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‘senza che il Maestro di Capella ne sappia cosa alcuna’—some new light on imperial court repertory in the collection of Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcorno at Kroměříž

FOR scholars of 17th-century music in the Habsburg lands, Kroměříž Castle and its music collection hold a variety of connotations; for those who in the past have unsuccessfully attempted to obtain mail-order photocopies of material in the collection, mainly frustration; for those who went there in person, mainly delight, a walk through the spectacular castle gardens or a glimpse of the outstanding art collection providing sufficient entertainment to pass the time between the music collection's opening hours, and where, until a few years ago, Moravian hospitality made it possible to enjoy the latest Czech *Schlager* music on the radio and a cup of coffee whilst studying Heinrich Biber's autographs.¹ The importance of the collection of prince-bishop Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcorno can hardly be over-emphasized. With approximately 1,300 items it counts amongst the world's most extensive integral music collections that survive from the 17th century.² What makes it unique is not only the fact that most of its items are manuscripts rather than prints, but that the majority of manuscripts consist of sets of performing parts rather than scores (in some cases both), granting us a more immediate and rare insight into matters of performance practice. Moreover, its large number of *unica* makes the collection a most essential source for music of the 17th century. Without it, our knowledge of composers such as Heinrich Biber, Heinrich Schmelzer or Alessandro Poglietti would be significantly reduced.

It provides a crucial glimpse at one of Europe's richest musical environments, that of the imperial court in Vienna. Under the reign of the music-loving emperors Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III and Leopold I, this court built up an extraordinary court chapel as well as a large music collection. However, the bulk of this material is now lost, making the numerous copies of Viennese repertory preserved at Kroměříž all the more significant witnesses to the musical life at the imperial court. This article investigates aspects of the transmission of works from the Viennese *Hofkapelle* to the prince-bishop's collection, using the sacred music of imperial chapelmaster Antonio Bertali (c.1605–69) as a case study.³ A comparison of surviving sources and an examination of the available historical information concerning the circumstances of copying suggest that, despite the fact that the music was obtained directly from the imperial court, certain aspects of it (especially the instrumental parts) may not stem from the composer.

When Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorno was appointed to the bishopric of Olomouc, he found the region in a deplorable condition. His immediate predecessors, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (r.1637–62) and his younger brother, Archduke Karl Joseph (r.1663–4), had shown next to no interest in the area. As a result, the ravages of the Thirty Years' War—Olomouc and Kroměříž were sacked by the Swedish army in 1642–3—had remained largely unremedied. Liechtenstein-Castelcorno, however, devoted himself

entirely, and successfully, to the spiritual and economic regeneration of his lands.⁴ His own beautiful summer residence at Kroměříž remains lasting evidence of his efforts.

Yet, the restoration of a flourishing musical life proved to be a difficult task. Talented musicians sought their fortune in the cosmopolitan centres of the time rather than in provincial Moravia. Most famously, Heinrich Biber deserted Liechtenstein's service inelegantly in 1670 in favour of the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg.⁵ Correspondence with Heinrich Schmelzer from the same year illustrates the problematic recruitment process: among the handful of musicians that the latter found prepared to leave Austria for Moravia were a theology student who, with some more instruction, could have served as a violinist, and a lutenist who had no knowledge of music other than playing in the French style.⁶

Musical personnel was not the bishop's only problem; a collection of both sacred and secular music had to be built up in order to bring his court up to the standards of contemporary taste. One way of obtaining recent sheet music was through Bishop Karl's contact in Vienna, Johann Kunibert von Wentzelsberg, who maintained correspondence with members of the imperial chapel. The bishop himself was also in direct contact with composers such as Schmelzer, Biber and Alessandro Poglietti, who sent him their works. The single most important figure in the process of building up a music collection was Pavel Vejvanovský (c.1639–93), who had grown up in the bishop's lands and later entered his service, where he remained until his death.⁷ Vejvanovský first served as trumpeter then as leader of the bishop's chapel. He was not only active as a composer—approximately 100 complete compositions by him have survived at Kroměříž, making him the most represented composer in the collection—but he also copied and collected music avidly: the majority of the scores and about one-third of the sets of parts in the collection are in his handwriting. It remains an unanswered question as to how far Vejvanovský's sheet music was distinct from the bishop's. That Vejvanovský owned a music collection is evinced by the title-page of its revised catalogue, which has survived as the wrapper of his copy of an anonymous *Missa Sancti Stephani*.⁸ Its contents might be lost, but could equally have

been absorbed into the bishop's possessions after Vejvanovský's death and therefore still form part of the present collection.⁹

