

ESSAYS

CENSORSHIP OF THE *GOÛT MODERNE* IN 1730S
LUDWIGSBURG AND THE MUSIC OF GIUSEPPE
ANTONIO BRESCIANELLO

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The year 1730 saw the Württemberg court (based at the magnificent palace of Ludwigsburg, some fifteen miles north of Stuttgart) promote *Kammerjunker* (gentleman-in-waiting) Christian Adolf von Ziegesar to the newly created position of aristocratic *Obermusicdirector* (chief music director).¹ Since no template existed, the officials charged with drawing up his contract were instructed to make discreet enquiries regarding the same position at other ducal and electoral courts – a line of investigation that proved to be rather less than successful. One ‘Baron von Thüngen’, a Württemberg *Kammerjunker* with experience of a number of other courts (including Würzburg), reported unequivocally that to the best of his knowledge no court employed a nobleman in this position, but rather the directorship of musical matters was normally the responsibility of the *Kapellmeister*.² Such a view appears to be confirmed by Julius Bernhard von Rohr (1688–1742) in his contemporary book on court ceremonial: he commented that a few places employed *intendants des plaisirs* charged with the overall supervision of large-scale *divertissements*, but made no mention of a similar position relating specifically to music.³

Finally, in May 1731, one whole year after Ziegesar’s initial appointment, it was reported that only a single court had supplied the requested information. Attached was a letter from the Palatine electorate describing the function and duties of their *Intendant von der Music*. For the substantial salary of 3,000 Palatine *Gulden*, the holder of this position was charged with overseeing the musicians’ wages, advising the elector on new appointments and dismissals, dealing with leave requests, settling disputes, authorizing instrument repairs

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- 1 Ziegesar was made Württemberg *Kammerjunker* on 13 February 1721 (from Martini (11 November) 1720); see Walter Pfeilsticker, *Neues württembergisches Dienerbuch* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1957), §41. For his appointment as *Obermusicdirector* see Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (hereafter D Sa) A21 Büschel 612, decree of Duke Eberhard Ludwig, Ludwigsburg, 19 May 1730.
- 2 Letter of Baron von Thüngen to Baron [Joseph Anton] von Stuben, Chamberlain of the Württemberg court, Thüngen (Upper Franconia), 11 March 1731 (in reply to one of 26 January 1731), D Sa A21 Büschel 612. It is rather difficult to determine exactly which of the various von Thüngen family members employed at the Württemberg court this was: not Johann Heinrich (died 17 October 1729), who had accompanied the crown prince to France and served as his *Hofmeister* until his death, but possibly Philipp Caspar, appointed *Kammerjunker* on 4 April 1720. See Pfeilsticker, *Dienerbuch*, §26–27 and 199.
- 3 Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Grossen Herren* (Berlin: Rüdiger, 1733), 718. At the Saxon court in Dresden, for example, Baron von Mordaxt held the position of ‘Director of Divertissements’ (‘Directeur derer Divertissements’); see Elisabeth Mikosch, ‘Court Dress and Ceremony in the Age of the Baroque. The Royal/Imperial Wedding in 1719 in Dresden: A Case Study’, (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1999), 314.



and purchases, disciplining insubordinate musicians (with the power to withhold one third of their wages) and the overall supervision of the court theatre and opera house.⁴ Those personnel lists that do survive from the Palatine court indicate that in 1723 and 1734, at least, the position was held by noblemen: Franz Wolfgang, Freiherr von Stechau, and Baron Rutgerus Eugenius von Recordia respectively.⁵ A number of similar appointments can be found across the Empire. In 1737 Margrave Ludwig Georg of the Baden-Rastatt court instructed his 'Gentleman-in-waiting and Steward in charge of our Royal Court Music . . . Frey Herr Woractzizky v. Babienez' to ensure the musicians' attendance at every rehearsal and performance. Likewise, at the Mecklenburg-Schwerin court in the late 1740s the position of *Kapelldirector* was held by an aristocrat whose duties included authorizing purchases, music copying, payments to visiting musicians and, above all, settling disputes.⁶

The employment contract eventually produced for Ziegesar as Württemberg *Obermusicdirector* was an expanded version of the Palatine document. Several statements among its nineteen items make it clear that the new appointment was instituted partly to redress a perceived discipline problem, with musicians failing to turn up to rehearsals and performances, particularly balls, where they either did not attend or chose to 'sneak off in all manner of ways'. Rehearsals were now to proceed with the utmost application and not in a 'fruitless, sleepy and negligent' manner.⁷ For the most part Ziegesar's responsibilities were administrative rather than musical. However, one item in his contract did encroach upon the artistic licence traditionally reserved for the *Kapellmeister*. The first half of the seventh point, which is based closely on the Palatine original, read:

Wann wir dahero ein *Concert*, Tafel=Cammer-Music, *Serenate* oder eine *Commödie*, *Opern* wie auch *Pastorellin* von der *Music präsentirt* haben wollen, so solle auch Unßer Ober *Music-Director* die Austheilung der Persohnen nach Wohlbefinden machen . . .⁸

When we [the duke] wish the musical establishment to present a concert, dinner or chamber music, a serenata, or a musical play, opera, or a pastoral, the chief music director shall allocate [parts to] the personnel as he thinks best . . .

