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THEMA: MUSIK AM PRAGER HOF RUDOLFS II.

Michaela Žáčková Rossi

## The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II (1576–1612):

The Imperial Account Books as an Instrument  
for a Reconstruction of the Rudolfinian Musical Staff\*

The Rudolfinian era with its collections, patronage, painting and sculpture is a widely known concept. The general acquaintance with this period only underlines the need to support our comprehension of the mentioned terms with a more precise definition of the Rudolfinian music. Studies of particular important figures from the milieu of the Imperial Court – Philipp De Monte, Alessandro Orologio, Camillo Zanotti, Hans Leo Hassler, Cesare Bendinelli, Philipp Schöndorff etc. – bring more and more often questions such as who were »the other« Rudolfinian musicians and not only the best known: in which years they stayed and worked in Prague and what were their actual activities in the Bohemian environment, also outside the Imperial Court? Which musical compositions could be included in the concept of the Rudolfinian production and which could not? Due to lack of biographical data of more or less known »Rudolfinian« musicians we are often unable to determine whether a particular work was first inspired by the Imperial Court in Vienna and then by the Court in Prague, or whether it was created in an entirely different artistic context, eventually influenced by the environment of another court where the author of the work was employed earlier or later in his life.

It is not possible to say that the musical life at the Court of Rudolf II has not been addressed in the past, however, the interest of researchers was focused mainly on particular problems: there are numerous both scientific studies and university

students' works, older and newer, devoted to selected authors, musical genres or individual compositions, music sheet sources and their editions, archival documents, various aspects of the Rudolfinian Prague etc. The only present works of monographic character are in the first place an extensive essay by Albert Smijers published in 1920s on the basis of the author's detailed heuristic study of Viennese sources,<sup>1</sup> and, also, a monograph from Carmelo Peter Comberiati analyzing the Mass production of Rudolfinian composers and including an extensive introductory chapter of general nature which could be considered the first, albeit partial summary of the music in the Rudolfinian environment.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, both of the mentioned titles deal almost exclusively with musicians and the musical practice in the Imperial Chapel, yet less with numerous Imperial chamber musicians, trumpet players, drummers or other famous Rudolfinian players which are mentioned only briefly. Some new evidence about the Rudolfinian Prague and its musical life was brought in 2002 by Hindrichs's book about the Imperial Kapellmeister Philippe de Monte.<sup>3</sup> Despite the growing number of studies devoted to particular topics,<sup>4</sup> which enable a gradual assemblage of the mosaic of the music in the Rudolfinian Prague, contemporary musicologists still encounter a

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1 Albert Smijers, *Die kaiserliche Hofmusikkapelle von 1543–1619*, in: *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* VI (1919), p. 139–186; VII (1920), pp. 102–142; VIII (1921), pp. 176–206; IX (1922), pp. 43–81.

2 Carmelo Peter Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court. Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II (1576–1612)*, New York 1987.

3 Thorsten Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte (1521–1603): Komponist, Kapellmeister, Korrespondent*, Göttingen 2002.

4 Numerous studies of Robert Lindell, Petr Daněk and the students of his seminar at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague could be mentioned above all.

lack of biographical data about the majority of its protagonists.

An important stimulus and the initial starting point for many projects were the lists of courtiers (*Hofstaat*) of the Emperor Rudolf II published in 2002 by Jaroslava Hausenblasová.<sup>5</sup> This modern edition not only provides access to hitherto unknown documents from 1580s, but also summarizes and completes data already known to musicologists from previous particular inventories of musicians which were, however, not always entirely complete and reliable: descriptions of the Imperial Diets in Augsburg and Regensburg recorded in 1582 and 1594 by an Imperial herald Peter Fleischmann,<sup>6</sup> nominal lists from the boundary years of the Emperor's reign (from 1576 and 1612),<sup>7</sup> the accommodation book of Malá Strana and Hradčany, and the list of tenants in Staré Město, both from 1608.<sup>8</sup>

As a part of a long-term project, the compilation of the most possible accurate and complete chronological and personal list of musicians at the Rudolfinian Court was established as the primary objective in order to found the essential basis for any further reflections on the musical life at

the Rudolfinian Court as well as on the musical production inspired by this environment. The properly kept books of accounts of the Aulic Court Chamber, nowadays stored in the Austrian State Archives in Vienna (in the Court Chamber Archives department), proved as a relatively complete and accurate source of the required biographical information. These books contain exact dates of when specific musicians arrived to the Court or eventually left it. It is only with the help of such a chronologically precise record of Imperial services that a catalogue of musical publications created in the environment of the Rudolfinian Court, regardless of the place of publication, could be compiled. In this manner, the true extent and character of »the Rudolfinian musical production« could be determined. For this reason, the Imperial accounts books were selected as the primary and essential source for the first phase of the systematic study of music at the Court of Rudolf II.

