

BERTHOLD OVER

MORE SPLENDOUR? ADDITIONAL MUSICIANS AT THE MUNICH COURT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

In the first half of the 18th century the Bavarian Electors pursued very ambitious goals when rebelling against the Austrian Habsburgs. Whereas Elector Max Emanuel was an ally of powerful Louis XIV during the War of the Spanish Succession which caused the occupation of his Bavarian territories by Austria, his son Karl Albrecht reached for the Imperial crown when Karl VI died in 1740. Indeed, Karl Albrecht was elected and crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in opposition to Karl's daughter Maria Teresa of Habsburg and reigned briefly from 1742 until his death in 1745. Musically, in this period the Munich court was not as outstanding as, for example, the Dresden court under the Hasse-Bordoni couple or, somewhat later, the Stuttgart court with Niccolò Jommelli as *Kapellmeister*. Nevertheless, Munich maintained the oldest regular court opera, established in 1651,¹ and the opera kept up a unique profile by employing or inviting operatic stars from Italy: Antonio Bernacchi and Giovanni Carestini were members of the *Hofkapelle* for a certain time, and stars such as Margherita Durastante, Faustina Bordoni and Carlo Broschi (Farinelli) were engaged as guest singers for opera productions.² The reason for this is certainly to be found in issues of self-representation and the demonstration of cultural capital.

The Munich *Hofkapelle* itself was a rather large multi-national corpus of musicians. When the court was re-installed in 1715 after the end of the War

1. See G. LÖWENFELDER, *Die Bühnendekoration am Münchner Hoftheater von den Anfängen der Oper bis zur Gründung des Nationaltheaters 1651-1778. Ein Beitrag zur Münchner Theatergeschichte*, Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen, Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1955, supervisor prof. Hans Heinrich Borcherdt), pp. 7-8.

2. See B. OVER, «*Un pareill Virtuoso, il nous en faut absolument*». *Sängerrekrutierung und -engagement am Münchner Hofca. 1715-1800*, in *Von Karrieren und symbolischem Kapital. Das Gesangspersonal der italienischen Oper an deutschsprachigen Höfen um 1750*, hrsg. von M. BEIER, R. ERKENS und A. ZEDLER, Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Publishing, forthcoming.

of the Spanish Succession it comprised around 60 musicians (excluding trumpeters, i.e. *Hof- und Feldtrompeter* and timpanists, dance masters and dancers) from Germany, Italy, France/Flanders and Bohemia.³ But despite its size extra musicians were employed for certain occasions. This practice seems to have originated in the 17th century⁴ and can be documented until 1777 when the Bavarian throne was inherited by Karl Theodor of the Palatine, a distant relative of the childless Elector Max III Joseph. Karl Theodor reorganized the *Hofkapelle* when merging it with his Mannheim *Hofkapelle* – it became the so-called *Musikstab* which was led by an *Intendant* (at this time Count Joseph Anton von Seeau) who received a budget he could more or less independently work with.⁵

Such extra musicians are documented in payment lists which seem not to have been analysed thoroughly so far, but, for this article, they are the starting point for establishing a prosopography of musicians in Munich and for gaining valuable insights into the organization of opera and festivities at the Munich court. These payment lists are preserved among the financial documents (receipts) of the court under the rubric «Commoedj, Pallet, Tournier, und dergleichen Ritter-Spill-UNKosten» (or similar), i.e. «costs for comedies, ballets, tournaments and other chivalric plays». They are often rather detailed and, beside the names of the musicians and the payment they received, contain dates of rehearsals, the premiere and subsequent performances (see here Appendix 1 and 2). In sum, rehearsal numbers for bigger works run from four to sixteen, only two were needed for shorter works, and only one for repetitions. Normally, an opera was performed between four and nine times, lesser numbers occur for occasional works or oratorios. The numbers of musicians engaged are rather impressive: between ten and 48 (!) singers and between eight and 67 (!) instrumentalists reinforced the *Hofkapelle* in operas, oratorios, balls and other works.⁶

3. See München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (D-Mhsa), Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 755 (Besoldungsbuch 1715). On the origin of the musicians see B. OVER, *From Munich to «Foreign» Countries and Back Again. Relocation of the Munich Court and Migration of Musicians (c. 1690-1715)*, in *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe. Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, ed. by G. ZUR NIEDEN and B. OVER, Bielefeld, transcript, 2016, pp. 91-133.

4. See, for example, lists of musicians (students and town musicians) from the years 1681-1690 in D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 1179 (1681), 1191 (1682), 1200 (1683), 1216 (1685), 1231 (1687), 1239 (1688), 1246 (1689), 1252 (1690).

5. See B. OVER, *Music in the Court Budget: The Example of the Bavarian Court in Munich (1570-1802)*, in *Financing Music in Europe*, ed. by É. JARDIN, Brepols, Turnhout, 2022, pp. 3-18, here: p. 6.

6. Lists have been found in the following archival pieces: D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 1453 (1728), 1476 (1735), 1491 (1736), 1672 (1751), 1691 (1752), 1710 (1753), 1730 (1754), 1744 (1755), 1795 (1758), 1829 (1760), 1846 (1761), 1866 (1762), 1880 (1763), 1896 (1764), 1931 (1766),

Rehearsals and engagements

With sixteen rehearsals, including one during the actual performance series (which is the only such case documented), Andrea Bernasconi's *Baazet* (1754) is the most rehearsed opera of the time under consideration.⁷ It is a good question why this opera had to be rehearsed so intensively, but the reason may be that the Munich *Hofkapelle* was not yet well acquainted with Bernasconi's style: he was employed as vice-*Kapellmeister* since 1753, and *Baazet* was the second opera Bernasconi put on the Munich stage; the first was *Temistocle*, given in carnival of the same year. As no complete score of Bernasconi's opera exists, only the corpus of arias (all the recitatives, including *accompagnati*, are missing),⁸ we can only partially draw inferences about the reasons for the high number of rehearsals, but it seems that Bernasconi experimented with instrumentation. As Daniela Sadgorski (von Aretin) pointed out, Asteria's aria «Che non mi disse un dì» in 1 10 has a highly sophisticated instrumentation. It is the biggest orchestrated aria in the opera. In the ritornello, the melody is broken between several instrumental groups and unusually the wind and brass instruments are not silent during the solos of the singer.⁹ This rather complicated makeup of the orchestral setting may have caused confusion – both for the court and non-court musicians. Also, the previous and subsequent operas of Bernasconi, *Temistocle* (1754) and *Adriano in Siria* (1755) reveal the rather sophisticated instrumental approach of his style: some arias are really rhythmically complex¹⁰ so the operas had to be rehearsed 11 and 12 times respectively.