Significant elements of Vejvanovský's collecting activity were his visits to Vienna during the 1660s and 70s. The first of these journeys is recorded in the year 1661, when Nikolaus Reiter von Hornberg wrote from Vienna to the bishop's representative Elias Franz Castelle that 'Pavel, trumpeter of your Highness, has learned so much that he is invited to perform in all of the churches here'.¹⁰ This suggests that Vejvanovský was sent to Vienna to study trumpet, presumably with one of the trumpeters at the imperial court. Possibly his next visit to Vienna took place from 1 April to 10 May 1665 as part of the entourage of Bishop Karl. Clearly, from this time onwards, a main focus of these journeys became the copying of recent Viennese repertory. During this visit, Vejvanovský managed to copy eight sizeable works by Viennese composers, some of them in quick succession, as shown by their dates:

4 May: Wendelin Hueber, *Missa pleno*, 38+2 ff.

7 May: Wendelin Hueber, *Litaniae Lauretanae*, 10+2 ff.

8 May: Antonio Bertali, *Missa Pacis*, 30+2 ff.

10 May: Vinzenz Fux, *Mottetum de B.M.V.*, 17+2 ff.¹¹

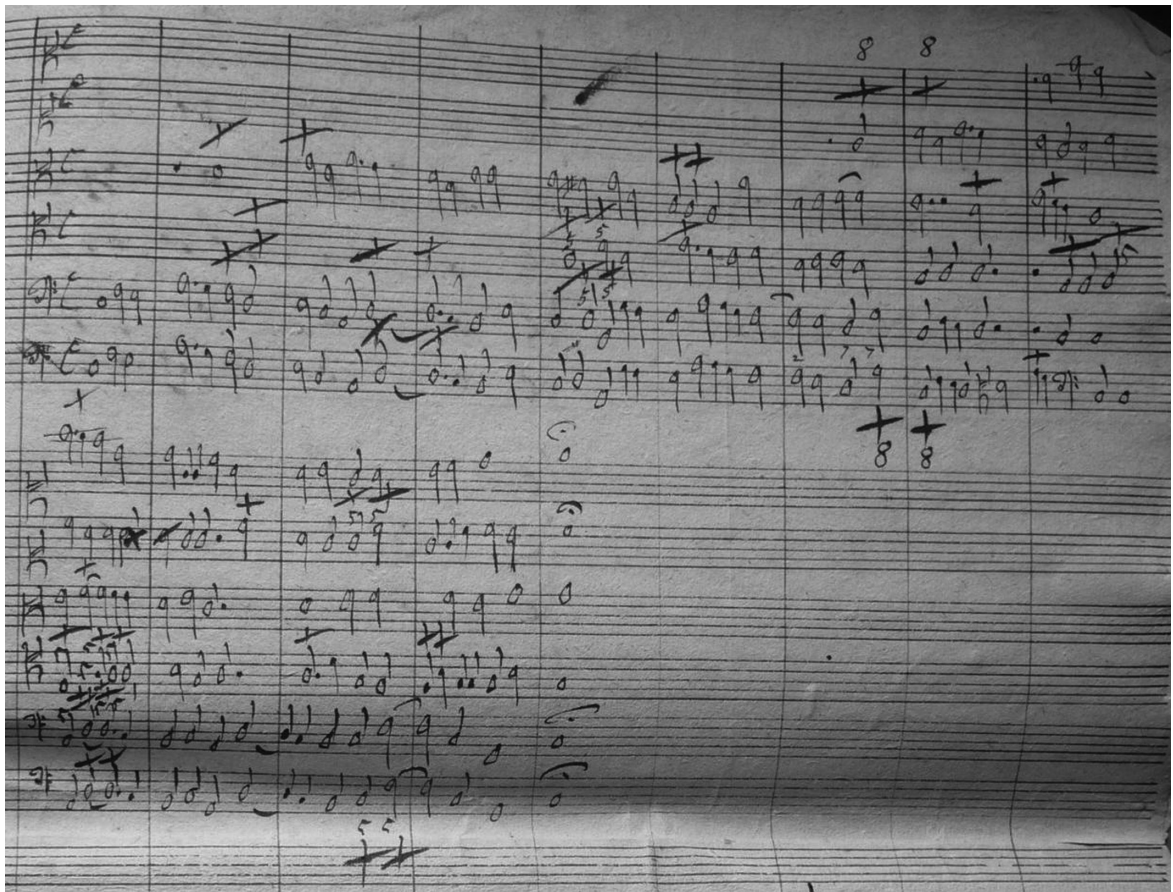
Copying music not only served the bishop's chapel by increasing its music collection, it also helped Vejvanovský in developing his own compositional skills. Scoring up the pieces of great masters was a common way of studying composition, and the works of the imperial chapelmaster Antonio Bertali, for which Vejvanovský appears to have had a certain predilection, were considered particularly fine objects of study.¹² In his *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, Christoph Bernhard advises the novice composer to imitate Bertali's works as examples of the 'stylus luxurians communis'.¹³ Johann Mattheson, in his *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, quotes a letter about the Nuremberg organist Georg Caspar Wecker, who purportedly chose Bertali as his shining example, collected his works, scored them up, and in doing so became a highly regarded composer.¹⁴ And Samuel Capricornus, in his defence against Philip Böddecker, admits to admiring Bertali and to imitating his works.¹⁵ It is therefore hardly surprising that Vejvanovský copied Bertali's