Imperial account books (*Hofzählamtsbücher*) are an essential source not only for musicologists, but for all researchers interested in early modern culture and the Rudolfinian environment. They provide immediate answers to numerous questions and throw light upon many uncertainties; therefore we considered necessary to use them as the first basis for any reflections on Rudolfinian musical production, analyze their systematic and complex data from the musical point of view and publish them in the form of an inventorial monograph.

Thirty-two account books from the reign of Rudolf II have survived forming an integral book corpus, with the exception of three non-extant volumes from the years 1578, 1579 and 1580. For general considerations about the nature of this source, we refer here to authors who have already dealt with the Imperial account books in more detail,<sup>9</sup> in this study we will confine ourselves only

5 Jaroslava Hausenblasová, *Der Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II. Eine Edition der Hofstaatsverzeichnisse 1576–1612*, Prag 2002.

6 Peter Fleischmann: *Des aller durchleuchtigsten [...] Herrn Rudolphen des andern, [...] erstgehaltenem Reichstag zu Augspurg [...]*, Augspurg 1582; Peter Fleischmann: *Kurtze und eigentliche Beschreibung des zu Regenspurg in disem 94 Jar gehaltenen Reichstag [...]*, Regenspurg 1594. For the names of musicians mentioned in Fleischmann's documents cf.: Georges van Doorslaer, *Die Musikkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II i. J. 1582 unter der Leitung von Ph. de Monte*, in: *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 13/1931, pp. 481–491; Georges van Doorslaer, *La Chapelle musicale de l'empereur Rudolphe II, en 1594, sous la direction de Philippe de Monte*, in: *Acta musicologica* 5/1933, Fasc. III, pp. 148–161; Gerhard Pietzsch, *Zur Musikkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II.*, in: *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 16/1934, pp. 171–176.

7 Cf. Hausenblasová, *Der Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II.*

8 Zdeněk Hojda, *Hudebníci Rudolfova dvora v ubytovací knize Malé Strany a Hradčan z roku 1608*, in: *Hudební věda* 24/1987, pp. 162–167; Jaroslav Čechura, Zdeněk Hojda, Martina Novozámská, *Nájemníci na Starém Městě pražském roku 1608* (= Documenta Pragensia Monographia 3), Praha 1997; Zikmund Winter, *Pokojníci Staropražští r. 1608*, Květy 1886, pp. 650–659; 1887, pp. 15–26.

9 Christian Sapper, *Die Zählamtsbücher im Hofkammerarchiv 1542–1825*, in: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 35/1982, pp. 404–455; Jaroslav Pánek, *Knihy habsburské Dvorské pokladny (Hofzählamtsbücher) jako pramen k dějinám předbělohorského českého státu*, in: *Pocta prof. JUDr. Karlu Malému, DrSc. k 65. narozeninám* (ed.: Ladislav Soukup), Praha: 1995, pp. 173–181. Mark Hengerer, *Die Abrechnungsbücher des Hofzählmeisters*

to a brief description of the structure of the books. Orientation within individual volumes is facilitated by contemporary indices: an introductory list of all sections and a nominal index. Each book is divided into two main accounting sections: *Empfang* (income) and *Ausgab* (expenses). The largest and the most important part of the expenses is *Hofbesoldung* (regular wages). Nevertheless, expenditures on clothing (*Claidergeld*) and New Year bonuses (*Neujahrgeld*) proved to be significant as well: the fact that the expenditures on clothing and New Year bonuses have not been paid out consistently and in the same years as regular wages, but often considerably later and en masse for several years back, is very fortunate for modern research since it allows to at least partially reconstruct the necessary information for those financial years where the accounting documents and thus also the items of regular wages are not extant (1578–1580).

