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**MUSIC AT THE COURT OF ADAM FRANZ AND JOSEPH ADAM  
VON SCHWARZENBERG: VIENNA, ČESKÝ KRUMLOV  
AND PARIS AND TRANSITIONS AT TO THE END  
OF BAROQUE ERA<sup>1</sup>**

The Schwarzenberg<sup>2</sup> family was one of the most important noble families of the Habsburg hereditary lands and also played an important role in the history of music of Central Europe, especially in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Recent research in this area has shown that the influence of nobility on the development of musical culture in Central Europe, mainly in Czech lands, would appear to be more significant than hitherto believed.<sup>3</sup> The position of the house of Schwarzenberg in relation to music in South Bohemia, in particular in Český Krumlov, Třeboň and Hluboká, during the second half of 18<sup>th</sup> century, as well as their influence on the musical life in Vienna have already been the subject of a number of studies;<sup>4</sup> however, recent research on the biographies of musicians engaged by Adam Franz (1680–1732) and Joseph Adam (1722–1782) von Schwarzenberg allow us to re-

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Alison Jayne Dunlop for revising the present article as well as for her numerous advices during my research in archives in Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> This family originated from Lower Franconia, settled in Bohemia in the second half of 17<sup>th</sup> century, the first estate they gained there was Třeboň in 1660. Until the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> century, crowned by the inheritance of the Eggenbergs' estates in 1719, the family managed to establish a very important position in South and North Bohemia, Bavaria, Lower Austria and Styria. In 1670, Johann Adolf I of Schwarzenberg was raised to the rank of Prince ('Reichsfürst'), with the inheritance in 1719, the head of family obtained also the title of Duke of Krumlov.

<sup>3</sup> Kapsa, Václav. *Hudebníci hraběte Morzina. Příspěvek k dějinám šlechtických kapel v Čechách v době baroka*. Praha 2010; Perutková, Jana. *František Antonín Míča ve službách hraběte Questenberga a italská opera v Jaroměřicích*. Praha 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Zálaha, Jiří. Premiéra opery Giuseppe Scarlattioho v Českém Krumlově roku 1768. *Hudební věda* 9, 1972, n. 2, pp. 156–159; Zálaha, Jiří. Český Krumlov a divadelní tradice. In: *Teatralia zámecké knihovny v Českém Krumlově 1*. Ed. Šimáková, Jitka – Macháčková, Eduarda. Praha 1976, pp. 11–30; Zálaha, Jiří. Hudební život na dvoře knížat ze Schwarzenberku v 18. století. *Hudební věda* 24, 1987, n. 1, pp. 43–62; Zálaha, Jiří. Neuskutečněné operní představení císařského dvorního divadla v Českém Krumlově roku 1732. In: *Jihočeský sborník historický* 64, 1995, pp. 186–188. Mörath, Anton. Die Pflege der Tonkunst durch das Fürstenhaus Schwarzenberg im achtzehnten und zum Beginne des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. *Das Vaterland. Zeitung für die österreichische Monarchie*. 10 March 1901 (42/ N° 68), pp. 1–5.

evaluate the relationship both noblemen had to music and to place it in a wider European context.

As Mörath has already stated, Adam Franz von Schwarzenberg ‘sich mehr für die Malerei und Architektur interessirte’ [was more interested in painting and architecture]<sup>5</sup> than his son Joseph Adam, who was a great lover and patron of music. In spite of this general statement, the position of Adam Franz von Schwarzenberg, like that of any important nobleman, necessitated the presence of music at least for representative purposes. Adam Franz, an avid hunter, had at least two horn players in his service during his lifetime. Thanks to the family archive, conserved at the castle of Český Krumlov, we know the names of several of these players. As Zálaha has already mentioned<sup>6</sup> the oldest document concerning musicians in relation to the Schwarzenberg family dates from 1707. It is a list of expenses from Schwarzenberg’s ‘Prager Cassa’ paid to two ‘Jägerhornbläser’ Joannes and Anton<sup>7</sup> from January to June 1707. The list contains payments for music books (Notenbücher), 2 brass mouthpieces and a chalumeau and also for some living costs: new red leather trousers, new shoes and stockings, shoe repairs, laundry and medicine; no salary is mentioned. The two horn players were probably in Prague on apprenticeship.<sup>8</sup> Around 1709, and not in 1728 as assumed by Zálaha, another wind player entered the service of Adam Franz von Schwarzenberg, namely a Jan Černohorský (Johann Czernohorsky, 1684/85 – 31. 5. 1737) from Prague,<sup>9</sup> who stayed in service for 22 years and played ‘Fagott, Salomo, und Jagerhorn’ before being pensioned in 1731.<sup>10</sup> It is unknown if this musician was one of the two

<sup>5</sup> Mörath compares the grandfather and the father of Joseph Adam with the interest in music of the latter. The original citation is therefore in the plural: ‘Während nun Fürst Johann Adolph zu Schwarzenberg (gestorben 26. Mai 1683) und sein Enkel Adam Franz (gestorben 11. Juni 1732) sich mehr für die Malerei und Architektur interessirten, ließ sich der Sohn des zuletzt genannten Fürsten, Fürst Joseph Adam zu Schwarzenberg (geboren 17. December 1722, gestorben in Wien 17. Februar 1782), ohne die beiden vorgenannten Künste zu vernachlässigen, auch die Pflege der Musik eifrigst angelegen sein.’ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Zálaha analysed significant part of the documents in relation to Schwarzenberg’s musicians in his article (Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*). The documents provided are from the Schwarzenberg family archive (RA) and Schwarzenberg central accounts archive (ÚP), conserved in State Archives Třeboň, Český Krumlov Branch (hereafter ČK).

<sup>7</sup> No surnames are indicated in the document. ČK shelf-mark F.P.d/17.

<sup>8</sup> This hypothesis is based on the following mention in the cost list: ‘Den 9:te dito [Juny] auf ihres Lehrmeisters/ anordnung für selbige 2. Messinge/ Mundstüchh verfertigen lassen,[...]’ I am grateful to Dr. Vladimír Mañas for his help with the transcription of this document, as well as for his numerous advices regarding reading difficulties of several sources.

<sup>9</sup> According to parish registers of St. Stephan’s cathedral in Vienna, he was born in ‘Wembesen’ in Bohemia, but his demand for maintaining his full pension, dated from 15 May 1733, indicates that he worked in Prague before having entered the duty of Schwarzenberg. (ČK, F.P.d/17).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* He mentions his long service and the precise conditions of his retirement. Prince Adam Franz should have granted him the full pension of 525 fl. in 1731; after the unfortunate fatal accident of the Prince in summer 1732 the administrators of the family fortune reduced Černohorský’s pension from January 1733 to only 300 fl. per annum.