The Württemberg variant then continued with the following pronouncement:

. . . und jederzeit dahin sehen, daß Niemanden ohne sein vorweißen und Erlaubnuß einige Stücke, so vor Ihme nicht *probiret* worden, vor Unß aufführe, wohl aber jedezeit der *Goutmoderne* dabey herauß genommen werde.⁹

4 D Sa A21 Büschel 612, anonymous and undated, 'Pouvoir eines Intendanten von der Music, oder Hoff Capelle Ihre Churfürstl. Dhl. zu Pfaltz', accompanying an *Oberhofmarschallamt* report to Duke Eberhard Ludwig, Ludwigsburg, 12 May 1731.

5 See Friedrich Walter, *Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am kurpfälzischen Hofe* (Leipzig, 1898; reprinted Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), 77 and 80.

6 For a description of the position of 'Cammer Juncker undt Intendant über Unsere Fürstl. Hoff Music' see Klaus Häfner, 'Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer und die Rastatter Hofkapelle: ein Kapitel südwestdeutscher Musikgeschichte im Zeitalter des Barock', in J. C. F. Fischer in seiner Zeit: *Tagungsbericht Rastatt 1988*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1994), 154–155; see also Clemens Meyer, *Geschichte der Mecklenburg-Schweriner Hofkapelle* (Schwerin: Davids, 1913), 48.

7 D Sa A21 Büschel 612, *Oberhofmarschallamt, Staat und Ordnung* for Christian Adolf von Ziegesar as *Obermusicdirector*, undated and unsigned: 'auf allerhand Art davon schleichen'; 'fruchtloß, schläfferig und saumselig'.

8 D Sa A21 Büschel 612, *Oberhofmarschallamt, Staat und Ordnung* for Christian Adolf von Ziegesar as *Ober-Music-Director*, undated and unsigned. Palatine version: 'Wann der Hoff Ein *Concert*, oder Eine *Comedie*, wie auch *Pastorellen* von denen Hoff-Musicis *praesentiret* haben will, thut der *Intendant* die außtheilung der *personen* nach wohlbefinden.' (Whenever the court wishes the musicians to present a concert, musical play or a pastoral, the steward shall allocate [parts to] the personnel as he thinks best.)

9 D Sa A21 Büschel 612, *Oberhofmarschallamt, Staat und Ordnung* for Christian Adolf von Ziegesar as *Obermusicdirector*, undated and unsigned.



. . . and at all times ensure that no one, without his prior knowledge and permission, performs before us any pieces which have not first been rehearsed in his [the chief music director's] presence, so that in this way the *Gout moderne* may be removed at all times.

This unconditional prohibition of all music in a 'modern style' is the most striking declaration in the entire contract. It was surely integral to the underlying agenda for the new appointment and raises issues regarding the musical preferences and artistic priorities of the duke himself. The most pressing question is, of course, the identification of the style within the context of the Württemberg court in 1731. As we have no further detailed description from the extant archival sources, we can only assume that it was related to the musical style that had risen to prominence in Italy, particularly in Naples, around the 1720s. For Johann Mattheson this was music of the most up-to-date kind, produced by the most famous and galant ('*galantesten*') composers in Europe such as 'Gio[vanni] Mar[ia] Capelli, [Giovanni] Anton. Bononcini, Franc[esco] Gasparini, Bened[etto] Marcello, Vivaldi, Caldara, Alessand[ro] Scarlatti, Lotti, Keiser, Handel, Telemann'.¹⁰ As Daniel Heartz has noted more recently, for German critics the term *galant* was often used 'to mean no more than "modern" and very often "Italian modern."¹¹ Broadly speaking, the style was characterized by increased rhythmic diversity (often juxtaposing duple and triple figures and frequently employing the Lombardic rhythm), periodic melodies ornamented with a filigree of small figures, light textures and a fondness for certain stock cadential patterns (most commonly II₄⁶-V-I). Initially at least such music was closely associated with theatrical composition, in direct opposition to the stricter church manner. Many writers emphasized its *bel canto* qualities, with freedom and naturalness in performance being essential, particularly in terms of the incorporation of *rubato* and a wide dynamic range.¹² The clear distinction made for instance by Johann Adolf Scheibe and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach between learned, old-fashioned compositional styles (particularly those involving the use of counterpoint) and music displaying those freer, more natural qualities points to the introduction of galant elements as an Enlightened reaction against musical absolutism.