Interesting information, however, can be found also in other sections: pensions (*Pension*), short-term commissions or life annuities (*Provision*), regular wage supplements (*Zupuessgeld*), occasional contributions to marriage or child's baptism (*Verehrung*), exceptional payments (*Extra Ordinari*), and various remunerations (*Gnadengeld*). These occasional items, random remunerations, provisions or journey-money aid further in throwing light on activity of some persons, their compositional work, role in providing musical repertoire, musical instruments, new musicians for the Court, and often also on their other activities not necessarily related to music. For example, an excellent Italian *trommeter* and *cornetto* player Francesco Mosto, a member of a branched lineage of *trommeters* working in Habsburg services, is mentioned in 1591 – together with a *Bassist* singer Christoph Porro and a chaplain alto Evangelista Vacino – in an exceptional payment as one of the three musicians who, at the end of 1590, came to Prague from Graz as local Court Chapel was disbanded after the death of Charles II,

(1542–1714) und die Zahlamtsbücher (1542–1825) im Wiener Hofkammerarchiv, in: *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch* (edd. Josef Pauser, Martin Scheutz, Thomas Winkelbauer), Wien, München 2004, pp. 128–143.

Archduke of Austria. The only direct evidence that Francesco actually entered the Imperial service is the record of an exceptional payment to bereaved widow. In spite of these two entries, the name of Francesco Mosto is never mentioned among regular wages, even after years back. However, in August 1591 Francesco's son Marc'Antonio, who was about fourteen years old, was accepted into the Imperial service as a trumpet player apprentice.<sup>10</sup>

The first step of the broadly conceived heuristic work was to study approximately 2850 *Hofbesoldung* payment entries. This brought to light more than 300 regularly paid musicians or persons involved in the Rudolfinian musical practice between 1576 and 1612. These can be split up into two categories: trumpet players and drummers belonging to the so called »groom side« (*Stallparthey*) on the one hand, and members of the Court Chapel itself (*Capellnparthey*) on the other, including singers, instrumentalists, and other staff in functions associated with not only the music in the Imperial Chapel (almoner, chaplains, oratory and chapel servants, note sheets copyists, organ player, choir preceptor and singers), but also in other spheres of the life at the Imperial Court (chamber musicians, composers etc.). Musicians in other Court functions – such as servants with two or more horses, silver servant, and assistant dresser – present only a negligible part. Nonetheless, less negligible are the names of people who served in these positions: Carl Luython, Kryštof Harant z Polžic, Hans Leo Hassler, Niclas Zangius, Carlo Ardesi, Aluigo Fenice. Although it cannot be recognized as a wage in the true sense, even contributions to trumpeter apprentices from which other musicians could be further identified are included among the regular

10 Cf. HKA HZAB. [= Wien, Hofkammerarchiv: Hofzahlamtsbücher] 1591, *Gnadengeld* ff. 360r–361r; HKA HZAB 1591, *Gnadengeld* f. 416v: »Item Irer Mt. gewestes Musici unnd Zingenblasers Francisco Mosto wittib [...]«; HKA HZAB 1591, *Unterhaltung Lehrjungen* ff. 294v–295r. Cf. also notarial deed written up after Francesco Mosto's sudden death in the study Clemente Lunelli: *Notizie di alcuni musicisti a Praga nel Cinquecento*, in: *Atti degli anni accademici 220–223* (Atti dell'Accademia Roveretana degli Agiati), series VI, fasc. X–XIII, f. A, 1970/1973, pp. 137–142, here p. 139.