‘Jägerhornbläser’ trained in Prague in 1707. Nevertheless, he must have been a very good player and was allegedly well thought of by the Prince, at least according to his petition, addressed to the Czech court office after the death of the Prince, in which he requests to maintain his full pension. Here he states that he received the Prince’s assurance that he would receive a full pension. In fact, during his stay in Laxenburg in 1731, Prince Adam Franz is reported as having said to him: ‘Joannes esse, trinke, du darfst keine/ dienste mehr thunn, du kanst ruhig leben, und/ und [sic] bette vor mich, du sollst lebenslang alles/ haben ohne einigen Abbruch, und solte dir was/ abgehen, so komme zu mir’. Černohorský finally managed to maintain his full pension, equivalent to his salary, of 525 florins till his death in 1737.<sup>11</sup> His wife (d 1744) was then given 100 florins per year for the pension to support their only child Joseph in his studies.<sup>12</sup> The widow’s pension was at the beginning granted for 2 years, i. e. until the end of 1740, but she is still found in the records of 1744 with the pension of 50 florins per year.<sup>13</sup> A small pension was given also to their son Joseph Černohorský to support his studies in Český Krumlov. He finished ‘humaniora’ in 1748 and once more obtained financial assistance from Prince Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg, as Zálaha has already mentioned.<sup>14</sup>

The high pension of the musician Jan Černohorský proves that Prince Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg truly appreciated his services. Nevertheless, Černohorský wasn’t the only musician to have had such a good relationship with this Prince. Another horn player František Vondráček (Franz Wondratschek, 1689/90 – 30. 7. 1764), a musician who became ‘Hochfürstliche Schwarzenbergische Music-Director’<sup>15</sup> seems to have also had a good relationship with both Adam Franz and Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg. He entered the service of the former in 1714 after having left the service of an aristocrat Leopold Schmid in Prague and worked for the family of Schwarzenberg until he was pensioned in the 1750’s.

In comparison to the period under Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg, the documents related to the musical life in the court of Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg are much rarer. Only a few other documents preserved in the family archive concern musicians. One letter, dated 16 October 1720, concerns a court trumpeter Tomáš Vlach (Thomas Wlach). His brother Anselm Wlach requested that the Prince as-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* The remaining 225 fl. per year for 1733 and 1734 was refunded to him, and from the beginning of 1735 the full annual pension of 525 fl. in quarterly payments was given to him regularly. ČK, Schwarzenberg central accounts archive (ÚP), accounts supplements, box 927, bill 421 and 422. (hereafter ‘ČK, ÚP, box No, bill No...’).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, bill 409.

<sup>13</sup> In 1742, the pension was already reduced to 50 fl. per year (ČK, ÚP, box 928, bill 478).

<sup>14</sup> Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 47, mentions Josef Černohorský as musician without stating that he was the son of the Prince’s Jägerhornist Jan Černohorský. The documents cited by Zálaha do not mention precisely that the young Černohorský was, like his father, a musician; nevertheless this is probable.

<sup>15</sup> This title appears in the ‘Verlassenschaftsabhandlung’ of his wife Josepha died on 8 July 1777 (Wiener Stadt-und Landesarchiv, Alte Ziviljustiz/A2/Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen/Jahr 1777).

sist him in obtaining better court accommodation.<sup>16</sup> In 1728, Adam Franz mentions his two new trumpeters that he recently received from Štěpán Vilém Kinský and were on his instruction trained by the imperial court trumpet player Franz Küffel.<sup>17</sup> At present all that is known of them is their names: Franz and Ferdinand.<sup>18</sup> Apart from the wind players, another musician is known to be taken into the service of Adam Franz – the lute player Jakub Josef Kohout (Jacob Joseph Kohaut, 1677/78–15. 5. 1762) who is likely to have entered the Prince's service in ca. 1718 and was dismissed shortly before Prince Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg's death (Kohout will be discussed in more detail below). Shortly before the death of Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg two other persons are stated as musicians in the documents: a horn player Joseph Eck, who had to enter the service of the family in 1731 after Jan Černožský was pensioned, and a certain Johann Mühlberger (1695/96 – 17. 11. 1746).<sup>19</sup>

After the unfortunate accident during a hunt near Brandýs nad Labem in June 1732, where Adam Franz was gravely wounded by the Emperor and died immediately afterwards, the living conditions of the Schwarzenberg family had to change. Adam Franz had formerly spent most of the year in Vienna, because of his office at the Imperial Court. He visited his other estates, such as Český Krumlov, Hluboká, Třebíč, only several times per year – normally during the hunting season. After his death, Český Krumlov became the main residence of his widow, Eleonore Amalia von Schwarzenberg, born von Lobkowitz. His only son Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg, who was a mere 10 years old at the time, stayed in Vienna, where the Emperor supervised his education. The family fortune was managed on behalf of the young Prince by his mother Princess Eleonora

<sup>16</sup> Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 45, lists Tomáš Vlach as a trumpeter in the duty of Adam Franz; however, the document in question doesn't mention such a relationship of the trumpeter to the Prince. It is simply a petition from Anselm Wlach (family Wlach lived in Třeboň and was subject to Schwarzenberg), on behalf of his brother requesting that an intervention is made to help acquire better court accommodation.

<sup>17</sup> ČK, F.P.d/17.

<sup>18</sup> Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 45, wrongly identifies one of them as Jan Černožský, who must have been in service from about 1709, as is explained above. The names of two 'Trompeter' appear in a newly found document dated 2 January 1733, where, according to the Prince Adam Franz's will (from 14 July 1728), his employees who are to be refunded after his death (as 'Legaten') are listed. The list thus contains those who were in his service in 1732. (ČK, ÚP, box 892, bill 566).

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Eck had the usual salary of a second horn player – 350 fl. and 50 fl. for clothing per year; Johann Mühlberger, cited as 'Musico' between 'Cammer Bedienten', but in all other documents as 'Capell Diener', gained 180 fl. per year. (*Ibid.* ČK, ÚP, box 892, bill 566). His widow obtained the pension of 50 fl. per year in 1746. At the time of his death, Mühlberger had one child and had been in the service of the family for 40 years. (ČK, Schwarzenberg family archive (RA), F.P.b/ Josef Adam, Hofkanzlei-Korrespondenz, box 469). As Mühlberger is mentioned as a musician only in the list of 'Legaten' from 1733, it could be a mistake: the mention 'Musico' could have belonged to Kohaut, who, already dismissed in 1732, may have featured in earlier documents. The testament from 1728 doesn't give the precise names of 'Legaten' of employees.

Amalia, Wilhelm Count von Kollowrat and Franz Leopold Count von Sternberg. The accounts were supervised by the Court office of Bohemia directed by Franz Ferdinand Count Kinsky. Very little is known about the musical life at the Schwarzenberg court during this period. The dowager Princess Eleonora Amalia had to live quite modestly because of the difficult financial situation of the family. Nevertheless, music did not disappear completely from her lifestyle. She was accustomed to being accompanied by musicians whilst travelling, as it has already been shown for the year 1724. In fact, in July and August 1724, when the Princess travelled to Jánské lázně, close to the estate of Count Sporck, we can find in her entourage two 'Waldhornisten' and 'Sporkische Leuth'.<sup>20</sup> It is possible that these staff of Sporck borrowed by the Princess were not simply ordinary servants, but rather musicians. The only document found concerning the musicians in the service of Eleonora Amalia dates from 29 December 1732 and mentions only two 'Jägerhornisten' František Vondráček and Josef Eck, as employees paid from her private accounts.<sup>21</sup> We have no further information about the fate of Josef Eck, who doesn't appear in subsequent documents.<sup>22</sup> In 1742, the position of the second horn player was already occupied by Josef Andrýsek (Joseph Andreyssek). František Vondráček who not only managed to maintain the post of the first horn player during the period of Eleonora Amalia's regency, but the dowager Princess must have been very satisfied with his service, as she released him from servitude in 1736.<sup>23</sup>

In 1741, when the widow Eleonore Amalia von Schwarzenberg died and Joseph Adam, proclaimed adult, took over the family estate, musical life resumed. In contrast to his father, the young Prince spent more time outside Vienna, especially at his estates in the Bohemian lands, in Český Krumlov and Třeboň, as we learn from the accounts of employees' salaries paid several months per year from the 'Crummauer Cassa'. There one can find František Vondráček, listed as first horn player and also 'Cammer Musico' and who maintained quite important position at the Schwarzenberg court until he was well-advanced in years. As mentioned above, the position of second horn player was occupied by Josef Andrýsek<sup>24</sup> in 1742 at the latest. This musician stayed in service until he was pen-

<sup>20</sup> ČK, RA, box 442. I am grateful to Mgr. Kristina Swiderová, archivist in State Archives Třeboň, Český Krumlov Branch, who is preparing her PhD thesis on Eleonora Amalia von Schwarzenberg, for letting me know about this source, as well for her numerous pieces of advice and help during my time spent at the Schwarzenberg archive.