To investigate the possible impact of the duke's personal taste on music written for the Württemberg Hofkapelle, it is necessary to examine the output of the composers employed at the court during his reign (1693–1733). Whilst a sizeable collection of music by *Kapellmeister* Theodor Schwartzkopff (1659–1732) and Johann Christoph Pez (1664–1716) is extant, their works contain little evidence of galant idioms.¹³ More instructive is the compositional output of a further figure, Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello (c.1690–1758). This young violinist-composer came to the Holy Roman Empire from Venice in April 1715 in the entourage of the Electress of Bavaria, Theresa Kunigunde (1676–1730).¹⁴ During her ten years spent in exile in Italy, Kunigunde is known to have taken an active interest in musical matters, renting a box at a Venetian opera house, the Teatro Sant'Angelo, and engaging a number of Venetian musicians on her husband's behalf (as well as attempting unsuccessfully to solicit Vivaldi's services).¹⁵ By October 1716, however, Brescianello had

10 Johann Mattheson, *Das forschende Orchestre* (Hamburg: Schiller & Kißner, 1721), 276.

11 Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), 18. This association had been noted earlier by David A. Sheldon, 'The Concept *Galant* in the 18th Century', *Journal of Musicological Research* 9 (1989), 89–108, particularly 94.

12 See, for example, Quantz's comments on performers he heard in Italy during the 1720s, in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, volume 1, part 5 (Berlin: Lange, 1755), 222ff.

13 See Samantha Owens, 'The Württemberg Hofkapelle, c.1680–1721' (PhD dissertation, Victoria University of Wellington, 1995), chapter 10, 'The Instrumental Music of Schwartzkopff and Pez'.

14 Brescianello had been employed by the electress from November 1714 as a *Kammerdiener* (valet) and from May 1715 as a Bavarian court musician (listed in a salary ledger as a 'violinist'); email communication from Berthold Over (7 January 2004) based on information in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv. See also Adolf Sandberger, *Ausgewählte Werke des Kurfürstlich Bayerischen Concertmeisters Evaristo Felice Dall'Abaco (1675–1742). Erster Theil* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900), xxiii, particularly note 4.

15 See Michael Talbot, 'A Venetian Operatic Contract of 1714', in *The Business of Music*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 10–61; Kajetan Graf Czarowski-Golejewski, 'Die Kurfürstin Therese Kunigunde',



transferred from the court in Munich to that of Württemberg-Stuttgart, where *Oberkapellmeister* Pez had died the previous month.¹⁶

Brescianello was appointed *Oberkapellmeister* in 1721 – making him the first Italian to be placed in charge of the Hofkapelle. His initial employment had been in the newly created position of ‘Chamber and Table Music Concertmaster’, a role that focused on the production of secular, predominantly small-scale works.¹⁷ Galant music was particularly well suited to such requirements, since, as alluded to by Quantz when describing the performance of Fux’s 1721 Prague coronation opera, *Costanza e Fortezza*:

a more galant melody ornamented with many small figures and quick notes . . . admittedly better in a smaller locale and with fewer players, would be impossible to perform with appropriate ensemble here, especially being executed by so many musicians . . . The truth of this observation convinced me on many occasions, including at Dresden, where the otherwise dry ouvertures by Lully, when played by a full orchestra, make a better effect than do many more pleasant and galant ouvertures by other famous composers, works that, in a chamber, unquestionably receive preference.¹⁸

Brescianello’s extant compositions cover a wide spectrum of genres, ranging from theatrical and chamber to sacred music, though the latter appears to have been written largely during the reign of Eberhard Ludwig’s successor. A set of sonatas dedicated to the musically gifted Württemberg crown prince Friedrich Ludwig (1698–1731) are among his earliest works for the court, dating from before 1721.¹⁹ Scored for two flutes and continuo and consisting of ‘six trios written in the Italian taste, and four others in the French taste with a Chaconne’, they contain little of the galant style, being in the main extremely simple pieces, probably intended for didactic purposes.²⁰ The manuscript of Brescianello’s only work to possess a set date also comes from reasonably early on in his Württemberg service. The dedication copy of an *opera pastorale* based on the story of Pyramus and Thisbe was offered to the duke in January 1718 and was no doubt a crucial component in Brescianello’s campaign for the *Oberkapellmeister*-ship.²¹ There is, however, no evidence to prove the

Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte 37 (1974), 866–867; and Berthold Over, ‘Agrippinas Reise nach Frankreich’, *Händel-Jahrbuch* 49 (2003), 377–379.

16 Despite the statement to the contrary in Rudolf Lück, ‘Brescianello [Bressonelli], Giuseppe Antonio’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), volume 4, 323, Brescianello did not automatically become chief *Kapellmeister* at that time; see Samantha Owens, ‘“ . . . nicst so leicht in einer Protestantischen Hoff Cappell einen Catholischen Cappell Meister . . .”: Notes on the Early Career of Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello (c.1690–1758)’, *Musik in Baden-Württemberg Jahrbuch* 2005 (forthcoming).