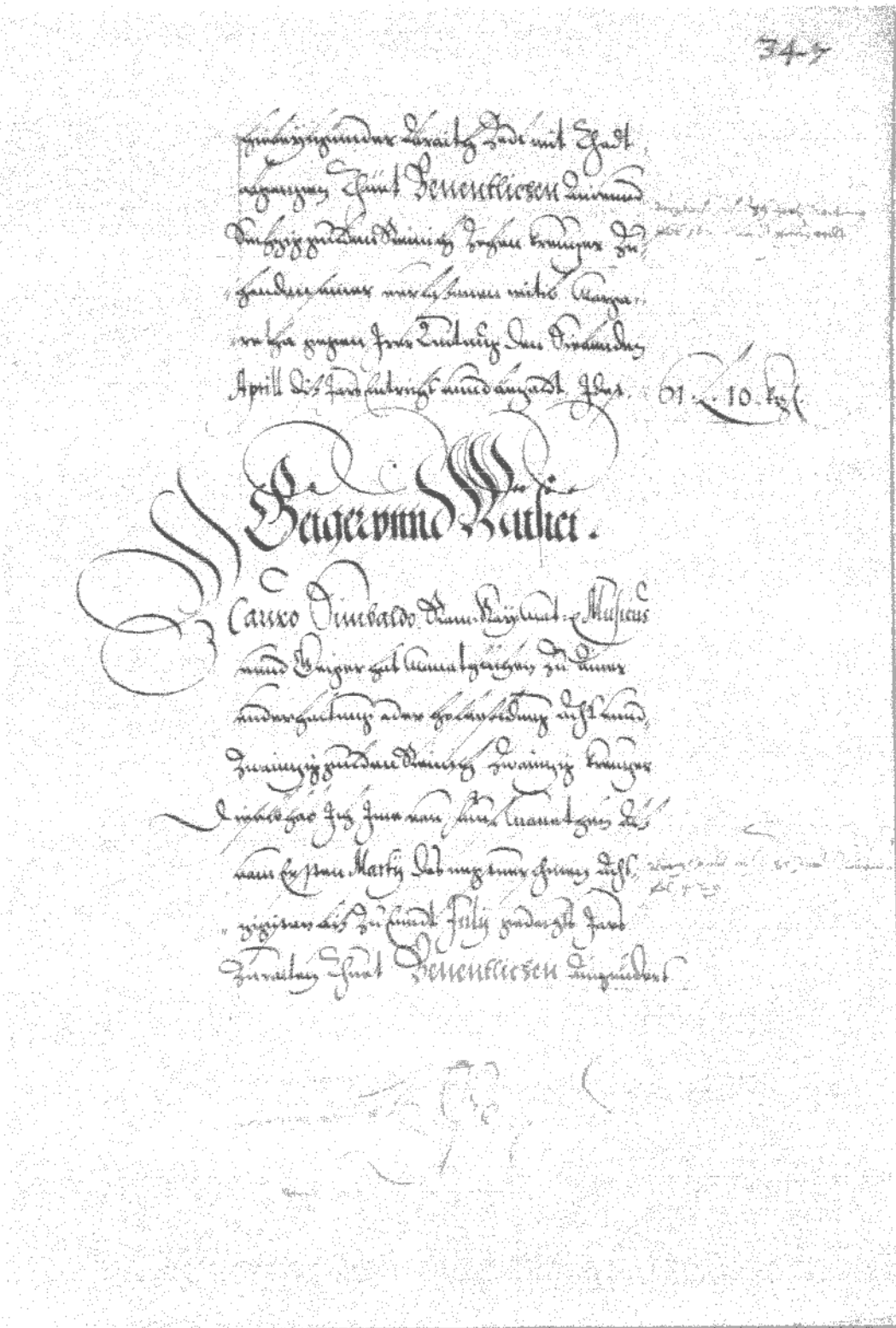


Photo: Carlo Rossi, Association for Central European Cultural Studies, Prague

Figure 1:  
A Payment Entry: Hofbesoldung for Mauro Sinibaldi in the category »Geiger unnd Musici«  
(HKA HZAB 1581, fol. 347r), Austrian State Archive, Vienna