<sup>21</sup> ČK, F.P.d/1 (Common documents regarding house employees 1658–1799).

<sup>22</sup> He may have left for Germany, where the family of musicians by the name of Eck appears in Mannheim in 1760s; see the article by Roland Würtz and Robert Münster in *Grove Music Online* [<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>].

<sup>23</sup> ČK, F.P.d/17, see Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 45.

<sup>24</sup> The earliest document found mentioning Andrýsek is the main accounts book for the second half of 1742 (ČK, ÚP 160), where he is mentioned alongside Vondráček as 'Jägerhornist' – the only musicians listed. We don't know the exact date of his entry into the service of the Schwarzenberg family, but it is impossible that he succeeded Černohorský, contrary to the

sioned in 1752.<sup>25</sup> In about 1743, Ferdinand Arbesser (ca. 1719 – 12. 12. 1794) entered the duty of the family as organ player and shortly afterwards was also paid for music copied or even composed by him.<sup>26</sup> Several pieces by him are preserved in Český Krumlov as well as in the Vienna National Library. Arbesser maintained a relationship to the Schwarzenberg family until at least the 1760s;<sup>27</sup> from 6 May 1772, he was first organist at the Imperial Court and stayed in the duty of Emperor until he was pensioned on 1 December 1791,<sup>28</sup> however, he had to be close to the courtiers of the Imperial Court even during his service for Schwarzenberg: in 1745 he composed a small opera for the wedding of a lady-in-waiting at the Imperial Court, Dominica Baronesse of Hager, who married Joseph Gundakar Count Thürheim.<sup>29</sup> At about the same time as Arbesser, two young horn players entered the duty of Joseph Adam: František Šlechta (Franz Schlechta) and Matěj Procháska (Mathias Prochaska).<sup>30</sup> Šlechta was pensioned in 1750,<sup>31</sup> but still appeared in the accounts of 1751. His son Jan Šlechta (Johann Schlechta) tried later to enter the Prince's service as oboist, but only stayed for two years.<sup>32</sup> Procháska

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statement of Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 46, as the latter had been replaced by Josef Eck in 1731.

- 25 His pension was 200 fl. per year (ČK, ÚP, box 929, bill 1032). Even after being pensioned, he appears as the only musician in the list of salaries paid from the 'Crummauer Cassa' from January to May 1754. (ČK, ÚP, box 891, bill 1494).
- 26 The first document found concerning him is the main accounts book for 1744 (ČK, ÚP 164) where he was given 30 Kreuzer daily as 'Kostgeld' beginning on 1 October 1744 in addition to his salary of 100 fl. per year. After having organised the music for two balls in Třeboň (Wittingau) in January 1748, his daily 'Kostgeld' was increased to 45 Kreuzer. (ČK, ÚP, box 233, bill 1181; ČK, ÚP, box 891, bill 730).
- 27 The last bill dates from 17 July 1764: Arbesser received a total of 33 fl. 42 kr. for provision of different music and other expenses related to the music, e.g. money paid out to the organ maker for regular maintenance of 3 instruments. (ČK, ÚP, box 233, bill 1212).
- 28 [Franz Paul] Ferdinand Arbesser, in: Mac Intyre, Bruce Campbell. *The Viennese concerted mass of the early classis Period*. I. UMI Research Press, 1986, p. 59. In the sources from Schwarzenberg's archive, he appears as 'Franz Ferdinand'. Köchel mentions him only as 'Ferd. Arbesser', In: Köchel, Ludwig Ritter von. *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867. Nach urkundlichen Forschungen*. Wien 1869, p. 89.
- 29 The whole title of the composition is: 'Die/ Durch Cupido und Hymans Stärke, Glücklich gemachte Trauungs Wercke./ an/ Dem Freuden vollen Verbindungs-Tage/ Ihre Brässichen Gnaden/ herrn, herrn,/ Joseph Gundacars v: Thirheim,/ mit Ihre Gnaden/ Dominica Baronessin v Hager./ Sr: Königl: Majätät zu Hungarn und Böheim/ gewesten hof-Dame./ Vorge-tragen/ Und in die Music übersetzt, von ferdinand Arbesser./ Ihre durchleucht. fürsten zu Schwarzenberg/ Cammer Musico. 1745.' Österreichische National Bibliothek, Musiksammlung, shelf mark Mus. Hs. 1064.
- 30 The salary of the young horn players was 50 fl. per year and 30 kr. 'Kostgeld' daily. (ČK, ÚP 164).
- 31 In the main account book for 1750, he appears among the new pensioners. (ČK, ÚP 182).
- 32 He entered service in 1767 and was sent to Dresden for training by the court musician Besozzi, but he probably didn't learn enough as he quit service in 1769 and was replaced by Ludwig Partl. (Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 50). The father, Franz Schlechta, took probably his pension in Český Krumlov, as he lived there in 1767. (ČK, F.P.d/17)

was still active in 1750 but we have no further information about his fate. The last known musician at the Schwarzenberg court for the period of 1750s is a tenor by the name of Mathias Gross (d 1772) who originated from Weiskirchen in Upper Styria.<sup>33</sup> He entered service shortly before 1750<sup>34</sup> and worked in Český Krumlov until his transferral to Vienna in 1757, where he died after an unfortunate fall from a carriage in spring 1772.<sup>35</sup>

The unfortunate year 1753, when the wife of Joseph Adam, Maria Theresia von Lichtenstein, died of pox, also had an impact on the musicians. In summer 1753, the Prince had to dismiss some of his employees in Český Krumlov, including two horn players Schlechta and Prochaska, the tenor Gross and bass Payer, about whom we have no further information. All dismissed staff were supposed to depart for Vienna in order to look for other employment there, only Mathias Gross was offered to stay in Schwarzenberg's service and help in the office before 'a better time comes'. As he had no other possibility of employment at the time, he asked to be allowed to stay in service at Krumlov.<sup>36</sup> The better time finally came in the 1760s, or at least as there is no evidence that new musicians entered the service of the family until this time. Prince Joseph Adam's aim to reduce costs spent on music, and probably also in relation to the reconstruction of theatre projected in Český Krumlov, is evident from his now quite well-known document of 21 August 1762 which mentions his preference for employing musically-gifted people in his service: 'Edler, insonders lieber und getreuer! Da wir gerne seheten, dass junge Leute, welche bereits in unseren Diensten stehen oder künftig in selbe ankommen wollen, sich zeitlich befleissigen mögten, ein oder anders vocae oder instrumentae Musique zu erlernen, so habt ihr diese unsere Willens Meinung auf die Herrschaften mit dem Beisagen bekannt zu machen, dass diejenige, so sich diesfalls distingiren werden, bei Gelegenheit ceteris paribus sich jedesmahls eines Vorzugs getrösten mögen, und wir verbleiben euch mit Gnaden wohlgewogen.'<sup>37</sup>

Even though there is no evidence of musicians being employed by the Schwarzenberg family at this time, it seems unlikely that this was a 'silent' period. For example, it is known that Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg<sup>38</sup> and his children were instructed in music. At first, Joseph Adam's sons were taught music and Czech

33 Parish registers, St. Michael's church, Vienna, Trauunngen (1728–1737), p. 536 (7 July 1737).

34 He probably entered service in mid-August 1749. (ČK, ÚP box 891). Before having entered Schwarzenberg's service, he was musician at St. Michael's church in Vienna, as is attested to by the death records of three of his children (21. 2. 1739, 21. 12. 1746 and 13. 4. 1747 in Totenbeschauptokolle, Wiener Stadt-und Landesarchiv).