works with great regularity, in particular the large-scale Mass settings which appear to have been his 'signature genre':¹⁶ during the search for Giovanni Valentini's successor as chapelmaster, the ability to write large-scale liturgical music was a specific requirement of Emperor Ferdinand III.¹⁷ In 1719, Johannes Beer praised Bertali for the *gravitas* of his large settings.¹⁸

The didactic purpose of Vejvanovský's copying is further highlighted by the fact that he also received instruction in composition during at least one of his visits to Vienna. In two places in his manuscript score of Bertali's *Missa Redemptoris*, copied in 1677, Vejvanovský uses empty staves for counterpoint exercises.¹⁹ One of these contains markings

in an unidentified hand, pointing out contrapuntal errors—curiously, Vejvanovský's teacher marks consecutive 5ths and octaves even if the parts progress in contrary motion (see *illus.1*).

There is, however, a noteworthy mismatch between Vejvanovský's copying and Bishop Karl's correspondence with court musicians: Vejvanovský copied and collected numerous works by Bertali—with 65 manuscripts of his works, only Vejvanovský and Schmelzer are represented by a greater number of pieces in the Kroměříž collection, which is also by far the world's richest resource of Bertali. Yet, Bishop Karl, who was regularly in contact with a number of imperial court musicians, never seems to have been in touch with chapelmaster Bertali. Is it



1 Detail of a contrapuntal exercise in Vejvanovský's copy of Bertali's *Missa Redemptoris*, with corrections in a second, unidentified hand, CZ-Kra A162, f.22r

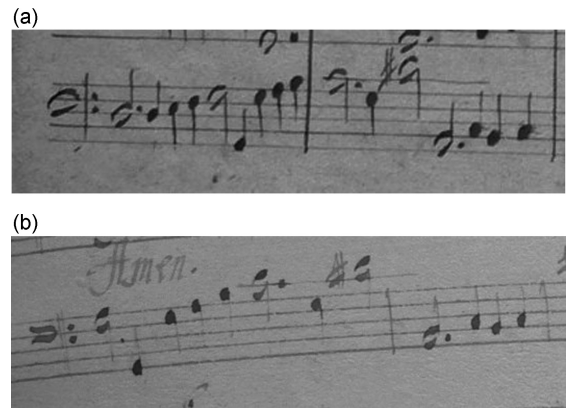
not surprising that a dignitary such as the Prince-Bishop of Olomouc corresponded with servants of lower ranks in order to procure sheet music from the imperial chapel? And could he not have taken a more official route, or at least ordered copies from the administrator responsible for the court's music collection, that is, the chapelmaster or his deputy? The answer is probably 'no', as it was amongst the chapelmaster's duties to protect the music collection against illicit copying. Bertali, for all we know a loyal servant of the emperor, could and would hardly have obliged. Presumably for the same reason, Liechtenstein later never corresponded with other leading figures of the court chapel, such as chapelmasters Giovanni Felice Sances and Antonio Draghi. Heinrich Schmelzer is the exception that proves the rule: he was in direct and indirect contact with Liechtenstein and sent him his compositions on a regular basis. However, his contact with the bishop had been established before he was appointed deputy chapelmaster and ceased when he became chapelmaster.