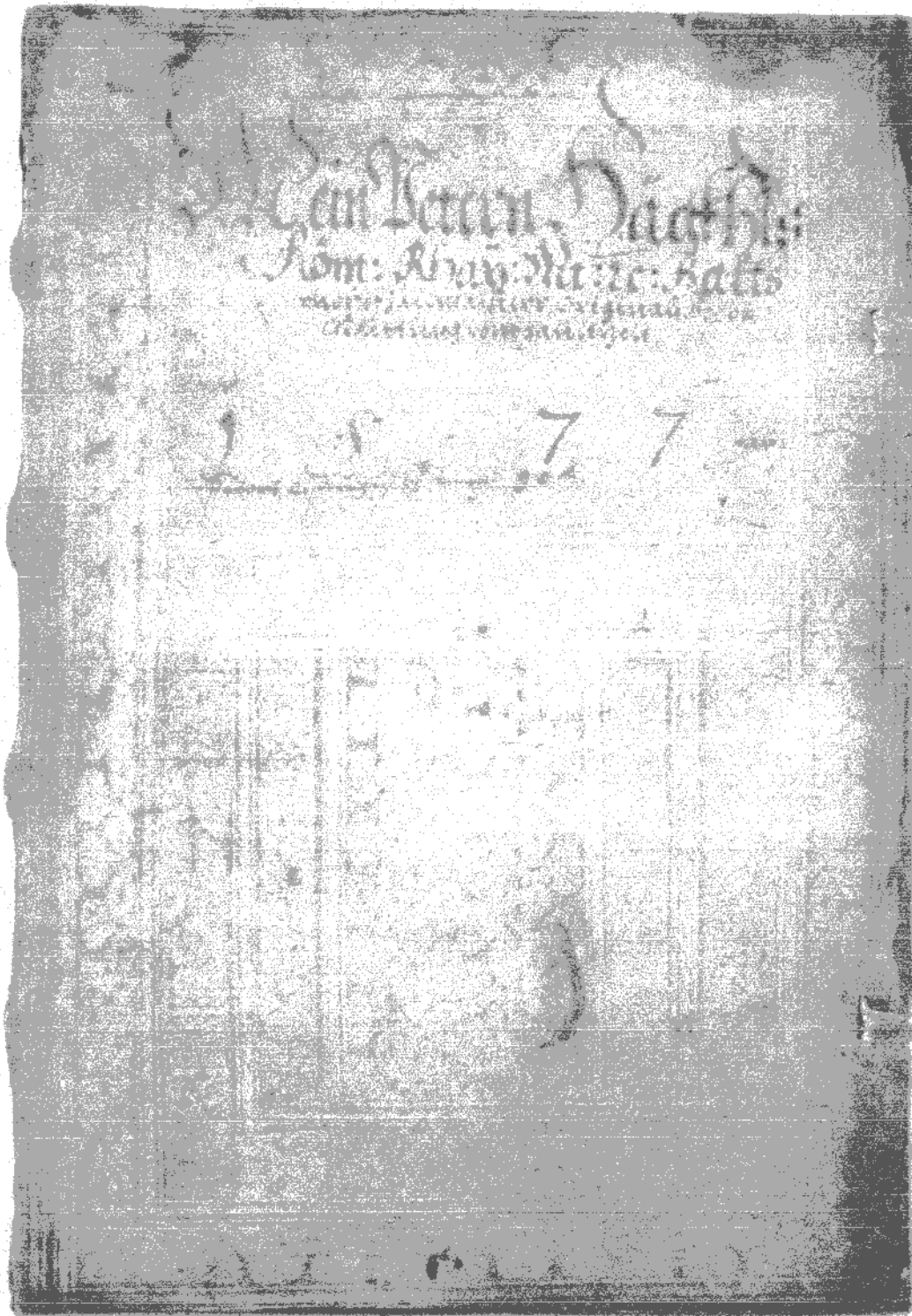


Photo: Carlo Rossi, Association for Central European Cultural Studies, Prague

Figure 2:  
An Imperial Account Book (Hofzählamtsbuch) with the Original Binding (1577),  
Austrian State Archive, Vienna

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wages. Apprentices were not eligible to receive money yet and the amount corresponding to their experience and probably also age was usually taken over by their teachers. On the contrary, choirboys (*Singerknaben*) are not comprised in the regular wages section.

In order to process vast amounts of data as fast as possible, all relevant passages were – after the necessary preliminary study of books and the designation of relevant sections and items – digitally photographed and formatted.<sup>11</sup> Approximately 4600 of photos (hence more than a hundred pages per each annual volume on average) documenting items from all of the above-mentioned sections were taken overall. The amount of pages recording musical expenses varies from year to year depending on current economical and political situation at the court, growth or decline in the number of staff or, eventually, on the calligraphic style of individual scribes. A database was subsequently compiled by processing individual payment items.<sup>12</sup> Each record contains the year of the account book, folio, numbers of relevant photos, commonly established first and last names of the musician, their graphic variant in the given entry, first and last names of any other eventually mentioned person, information on the authority within whose cognizance he fell as well as on the specific function he fulfilled at the court, the monthly wage in Rhenish florins and also *Kreutzers*, the motive of the payment and the period for which it has been paid out, the amount disbursed, the number of quittances, and the date of the last quittance.

Our knowledge of Rudolf's servants is improved significantly by the clearly chronologically defined Imperial accounts; however, two major drawbacks are encountered: the fact that the volumes from 1578, 1579 and 1580 have not survived, and the constantly worsening regularity of payments towards the end of Rudolf's reign. The gap in the accessible data caused by the

non-extant volumes is complicated by other factors which set even further hurdles: in the first place, the lost volumes come from the very beginning of Rudolf's reign, hence an important period when many Maximilian's musicians were released »with honour«<sup>13</sup> from the Imperial service after his death and, likewise, dozens of new names appear in the records; furthermore, the lost volumes record three consecutive years, thus a relatively long time period and it cannot be ruled out that names of musicians who came to the court and left it again during the three-year span were recorded in these (short-term one- or two-year stays at the court were not exceptional); and finally, periods of service for which money was paid out almost never matched the calendar year of the book and therefore it is not clear which names and which time periods were recorded in the accounts. Payments were disbursed in delay, usually by shorter periods than one year, at certain times greater amounts were paid out *en masse*. Only a brief inspection of the books by some researchers led them to the incorrect assumption that the amounts indicated for each name correspond to their income from the calendar year the book is from. Another common misinterpretation is related to this error – it is wrongly presumed that each book records exactly the people who were actually in Rudolf's service at that year: the content of individual servant categories is thus interpreted erroneously. In fact, payments related to completely different periods can be found side by side in the same payment section (in the same year) of the Rudolfinian account books.