35 Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 48.

36 He probably refused the offer from the Imperial Court as well as from St. Stephan's cathedral because of his duty to Schwarzenberg. (ČK, F.P.d/1).

37 ČK, archive Velkostatek Český Krumlov (Manor Farm estate), shelf-mark I 8 B 1 a.

38 In 1740 and 1741, Joseph Adam took lessons in violoncello playing from Franz Cammermayer, 'Kaysl: hof und Cammer Musicus', who worked also in St. Stephan's cathedral. (ČK, ÚP, box 893 bills 48-51 and 62-67; box 171 bills 406, 417 and 431).

language by František Vondráček, who was already pensioned.<sup>39</sup> Several bills testify to the children's musical education in the 1760s: for example, violoncello lesson by Johann Hoffmann, a musician at St. Stephan's cathedral<sup>40</sup> and music and singing lessons by Giuseppe Scarlatti. The latter, singer and composer, was very probably a nephew of Domenico Scarlatti. After beginning his career in Italy, he came to Vienna around 1757 and worked there till his death in 1777 as singer, singing and harpsichord teacher and was also the author of several operas. During the late 1760s and early 1770s, he had quite close contact to the Schwarzenberg family: from 1764, he was the young princesses' teacher of music and singing,<sup>41</sup> he was singer in a serenata in their Viennese palace (1766)<sup>42</sup> and was also author of opera buffa *Dove è amore è gelosia* which was written for the celebration of the marriage of the first son of Joseph Adam, Johann I. Nepomuk, with Maria Eleonora von Oettingen-Wallerstein. This opera was performed at the inauguration of the newly reconstructed theatre in Český Krumlov on 24 July 1768.<sup>43</sup> Asides from Scarlatti, a certain 'Claviermeister' Urban gave lessons to Prince's children in 1774.<sup>44</sup>

The revival of music at the Schwarzenberg court can be seen from the presence of Scarlatti in the late 1760s and is also documented by the entry of several new musicians into the service of the family: the bassoonist Jan Vodička, appointed for Bohemian domains from 1763, and the horn players Matěj Červenka and Jan Jiří Kunz (from 1761). All three musicians were employed as footmen and only later had musician as their principal occupation. In 1767, two other horn players were admitted into service: Petr Bradáč (d 1803) and Josef Fikar, who became first horn player to the Prince and was also able to play violoncello, violin and flute. In the same year, the oboists Jan Šlechta and Georg Triebensee entered Schwarzenberg's service and were trained by Joseph Mayer, a musician at the imperial court theatre in Vienna,<sup>45</sup> and by Carlo Besozzi, member of the Dresden court orchestra.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> On 22 March 1755, Joseph Adam raised Vondráček's pension to 450 florins. In return, the musician was supposed to continue giving lessons in music and Czech language to Prince's sons. (ČK, ÚP, box 929, bill 988).

<sup>40</sup> Violoncello lessons in January 1764 with no individual named. (ČK, ÚP, box 894 bill 996).

<sup>41</sup> ČK, ÚP, box 894 bills 994 and 995 (year 1764), bills 2356–2363 (year 1771) and bills 2377–2379 (year 1772). Singing lessons continued also in 1774 (ČK, RA, F.P.b., box 477).

<sup>42</sup> Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 57, states that Scarlatti was paid 50 ducats for singing in a 'serenata' at the Viennese palace on 4 April 1766. There is one bill conserved in Schwarzenberg archive for Giuseppe Scarlatti for such an amount, approved by the Prince on 10 May 1766 (ČK, F.P.b., box 477 bill 1365). Nevertheless, the bill states that Scarlatti is paid for 'la copiatura di tutta la musica della cantata teatrale l'Armida' and not for singing in a 'serenata'; moreover the amount of 50 ducats, that is an equivalent of 208 florins 20 kreutzer, would be very high for 'only' singing. Mörath indicates (*see note 4*) that an opera *Armida* composed by Scarlatti was given in Schwarzenberg's Viennese palace in spring 1767.

<sup>43</sup> Zálaha, *Premiéra opery Giuseppe Scarlattiho...*

<sup>44</sup> ČK, F.P.b., box 477.

<sup>45</sup> ČK, ÚP, box 894, bills 1–4, for lessons given from January until April 1767.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, bills 6–10, for lessons given from June to October 1767. Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 50, mentions that Šlechta, Triebensee and later Partl should have been

Šlechta left after two years in 1769 and Ludwig Partl took his place. In July 1771, two English horn players entered service, Jan Went and Ignaz Teimer. These eight musicians formed the 'Harmoniekapelle' (2 oboes, 2 English horns, 2 bassoons, 2 French horns), which represents a pinnacle in the history of the musical ensembles attached to the Schwarzenberg family. As this part of musical history in relation to the Schwarzenberg family has already been studied by several musicologists and historians,<sup>47</sup> the present text concentrates on the earlier situation, under the reign of Adam Franz and part of reign of Joseph Adam (until the late 1750s).

Music in the Schwarzenberg family in this period is not limited to the number of ordinary musicians in their duty. During Adam Franz von Schwarzenberg's lifetime, two horn players and a lute player were engaged; however, their service had to be more polyvalent, as the case of Černohorský. Even though we have no bills proving employment of external musicians for particular occasions, it was common practice and was surely done by the Schwarzenbergs. During the year, the family visited its different estates, in particular Český Krumlov and Hluboká for hunting; however, they spent most of the year in the capital of empire, Vienna. The musicians in their service didn't move a lot from the capital as can be seen from the number of their children baptised in Vienna's cathedral, for example, of Vondráček and Kohout. The family could travel only with some of them and could suffice with musicians at the various estates for particular occasions. They could also be assisted by musicians of other noble families, as seems to have been the case during the visit of Jánské lázně by Eleonora Amalia in July 1724. After the period of the regency, for which few sources are conserved, the musical life in the Schwarzenberg court witnessed a revival. Especially during 1740s, there is evidence of a number of events that necessitated engagement of deputy musicians.

Further studies on the biographies of the musical staff provide a larger contextualisation of the musical life in and outside Vienna. A significant number of musicians in the service of the Schwarzenberg family came from Bohemia: Černohorský, Vondráček, Kohout, Šlechta<sup>48</sup> and very probably Procháska, Andryšek and Eck. The tenor Gross originated from Styria, the birth place of Arbesser remains unknown. The fate of these musicians before and after their service for the Schwarzenberg family is quite different. Černohorský is likely to have been employed in Prague and taught there music, Vondráček was in the service of

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sent to Dresden for the training at Besozzi. The bills for the lessons of 1767 are nevertheless signed in Vienna.