This theory is supported by a letter by Domenico Marchetti—most likely the singer in the imperial chapel rather than the renowned physician of the same name then also resident in Vienna—to Bishop Karl. In this letter, dated 14 January 1665 and thus only a few months before Vejvanovský began his copying in Vienna, Marchetti informs the bishop that he hopes at the earliest opportunity to send him a beautiful toccata for harpsichords, without the chapelmaster (meaning Bertali) noticing anything (this is the quotation in the title of this article).²⁰

For Vejvanovský, this state of affairs must have meant that he did not have an immediate right to use the music collection of the imperial chapel. Most likely, one of Liechtenstein's contacts, such as Poglietti, Schmelzer or Marchetti, would have facilitated access to its holdings. Modern scholars, often under pressure to make the most of the limited time with rare source material and therefore not infrequently equipped with a little spy camera, can certainly sympathize with Vejvanovský's likely situation in Vienna, copying as many pieces as possible whilst trying not to get caught or having to return manuscripts as quickly as possible to a library. Traces of such a clandestine way of working may be found in some of his copies: in some cases

at least, Vejvanovský seems to have copied the material into reduced scores, capturing only the most essential musical information whilst omitting doubling vocal and instrumental parts and, in a few cases, even the text. These elements could be easily reconstructed or adjusted for performance conditions in Moravia once a new set of parts was extracted from the score. It is not clear how frequently Vejvanovský worked in this way—the reduced scores would probably not have served as performance material, would therefore have been rendered superfluous by a new set of parts, and might then have been discarded. However, in the few instances where a score has survived alongside a set of parts, it is clear that the process of reducing and expanding has left some traces, particularly where not Vejvanovský himself, but a musically less-educated scribe, produced the parts. See for example *illus. 2a*, a detail of Vejvanovský's reduced score of Bertali's *Missa Nec Non*, where a continuo figure is positioned in front of a note, due to a lack of space between the note head and the staff above it. *Illus. 2b* shows how an unsuspecting Kroměříž scribe mistook the continuo figure for an accidental, producing not only cacophony, but also impossible voice leading.²¹

Minor scribal errors were possibly not the only consequence of this way of copying. Vejvanovský's



2 Detail of Bertali's *Missa Nec non*, CZ-Kra A135 [CLCC 41], (a) two bars at the end of the Gloria, taken from the score; (b) the corresponding passage in the *Organo* part

Ex.1 Antonio Bertali (a) *Missa Minima*, 'descendit de caelis'; (b) *Missa Reditus*, 'Amen' of the Credo

(a)

40

Canto Primo Concertato
de - scen - - dit de cae - lis de cae - lis

Canto Secundo Concertato
de - scen - - dit de cae - lis de cae - lis

Alto Concertato
- scen - - dit de - scen - dit de cae - - lis

Tenore Primo Concertato
- dit de cae - lis de cae - - - lis

Tenore Secundo Concertato
- dit de cae - lis de cae - lis de cae - - - lis

Basso Concertato
- scen - dit de cae - lis de cae - - - lis

Organo/Violone
5 6 5

(b)

223

Soprano
a - men a - - men a - - men a - - - - - men

Soprano
a - - - - - - - - - - - men a -

Alto
(a) - - men a - - - - - men a - men a - - - - - men

Tenor
(a) - men a - men a - men a - - - - - men a - - - - -

Tenor
a - - - - - - - - - - - men a - -

Bass
a - - - - - - - - - - - men a - men a - - - - - - - - - - - men a - - - - -

Violoncello
4 3 4# 4 3 6# 4 3 7 5 4 3 4 3

copies reveal another interesting fact that can be traced back either to their dissemination or, even further, to the composition process itself: the quality of the instrumental parts is consistently lower than that of the vocal parts in terms of both counterpoint and part-writing. From a contrapuntal perspective, the vocal setting is almost always flawless, even in six- and eight-part writing. Consecutive 5ths and octaves are exceedingly rare, mostly occurring in inner parts and carefully obscured (ex.1). Regarding the instrumental parts, a distinction must be made between sections in which the instruments are doubling the voices (and

are therefore of the same quality) and passages with independent instrumental parts that abound with contrapuntal weaknesses. Occasionally, these are minor issues in lavishly scored passages, resembling intermittent doubling rather than true consecutives (ex.2). However, even in thinly scored sections, for example, when accompanying solos, contrapuntal errors can be found in the instrumental parts with some frequency (ex.3).