17 D Sa A21 Büschel 612, appointment decree of Duke Eberhard Ludwig, Stuttgart, 1 February 1721: ‘Cammer und Tafel-Music Concert Meister’. Brescianello’s main rival for the position was Reinhard Keiser (see Josef Sittard, ‘Reinhard Keiser in Württemberg’, *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 18 (1886), 3–12). It is possible that Keiser’s galant tendencies may have been partly responsible for his failure in gaining this appointment: a flute concerto of his composition in Friedrich Ludwig’s collection (Universitätsbibliothek Rostock (hereafter D ROu) Mus. Saec. XVII:194) shows signs of the galant style and also calls for pizzicato, a technique banned by the duke (see below).

18 From Quantz’s autobiography in Marpur, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 216.

19 For information on Friedrich Ludwig see Samantha Owens, ‘“Und mancher grosser Fürst kan ein Apollo seyn”: Erbprinz Friedrich Ludwig von Württemberg (1698–1731)’, *Musik in Baden-Württemberg Jahrbuch* 2003, 177–190.

20 *Trios Dediés a Son Altesse Monseigneur Le Prince Hereditaire de Wurtemberg par Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello, Directeur de la Musique* (D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII: 99/10): ‘six Trios faits sur le gout Italien, et quatre autres sur le gout François avec une Chaconne’.

21 *Opera pastorale, dediée A Son Altesse Serenissime Eberhard Louis Duc Regnant de Wurtemberg par Giuseppe Brescianello son Directeur de la Musique. Stouitgarde ce 26. de Janul: MDCCXVIII* (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. mus. II Reihe 20 3). It consists of three acts, in all a total of fifty-one itemized numbers—a mixture of arias (including two trios and a duetto), recitatives, ritornellos and two choruses – with the four principal singers taking the roles of Tisbe, Licori, Alceste and Piramo.



work ever received a performance, although a number of indications suggest that Brescianello had begun to consider seriously the logistics of a production and to rehearse it.²²

Brescianello announced in his dedication to the duke that *Piramo e Tisbe* had been composed the previous summer, but it is possible that he had composed portions of it prior to his arrival in Stuttgart, perhaps in Munich or even in Venice itself.²³ Opera was, after all, a major route to fame and fortune in the Italian musical world, which could then be followed by the relative security of a church or (somewhat less stable) court position. Brescianello also made it clear that the *opera pastorale* had yet to receive a public performance; but it is the statement immediately following which is of particular interest here: 'If this operatic piece could have the good fortune to be performed on the stage, I flatter myself that it would have a pleasing success, since I have carefully striven for the theatrical style "le gout du Theatre" in the airs.'²⁴ Just what did Brescianello understand of this 'theatrical style', and did his knowledge and compositional practice extend to current Italian trends?

There are some definite galant traits in this composition: often quite light accompanying textures, elements of periodic structure, frequent offbeat patterns, drum basses and phrases ending with the trendy 'three-note snaps' (often now known as *Schleifer*) favoured by the Neapolitans. This is rather reassuring, since it would surely be somewhat surprising for a young Italian musician, relatively fresh from Venice and presumably maintaining Italian contacts, not to have unconsciously picked up some of the set of 'learned conventions' or 'constraints' associated with the galant manner.²⁵ On the whole, however, the majority of the opera remains relatively conservative in style. Licori's aria 'Cari orrori' from Act 2 Scene 4 (see Figure 1) is perhaps as close as Brescianello comes to a more modern style with the three-note snap patterns that end the initial phrase and its subsequent repetitions (see bars 7, 9 and 10) as well as the introduction of rhythmic variety (albeit slight) with the dotted figure in bar 10.

Setting *Piramo e Tisbe* aside, the question remains: did elements of the galant style feature in the works Brescianello wrote for performance by Württemberg Hofkapelle members in the course of their everyday duties? His instrumental music can be divided into two main categories: first, six French *ouverture*-suites and a chaconne surviving in manuscript that formed part of the crown prince's collection (now held in the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock; see Table 1), and, second, a selection of Italianate trios, concertos and sinfonias found in manuscript in a number of libraries, many of which are copies of individual works from Brescianello's set of *XII Concerti e Sinfonie*, Op. 1, dedicated to Eberhard Ludwig and published by Le Cène in Amsterdam by 1727.

The hand of Württemberg court musician Johann Nicola Nicolai features on almost all the sets of parts from the first, French-oriented group, dating them prior to his death in 1728. As the manuscripts were formerly part of the crown prince's collection, they must have been assembled before his tragically early death in 1731. These pieces are typical French-style works scored for strings and continuo, consisting of Lullian *ouvertures* followed by a string of French dances (among them the gavotte, bourrée, rondeau, menuet, gigue, hornpipe and passepied) alternating with movements labelled 'Aria' (mostly marked

22 These include castrato Pietro Felice Massei's five-month sojourn at the court during the winter of 1718–1719 to take part in rehearsals for an 'Italianische operetta' (or 'Pastorale') (D Sa A21 Büschel 619). Further documents provide evidence that Brescianello made subsequent attempts to mount operatic productions in August 1719 (for a visit of the Palatine elector) and then again in 1726; see Samantha Owens, 'The Rise and Decline of Opera at the Württemberg Court, 1698–1733', in *Italian Opera in Central Europe, 1614–1780*, ed. Melania Bucciarelli and Norbert Dubow (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, forthcoming), 110–112.