1949 (1767), 1965 (1768), 1982 (1769), 2047 (1773), 2062 (1774), 2081 (1775), 2098 (1776), 2115 (1777).

7. Rehearsals took place on 25, 26, 28 September, 1, 2, 4, 5 (twice), 6, 7, 8 (twice), 9, 10 October. The final rehearsal was on the 11th, and the premiere on 12 October, the name day of the Elector. Subsequent performances were given on 15, 20, 27 October and 10, 17, 23 November. An additional rehearsal was made on 9 November. See D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 1744 (doc. 2895).

8. See München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (D-Mbs), Mus.ms. 153, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00107174-8> (this and subsequent URLs were last accessed on 20 June 2025).

9. See D. SADGORSKI (VON ARETIN), *Andrea Bernasconi und die Oper am Münchner Kurfürstenhof 1753-1772*, München, Utz, 2010, pp. 158–159; see also the aria in D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 153, fols. 50r.–65r.

10. *Temistocle*: D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 187, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00107177-4>, see, for example, Rossane's aria «Scieglier fra mille un core» in 1 13; *Adriano in Siria*: D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 148, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00107109-3>, and Mus.ms. 185, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00107175-3>, see, for example, Adriano's aria «È vero che appresso la sorte» in 1 8.

Another opera with a high number of rehearsals is Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* which was given in a pasticcio version in 1773.¹¹ Gaetano Guadagni took over the role of the protagonist, the role he created in the Viennese premiere (1762) and which he was best known for.¹² Fourteen rehearsals were needed for this really intriguing opera with its complex interplay between, singing, acting and dancing of soloists, chorus and dancers. Since the rehearsal dates differ in documents (chorus: 14, 21, 24, 26 November, 15 December, 8, 12, 15, 16, 23 [twice], 28 January; orchestra: 14, 21, 24 November, 15, 19 December, 8, 12, 16, 23, 28 January; final rehearsal: 2 February)¹³ there may have been separate rehearsals for the chorus and the orchestra. For *Orfeo*, besides trombone players, 44 singers were hired, an impressive number. This number was even enlarged for the concurrent production of Antonio Tozzi's *Orfeo ed Euridice* which was produced two years later, in 1775, and for which Raniero de' Calzabigi's libretto was heavily extended.¹⁴ Here the extra chorus was formed of 48 singers, a number which was also required for Pietro Pompeo Sales' *Achille in Sciro* a year earlier. The original libretto of *Achille* by Metastasio contains three choruses which were not cancelled as happened often in new productions, but were mostly retained in the Munich version (sometimes shortened or rearranged). They are lengthy compositions which also require solo voices and sometimes use contrapuntal techniques like fugato.¹⁵ These features are even intensified in Tozzi's *Orfeo* version which contains a very long, superb chorus with solo (Eagro) at the end of the added Act 1 in which soloist and chorus enter into a dialogue and end with a fugato. Fugato is also found in the choruses at the beginning of the Act and, on the whole, creates a solemn mood. Contrapuntal techniques, melodic-harmonic sequences and organ points are reminiscent of church music, as is the relevant role of the chorus in Calzabigi's original libretto for *Orfeo*, and the added scenes in general.

11. D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 22341, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00116366-3>; <https://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0031833>. The score must have been a starting point for now lost performance material: it transmits the Parma version with the part of Orfeo for the soprano Giuseppe Millico and not the original version for Guadagni for alto; and it does not include the additional scenes of the Munich version, but refers to another score where they could be found.

12. On Guadagni's career see P. HOWARD, *The Modern Castrato. Gaetano Guadagni and the Coming of a New Operatic Age*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2014.

13. See D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 2047 (1773), docs. 3929, 3932.

14. See D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 2592, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00112991-5>; <https://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0031839>.

15. See D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 197, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00110020-5>; <https://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0000321>.

Whereas big choral forces seem to have been the starting point for dramaturgical and compositional experiments since the production of Gluck's *Orfeo*¹⁶ the 48 singers employed for Bernasconi's *Demofoonte* in 1766 show other, more practical reasons for these high numbers.¹⁷ For, originally 36 singers were hired, but because theatre costumes for this number were not available, the chorus was forced to sing behind the scenery. This caused acoustical problems which could only be solved by enlarging the number of singers. So, twelve more singers were employed to ensure that the chorus could be heard: «alldieweilen aber Vor alle die Klaÿder nicht bey Handen waren, folgsam d[er] Chor, welcher zwischen denen Scenen gesungen hat werden müssen, Vill zu schwach, als ist selber and[er]t abermahlig g[nä]di[g]stes anbefehlen mit .3. Sopran[isten], .3. Alt[isten], .3. Tenor[isten] und .3. Bass[isten] Verstörckt worden».¹⁸ As can be evidenced from the quote, voice ranges were not assembled arbitrarily, instead we know also from some other documents that they normally were disposed in equal number.¹⁹ The orchestra was reinforced with twelve to 67 musicians. The highest number in an opera (46) was engaged for Sales' *Antigono* (1769).²⁰ This high number may result from the fact that there was no need for a chorus. The opera does not feature any choruses and it ends with an ensemble piece by the soloists. Therefore, the money normally spent for extra singers could be used for extra instrumentalists.

