin	see table 3, 1717 in Stuttgart <i>Hofkapelle</i>
Cignoni, Francesco	tenor	see table 3
Corradi, Vincenzo	instrumentalist (later alto)	see table 3
Venturini, Francesco Maria	bass	see table 3

<i>Provenance: Spain (Madrid)</i>		
Thomas, Nikolaus Joseph	violin, oboe	sent to Madrid by Elector Max Emanuel, maybe relative of the court musician Ferdinand Matthias Thomas
<i>Provenance: Klagenfurt/Graz (electoral prince's exile)</i>		
Hindermair, Franz	double bass	
Le Comte, Johann Ferdinand	princes' dance master	from Vienna
Lauffensteiner, Wolff Jacob	music teacher (lute and other instruments)	from Graz
<i>Provenance: "Hochstift" Regensburg</i>		
Haveck, Anton Alexius	organ	former <i>Kapellmeister</i> of the "Hochstift" Ratisbon
<i>Provenance: Bavarian/Austrian regiments</i>		
Böhlmer, Lorenz	trumpet	from count Arco's regiment
Leser, Johann Michael	trumpet	from count Arco's regiment
Leitenroth, Johann Georg	trumpet	from count of Taufkirchen's regiment
Kern, Lorenz Bruno	trumpet	from prince Löwenstein's occupation troupe
Taunickh, Elias Anton	trumpet	from prince Löwenstein's occupation troupe
<i>Provenance: local</i>		
Kerll, Johann Christoph	organ	Johann Caspar Kerll's son
<i>Provenance: other</i>		
Balatri, Filippo	soprano	passing through Munich

Panizza, Lucrezia	singer	1723 in Vienna <i>Hofkapelle</i>
Ganspöck, Johann Kaspar	horn	local musician?
Ganspöck, Matthias	horn	local musician?
Reininger, Paul	instrumentalist	local musician?
Augermeder, Veith	trumpet	local musician?

## Letters

D-Mhsa, GHA, Obersthofmeisterstab 2164: Letter from the High Stewart (“Obersthofmeister”) to Elector Max Emanuel from 13 April 1695

Most serene Elector,  
most clement Lord.

Your electoral most serene court musician Gérard Sovve has asked me to grant him a journey to Antwerp for three or four months. But because it is beyond my power to grant for so a long time I therefore most humbly ask Your Electoral Highness for your most gracious order and in such a way as Your Electoral High Grace would like to command. Munich, 13 April in the year 1695.

Of Your Electoral Highness most humble and most obedient servant  
[...]

# the decision has already been made, signed Brussels, 11 May 1695.

Durchleüchtigster Churfürst,  
Genedigister Herr.

Es hat Euer churfirt: drt: Hofmusicant, Gérard Sové mich gebetten, daß ich Ihme nach Antorf [Antwerpen] uf .3. oder .4. Monath Zuverraisen erlaubnus geben mechte; Weillen aber solche, uf solange Zeit Zuerthailen in meinen Gwalt nicht stehet; Alß habe d[e]ss[e]thalben beÿ Eur churfirt: Drt: mich dero G[nä]digisten befelchs hierÿber, in Unnderthenigkheit erhollen „ unnd mithin solcher gestalten, Zu churfirt: hohen Gnaden befelchen wollen. München den .13. April anno .1695.

Euer Churfirt: Drt:

Unnderthenigist „, Gehorsambister  
dienner.

[nonreadable signature, probably by the High Stewart]

[on the cover:] # die resolution ist schon ergang[en]. sign. Brüßel den 11. May 1695.