47 See Mörrath, *Op. cit.*; Myslík, Antonín. Repertoire und Besetzung der Harmoniemusiken an den Höfen Schwarzenberg, Pachta und Clam-Gallas, In: *Das Haydn Jahrbuch*. Vol. X, Eisenstadt, 1978, pp. 110–120; Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*; Zálaha, Jiří. Das Repertoire der Schwarzenbergischen Bläserharmonie zu Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts. *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 1995, pp. 175–190; Baude, Éric. *Jan Vent (1745–1801) ou de la campagne tchèque à l'Harmonie Impériale: Bref récit d'une ascension sociale* [on-line]. La Médiathèque de Musique tchèque. URL : <http://pagesperso-orange.fr/alain.cf/ventasc.htm> [citation 2012-03-20]; Voříšek, Martin. *Kapela Schwarzenberské gardy*. České Budějovice, 2010.

48 Šlechta was born in 'Jestomitsch' in Bohemia. (Parish registers, St. Stephan Domarchiv, Liber Copulati 1746, p. 100 (6 February 1746).

Leopold Schmid in Prague before leaving for the army. Like Černohorský, he also stayed in the service of Schwarzenberg until his death and can be considered as the most important member of musical staff of the period. Josef Eck, who features only shortly in the accounts, possibly went to Germany, where the family of musicians with the same name appears in a Mannheim orchestra. Gross worked at St. Michael's church in Vienna before entering the service at Schwarzenberg court, where he stayed until his death. For Franz Ferdinand Arbesser, the engagement by Joseph Adam started his career as musician and surely helped him to enter the service of the imperial court orchestra. Even though we don't know the exact fate of all of the Schwarzenberg's musical staff, more detailed information on two of them, can help us to obtain a better understanding of the musical life in aristocratic orchestras of the period. As mentioned above, František Vondráček seems to have been the most important musician in the service of Schwarzenberg family during the period in question. The lute player Jakub Kohout presents a rather different situation.

The former, František Vondráček, was a much admired horn player, whom Adam Franz, after having heard him play only once, tried to acquire at all costs. The history of the entry of Vondráček into the service of Schwarzenberg is described in detail by Zálaha.<sup>49</sup> The horn player was originally in the service of Baron Leopold Schmid. Around 1712, he left the Baron's service and entered the regiment of Count Guttenstein. During his regiment's stay in Vienna, Schwarzenberg heard Vondráček play and after several negotiations managed to lure him into his service. Vondráček became first horn player with a salary of 450 florins per year (and 75 florins for clothing) and maintained this position until he was pensioned in 1752. After the death of Adam Franz, he stayed in the service of the dowager Princess Eleonora Amalia, who released him from the servitude in 1736, but didn't live the whole time in Český Krumlov.<sup>50</sup> Even after 1741, when young Joseph Adam took possession of the family estates, Vondráček didn't travel much from Vienna.<sup>51</sup> Mörath claims that he held the position of head of the Schwarzenberg orchestra from 1743 to 1746. Even though such a title doesn't appear in any known document,<sup>52</sup> it is very probable that Vondráček held this position. In 1744, for example,<sup>53</sup> he was paid four times for 'producirte Music' that he organised with other, probably external, musicians. In the same year he

<sup>49</sup> Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, pp. 43–45.

<sup>50</sup> His family seems to have stayed in Vienna until at least May 1734 when the son Antonín Josef died. Then they probably moved to Bohemia: the parish registers of Český Krumlov mention the birth of their son Václav Josef František on 2 Octobre 1735. Nevertheless the family had to come back to Vienna at least at the beginning of 1742, as their last child was born there in April.

<sup>51</sup> In accounts registers of staff paid from the 'Crummauer Cassa' from 1747 to 1751 (ČK, ÚP, box 891), he is mentioned several times together with Andrýsek as persons paid in Vienna.

<sup>52</sup> He is mentioned as 'Schwarzenbergische Musicdirector' only in the *Verlassenschaftsabhandlung* of his widow Josepha, who died in July 1777. See note 15.

<sup>53</sup> ČK, main accounts book for the year 1744, ÚP 164.

was also charged to train the new young horn players Šlechta and Prochaska. In 1745, he received 100 florins for a musical production during the illuminations at the Vienna palace.<sup>54</sup> From 1747, he was probably replaced by Arbesser in the post of music director, as the latter appears most frequently in accounts related to the organisation of musical life at the Schwarzenberg court. Vondráček was pensioned in 1752 (with the pension of 300 fl. per year), although he continued to serve actively, for example, by teaching music and Czech language to Joseph Adam's sons.<sup>55</sup> Vondráček must have been highly regarded by the Schwarzenberg family as several members of the family were godmothers and godfathers of a number of his children. Of the twelve children found to date, members of the Schwarzenberg family are mentioned in five cases. (Children with a little cross before their names); however Vondráček's family tree is not complete; two other people with the same family name appear during his lifetime in the service of Schwarzenberg: aside of his son Václav Josef František (Wenzel Joseph Franz Wondratschek, 2. 10. 1735 – 9. 10. 1773) who worked as 'Kancelist', there is also František junior who appears originally as 'Kanzelist' and later as 'Sekretär' in a number of documents in the late 1750s, 1760s and 1770s. Even though the place and date of birth of František Vondráček junior is unknown, he was surely a son of the horn player and 'Cammer Musicus', as we learn from the documents related to the death of Vondráček senior's widow, Josepha, in 1777. She died in the house of her son František Vondráček 'hochfürstlichen Schwarzenbergischen Secretarius' on 8 July 1777. Only two other children were still alive at this time: her daughters Maria Anna and Terezia who lived with their brother.

We have no proof that the descendents of the horn player František Vondráček continued on the family's musical tradition; however, the name of Franz Wondratschek also appears at the same period in another country. In Paris, two volumes of sonatas for harpsichord with violin accompaniment were published in 1759 and in 1771 under the name of Wondratschek.<sup>56</sup> The first one is dedicated to Jean Maurice de Brüll, chamberlain of the king of Poland, the second one is dedicated to a certain Mademoiselle du Bourdieu, a pupil of Wondratschek. Dlabacz mentions in his dictionary a 'Flüglis' Franz Wondratschek, born in Prague in 1717 and left for Paris where even Marie Antoinette would appreciate his talent.<sup>57</sup> Until now, no sources prove any connection between the Schwarzenberg musician and this piano player living in Paris.

At the time these harpsichord sonatas were published, another musician, whose relation to the House of Schwarzenberg is now proven, lived in Paris: Joseph

<sup>54</sup> ČK, F.P.b, box 477. The illuminations, designed by Joseph Emmanuel Fischer von Erlach, took place on 13 and 14 February 1745 for celebrate the birth of Archduke Carl von Habsburg.

<sup>55</sup> See note 39.

<sup>56</sup> I'm grateful to Václav Kapsa for having bringing my attention to this two volumes, preserved in the National library in Paris.

<sup>57</sup> Dlabacz, Johann Gottfried. *Allgemeines historisches künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*. Prag, 1815, T. III, p. 401.