In every case, it is not clear which instruments exactly were engaged, but we know that they came from the Munich town musicians and from the parish churches. The documents specify the «Uhnsolerierten Pfaar- und Statt Musicanten».²¹ In fact, it seems that every company of town musicians which

16. On these issues see also K. BÖHMER, *W. A. Mozarts 'Idomeneo' und die Tradition der Karnevalsoptern in München*, Tutzing, Schneider, 1999, pp. 92-93, 97-99.

17. See D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 152, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00082149-3>; Mus.ms. 184, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00082154-7>.

18. «But because costumes were not available for everyone so that the chorus which sang between the scenes was much too weak, by another gracious command it was reinforced with three soprano, three alto, three tenor and three bass singers». D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 1931 (1766), doc. 3524.

19. See Bernasconi, *Olimpiade* (1764): 9 S, 9 A, 9 T, 9 B; Bernasconi, *Demofoonte* (1766): 12 S, 12 A, 12 T, 12 B; Bernasconi, *Endimione* (1766): 8 S, 8 A, 7 T, 7 B; id. (1767): 9 S, 9 A, 9 T, 9 B; Bernasconi, *La clemenza di Tito* (1768): 9 S, 9 A, 9 T, 9 B.

20. See D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 198, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00117284-3>; Mus.ms. 2517, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00112632-2>.

21. «The un-salaried [i.e. not employed at court] musicians of the parish churches and the town».

was allowed by the town council to play at civic festivities was obliged to supply two musicians to play in the operas at court. Several complaints to the city council exist regarding this practice, for example, from 14 March 1721: «sollen wir in Underthänigkhait Vortragen, Wasmassen Von Unserer Panda, bey allen zu hoffhaltenten operen und andern Vorhabenhaiten iederzeit .2. von uns dienst leisten müessen die übrige .3. sodan nit fohrt kho[m]men, und beyr Statt Niemandt recht bediennen khönnen». They ask the city council to employ another assistant (Niclas Diener, see below) to allow the company to work as it should.²²

We can get a feeling for the instrumentalists engaged from two documents which list musicians employed for balls. These balls were given on different occasions: in the documents, balls around Epiphany (Hofgarten-Ball, Ball im Herkules-Saal, Dreikönigball, Königsball), mostly given in the Kaisersaal of the residence, are mentioned (1751, 1752, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763). Other balls are a masked ball in the Kaisersaal, lasting eight hours (1753), a ball on the occasion of the small St. Hubertus hunt in Fürstenried castle (1758) and a «Freiball» (free ball) in the opera house (1760). Balls were also given during the wedding festivities for Joseph of Habsburg and Maria Josepha of Bavaria in 1765, to which I shall return shortly. For regular balls, between fourteen and 41 musicians were engaged, the latter number for the mentioned eight-hour masked ball. For the balls in 1751 and 1752 the instruments are specified: in addition to fifteen violins, four violoncellos, four violones and double basses, four oboes and two bassoons were paid. Another occasion for which musicians were hired is the so called *Bauernhochzeit* (peasant marriage), an event given during carnival. For the *Bauernhochzeit* the Elector and the Electress disguised themselves as innkeepers to host a rural wedding party formed by disguised nobles. For this event around 25 musicians were engaged (1753, 1760). The party also entered the public space on carriages: in 1760, 25 musicians received a payment for the *Bauernhochzeit* and 23 for accompanying the party on carriages. The event of this year was made even more spectacular, exotic and original because 50 peasant musicians («Pauren Spill=Leith») performed.

Dynastically important festivities took place in 1765 when Maria Josepha of Bavaria married Joseph II of Austria, the future Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The spectacles which were mounted at court between the arrival of the imperial ambassador on 4 January and the departure of Maria Josepha from

22. «We shall report humbly that two musicians of our company must at any time serve the court when operas and other occasions occur; the other three musicians of the company cannot proceed with their work and cannot serve anyone in the city» (München, Stadtarchiv [D-Msta], Gewerbeamt 3499). Cfr. T. KEVORKIAN, *Music and Urban Life in Baroque Germany*, Charlottesville et al., University of Virginia Press, 2022, p. 93 and note 34 on p. 268 for other cases.

Munich on 16 January consisted of a combination of all the events performed at court around the year.²³ The celebrations for the marriage took place during carnival time. They began with the Königsball (Twelfth Night ball) in the Kaisersaal on 6 January with 28 additional musicians. Then followed the performance of the opera *Semiramide* by Andrea Bernasconi on the well-known Metastasio libretto arranged by Eugenio Giunti which premiered on 7 January. It featured the star singer Regina Mingotti.²⁴ For the opera 36 additional singers and 38 additional instrumentalists were hired. Then followed a «Freiball» in the «Thurnier Hauß» (tournament house) on 8 January which was open to the public. Here the documents are not clear about the number of extra musicians: in one document 23 musicians are mentioned, but in a bill from 31 January that number has increased to 67. The higher number is confirmed by the description of the festivities which tells us that 60 musicians played alternately (they obviously were split up into two groups).²⁵ For the French comedy, given on 9 January in the opera house and which contained ballets,²⁶ apparently no additional musicians were needed. On 10 January a *Bauernhochzeit* was organized.²⁷ 24 extra musicians, arranged on three carriages,²⁸ toured with the party across the city. 28 were paid for the continuation of the event in the Kaisersaal along with 60 peasant musicians («Pauren pfeiffer»), probably to add spectacu-

23. For a description see: M.A.J. KLUEGER, *Wahrhafte und mit allen Umständen gründlich verfaßte Beschreibung aller derjenigen Ereignisse, Begebenheiten, Festinen, welche auf weiseste Anordnung und höchste Anbefehlung Sr. jetzt glorwürdigst regierenden churfürstlichen Durchlaucht in Baiern Maximilian Joseph etc. etc. zu höchsten Ehren Dero durchlauchtigsten Frauen Schwester Josepha Antonia [...] in allhiesiger Haupt= und Residenz=Stadt München auf das feierlichste angestellet und begangen worden. [...] (Nach dem Original von 1765 wörtlich abgedruckt.)*, s.l., s.d., 1816.