D-Mhsa, GHA, Obersthofmeisterstab 2164: Decree by Elector Max Emanuel from 18 June 1696

Maximilian Emanuel, by divine right Duke in Higher and Lower Bavaria and in the Higher Palatinate, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Arch-Seneschall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg

First our salutation, high- and well-born, dear abider,  
We graciously decided to let come here in the Netherlands Simon Schuechpaur, musician and violinist in our *Hofkapelle*. We therefore tell you to properly command that my decision is imparted to Schuechpaur and that he shall either come with the women called to come here recently provided they did not leave yet or with the next opportunity.<sup>98</sup> Also our court chamber should be duly informed about the delivery of the boarding wages and the trip money. We are favourably disposed towards you with grace; given in the camp near Limale 18 June in the year 1696.

[...]

Von Gottesgnaden Maximilian Emanuel in ober und nidern Baÿrn, auch der obern Pfalz herzog Pfalzgraf bej Rhein des heil: Röm: Reichs Erztruchsess und Churfürst Landgraf zu Leüchtenberg

Unserm grues Zuvor, Hoch und wollgeborener, lieber Getreuer.  
Demnach Wür gn[ä]di[g]st resolvirt, den Simon Schuchbaur, Musicum und Violinisten beÿ Unser Hoff Capelln, anhero in Nid[er]landt ko[m]men zulass[en]; Alsbefohlen Wir Euch hiemit gn[ä]di[g]st, die behörige Verfügung Zuthuen, das ihme Schuchbaur solches bedeuuttet werde, und Er entwed[er]s mit deren jüngst hieher berueffenen Weibs Persohnen, wann selbige noch nicht abgeraiset, od[er] mit negster gelegenheit herab ko[m]me; Warvon auch Unser HoffCammer[er] wegen Verreichung des benöthigten Kost- od[er] raisgeldts gebührendte nachricht zugeben; Seindt Euch anbej mit Gnad wolgewogen; dat: im feldtlager bej Limale

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98 Only in 1697 a regular transport service for goods and people had been established. Cf. TRÖGER 1998, pp. 16 and 18.

den 18.t Junij a.o 1696.  
Ex Comissione Ser.mi Dnj  
Ducis Electoris

An Obristhoffmaistern [clerk's signature?] P:F.Kempis [?]

[cover addressed to the High Stewart Paul Fugger, Graf zu Kirchberg  
und Weißenhorn]

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Letter of the High Stewart ("Obersthofmeister") to the Elector Max  
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Antwerp (D-Mhsa, GHA, Obersthofmeisterstab 2164).  
Specification/Waß von Ihro Ch: Drl: do [?] Musicanti, so in der Königl:  
Capel zu Brüssel die dienste versech[en] gn[ä]di[g]st assignirt  
word[en], waß sie von den Königl: financen empfangen; und ihnen  
noch restirt [concerning staff costs between 1698 and 31 March 1701]  
(D-Mhsa, GHA, Hofhaushaltsakten 462).  
Verzeichnuss./Der angeschafften Hoch: und Nideren Bedienten zu  
Brissl, ... bsoldung beim Chrfr: Hofzahlamt München bezalt  
word[en]. (D-Mhsa, GHA, Hofhaushaltsakten 463).  
Verzeichnuss./Der Churfrt: Hoch: und Nideren Bediente[n], welche beim  
Churfrt: Hofzahlamt alhier angeschafft: und sich dermahlen zu  
Brissl befundten, und auch, welche von hier hinundter ko[m]men,  
und ... aldort zu deren vorgehabten bsoldung, ainige besserung ad

adiuta seint bewilligt word[en]. (D-Mhsa, GHA, Hofhaushaltsakten 463).

Verzeichnuss./Was hernach folgent: und zu Brissl sich befindente chrfrt: bediente, an bsoldung für das 3. und .4.te Quartal, wie auch an den angeschaffte haus Zünz pro anno 1697 ybermacht [?] worden. (D-Mhsa, GHA, Hofhaushaltsakten 463).

Verzaig/aller Persohnen, welche der/mahlen bey der Churfrt: Hoff/haltung alhier abgespeiset:/oder mit dm monatlichem/adiuta berpflegt worden./... Brissl dm .12. July / 1698 (D-Mhsa, GHA, Hofhaushaltsakten 461).

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