Kohaut, a lute player and composer. The first mention of him in Paris dates from 1763, when he played at Concert Spirituel in a duo with a violoncellist named Duport.<sup>58</sup> He became a ‘musicien ordinaire’ of Prince of Conti and was also the lute teacher of Baroness Holbach and her children. The letters of Diderot to Sophie Volland indicate that his relationship to the Baroness may have been more intimate than that of a lute teacher and pupil.<sup>59</sup> In spite of his quite successful career in the 1760s, at which time he composed several *operas comique* and some chamber music, no sources about him had been found until now for the period after 1771, when Conti’s orchestra was dissolved. From Kohaut’s inventory of estate we know that he had no money in 1775 and had to borrow from his older brother.<sup>60</sup> He didn’t enjoy this loan for long as he died in 1777 after an unknown illness, without a descendant.

This Parisian lute player, Joseph Kohaut, was in fact a son of the Schwarzenberg musician, Jakub Kohout. In comparison to František Vondráček, Jakub Kohout’s relationship with the Schwarzenberg family was quite different. We have no precise details about his entry into the service of the family, but it cannot be later than 1718.<sup>61</sup> In fact, Jakub Kohout, born in Prague in 1677 or 1678, had come to Vienna by 1718, testified by his marriage there to Anna Elisabetha, born Foladin in Olomouc, on 17 October 1718.<sup>62</sup> What he did before is not clear. It is possible that he is the same Kohott mentioned by Walther in his dictionary as a lute teacher of famous lute player Ernst Gottlieb Baron. Dlabacz takes over this idea and presented a certain Kohaut as: ‘ein Böhme und trefflicher Lautenspieler. Er hielt sich zuerst als Kammermusicus bei dem Berliner Hofe auf, und um das Jahr 1710 lebte er in Breslau, wo er den berühmten Baron auf der Laute unterrichtet hat.’<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, no sources prove this Kohout’s origin, nevertheless, as he entered the service of Schwarzenberg at the age of 40, it is highly likely that this was not his first engagement. As we learn from his request for a pension, Jakub Kohout worked for the Schwarzenberg family for ten years as ‘Cammer Musicus’ and ‘Lautenist’. He was dismissed a few times before Prince Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg’s death, when the Prince’s chamber music was dissolved.<sup>64</sup> No further circumstances of his dismissal are known; however it must have happened before 1732. Therefore, Kohout did not participate in the

<sup>58</sup> Pierre, Constant. *Histoire du Concert Spirituel 1725–1790*. Paris, 2000 (first edition 1974), p. 131.

<sup>59</sup> Boilleau, Anne-Marie. *Liaison et liaisons dans les lettres de Diderot à Sophie Volland*. Paris, 1999, pp. 97–98.

<sup>60</sup> Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, LIII, 17 July 1777.

<sup>61</sup> On the 5th of March 1720, when his first daughter Catharina Elisabeth was baptised, he appears already as ‘Fürst Schwarzenbergisches Cammer Musicus’. (Parish registers, St. Stephan Domarchiv, Geburts-und Taufbuch, T. 60 (14 November 1719 – 8 March 1721), f. 96v).

<sup>62</sup> Parish registers, St. Stephan Domarchiv, Liber copulati for 1718, p. 688.

<sup>63</sup> Dlabacz, *Op. cit.*, T. II, p. 88.

<sup>64</sup> The request for the pension has no exact date, but had to be written between July and December 1736. ČK, F.P.d/17.

festivities surrounding the visit of the imperial couple in summer 1732 that concluded with the unfortunate fatal accident.<sup>65</sup>

In fact, we learn from the baptismal record of his daughter Maria Barbara (baptised on 18 April 1728), that Jakub Kohout was already employed at this time as ‘Musicus in Esterhazische [sic] Hauß’; in May 1729, he appears as ‘Lautenist in Esterhazischen Hauß’.<sup>66</sup> The changing of address went surely together with changing of engagement. Kohout is not listed amongst the ordinary musicians in the service of the Esterházy family at that period.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, we can find him in the accounts in the archive of the family at castle Forchtenstein.<sup>68</sup> He appears there as lute teacher of young Prince Pál Antal Esterházy from 1728 to 1731.<sup>69</sup> He probably even wrote one ‘Concert’ there in 1728.<sup>70</sup> When young Pál Antal finished his studies at Jesuits’ college in Vienna and left for the Netherlands, where he entered the University of Leiden in October 1731, his lute lessons naturally came to an end. We have no other information about the life and income of the family Kohout until 1737 until which time they stayed living in the Esterházy residence in Wallnerstraße in Vienna. Moreover, they stayed there until 1743,<sup>71</sup> the wife of Jakub Kohout having died in June 1736, he lived there alone with his three small children.

The income of the family Kohout had to be very modest as no later than at the end of 1736, Jakub Kohout asked for some financial support or for the post of the Prince’s ‘Bibliothekär’ the custos of the Schwarzenberg property. Reasons given in support of his petition included his long service for the prince, the fact that he

<sup>65</sup> See Zálóha, *Neuskutečněné operní představení...*

<sup>66</sup> Parish registers, St. Michael, Wien, Liber Baptismalis D Michaelem Viennae ab anno 1725 usque ad annum 1730, pp. 391 and 502.

<sup>67</sup> See Tank, Ulrich. *Studien zur Esterházyischen Hofmusik von etwa 1620 bis 1790*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 101, Regensburg, 1981.

<sup>68</sup> The documents were found thanks to Dr. Josef Pratl’s newly published registers of documents regarding music conserved in the Esterházy archiv in castle Forchtenstein. This very large part of family archive contains mainly the accounts. See Pratl, Josef. *Acta Forchtensteiniana. Die Musikdokumente im Esterházy-Archiv auf Burg Forchtenstein*. Eisenstädter Haydn-Berichte, Bd. 7. Hans Schneider, Tutzing, 2009, 148 p. with DVD.

<sup>69</sup> Esterházy-Archiv, Burg Forchtenstein, shelf marks: General Cassa (GC) 1730 N 97; GC 1730 N 98; GC 1731 F 1 N 48; GC 1731 F 1 N 49. I am gratefull to Esterházy Privatstiftung staff, namely to Dr. Holzschuh and Mrs Kopp for their kind help during my researches in Esterházy archives.

<sup>70</sup> The list of expenses related to music paid in 1728 for the younger brother of Pál Antal, Count Nicolaus Esterházy, contains some payments for accessories for string instruments and also for a number of musical scores. One entry which may refer to copies or originals made by Kohout is: ‘den 16 dito [July] 1 Concert bezalt, so den Lautenschreiber geschriben – 50 x.’ Esterhazy-Archiv, Burg Forchtenstein, cote GC 1728 N 6. The document is not listed by either Pratl or Tank.