24. See the copies of the libretto in *Corago*: <https://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0039331>.

25. See KLUEGER, *Wahrhafte Beschreibung*, cit., p. 28: «unter beständig von 60 Musikanten abwechselnd, herrlichster Musik» («with superb music continuously performed by 60 alternating musicians»).

26. See *ibid.*, pp. 28-29: «eine sehenswürdige mit denen künstlichsten Balletten gezierten französischen Komödie» («a French comedy worth seeing, adorned with most elaborate ballets»). Charles/Carl Dubreil received 36 fl. for his ballet music compositions for the opera and comedy, see D-Mhsa, Kurbayern Hofzahlamt 1900/III, doc. 97 («pour avoir fait la musique des Balletts de l'opéra et de la Comédie») [«for having made the music for the ballets of the opera and the comedy»].

27. For this occasion, a list with the participants was issued: *LISTA der von Sr. Churfürstl. Durchlaucht in Bayern etc. etc. zur Faschings=Zeit Gnädigst angestellten Bauren=Hochzeit in München, so gehalten wird den 10. Jenner Anno 1765*, [Munich 1765], online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10884727-0>.

28. See KLUEGER, *Wahrhafte Beschreibung*, cit., p. 32: «drei besondere Wägen mit sehr freudig und jauchzend ebenfalls maskirt aufspielende Musikanten» («three special carriages with masked musicians who played very joyfully and cheering»).

larity to the event. The *festa teatrale Le nozze di Amore e di Norizia* on a libretto by Eugenio Giunti was performed on 12 January in the Kaisersaal, similar to the opera with 36 additional singers, but with only 11 additional instrumentalists. On 13 January a ceremonial ball («Zermonial Pääll») was held in the Hercules-Saal with 24 additional musicians. A Domino ball (a masked ball) was held in the opera house on 14 January. For this occasion, 43 musicians including 14 pupils from the Jesuit college («Seminaristen»), who may have performed in one or more vocal pieces (maybe in a kind of *Introduzione al ballo*) if they were not instrumentalists, were hired. On 15 January the court moved to Nymphenburg castle, the summer residence of the Electors. There, a ball was given after the fireworks with 21 additional musicians. Note that all the balls were located in different venues (in addition, the Kaisersaal was used and decorated for the *festa teatrale* and the *Bauernhochzeit*) which implies that every venue needed to be adorned in a rather unique and spectacular way.²⁹ Note also that dance music had to be copied («angeschafften Menuet und dänz», «minuets and dances bought») which was provided by the military musician Johann Anton Murmann («Trompeter des Churfrtl lobl. Graf Pieosäski[schen] Husarn corps.», «trumpeter of the Electoral hussars corps of Count Piosasque»).³⁰ As a gratuity for their performances during the wedding festivities the court musicians also received a payment of 300 fl., a sum equivalent to the annual wage of a middle-class instrumentalist (other instrumentalists received 150 or 200 fl., superior instrumentalists around 500 fl. and virtuosos even more). Also Andrea Bernasconi was rewarded for his opera (200 fl.).³¹

A prosopography of musicians hired at the Munich court

But who were these extra musicians? In many cases, though not all, names of almost 350 (!) musicians are listed in the documents between 1728 and 1777 (with lacunas, see Appendix 3). Nevertheless, it is not easy to identify them because most entries consist only of surnames and even though we have a name the identification cannot be sure for very common surnames like Mayr/Mayer/Maier/Meyer/Meier, Gruber/Grueber, Huber/Hueber or Schmid/Schmidt/Schmitt/Schmied. It simply may be that more than one Joseph Schmid lived in Munich at the same time. Moreover, for several Munich churches or in-

29. For details on the décor of these events, opera costumes and other costs see D-Mhsa, Kurbayern Hofzahlamt 1900/III and 1900/IV; see also: KLUEGER, *Wahrhafte Beschreibung*, cit., *passim*.

30. D-Mhsa, Kurbayern Hofzahlamt 1900/IV.

31. See D-Mhsa, Kurbayern Hofzahlamt 1900/III.

stitutions only older, often badly documented literature exists;³² some newer studies often do not concentrate on musicians, but on the organization of guilds, companies and schools³³ as well as legal aspects of town and court musicians.³⁴ Therefore, with regard to persons and names, my article presents largely a work in progress. However, it will show that despite the documents the musicians did not come exclusively from the churches and the town, but from other institutions as well.

Let us have a look at the singers, forming or reinforcing the chorus. A hub was the Jesuit college which had intense ties to the court. However, as Han-nelore Putz rightly pointed out, the quality and quantity of the musical exchanges have not been thoroughly researched yet.³⁵ But many singer names listed in the documents of the court can be found amongst the pupils of the college.³⁶ The years 1753 and 1754 shall serve here as an example: in 1753 they were engaged for two oratorios – *S. Maurizio e compagni martiri* and *S. Cipriano e S. Giustina* – and for the pastoral opera *Climene pastorella*.³⁷ In 1754, they performed in an oratorio by Giuseppe Zonca (for which a title is not given and a libretto does not exist), in the oratorio *La Betulia liberata*, the opera *Il Baizet* and the serenata *Lozio fugato dalla Gloria*. The identified pupils are:

32. For example, B. STUBENVOLL, *Geschichte des Königl. Erziehungs-Institutes für Studirende (Holland'sches Institut) in München aus Anlaß des 300jährigen Bestehens dieser Anstalt*, München, Lindauer'sche Buchhandlung, 1874; L. SÖHNER, *Die Musik im Münchener Dom Unserer Lieben Frau in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, München, Lentnersche Buchhandlung (Inh. Dr. E.K. Stahl), 1934.