Because in most cases the sources of Bertali's Mass settings at Kroměříž are *unica*, it is difficult to determine whether such flaws are part of the original composition or the result of the

Ex.2 Antonio Bertali (a) *Missa Minima*, 'et conglorificatur'; (b) *Missa Archiducalis*, 'et invisibilium'

(a)

The musical score for Ex.2 (a) is a page from a manuscript, starting at measure 129. It features eight staves. The top two staves are for Violino Primo and Violino Secondo, both in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The third staff is for Alto Violetta in alto clef with a key signature of one flat. The next four staves are for vocal parts: Canto Primo Concertato, Canto Secundo Concertato, Alto Concertato, Tenore Primo Concertato, Tenore Secundo Concertato, and Basso Concertato, all in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff is for Organo/Violone in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The vocal parts have lyrics underneath: (et) con - glo - ri - - fi - ca - tur qui lo - cu - tus. The instrumental parts have various notes and rests. There are arrows indicating specific intervals or relationships between parts. At the bottom of the page, there are numbers 6, 4, ♯, and 7, 6.

(b)

8

Violin 1

Violin 2

Violetta primo

Violetta secondo

Viola terza

Viola da Gamba

Canto primo
et in - vi - si - bi - - li - um, in - vi - si - bi - - li - um

Canto secondo
et in - vi - si - bi - li - um, in - vi - si - bi - li - um

Alto
et in - vi - si - bi - - - li - um, in - vi - si - bi - - - li - um

Tenore primo
et in - vi - si - bi - - li - um, et in - vi - si - bi - - - li - um

Tenore secondo
et in - vi - si - bi - li - um, in - vi - si - bi - - li - um

Basso
et in - vi - si - bi - - - - - li - um

copying process described above, during which simple string accompaniments might have been omitted and later reconstructed. In the first case, it still seems unlikely that vocal and instrumental parts were both part of the original design and came from the same hand, the differences in their musical quality being too great. Yet it is possible that Bertali himself wrote only the core of the composition—the vocal parts, *basso continuo* and perhaps instrumental *sinfonias*, leaving the completion of the instrumental parts (*colla parte* sections and

simple chordal accompaniments) to students or assistants. One must not forget that in order to satisfy the huge demand for music at the imperial court, the chapel had to be a large well-run organization with a tight schedule of composition, copying, rehearsal and performance.²² In this situation it would seem plausible for the chapelmaster to delegate minor tasks, especially because the works were not intended for wider circulation or print. And finally, collaboration between composers was not unknown at the imperial court: Bertali wrote

Ex.3 Antonio Bertali (a) *Missa Reditus*, 'et apostolicam ecclesiam'; (b) *Missa Post partum*, 'in remissionem peccatorum'; (c) *Missa Vivorum*, 'et incarnatus est'

(a)

154

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Viola

Viola

Viola

Soprano

et a - po - sto - li - cam ec - cle - si - am a - po - sto - li - cam

Violoncello

4#

159

ec - cle - si - am a - po - sto - li - cam ec - cle - si - am

4#

4#

the string accompaniment for a *Regina coeli* by Leopold I,²³ Leopold himself often wrote individual numbers for the operas by court composers,²⁴ and Bertali and Sances together composed a cycle of introits, where an attribution of the individual works to one composer or the other on formal or stylistic grounds is virtually impossible.²⁵ In such a climate, where musical co-productions were part of the daily routine, it would not have been out of the ordinary if others had completed works that were written by the chapelmaster in all their essential parts. More research on a larger body of Viennese court repertory would be needed in order to verify this theory.