<sup>71</sup> In a liste of orders sent by Prince Pál Antal Esterházy to his secretary in Vienna on 4 Auguste 1743, Kohout was asked to leave his accommodation in the Esterházy house. (Esterházy family archive, Országos Levéltár, Budapest, cote P 131 d.1 c No 120.) I’m grateful to Dr. Josef Pratl for having informed me about this document.

was very poor and had 3 small children to support, his wife being dead. He finally obtained an annual pension of 100 florins *ad dies vitae* commencing on January 1737 in quarterly payments.<sup>72</sup> Zálaha assumes that Jakub Kohout came back into the active service of the family shortly after 1741, when Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg took possession of the family estate;<sup>73</sup> however no known documents prove that he was in active service after 1737. He appears only as ‘Pensionist’ in account books and supplements. Nonetheless he may have participated in musical services organised by Vondráček or later Arbesser, cited above, where no names of musicians are given. Kohout is supposed to be pensioned in 1750,<sup>74</sup> in fact in November 1750 his pension was only raised to 200 florins. This increase can be seen in relation to his musician activity. In September 1750, he received 50 florins for ‘presentirten Musicalien’ in Český Krumlov.<sup>75</sup> One Mass by Kohout is preserved in the archive of Český Krumlov, according to the amount of payment, it is also plausible that Kohout presented other music to the Prince or was commissioned to write other pieces. The unfortunate situation of Schwarzenberg family in 1753 also affected Kohout’s pension, which was reduced to 150 florins per year, the amount that he received till his death on 15 May 1762. His last address was in the ‘Schwarzenbergisches Hauß’ on the Neuer Markt in Vienna.

Unlike in the case of Vondráček, no member of the Schwarzenberg family ever participated in the baptism of any of Jakub Kohout’s children. Despite this, the children could have enjoyed some protection from the House of Schwarzenberg. In 1737, Jacob Kohout mentions his 3 small children – it must have been Carl Ignatz, Maria Francisca Mariana and Prokop Pius Joseph. The last one can be identified as the Parisian Joseph Kohout. We don’t know if the Prince Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg helped Joseph Kohout to find his patron, Prince Conti in Paris, such a hypothesis remains possible. His older brother, Karl Kohout, could, however, have been helped by the Prince of Schwarzenberg, as he obtained a high post in the Imperial administration. His career developed relatively quickly – born in 1726, he is mentioned as ‘Kanzlist’ in 1758, in 1773 he appears as ‘Hofkonzipist’ and by 1778 he was ‘Hofsekretär’. Apart from his engagement at Imperial Court, Karl Kohout was also highly regarded as a lute player and composer.<sup>76</sup>

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Even though Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg is generally viewed as more interested in painting and in architecture, new research concerning his musicians are

<sup>72</sup> ČK, ÚP, box 929 bill 408.

<sup>73</sup> Zálaha, *Hudební život na dvoře knížat...*, p. 47.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> ČK, ÚP, box 233 bill 1285.

<sup>76</sup> Klíma, Josef. Karl Kohout, der letzte wiener Lautenist. *Oesterreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 1971, pp. 141–144. Klíma incorrectly indicates the names of Karl Kohout’s father as ‘Jakob Carl Kohout’.

testimony to his close relation to them, especially in the cases of Jan Černohorský and František Vondráček: The former was given a very high pension, even higher than a salary of a Kapellmeister of Esterházy's orchestra at that time; the latter's important position in the Schwarzenberg court is evident from parish registers and other sources. Adam Franz von Schwarzenberg agreed to be the godfather of one of his children personally, four others were baptised in presence of young Prince Joseph Adam or of personnel valets replacing the members of the family. Vondráček also remained an important person at the court of Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg, he was even responsible for the education of his sons in music and Czech language. We have no information about the musical skills of František Vondráček's children; however, the family stayed close to the House of Schwarzenberg, Václav Vondráček becoming the 'Kanzelist' and František Vondráček junior the secretary of the Prince.

The lute player Jakub Kohout presents us with a further case study. We have no information on the nature of his relationship to Adam Franz von Schwarzenberg, his dismissal in late 1727 proves some problems. Nevertheless, the pension accorded to Kohout for 'only' ten years service, may suggest an appreciation of his service from the Schwarzenberg family. Moreover, the return of the Kohout family after a short period of service at the House of Esterházy, allows us to consider Kohout's relationship to Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg. The Prince perhaps remembered how Kohout entertained him during his serious illness when he was 5 years old and thus allowed the elderly musician, who finally died in the Schwarzenberg palace at the Neuer Markt in Vienna, to return. Despite having found no sources that prove direct support of the Schwarzenberg family to Kohout's sons, Karl and Joseph, and to their careers in Europe of the Enlightenment, such a hypothesis seems to be possible. Thanks to the recent archival studies, we now have at our disposal music by all three members of this musician's family. Further archival research is, however, necessary in order to learn more about their lives and work. Nevertheless, we can already now refer to Jakub, Karl and Joseph Kohout as the last lute players known in Europe – the family that contributed to the transition of this instrument from the Baroque to Classical.

Plate no 1: Family tree of horn player *František Vondráček*

Franz Wondratschek (1689/90 – 30. 7. 1764 Wien) – Eva (1685 ca. – 1. 12. 1719 Wien)  
 – Maria Josepha (1699/1700 – 6. 7. 1777 Wien)  
 (married 1720)

Maria Josepha (08/1721 – 9. 2. 1722 Wien)  
 Maria Anna Theresia Regina (bapt. 22. 6. 1722 Wien – after 1777)  
 Anton (12/1723 – 31. 1. 1724 Wien)  
 x Joseph Anton Victor (bapt. 16. 4. 1726 Wien – 24. 9. 1731 Wien)  
 x Johann Anton (bapt. 19. 7. 1727 Wien – 28. 7. 1727 Wien)  
 Christina Theresia (bapt. 29. 8. 1728 Wien – after 1777)  
 x Antonia Eleonora (bapt. 29. 9. 1729 Wien – 27. 5. 1743 Rennweg)  
 Johann (03/1731 – 7. 7. 1731 Wien)  
 Carl Michael (bapt. 9. 8. 1732 Wien – before 1777)  
 x Anton Joseph (bapt. 10. 12. 1733 Wien – 3. 5. 1734 Wien)  
 x Wenzl Joseph Franz (bapt. 2. 10. 1735 Crummau – 9. 10. 1773 Wien)  
 Joseph Michael Franz Vincenz (bapt. 5. 4. 1742 Wien – ?)

Plate no 2: Family tree of lute player *Jakub Josef Kohout*

Jacob Joseph Kohout (1677/78 Praha – 15. 5. 1762 Wien) – Anna Elisabeth Foladin (1701/02  
 Olomouc – 7. 6. 1736 Wien)  
 married 17. 10. 1718

Catharina Elisabeth (bapt. 5. 3. 1720 Wien – 21. 5. 1721 Wien)  
 Maria Anna Elisabeth (bapt. 29. 5. 1722 Wien – 19. 5. 1724 Wien)  
 Maria Anna Theresia (bapt. 11. 10. 1724 Wien – 23. 7. 1727 Wien)  
 Carolus Ignatius Augustus (bapt. 26. 8. 1726 Wien – 6. 8. 1784 Wien)  
 Maria Barbara Josepha (bapt. 18. 4. 1728 Wien – 20. 8. 1729 Wien)  
 Maria Francisca Mariana (bapt. 21. 5. 1729 Wien – after 1752)  
 Antonius Bernardus (bapt. 12. 6. 1732 Wien – 17. 12. 1732 Wien)  
 Procopius Pius Josephus (bapt. 11. 7. 1734 Wien – 12. 5. 1777 Paris)