33. See M. HILDEBRANDT, *Die Zunft der Münchner Stadtmusikanten*, «Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung», 34, 1989, pp. 135–138; Id., «Sie spielten gar nicht so übel zusammen...». *Die Geschichte der Stadtpfeifer und Stadtmusikanten in München*, in *Münchner Stadtpfeifer und Stadtmusikanten*, München, Preißler, 1993, pp. 3–28; T. KEVORKIAN, *Town Musicians in German Baroque Society and Culture*, «German History», 30, 2012, pp. 350–371; Id., *Music and Urban Life in Baroque Germany*, Charlottesville et al., University of Virginia Press, 2022.

34. See C.-H. MAHLING, *Münchener Hoftrumpeter und Stadtmusikanten im späten 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Streit um das Recht, die Trompete zu blasen*, «Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte», 31, 1968, pp. 649–670.

35. «Über die ganze Zeit hinweg fand allerdings ein Austausch von Musikern zwischen St. Michael und dem Hof statt. Welche Ausmaße diese gegenseitige Hilfeleistung erreichte, ist derzeit weder qualitativ noch quantitativ genau erforscht» («During this whole period of time, an exchange of musicians took place between St Michael's and the court. However, it has not been investigated yet which qualitative and quantitative extent this assistance attained»). H. PUTZ, *Die Domus gregoriana in München. Erziehung und Ausbildung im Umkreis des Jesuitenkollegs St. Michael bis 1773*, München, C.H. Beck, 2003, p. 138.

36. See the list of graduates in PUTZ, *Die Domus gregoriana*, cit., pp. 220–330.

37. See also the overview in: OVER, «un pareill Virtuoso», cit.

Table 1. Identified Jesuit pupils (singers) hired for court festivities (1753–1754).

Name	Name in documents	Year of birth	Graduated	Years hired
Valentin Adamberger ³⁸	Adamberger			1754
Andreas or Franz Kajetan Auracher	Auracher	1736	1753/1754	1753
		1739	1759/1760	
Georg Baader ³⁹	Baader, Paader	1740	1756/1757	1754
Thomas Camerhueber	Camerhueber	1734/1735	1753/1754	1754
Kaspar Eiglsperger ⁴⁰	Eigensperger, Eiglsperger, Aiglsperger	1735	1755/1756	1754
Kaspar Freidhofer	Freuthofer, Freithofer	1739	1756/1757	1753, 1754
Thomas or Johann Evangelist Greinwald	Grienwalt, Grienwaldth	1735 1740	1755/1756 1756/1757	1753, 1754
Thomas Hueber ⁴¹	Hueber, Huber	1737	1756/1757	1753, 1754
Kajetan or Franz Sebastian Köpfspurger	Köpflsperger	1733 1734	1753/1754 1753/1754	1754
Michael Korntreuer	Kornteur	1736/37	1755/1756	1754
Bartholomäus Mayr	Bärtlme Mayr	1738	1756/1757	1753
Franz Xaver Mayr	Xaveri Mayr	1739	1754/1755	1754 ⁴²
Wolfgang Ottman	Wolfgang Oltman, Oltman	1736	1754/1755	1753, 1754
J. Vitalis Paur ⁴³	Vitalis Baur	1737	1754/1755	1753

38. Adamberger is not listed in PUTZ, *Die Domus gregoriana*, cit., but see T. SEEDORF, *Adamberger, Johann Valentin* (1999), in MGG Online, ed. by L. LÜTTEKEN, New York, Kassel, Stuttgart, 2016, <https://www-1mogg-2online-1com-16dgawaeq00cc.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/mogg/stable/536174>.

39. Most probably because he is mentioned in 1755 along with a «Gregori» (maybe a misspelling) Baader. But other persons with this surname studied at the Jesuits as well: Michael (born in 1739, graduated in 1758/1759); Jos. Bernhard (born in 1744, graduated in 1762/1763), Joseph (born in 1733, graduated in 1751/1752) and Phil. Joseph (born in 1736, graduated in 1751/1752) are less probable.

40. Less probable is Franz Xaver Eiglsperger (born in 1734, graduate in 1752/1753); however, in 1755 Adam and Joseph Eiglsperger are mentioned in the lists, but cannot be found in Putz's list.

41. Many other pupils with the surname «Huber» or «Hueber» studied at the college, but only Thomas's dates fit with the dates of hiring at court; however, in 1755 Joseph and Michl are mentioned, not found in Putz's list.

42. Xaveri Mayr is recorded later as an instrumentalist (1762–1765, 1768–1769).

43. There are some entries where «Baur» is mentioned, but some other pupils with this surname are found at the same time in the lists of the court: Antoni (1754), Carl (1755), Joseph

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Name	Name in documents	Year of birth	Graduated	Years hired
Andreas Preumayr	Preymayr	1737	1757/1758	1754
Dominik Ripfl	Ripfl	1736	1755/1756	1753, 1754
Ignaz Schluderer	Schluderer	1737	1754/1755	1754
Anton Schmelcher?	Schmelcher, Dominicus	1734	1752/1753	1753
Johann Nepomuk or	Schmid	1736	1753/1754	1753 ⁴⁴
Anton Schmid		1738	1757/1758	
Martin Simerl	Martin Simerl, Simerl	1737/1738	1756/1757	1753, 1754
Franz Stimpfl	Franz Paul Stimpfl, Stimpfl	1739	1757/1758	1753, 1754
Emeram Weichlberger	Weichlberger, Weichlperger	1741	1757/1758	1753, 1754
Richard Wisinger	Wißinger	1738	1754/1755	1754
Georg Wismayr	Georg Wismayr, Wißmayr	1738	1754/1755	1753, 1754

Other names – Ander, Antoni Baur, Joseph Baur, Bouk, Buechhofer, Höringer/Hieringer, Hofer, Xaveri Hofmann, Kirmayr, Krugg, Leimiger, Seidl/Seydl, Seitz/Seiz⁴⁵ cannot be identified. The reason may be that they died before graduating or that they did not graduate at all or simply that documentation is incomplete. In every case, it is no wonder that the court recruited singers from the Jesuits because they were trained musically for the services in their own church of St. Michael.⁴⁶ And, as can be evidenced from the dates, they appeared on stage when their training was almost completed. Most of the pupils listed here were between twelve and 20 years of age when they served the court (we must bear in mind that male voices broke much later than they do today) and shortly before they left the college. Some of them, like the ten-

(1754), so a precise identification is impossible.