23 *Opera pastorale . . . par Giuseppe Brescianello*: 'Voicy une Pastorelle, que j'ay mis en Musique Theatrale pendant cette été, pour montrer à V. A. S. mon talent dans la pareille sorte de composition.'

24 *Opera pastorale . . . par Giuseppe Brescianello*: 'Si cette piece d'Opera pourroit avoir le bonheur d'etre executé sur le Theatre, ie me flattois d'une agreable reüssite, ayant cherché soigneusement dans les airs le gout du Theatre.'

25 See Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music: Theory, History, and Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), particularly 8–37.



Figure 1 *Opera pastorale*, Act 2 Scene 4, 'Cari orrori', bars 1–12 (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. mus. II Reihe 2° 3, page 103)

Table 1 French-style works by Brescianello in the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock

Ouverture de Mr. Brescianello in C	C major	(D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII: 9 ¹)
Ouvert Del Sigl. Besc. a 6 part in F	F major	(D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII:9 ³)
Ouverture à Violini Primo et Transport: Violino al unisoni, Violino Secondo, Viola Braccio, Basso Viola con Basso Continuo. Brescianelli	G minor	(D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII: 9 ⁴)
Ouverture Con, una Chiaccona del Sig. ^r Brescianello	D major	(D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII: 9 ⁵)
Ouverture. 1 Violini Concertati, 2 Violas, 2 Bassi del Sig. ^r Brescianelli	A minor	(D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII: 9 ⁶)
Ouverture. 2 Violini Concertati, Violino per il Chori, Viola Primo, Viola 2do, Basso Violone con Cembalo di Sig. ^r Brescianello	B flat major	(D ROu Mus. saec. XVII: 51 ⁵⁴)
Chaconne a 7 parte di Sig. ^r Gioseppo Brescianello	A minor	(D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII: 9 ²)

either adagio or allegro). With regard to the instrumentation, three of the works provide the option of incorporating two viola lines, with a 'Violino Secondo. O Viola Prima' part offered (written in G₂ clef), complementing an 'Alto Viola' (C₃).²⁶ Interestingly, in most of these works the first violin part is written in the French violin clef – a circumstance that presumably related to a specific performer. Virtually no galant traits appear, with only the appearance of triplets intermingled with dotted figures in the fugal section of the A major *ouverture* perhaps hinting at a galant idiom (see Figure 2).

²⁶ D Rou Mus. saec. 9⁶, 51⁵⁴, and 9².



B. N. 17 Violino 1mo. Concerto:
Ouverture

Fuga.

Da Capo.

Figure 2 Ouverture. 1 Violini Concertati, 2 Violas, 2 Bassi del Sig. r Brescianelli, 'Violino 1mo. Concerto', Ouverture (Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII: 9^o)

The year commonly assigned to the published collection of concertos and sinfonias, however, is 1738.²⁷ It is rather surprising that this date has been taken at face value for so long, given that the set is dedicated to Eberhard Ludwig – 'Dedicati All' Altezza Serenissima Di Eberhardo Ludovico Duca di Wirtenberg' – who died in 1733. The set is also mentioned in the article on the composer in Walther's *Musikalisches Lexikon*

²⁷ See, for example, Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900–1904), 186.



(Leipzig, 1732). In fact, as noted recently by Richard Maunder, Brescianello's Op. 1 must have been published by 1727, since Le Cène's edition (Nos 527–528) was advertised on 31 January that same year in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*.²⁸ This earlier date also appears to be confirmed by a listing of 'twelve concertos and sinfonias by Brescianello engraved in copperplate in green, gilt, paper volumes' in the inventories of the crown prince's estate made immediately following his death in 1731.²⁹

These published works showcase Brescianello's own instrument, the violin – no doubt he performed the concertos at dinner and chamber music performances at the court. The collection must have enjoyed a reasonable amount of success, given that Le Cène was still listing it in 1737.³⁰ As might be expected, there are more galant characteristics in these works than in Brescianello's *ouverture-suites*, presumably catering more for an international market. These include periodic melody broken into small phrase units through the use of rests, alternation between dotted figures and triplets (the latter appear most often towards the end of a movement), drum basses, *Schleifer* and offbeat patterns. See, for example, the reasonably wide rhythmic vocabulary that features in the Adagio movement of the first concerto (Figure 3).



Figure 3 Concerto I, from *XII Concerti et Sinphonie*, Op. 1 (Amsterdam: Le Cène[, 1727]), 'Violino Principale', Adagio and Allegro Assai, bars 1–12 (Frank V. de Bellis Collection, California State University, San Francisco)

The prevalence of galant characteristics in the remainder of Brescianello's extant concertos, sinfonias and trios – now found primarily in Dresden, Kassel (the Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid collection), Florence and Sweden (Lund, Uppsala, Stockholm and Härnösand) – is no greater than in his Op. 1 collection.³¹

28 Richard Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 194. This directly contradicts the claim in the *New Grove* entry on Brescianello that these works were probably written following the collapse of the court's finances in 1737, 'which spurred him on to increased activity as a composer'. Lück, 'Brescianello', 323.