Due to the fragmentariness of the accounts extant from the first years of Rudolf's reign, names of persons who, in the book from 1577, earned money for a period related to Maximilian's reign and their record does not mention anything about death or retirement from the Imperial service, and therefore it is more than probable that at least in the following – today missing – year 1578 the given person was mentioned, were kept in the overall

11 In agreement with the Austrian State Archives in Vienna, the digital photos along with modern indices should be made available to other researchers in the near future.

12 The sources digitization and the informatics part of the project (tools necessary to the data processing, statistics, graphs etc.) were managed by Carlo Rossi.

13 »... mit Gnaden verlassen«.

inventory of the Rudolfinian musicians.<sup>14</sup> It is ultimately the long-term systematic study of other accounting categories (*Claidergeld*, *Neujabrgeld* and *Gnadengeld* in particular) as well as of other archival sources, which aids in gradual clarification of particular questions. Especially surviving testaments, appeals of musicians for nobilitation, wage increase or merely a request for an occasional bonus often contain biographical information about the applicant's length of service at the Imperial court or in Habsburg service generally and, furthermore, about his family, previous remunerations etc. To mention one example for all: in his application from 1584, the *trommeter* Andrea Mosto requested a financial contribution as he was supposed to wed his only sister. On this occasion, he stated that he had served at Rudolf's court for six years, hence since 1578, whereas in the account books – due to the three lost volumes – his name does not appear until 1580.<sup>15</sup>

The second considerable difficulty in the clear chronological definition of the time individual members of the Rudolfinian personnel spent in the Imperial service is the constantly worsening regularity of both payments to musicians and the records of newly arrived servants, hence two independent issues. While the increasing delays in payments can be accounted for the Emperor's geopolitical problems, an explanation for the gradual decrease in the accuracy of reports has to be found somewhere else. The truth is that at the beginning of 1612, thus the year of Rudolf's death, many musicians received their wages only up to the years 1606–1607, whereas in 1576 when Emperor Maximilian II died, contemporary payments were in the framework of 1574–1576 and were therefore paid out in maximum two-year delay.

14 For more details on musicians at the Court of the Emperor Maximilian II cf. the monograph Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II.* (Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 20), Tutzing 1980 – which also presents many interesting facts about movements of musicians in the period after Maximilian's death and at the beginning of Rudolf's reign.

15 The Austrian State Archives, Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsaktien: W 61 A 32 A, f. 136.

A brief insight into first account books from the reign of Matthias brought some considerable surprises: the summarizing account book from 1613–1614 and especially the volume from 1615 record – besides some arrears from Rudolf's reign – also a number of so far completely unknown musicians who were at the time part of the court for already many years, but whose admission into the Imperial service had not been reported in previous regular wages sections! The two mentioned volumes from Matthias's reign could not be therefore omitted in the complete inventory of the musical staff at the court of Rudolf II and they were included in the study at least in the category of regular wages. The book from 1613–14 deals mainly with members of the *Stallparthey* (from 1606 onwards), whereas the volume from 1615 brings new names and payments especially from the *Capellparthey*, among other information about persons who came to the court at the beginning of the century, yet who had not been mentioned in the section of regular wages ever before: a chamber organ player Thomas Podenstein active since 1600, other chamber organ player Christoff Strauss and a descant Johann Dalwin were in the service since 1601, a bassist singer Georg A. Plaichshirn was at the court since 1602. Many other names of Rudolfinian musicians figure in the account books from 1613–1614 and 1615 with a smaller delay. The delayed wages are sometimes reimbursed completely for the entire period until Rudolf's death, albeit with lower monthly rate than originally. In other cases, after years some of the musicians – and later their heirs – exact unpaid wages relating to the service between 1608 and 1612. Documents giving insight into the sad reality when aging musicians and later their heirs repeatedly exact unpaid wages, even in the 1630s and the 1640s, are preserved in the National Archives in Prague. The cases of a chamber musician Marc'Antonio Mosto and the vice-Kapellmeister Alessandro Orologio are the most prominent among these.