44. Anton Schmid is recorded later as an instrumentalist (1768–1769); an instrumentalist «Schmid» (surname only) is mentioned in 1754, but may refer to Laurentius Schmidt.

45. In 1755 Andreas Seiz is mentioned in the lists.

46. See PUTZ, *Die Domus gregoriana*, cit., pp. 135–148; H. HERRMANN-SCHNEIDER, *Die Musikhandschriften der St. Michaelskirche in München. Thematischer Katalog*, München, Henle, 1985, pp. XVI–XIX.

ors Johann Perprich (Berberich) and Valentin Adamberger (Adamonti, Adamonte), made a real career.⁴⁷

Musical accomplishment seems not to have been the only reason to draw on the Jesuit college. The acting capacities of the pupils, taught in the Jesuit plays, apparently played a role as well. Bear in mind that one of the most important theatre treatises of the time, Franciscus Lang's *Dissertatio de actione scenica* (1727), originated at the Munich Jesuit school.⁴⁸ For example, for the carnival opera of 1769, Sales' *Antigono*, 20 pupils were engaged to perform in the «sea travel of the first ballet» («zu der hierin sich befindenden Seefahrt im ersten Palet»).⁴⁹ This may refer to the ballet *Antoine & Cleopatre* which comprises a scene where Cleopatra arrives on a richly decorated boat with her retinue and sailors: «Les matelots sortent les premiers avec leurs rames & forment une allée par où passe Cleopatre avec toute sa suite pour aller à Antoine».⁵⁰ These non-dancing sailors may have been the characters played by the Jesuit pupils.

47. Perprich, born in 1703 and a Jesuit pupil until 1721-1722, was sent by the court for his training to Venice (c. 1723-1726). He was employed in 1726 in the *Hofkapelle* and, after ten years, received the normal payment of a first-class singer, 1,000 fl., see: OVER, «un pareill Virtuoso», cit. After his employment at court, Adamberger was an internationally renowned singer and the first Belmonte in Mozart's *Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782), see: SEEDORF, Adamberger, Johann Valentin, cit.

48. See F. LANG, *Dissertatio de actione scenica, cum figuris eandem explicantibus, et observationibus quibusdam de arte comica*. [...] *Accesserunt imagines symbolicae pro exhibitione & vestitu theatrali*, Ingolstadt, Andreas de la Haye, 1727. On Jesuit theatre in Munich see R. MÜNSTER, *Das Wirken der Jesuiten für die Musik in München. Ein Überblick in Kirchenmusik zwischen Säkularisation und Restauration*, hrsg. von F.W. RIEDEL, Sinzig, Studioverlag, 2006, pp. 91-100; F. KÖRNDLE, *Lassos Musik für das Theater der Münchener Jesuiten*, «Musik in Bayern», 2007-2008, 72-73, pp. 147-158; A.-C. MAGNIEZ, *Die Considerationes von Franz Lang für die Münchener Große Marianische Kongregation (1694-1706) und ihre Veröffentlichung (1717)*, in *Das Musikleben am Hof von Kurfürst Max Emanuel. Bericht über das internationale musikwissenschaftliche Symposium*, veranstaltet von der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte und dem Forschungsinstitut für Musiktheater der Universität Bayreuth, hrsg. von S. HÖRNER und S. WERR, Tutzing, Schneider, 2012, pp. 369-384; H. WALSDORF, 'Ferdinandina die Mexicanische Insul' (1652) oder, *Die Bekehrung der Neuen Welt auf der Münchener Jesuitenbühne*, in *Die Musik- und Theaterpraxis der Jesuiten im kolonialen Amerika. Grundlagen, Desiderate, Forschungsperspektiven*, hrsg. von C. STORCH, Sinzig, Studio, 2014, pp. 181-206; F. KÖRNDLE, *Die Jesuiten in München und die Oper*, in *Denen Musik ist der größte Segen... Helen Geyer zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von E. BOCK und M. PAUSER, Sinzig, Studiopunkt, 2018, pp. 217-230.

49. See D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 1982 (doc. 3715).

50. «First, the sailors descend from the boat with their helms and form an alley where Cleopatra passes with all her retinue to go to Antonius». *Antigono. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel nuovo teatro di corte per comando di S. A. S. E. Massimiliano Giuseppe [...] nel carnevale dell'anno MDCCLXIX [...] / Antigonus. Ein musikalisches Schauspiel, welches auf höchstem Befehl Sr. Churfürstl. Durchleucht in Bayrn etc. etc. auf dem Churfürstlichen neuen Theater in der Faschingszeit*.

Also, instrumentalists with training at the Jesuit school seem to have been engaged. The Ludovicus Kumph mentioned in 1754 is certainly identical with Ludwig Kumpf (b. 1733, graduated 1750/1751) who, according to Putz, later was musical director in Altötting.⁵¹ Kumpf was also active in Duke Clemens's *Hofkapelle* (see below). An instrumentalist whose identification is not so clear is «Forstner» (Bartholomäus Forstner, b. 1749, graduated 1768/1769) who was hired every year between 1764 and 1769.⁵² Joseph Willibald Michl (Joseph «Michl» or «Michael», hired in 1767, 1768 and 1769),⁵³ the composer who was later employed at court was a student at the college and a double bass player there around 1768.⁵⁴

Another hub for instrumentalists was the *Hofkapelle* of Duke Clemens of Bavaria, Max III Joseph's cousin.⁵⁵ Duke Clemens's musicians were regularly and extensively hired:

Table 2. Musicians from the *Hofkapelle* of Duke Clemens of Bavaria hired for court festivities.