29 D Sa G218 Büschel 14: 'Zwölf Concerten und Symphonien in Kupfer gestochen in 6. grün verguldeten pappyrnen Bande vom Brescianello.'

30 *Catalogue des livres de musique, imprimés à Amsterdam, chez Michel Charles le Cene* (Amsterdam, 1737), 62.

31 See Paola Pozzi, 'Il concerto strumentale italiano alla corte di Dresda durante la prima metà del settecento', in *Intorno a Locatelli: studi in occasione del tricentenario della nascita di Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1695–1764)*, ed. Albert Dunning (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995), 996–1000; Fritz Zobeley, *Die Musikalien der Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid. Thematisch-bibliographischer Katalog, I. Teil: Das Repertoire des Grafen Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn (1677–1754)*, 2 volumes (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1967), volume 1, 21–23. The concertos in Florence (Conservatorio Statale di



Strikingly, it is the music composed by Brescianello (almost certainly) after the duke's death that exhibits the most definitive galant elements. Two cantatas believed to have belonged to the crown prince's daughter Princess Luisa Frederike (1722–1791) must date from some time after her birth (and probably at least a decade or more later) and prior to her marriage to the Crown Prince of Mecklenburg in 1746. The *Cantata con Stromenti. Seguir fera che fugge* is dedicated to her personally and is scored for soprano, strings and continuo; it comprises an accompanied recitative followed by a da capo aria.³² Figure 4 reproduces a sample page from this aria containing elements of the galant style, with triplets in duple metre (in the violin and vocal lines), sighing appoggiaturas (bar 39), grace notes (bars 36 and 38) and one of the frequent opportunities for ad libitum embellishment indicated by a fermata (bar 40). The soprano part in the other, longer, cantata, *Core amante* ('con 2. Violini, 1. Viola e Basso'), is even more virtuosic, suggesting that it may have been composed for one of the members of the Italian opera troupe employed in 1736 by Duke Eberhard Ludwig's successor, Carl Alexander (1684–1737).³³

Figure 4 *Cantata con Stromenti. Seguir fera che fugge*, Aria. Larghetto ed à tempo giusto, 'Non è colpa del cor mio', bars 34–40 (Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII:9⁷)

Musica Luigi Cherubini, B1216) have been edited by Adelmo Damerini for the *Hortus Musicus* series, volumes 66–68 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1950–1951), and the *Concerto Primo* and *Concerto Undecimo* of this set can be found amongst the Gimo collection of the Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket, bearing the titles *Sonata Da Camera. Due Violini Obbligati e Basso Del Sig:re Brescianello* and *Sonata Da Camera. Due Violini Obbligati e Violoncello. Del Sig: Brescianello* respectively (S Uu Gimo 31 and 30). This collection was assembled by Jean Lefebure (the son of a Stockholm merchant) during a European journey in 1758–1763; see Ake Davidsson, 'A Collection of Italian Manuscript Music in the University Library of Uppsala', in *Annales Academiae Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis* 14 (1970), 7–29. For other Swedish holdings of Brescianello's music see RISM-online.

32 D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII:9⁷: 'Per la Serenissima Principessa Louisa di Wurttemberga . . . di Gioseppe Antonio Brescianello. Gran Maestro di Capella.'

33 D ROu Mus. saec. XVIII:9⁸.



One final example is Brescianello's sole surviving mass setting: preserved in Berlin and scored for SATB, horns, oboes, strings and continuo. Although '1773' appears on the title page, this must refer to the year the manuscript was copied, since the composer had died some time earlier, in 1758. Given that the new duke was Catholic, in contrast to his Lutheran predecessors, the work must date from some time after Carl Alexander's succession in 1733. Galant characteristics are even more pronounced than in the two cantatas, as can be seen in the opening of the Benedictus movement, with its typically galant rhythmic variety (including Lombardic rhythms in bar 5) and liberal sprinkling of grace notes and appoggiaturas (see Figure 5).

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top left, there are labels for the vocal parts: 'Soprano', 'Alto', 'Tenor', and 'Bass'. Below these are four staves of music. The first staff is for the organ, marked 'org. chiufo'. The second staff is for strings. The third and fourth staves are for the vocal parts. The text 'Larghetto' is written above the organ staff. The Latin text 've-nit in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni qui ve-nit qui ve-nit in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni' is written below the vocal staves. There are various musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f'.