It is also possible that in some cases Vejvanovský only copied the vocal parts, the continuo and the instrumental sinfonias, whether due to time pressure or because only these parts were written by Bertali. In this case, he or another musician of Liechtenstein's court would have needed to add the missing instrumental parts later. Bertali's *Missa Vivorum* is a particularly interesting example in

support of this theory, because the work has survived not only in Kroměříž, but also in the Düben collection in Uppsala.²⁶ It is striking that the vocal parts and the continuo are identical in both copies; however, in some of the instrumental introductions as well as sections with independent string accompaniment, the two sources differ significantly from one another. It is also noteworthy that no version can be seen as an improvement of the other, both having their individual weaknesses. This scenario suggests that whatever the original source may have looked like, it must either have come with incomplete string parts or with some that were not worth copying.

Pavel Vejvanovský's achievement in building up the music collection at Kroměříž and thereby preserving important repertory from the Viennese court, can hardly be over-emphasized. At first sight, his copies appear to be trustworthy witnesses, as in many cases he copied directly from the material of the court chapel, often during the composer's own lifetime. However, this case study of Bertali's Mass

Ex.3 Continued

(b)

Violino Primo Concertato

Violino Secondo Concertato

Canto Violetta Concertato

Alto Violetta Concertato

Tenore Viola Concertato

Viola di Basso Concertato

Basso Concertato

Organo

in re - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum pe - ca - to - rum

b b # b 6 b [b] 4 3

Ex.3 Continued

(c)

65

Violetta
Violetta Secunda
Violetta Tertia
Viola Quarta
Violetta Quinta
Viola Sexta
Alto in Concerto
Organo

Et in-car-na-tus est de spi-ri-to

#6 4# 3 # # # 6

69

sanc-to. ex Ma-ri-a, ex Ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne et

4 #3 # 6 4 3

settings has demonstrated that even these early sources ought to be treated with due caution. The condition and the genesis of the source material as well as Vejvanovský's situation and objectives at the time of copying throw some doubt on just how much Bertali is present in his Mass settings preserved at Kroměříž. Naturally, similar questions may be asked

about the works of composers other than Bertali and repertory other than that of the imperial court. A broader analytical survey of the source material may shed some more light on the issue, however, due to the uniqueness of the collection at Kroměříž and thus the lack of material for comparison, a definitive answer to that probably lies out of reach.

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1 For a succinct history of the collection up to the 19th century, see J. Kocůrková, 'Music collection', in *Archbishop's chateau & gardens in Kroměříž*, ed. L. Daniel, M. Perůtka and M. Tognier (Kroměříž, 2009), pp.211–20.

2 J. Sehnal and J. Pešková, *Caroli de Liechtenstein-Castelcorno episcopi Olomucensis operum artis musicae collectio Cremsirii reservata* [hereafter *CLCC*], 2 vols. (Prague, 1998).

3 For a biographical study of Bertali, see T. Erhardt, 'Der ehrsam und kuhnstreich Antonius Bertalli', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, lviii (forthcoming).

4 J. Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský a biskupská kapela v Kroměříži* (Kroměříž, 1993), pp.23–8; J. Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž music collection: perspectives on seventeenth-century music in Moravia* (Olomouc, 2008), pp.12–16.

5 E. Chafe, *The church music of Heinrich Biber* (Ann Arbor, 1987), pp.9ff.

6 Schmelzer's letter to Liechtenstein from 2 November 1670 and the bishop's reply from 9 November

1670; Státní okresní archiv Olomouc, inventory no.596, shelfmark 124, carton 175. See also P. Nettel, 'Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, viii (1921), pp.45–175, at pp.168–70; Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž music collection*, pp.170–1.

7 For biographical information, see A. Breitenbacher, *Hudební inventar kolegiátního kostela Sv. Monee v Kroměříži* (Olomouc, 1928); Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž music collection*, pp.25–66.

8 *Catalogus novus rerum Musicalium spectantium ad Paulum Weywanowsky Tubicinem Campestrem Cremsirii in Anno 1671*. in Majo: CZ-Kra, A146 [CLCC 1022]; see *CLCC*, i, p.33.

9 Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž music collection*, p.78.

10 Quoted in Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž music collection*, p.30.

11 CZ-Kra A 56 [CLCC 261], A 671 [CLCC 256], A 9 [CLCC 47], A 297 [CLCC 214]. For a complete list, see Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž music collection*, p.32.