Name	Name in documents	Instrument	Years hired
Franz Xaver Ignaz Albert (see below) ⁵⁶	Ignatius Albert; Albert?	double bass	1754, 1764-1767
Christoph Christoph		oboe, horn	1753-1755
Johann Michael Christoph	Michael or Michl Christoph	oboe	1754-1755, 1762-1764, 1767-1769

Anno 1769. ist aufgeführt worden, Munich, Maria Magdalena Mayrin, [1769], <https://corago.unibibliothek.de/DRT0003767>. The description of the ballets is found after Act III.

51. See PUTZ, *Die Domus gregoriana*, cit., p. 269. Franz Anton Kumpf (maybe his father?) was, according to Stubenvoll (*Geschichte des Königl. Erziehungs-Institutes*, cit., p. 185), employed at the Jesuit school from 1718 to 1730. He later held several positions in Altötting where he died in 1743. See R. MÜNSTER, *Die Münchner Fastenmeditationen von 1724 bis 1774 und ihre Komponisten*, in *Quaestiones in musica. Festschrift für Franz Krautwurst zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von F. BRUSNIAK und H. LEUCHTMANN, Tutzing, Schneider, 1989, pp. 413-443: 421. Altötting was a place of pilgrimage of the highest importance for the court because the hearts of the regents are buried in the Gnadenkapelle which hosts a miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary.

52. See the list of graduates in PUTZ, *Die Domus gregoriana*, cit., pp. 220-330.

53. It is not clear whether «Michl» (surname only; 1763, 1774) refers to Joseph or to Virgili.

54. See HERRMANN-SCHNEIDER, *Die Musikhandschriften der St. Michaelskirche in München*, cit., pp. XVIII-XIX.

55. See the short biographies in R. MÜNSTER, *Herzog Clemens Franz von Bayern (1722-1770) und seine Münchener Hofmusik*, Tutzing, Schneider, 2008, pp. 65-83.

56. It is not clear whether the surname «Albert» (1755, 1758, 1761-1763) refers to Franz Xaver Ignaz or to another member of the family (junior, Antoni, Jacob Albert).

Name	Name in documents	Instrument	Years hired
Niclas Diener (see above and below)	Niclas Diener	viola, copyist	1755
Tobias (Thomas) Goldhammer	Golthammer	bassoon	1763-1765, 1767-1769
Franz Sebastian Haindl	Francesco Haindl	first violin	1754
Gaudenz Heller ⁵⁷	Heller	violoncello	1769, 1774
Johann Georg Holzbogen	Giorgio Holzbogen	first violin	1754
Franz Humpel	Humpl	viola	1753-1754, 1760-1769
Johann Joseph Kiener	Kiener, Joseph Kiener	double bass	1754-1755, 1765-1769
Wolfgang Kirmayr	Kyrmayr, Wolfgang Kirmajr	violin	1754, 1764-1765, 1767-1769 ⁵⁸
Anton Kopolt	Antonius Kopolt	«Musicus»	1754
Ludwig Wolfgang Kumpf (see above and below)	Ludovicus Kumph	violin	1754
Johann Nepomuk Ignaz Lops (or Lobst) ⁵⁹	Lops	violin	1753, 1765
Franz von Paula Moser ⁶⁰	Moser	«Musicus»	1760, 1767
Johann Heinrich Pezl (or Petzl)	Pezel, Petzl, Betzl	violin	1760-1761, 1774
Eugenius Pupelli	Bopelli, Boppeli, Boppelli, Popelli	violin	1760-1765, 1767- 1769, 1774
Felix Reiner	Felix Reiner	bassoon	1754

57. It is not clear whether the entries for «Heller» (surname only; 1769, 1774) refer to Gaudenz (as listed in the table) or to Joseph (mentioned in 1768).

58. Hired as a singer from the Jesuit college in 1754 (see Table 1).

59. The *Akzessist* at the *Hofkapelle* Joseph Lops was a singer, see *Hofkalender* 1753-1755.

60. It is not clear whether the entries for «Moser» (surname only; 1760, 1767) refer to Franz von Paula (as listed in the table) or to Johann (mentioned in 1767-1769).

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Name	Name in documents	Instrument	Years hired
Balthasar or Johann Georg Schmid	Schmid	violin or horn and clarinet	1754 ⁶¹
Joseph Augustin (also Anton) Sutor (or Sutter)	Joseph Augustin and Antonius Sutor, Suter	flute	1753-1754, 1760, 1762-1763, 1769, 1774 ⁶²
Georg Vogl	Georgius Vogl; Vogl?	violin	1754, 1760? ⁶³

Holzbogen (from 1759) and Lops studied with Giuseppe Tartini in Padua⁶⁴ as did Carl Albert Dubreil, son of dance master Jean-Pierre Dubreil (hired in 1753 and probably 1754,⁶⁵ he was in Padua around 1751)⁶⁶ and Peter Glonner, son of the instrument maker of the court Joseph Glonner (hired in 1758, 1760-1761 and 1765).⁶⁷ Maybe «Francesco» Haindl, a first violin like «Giorgio» Holzbogen, had studied in Italy as well. As Robert Münster mentions he often lived in Innsbruck, even nearer to Italy than Munich.

Other names are not easy to identify. However, some musicians come to the fore who had multiple posts, were town musicians, musicians in churches and teachers at the Jesuit school at the same time. Niclas Diener who was paid in 1755 was a «Musicalisch= und gelehreter thurner» («trained musical watchman») and is recorded as «adjungirte[r] Stadtpeiffer» («wait assistant») in 1720. But he also worked for the Jesuits in 1721: «Musicum in St: Michaëls Kirchen bey denen HH: PP: Jesuiter» («musician in St. Michael's church of the

61. It is not clear whether the entry «Schmid» (surname only; 1754) refers to the names mentioned in the table or to Antoni Schmid (1768-1769) or Laurentius Schmidt (1754).