Figure 5 *Missa solenne a 4 Voci con Strumenti di Brescianello 1773*, Benedictus, bars 1–17 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, D Bsb Mus. ms. 2400/1)

On the face of it, however, the evidence provided by Brescianello's compositions cannot be taken as firm proof that the duke's edict regarding the categorical elimination of the 'Gout moderne' was indeed put into practice. From what little we know, it seems that Eberhard Ludwig's personal musical taste was not overly sophisticated: he was reportedly fond of loud martial music involving trumpets and kettledrums, and on several occasions specially requested the performance of warlike 'Turkish' music.³⁴ On the other hand, he had danced in French-style *ballets de cour* as a young man (à la Louis XIV) and, like most German princes of the age, had seen the glories of Versailles at first hand.³⁵ He clearly understood the importance of cultural display as a means of enhancing a ruler's reputation. The closest we can perhaps come to an understanding

³⁴ Ludwig Schubart, ed., *C. F. D. Schubart's Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna, 1806), 147–148; on 'Turkish' music see Owens, *The Württemberg Hofkapelle*, 333–334.

³⁵ *Abbildung Und kurtze Lebens-Beschreibung Aller biß dahin Regierenden Durchleuchtigsten Herzogen zu Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1704), 246, from a description of the life of Eberhard Ludwig: 'einen guten Theil Franckreichs besonders Paris und den Königl. Hof zu Versailles incognito besehen' ([the duke] had seen a good portion of France, especially Paris and the royal court at Versailles).



of Eberhard Ludwig's musical taste is demonstrated by an incident that occurred in 1722. The office of the *Oberhofmarschall* (court chamberlain) reported that:

beÿ der damals gehaltenen Cammer *Musique*, der *Musicus* und *Secretarius* Eisentraut, eine *aria* aufgeföhrt, die seine Frau gesungen, dabey aber alle *Instrumenten pizzicato*, oder ohne Bogen gespielt worde, Er OberCapell-Meister hingegen wohl wüste, daß Ew. HFürstl. Durchl. solch *pizzicato* spielen nicht wohl leiden könten, und Er darauf nach vollkommen vollbrachten *Musiq*, denen samtlichen *Musicis* in aller güte und freündlichkeit berichtet, daß, weilen Ihro HFürstl. Dhl. solches nicht beliebig, es nicht mehr solchergestalten zu machen, sondern mit dem Bogen streichen solten.³⁶

at the chamber music session held at that time the Musician and Secretary Eisentraut performed an aria, which was sung by his wife, in which . . . all the instruments had to play pizzicato, or without bows. He, the *Oberkapellmeister* [Brescianello], on the other hand knew very well that His Most Serene Royal Highness [Eberhard Ludwig] cannot suffer the playing of such pizzicato, and because of that after a complete and accomplished performance, told the assembled musicians in all good faith and friendliness, that because His Serene Royal Highness didn't like such playing it should never again be done in such a way, but rather they should play with the bow.

A vitriolic public argument ensued, as a result of which the Eisentrauts, soprano Eleonore and cellist Augustus, had their salaries withheld for four months.³⁷ It seems possible that the use of pizzicato was associated in the duke's mind with the 'Gout moderne'. Certainly it was specifically mentioned by Benedetto Marcello in his satirical *Il teatro alla moda* (Venice, 1720): 'He [the composer of operas] should cheer up his audience with ariettas containing pizzicato and muted passages in the orchestra.'³⁸

There can be no doubt that Ziegesar's 1730 appointment significantly undermined Brescianello's authority as *Oberkapellmeister*, producing a great deal of tension within the Hofkapelle, for which palpable evidence exists in the form of letters and reports written by both men. These appear to demonstrate that the *Obermusicdirector* was reasonably diligent in carrying out his duties (at least on some levels). Soon after the prince's death in November 1731 Ziegesar's demands on the court musicians began to grow unreasonable. In September 1732 Brescianello wrote an irate letter to the duke accusing the *Obermusicdirector* of stealing his copyists and complaining that, although for the previous sixteen years he had held Saturday rehearsals at his home for the following day's *Tafelmusic*, Ziegesar was now requiring the musicians to play through music at his house at that time for his own pleasure.³⁹ Brescianello's letter appears to have had no immediate effect, however, since in July the following year thirteen court musicians complained that Ziegesar forced them to play every Saturday for between five and seven hours without allowing them to sit down. They were particularly incensed because none of the repertoire performed on these occasions – all chosen by Ziegesar – was new, but, rather, was *old* music, 'kept for no good reason' and partly rearranged by Johann Daniel Hardt (1696–1763) and an anonymous lackey.⁴⁰

36 D Sa A21 Büschel 630, *Unterthste: Relatio Fürstl: Oberhofmarechallen Ambs die von dem Musico und Secretario Eisentraut und seiner Frauen an dem Rath und Ober-Capellmeister Brescianello Verübte Ungebühr und insolenz, und deren Bestrafung betr.*, 24 January 1722.

37 On Eleonore Eisentraut see Hans-Joachim Marx, 'Eisentraut, Madame', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 15 August 2004), <www.grovemusic.com>.