In the accounts, an important moment in the transition period is dated to the 1st March 1612, nevertheless, the Imperial *Hofzahlamtsbücher* suggests that the real change did not come until the 1st November 1612: at this point, wages of most



of the both old servants and newcomers increased or, more precisely, returned to its original or higher level after a transitional period of lowered salaries: in this way trumpet players' salary went up from temporary 10 Rhenish florins – which they received for the remaining Rudolfinian period – to 19 Rhenish florins in November 1612, while during the reign of Rudolf the usual wage was 15 and later 18 Rhenish florins.

If average monthly wages are taken into account, following figures summarizing the 35 years of Rudolf's reign are obtained: the Kapellmeister earned 30 florins per month, chaplains 15 florins (if a chaplain was also a singer at the same time, he obtained 20 florins), descants 20 florins, other singers – basses, tenors, altos – 15 florins, choir preceptors 12 florins. In what chamber musicians concerns, their wages varied a lot, probably based on their age and mainly ability. The base salary of trumpet players was 15 florins (though later it often increased), while trumpeter apprentices were paid in accordance with their age. The example of an Italian Bernhardino Mosto, who was born already in Prague and is thus recorded as a trumpeter apprentice from early childhood is a very illustrative one: his salary starts at 3 florins per month and for years it increases only slowly due to his young age. In the end, Bernhardino Mosto became a very well-paid musician who settled permanently in Prague, commissioned a tombstone for his parents (Andrea Mosto and Lucia Ferrer) in the St Thomas Convent, received the status of burgher and in 1623 bought a house on Michalská Street and received the status of staré Město burgher.

Consequently, the study of the Imperial account books allowed for a summarization of the annual expenditures for the *Capellparthey* and the *Stallparthey* at Rudolf's Court and it established how these amounts oscillated on the regular wages for musicians and how the emphasis on these two categories changed over time. While investments into the chapel operation were much greater for decades, the ratio between the two categories became gradually equal and in 1610 it even turned over. An increase in the number of the *Stallparthey* members – trumpet players and their apprentices – after 1600 deserves attention and is probably related to the

war with Turks. Chronological nominal lists and graphs representing the specific staff composition of the *Capellparthey* and the *Stallparthey* illustrate simultaneous activity of musicians in Rudolf's services in individual years: they demonstrate how many and which musicians occupied individual categories at a particular time. Furthermore, eventual periods when new musicians were recruited en masse and, conversely, when continuous or impetuous alterations of staff stalled for various reasons can be traced back. Information about how some individual musicians passed through several functions during their career at the court is also very interesting. The following typologies were established: common career progress such as: trumpeter apprentice – trumpet player – *Musicus und Trommeter* – chief trumpet player (*Oberst Trommeter*); progress from minor non-musical functions to major musical positions;<sup>16</sup> simultaneous fulfilling of two different functions: a tenor and a copyist, an organ player and a composer, an alto and a choir preceptor etc.;<sup>17</sup> oscillation between two close functions: most commonly between a tenor and an alto (this might be also due to inaccuracies committed by scribes, present in the documents abundantly, nevertheless, a close observation of the graph does not rule out the possibility that more numerous altos sometimes filled in for tenors); whole career spent in non-musical functions.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, chronological nominal lists and graphs capture the gradual transformation in nationality composition of the musical personnel. Unfortunately, with rare exceptions, the Rudolfinian *Hofzahlamtsbücher* never record the origin of servants. Therefore, in order to reconstruct this picture, it is necessary to employ other sources. Nonetheless, it is not always possible. It is generally known that already »during the reign of Maximilian II

16 E.g. Carl Luython worked his way through from an assistant dresser via a chamber musician to an organ player and a composer at the same time.

17 E.g. Christoph Potuff – a tenor and a copyist; Carl Luython – an organ player and a composer, Bonaventura Le Febure – an alto and a choir preceptor etc.

18 E.g. Chr. Harrandt, known as Kryštof Harant from Polžice and Bezručice, who was initially a chief chamberlain for silver and later a chamberlain.

some task division in the musical sphere existed at the Imperial Court. This is represented by the fact that Italians are found mainly among trumpet players, Flemish among singers, both nationalities then appear in the chamber music. Otherwise, also Spanish were important, especially as descants.<sup>19</sup> The fact that since the reign of Maximilian II Imperial trumpet players came mainly from Italy, more specifically from Brescia situated near the Lake Garda, was pointed out already by Walter Pass who also noted that the function of drummer had been fulfilled from the very beginning by Germans.<sup>20</sup> Upon detailed analysis of the nationality composition of Rudolf's musicians it can be concluded that his drummers were actually mostly of German origin, moreover also members of the same family which passed the position of »Hörpauker« on among themselves for years: Steffan Wolff is recorded as a »Hörpaucher« in 1580, Jacob Wolff at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582 and also in *Hofstaats* from 1584 and 1589, and finally Anthon Wolff at the Diet of Regensburg in 1594 – all the mentioned names also figure in the accounts of the Court Chamber.