Plate no 3: Summary of Schwarzenberg's musicians 1707–1771**Wind players:**

<i>Joannes</i>	(Jägerhorn)	about 1707
<i>Anton</i>	(Jägerhorn)	about 1707
<i>Johann Czernohorsky</i>	(Jägerhorn, Fagott, Shalmey)	1709 ca. – 1731, <i>d</i> 1737
<i>Franz Wondratschek</i>	(Jägerhorn, Waldhorn)	1714 – 1752, <i>d</i> 1764
<i>Franz and Ferdinand</i>	(Trumpet)	1728 – 1732 ca.
<i>Joseph Eck</i>	(Jägerhorn)	1731 – before 1742
<i>Joseph Andreyssek</i>	(Waldhorn)	before 1742 – 1752, <i>d</i> 1769
<i>Franz Schlechta</i>	(Waldhorn)	1744 – 1750/53
<i>Mathias Prochaska</i>	(Waldhorn)	1744 – 1753
<i>Johann Wodiczka</i>	(Fagott)	from 1763
<i>Mathias Czerwenka</i>	(Waldhorn)	from 1761
<i>Johann Georg Kunz</i>	(Waldhorn)	from 1761
<i>Peter Bradacz</i>	(Waldhorn)	from 1767
<i>Joseph Fikar</i>	(Waldhorn, Violoncello, Violin, Flute)	from 1767
<i>Johann Schlechta</i>	(Hoboe)	1767 – 1769
<i>Georg Triebensee</i>	(Hoboe)	from 1767
<i>Ludwig Partl</i>	(Hoboe)	from 1769
<i>Johann Went</i>	(English horn)	from 1771
<i>Ignaz Teimer</i>	(English horn)	from 1771

**„Cammer Music“:**

<i>Jacob Joseph Kohaut</i>	(Lute)	1718 – end of 1727, <i>d</i> 1762
<i>Franz Ferdinand Arbesser</i>	(Organ)	1743 ca. – after 1764
<i>Mathias Gross</i>	(Tenor)	1749 ca. – 1772
<i>Payer/ N N</i>	(Bass)	dismissed 1753

#1285: 75  
 Quittung  
 Ich hablich gelien, welche in frödis gefertigter wegen Dr. Jurist  
 presentirten Musicalien auß der k. k. Hof-Cassa reichig  
 und baar empfangen hab. Crumau d. 5. Jbris 1750  
  
 West sop  
  
 Jacob Kohaut.  
  
 Approbantur diese quittung  
 gültig bey k. k. Hof-Cassa  
 zur passirli. zu überbring.  
 Sigl. Crumau am 10. Jbris  
 1750.  
 G. P. de ...

Quittance of Jacob Kohaut for 'presentierten Musicalien' from 1750 (State Archives Třeboň,  
 Český Krumlov Branch, Schwarzenberg central accounts archive, box 233; bill 1285).

## HUDBA NA DVOŘE ADAMA FRANTIŠKA A JOSEFA ADAMA ZE SCHWARZENBERKU: VÍDEŇ, ČESKÝ KRUMLOV A PAŘÍŽ DO SKLONKU BAROKNÍ ÉRY

Vztah Schwarzenberků k hudbě, zejména v 18. století, již byl předmětem mnoha prací; přesto současná bádání zaměřená na životní osudy jednotlivých hudebníků ve službách Adama Františka a Josefa Adama ze Schwarzenberku nabízejí širší, evropskou kontextualizaci problematiky. Adam František ze Schwarzenberku, známý spíše jako milovník architektury a malířství, měl ve svých službách takřka minimální počet hudebníků – obvykle dva hráče na lovecký a lesní roh, případně dva trubače a jednoho hráče „komorní“ hudby. Tím byl v letech 1718–1727 loutnista Jakub Josef Kohout. Přes malý počet angažovaných hudebníků, který byl jistě u zrodu názoru na malou oblibu hudby Adamem Františkem ve srovnání s jeho synem Josefem Adamem, bližší pohled na postavení těchto hudebníků vybízí k přehodnocení zaběhaného názoru. Jan Černohorský byl ve službách knížete přibližně od roku 1709 a sloužil po 22 let jako hráč na lovecký roh, fagot a šalmaj. Musel být velmi zručným hráčem a zejména velmi oblíbeným u Adama Františka, jelikož za své služby získal roku 1731 výjimečnou doživotní penzi 525 zlatých. Jeho místo po něm převzal hornista Josef Eck, o němž zatím není blíže nic známo. Po boku Černohorského sloužil od roku 1714 hráč na lovecký a lesní roh František Vondráček. Ten si udržel výsadní postavení nejen za Adama Františka, ale i později, když patrně zastával funkci kapelníka.

Po předčasné smrti Adama Františka, kdy zůstali ve službách pouze Josef Eck a František Vondráček, se hudební poměry opět zlepšily až s nástupem mladého knížete Josefa Adama roku 1741. Ve čtyřicátých letech byli do služeb přijati postupně hornisti Josef Andryšek, František Šlechta a Matěj Procháska, varhaník Ferdinand Arbesser a zpěvák Mathias Gross. Pro významnější příležitosti byli najímáni externí hudebníci a hudebních produkcí se také účastnili členové rodu, kteří byli v hudbě školeni od útlého dětství. Krátce po úmrtí kněžny Marie Terezie na začátku roku 1753 byl kníže nucen propustit některé zaměstnance, včetně části hudebníků. Situace se zlepšila až v průběhu šedesátých let, na jejichž konci postupně vznikla dechová harmonie, která je považována za nejvýznamnější hudební uskupení fungující ve službách Schwarzenberského rodu.

Většina hudebníků ve Schwarzenberských službách v 18. století pocházela z českých zemí, mnozí byli jejich poddanými na různých panstvích. Zejména za Adama Františka však svoji službu vykonávali převážně ve Vídni, později pak s častějšími pobyty na českých panstvích, Českém Krumlově a Třeboni. Pro některé z hudebníků byla služba u Schwarzenberků jen dočasnou záležitostí (Eck, Arbesser), mnozí však zůstali ve službě až do penze. Detailnější pohled na život dvou z hudebníků nabízí zajímavou typologii hudebníků 18. století. František Vondráček a Jakub Josef Kohout měli vazby ke Schwarzenberkům za života obou hlavních členů rodu, Adama Františka a Josefa Adama, jejich osudy se však lišily. Hornistu Františka Vondráčka získal Adam František do služeb po nelehkých vyjednáváních roku 1714. Hudebník byl zjevně velmi ceněn, jak vyplývá nejen z množství jeho dětí, které měly kmotry z členů knížecí rodiny. I přesto, že byl kněžnou vdovou roku 1736 osvobozen z poddanství, zůstal rodu věrný až do své smrti. Jeho dva synové dokonce pracovali v knížecí kanceláři. Okolnosti vstupu Jakuba Josefa Kohouta do Schwarzenberských služeb roku 1718 nejsou známy, zřejmě to však nebylo jeho první zaměstnání. Po desetileté službě u Adama Františka byl z neznámých důvodů propuštěn, krátce pak působil jako učitel loutny mladého knížete Pavla Antonína Esterházyho. Vztahy se Schwarzenberky však zcela nepřerušil, za svoji službu získal doživotní penzi a snad se zapojoval do hudebního života i aktivně. Jeho dva synové se stali zručnými loutnisty: starší Karel Kohout působil jako úředník v císařských službách a byl vyhledávaným hudebníkem nejen ve Vídni, mladší Josef Kohout odešel do Francie, kde se stal členem orchestru knížete Contiho a ve hře na loutnu také vyučoval baronku d’Holbach a její děti. Přestože žádné z Kohoutových dětí nemělo kmotry ze schwarzenberského rodu, je možné předpokládat, že jejich uplatnění jinde mohl být Josef Adam nápomocen.