38 Benedetto Marcello, trans. Reinhard G. Pauly, 'Il teatro alla moda – Part I', *The Musical Quarterly* 34/3 (1948), 385–386.

39 D Sa A21 Büschel 630, letter of Brescianello to Duke Eberhard Ludwig, Ludwigsburg, 14 September 1732.

40 D Sa A6 Büschel 79, letter to Duke Eberhard Ludwig, Ludwigsburg, 25 July 1733, signed by Alessandro Toeschi (violin), 'Friederich' Schiavonetti (oboe), Hieronymus Eisenhuth (violin/viola), Wenceslaus Spurni (violoncello), Franz Spurni (horn), Johann Christoph Bühner (horn), Carl Gustav Radauer (violoncello), Friedrich Ludwig Mayer (violin/viola), Albrecht Andreas Fischer (violin/viola), Francesco Venturini (violin), Carl Coraro Bellerocche (violin/viola and copyist), Georg Eberhard Dunz (violin/viola) and Stephan Freudenberg (violin); instrumentation based on contemporary court documents.



These Saturday sessions presumably provided the flute-playing aristocratic *Obermusicdirector* with the luxury of playing through concertos and other works with full instrumental accompaniment. For the long-suffering Württemberg musicians, matters came to a dramatic head in January 1734. In a letter to Eberhard Ludwig's successor, Carl Alexander (only recently arrived from Belgrade to take up his new position), the assembled court musicians explained that Ziegesar treated them badly partly 'because we wouldn't approve of and endorse his old music'. They had been placed under house arrest with only bread and water because they had refused to attend one of Ziegesar's play-through sessions on account of a prior engagement: a rehearsal with Brescianello for a commemoration service for the recently deceased Eberhard Ludwig.⁴¹ Whatever the truth of the matter, the new duke appears to have had little patience with Ziegesar's behaviour, since by June 1735 he had been dismissed.⁴²

The reign of Carl Alexander was to open up the Württemberg court to the very latest in Italian musical style, with the importation of an opera troupe under the direction of Riccardo Broschi. This is not to suggest, of course, that the galant style was largely unknown to the court musicians during Eberhard Ludwig's time. Indeed, when it came to flouting the legislation against a modern style of music, the duke's own son was guilty of transgression, since his personal collection included both music from within the Empire and a sizeable number of up-to-date publications from abroad, straight from the printing presses of Amsterdam and Paris. The crown prince is known to have performed in private chamber music sessions with select court musicians (Brescianello among them), and, although there is little indication that his collection was in regular use by Hofkapelle members, it does seem reasonable to assume that Brescianello's music had originally been composed with the Hofkapelle in mind.

Like all foreign and German composers working in the Empire during the early decades of the eighteenth century, Brescianello was required to write in a variety of styles. A collection of eighteen untitled partitas (or suites) for solo colascione (a type of long-necked lute) 'Del Sig.^r Brescianello' that exists in manuscript form at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek (Mus. 2364/V/2), presumably copied for a member of the Dresden court (perhaps Silvius Leopold Weiss?), mixes French dances with graceful adagio and allegro movements displaying galant traits, including periodic melody and pronounced rhythmic diversity.⁴³ That none of his French *ouverture*-suites for instrumental ensemble appear to have been disseminated beyond Stuttgart perhaps indicates their specificity to the Württemberg court environment, unlike his more widely marketable Italianate compositions. It seems probable that Eberhard Ludwig believed, even as late as the 1730s, that the best way to represent the power and grandeur of his court was by summoning up images of Louis XIV's court through performances of Lullian-style *ouvertures* and dances. In choosing to do so he created a sonic world that reflected his own political ambitions, in the process illustrating the extent to which an absolutist ruler – even one relatively uninterested in music – could influence both composition and performance within his own sphere.

41 D Sa A6 Büschel 79, letter of the collected musicians to Duke Carl Alexander, Stuttgart, 18 January 1734: 'Weilen wir seine alte Musicalien nicht vor guth heissen und approbiren wohlen.' For further details of these events see Samantha Owens, 'The Provenance of the J. F. Fasch Concertos in Crown Prince Friedrich Ludwig of Württemberg's Music Collection: Contextual Remarks on the "Sammlung Ziegesar"', in *Johann Friedrich Fasch und der italienische Stil*, ed. Konstanze Musketa (Dessau: Anhalt-Edition Dessau, 2003), 77–90.

42 D Sa G218 Büschel 13, letter of Ziegesar to Duke Carl Alexander, Stuttgart, 11 June 1735, in which Ziegesar describes himself as 'a dismissed servant' (ein dimittirer Diener). He next appears in charge of music at the Baden-Durlach court; see Klaus Häfner, *Der badische Hofkapellmeister Johann Melchior Molter (1696–1765) in seiner Zeit* (Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek, 1996), 140–141.

43 See, for example, the Andante of the second partita, in the edition by Ruggero Chiesa, *Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello: Diciotto Partite per chitarra dagli originali per colascione* (Milan: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1981), 12–13.