12 In this context it is worth noting that the ascription of the counterpoint treatise *Instructio musicalis* to Bertali is most likely spurious. Two copies

of the work carrying this attribution have survived in Kremsmünster Abbey (A-Kr L 67) and the Wienbibliothek (A-Wst LQH0256412). See H. Federhofer, 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Musiktheorie in Österreich in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Die Musikforschung*, xi (1958), pp.264–79.

13 Christoph Bernhard, 'Tractatus compositionis augmentatus', in *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard*, ed. J. Müller-Blattau (Kassel, 1999), p.90.

14 'erwählte sich den ehemaligen Kaiserlichen Capellmeister **Antonio Bertali**, zum Muster, samlete von dessen musikalischer Arbeit einen guten Vorrath, und setzte nicht wenig Stücke daraus in Partitur: wodurch er es in der musikalischen Composition so weit brachte, daß so wohl die bey hohen Festen in den Kirchen, vermittelt seiner eigenen Arbeit, von ihm aufgeführte starcke Musiken, als auch, bey angestellten Concerten und *Collegiis musicis*, seine Sachen großen Beifall erhielten.' Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg, 1740), facs. edn by M. Schneider (Graz, 1969), pp.391–2.

15 'die beiden vortrefflichen Componisten [Valentini and Bertali], die ich selbst in theils Sachen

imitiere und sehr hoch halte.' J. Sittard, 'Samuel Capricornus contra Philipp Friedrich Bötdecker', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, iii/1 (November 1901), p.98.

16 Of Bertali's c.50 Mass settings, 27 have survived, 26 of which are in Kroměříž.

17 Letter from Ferdinand III to Count Johann Ferdinand von Portia. The Emperor enquires about Giovanni Rovetta '... ob Er Discret und von gueter Composition: In sonderheit aber von den grossen und vornehmberen Compositionen für die Kirchen, alß Mess Ämbter, Muetteten, Noneten, und dergleichen, wie auch nelle cose della Camera beschaffen seye, und ob er nach beschaffenheit meiner Capellen, die Euch bewusst, alhero tauglich sein möchte.' A-WHh, Familienkorrespondenz A 11-1, Korrespondenz Kaiser Ferdinand III. (1627-1653), Konvolut III, ff.19-20, quoted in E. Urbanek, 'Giovanni Valentini als Messenkomponist' (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1974), Appendix III.

18 Johann Beer, *Musicalische Discourse durch die Principia der Philosophie deducirt* (Nuremberg, 1719), pp.65-6: 'Der einzige BARTHALI hat eine ungemeyne GRAVITÄT in seiner Arbeit/ deme es BERANDE in Dresden/ was POMPOSE MUSIKEN antriff/ in diesem Stücke ziemlich nachgethan.'

19 CZ-Kra A162 [CLCC 49; 904], ff.13v and 22r; Sehnal overlooks the former and identifies the latter erroneously as a fragment of a vocal work attributed to 'BG'.

20 'Spero con la prima occasione che trouerei mandar a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima qualche bella toccata musicale per li clavicembali senza che il Maestro di Capella ne sappia cosa alcuna.' Státní okresní archiv Olomouc, inventory no.522, shelfmark 50, carton 69.

21 In this example the mistake in the parts clearly derives from the score, calling into doubt Sehnal's dating of the sources (score: c.1680; parts: pre-1680), based on his assumption that a set of parts would normally pre-date a score. See CZ-Kra A135 [CLCC 41]; Sehnal,

Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž music collection, p.77.

22 An impressive overview of the performances of liturgical music during the reign of Charles VI can be found in W. F. Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hof Karls VI. (1711-1740). Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Zeremoniell und musikalischem Stil im Barockzeitalter*, Studien zur Landes- und Sozialgeschichte der Musik i (Munich and Salzburg, 1977), pp.222-309.

23 A-Wn Mus.Hs.18831 Mus A/Leopold I./3, ff.18v-28v.

24 For example, for Antonio Draghi's *Chilonida*, A-Wn Mus. Hs.18859 Leopoldina, vol.i; see H. Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing, 1985), pp.338-40.

25 See T. Erhardt, 'A longevous cycle of introsits from the Viennese court', in *Sakralmusik im Habsburgerreich 1570-1770*, ed. T. Erhardt (Vienna, 2012), pp.147-68.

26 CZ-Kra A14 [CLCC 57]; S-Uu vmhs 080:094, ff.94v-103r.

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