At the beginning of Rudolf's reign, the nationality composition characteristic for Maximilian's era is still prevalent. The official relocation of the court from Vienna to Prague in 1583<sup>21</sup> did not bring any considerable changes. Until the mid 1590s arrivals of Italians, Flemish and Spanish in Prague are still common. However, as the year 1600 approached, numbers of members of these nationalities start to decrease; only older settlers, eventually younger generations of Italians and Flemish from most of which were born already in Prague, stay. It is Germans who start to clearly dominate and also many seemingly Czech names appear, however, due to their German transcript it is not always – without studying other sources – possible to prove their Czech origin with certainty. There can be no doubt about the Czech origin

of names such as Caspar Treboňský, Wenzel Plawensky or Veit Pragalis. Czech origin can be supposed also in case of people called Wenzel, eventually in cases where the first or last name corresponds to various graphical transcriptions of the name Jenik (Sebastian Genig, Georg Jänickh, Hennickh Lorenz), although we have no evidence for this.

Other valuable information that has been obtained from the Imperial account books is the kinship relations between the Rudolfinian musicians. This brings us to the question of musical lineages. In his study on Italians in Prague before the Battle of White Mountain, Josef Janáček notes that: »favouritism shown on the basis of family relationships appeared also at the court as local officials facilitated arrival to the court to their close relatives (cooks and pastry makers Scaiola, musicians Cicotta, gem cutters Miseroni), however, it was out of the question that entire groups of people from a certain area would arrive, such as it happened in construction crafts.«<sup>22</sup> Our inventory reflects that often several members of the same family settled in the Rudolfinian Prague at the same time for more than one generation. Janáček mentions Cicotta (thus Zigotta),<sup>23</sup> but apart from them there was also the Mosto family from Udine, Rizzo from Brescia, Ardesi from Cremona, Cappa and de Leon, Dutch families De Sayve and Cupers, Le Febure and de La Court, German Wolff family and others. The presence of at least two members of the same family is very common: brothers Schöndorff, Dominico Gentili and his son Dario, Sebastian and Joachim Weber, Thomas and Jacob Langhans, father and son Kaltenprunner etc. Nevertheless, the Imperial accounts also provide evidence for kin relationships which could not be discovered only on the basis of a mere coincidence of names: e. g. Wilhelm Ursinus Nutius was a son of a *Bassist* David Hörman, a daughter of a distinguished alto Bonaventura Le Febure Barbara married a trumpet player and a musician Dominico

19 Robert Lindell, *Hudební život na dvoře Rudolfa II.*, in: *Hudební věda* 26/1989, pp. 99–111 (here pp. 100–101).

20 Pass, *Musik*, p. 180.

21 Nevertheless, Rudolf II resided in Prague in long-term already in 1578–1581.

22 Josef Janáček, *Italové v předbělohorské Praze*, in: *Pražský sborník historický* 16 (1983), pp. 77–118 (here p. 97).

23 Also Sigota, Czykōta, Czygota, Czygkōta, Zigetta, Zigōta, Zigatto, Zigato.

Gentili, another »*Trometter und Musicus*« Florindo Sertorio was an uncle, protector and a teacher of a trumpet player Anthonio Anthonino etc.

The nominal list and payment inventory of the musicians at the Court of Rudolf II will be published in 2012, on the occasion of the 400th year anniversary of the Emperor's death. This monograph will hopefully fill a gap in Rudolphinian research (not only musical) and for the first time it will introduce an overview of activity of musicians in all spheres of the Imperial Court. It will be a necessary starting point for further research and the first of the three volume series on the musical life at the Court of Rudolf II. This first volume, which focused on the entire musical personnel of the Imperial Court, will subsequently be supplemented by data processed from items found both in account books and in other types of source materials such as testaments, appeals for nobility status, wage increase, exceptional remunerations, etc. An analysis of the Imperial treasury expenditures to musicians who were active outside the Imperial court will also be included in the project. This data is not only an important indicator of the degree and nature of Rudolf's interest in music, but also a key to the clarification of the lesser known relations between the Emperor and the musicians residing outside of his Court. Only after all of this preliminary research has been concluded, and contextualized with that of other Courts and with the other Rudolphinian patronage, can the true understanding of the Rudolphinian musical production be obtained. ◀◀

Seit 60 Jahren weist RISM  
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