62. A younger Sutor is also mentioned in the lists (1774).

63. The surname «Vogl» is recorded also in 1762, 1764-1767, but the musician cannot be identical because Georg Vogl died in 1761 (according to Münster).

64. See the entries in MÜNSTER, *Herzog Clemens*, cit.

65. It is more likely that the 1754 payment to «Dubreil» (surname only) refers to Carl than to Jacob, hired in 1763 and 1765.

66. See D-Mhsa, Hofamtsregistrator HR I, Fasz. 466, Nr. 404: Dubreil asks for a wage in 1751 and, in an undated letter which is enclosed, points to his return from Tartini's school four months previously. Finkel is not correct when she dates Dubreil's studies with Tartini to the year 1763. C. FINKEL, *Pierre Dubreil. Biographie und kritische Edition*, Berlin, Frank & Timme, 2020, pp. 37-39.

67. The 1765 payment only with surname «Glonner». On his training with Tartini see D-Mhsa, Hofamtsregistrator HR I, Fasz. 467, Nr. 485; H.-J. NÖSSELT, *Ein ältest Orchester 1530-1980. 450 Jahre Bayerisches Hof- und Staatsorchester*, München, Bruckmann, 1980, p. 91.

Holy Fathers of the Jesuits»).⁶⁸ He later became copyist at the court,⁶⁹ but for a year or so he did not resign from his post as town musician because he was not sure which post was more suitable for him.⁷⁰ He was also part of Herzog Clemens's *Hofkapelle* (see above).

Andreas Wunderlich («Wunderlich»), hired in 1735, was also a town musician (a wait), associating himself with the musicians' guild in 1718,⁷¹ became a tower guard in 1736⁷² and is recorded until the 1740s.⁷³ He also worked at the Jesuit school as a teacher from 1719 to 1769⁷⁴ and was a bassoon player at the court (see below). Joseph Bach («Bach»), hired in 1769, Joseph Humpel, hired several times from 1753 to 1769 and member of Duke Clemens's *Kapelle* (see above), as well as Anton Lori («Lorri»), hired several times from 1753 to 1760 as a singer and instrumentalist and also a court musician (see below), were teachers in the Jesuit school in 1760.⁷⁵ Antoni Lidl «Musicus aus der Au» («musician from Au», today a quarter of Munich) applied for the post of town musician in 1748 and is recorded in the lists in 1762, 1764–1769, and maybe also in 1760–1762, 1765 and 1774 (simply named «Lidl»).⁷⁶ The instrumentalist named «Gigl», hired in 1766–1767, may be identical with Joseph Gill who is recorded in the documents of the town musicians since 1741.⁷⁷ Joseph Kiener

68. D-Msta, Gewerbeamt 3499, undated document and documents from 23 September 1720 and 17 March 1721.

69. See KEVORKIAN, *Music and Urban Life*, cit., p. 94.

70. D-Msta, Gewerbeamt 3499, letter from 16 March 1740: «gleichwie aber mir neben dem Burgerrecht sowohl die Stattpfeiffer als Statsgeigers Stöll genzlichen zu reservirn gedenckh, inmassen mich de facto nit aigentlich resolvirn khan, ob seiner Zeit beyr HofMusic oder aber meinem damahlig burgerlichen Stükklein Brodt zuverharren mich entschliessen werde» («but besides the citizenship I want to fully reserve my posts as wait and town violinist because de facto I cannot resolve upon being part of the music establishment of the court or remaining making my civil piece of bread as ever»). He proposed to engage a substitute as was permitted earlier for Johann Kummelsperger and Andreas Wunderlich.

71. See D-Msta, Gewerbeamt 3496, fol. 25v.: «ao 1718 hat sich Andreas Wunderlich Stattpfeyffer in die Ladt einkhaufft Und d[as] Erstemahl richtig erlög 4 K. 30. X» («In the year 1718 Andreas Wunderlich, wait, has bought himself into the guild and, for the first time, paid 4 K. 30 X»).

72. See KEVORKIAN, *Music and Urban Life*, cit., pp. 27, 111–112; ID., *Town Musicians*, cit., pp. 354, 356, 359; HILDEBRANDT, «Sie spielten gar nicht so übel zusammen...», cit., p. 20.

73. See D-Msta, Gewerbeamt 3499, several documents.

74. See STUBENVOLL, *Geschichte des Königl. Erziehungs-Institutes*, cit., p. 185.

75. See *ibid.*

76. See D-Msta, Gewerbeamt 3498/2, documents from 19 August 1744, 6 November 1748.

77. See *ivi*, documents from 27 February 1741 and 3 November 1745.

who was in Duke Clemens's orchestra was the son of a watchman in Burghausen and applied for the post of town violinist in 1748.⁷⁸

A handful of musicians appears among the staff of Munich churches. Four musicians were hired from and two others can be linked to the collegiate church Unsere Liebe Frau or Liebfrauenkirche. In an undated document of the church (around 1700) the trombone, viola and violone player Johann Angermüller and the singer and viola player Franz Grill are named⁷⁹ who appear among the instrumentalists for the operas in 1735. Grill («Franz Grüll») is also mentioned in a document from 1710.⁸⁰ From 1738 to 1742 Andreas Eckhardt was *Regens chori* of the church. He is mentioned as a singer in the lists of 1735 and 1736, but already served the court as *Akzessist* before 1718, sang in the court operas since 1720 and was employed at court in 1727.⁸¹ The accumulation of different posts – at court, in churches, in schools – was not uncommon. The need for income is a characteristic trait for Munich court musicians.⁸²

Johann Christoph Hirschberger who also was a musician in the Jesuit church of St. Michael since around 1729 was Eckhardt's successor at the Frauenkirche from 1742 to 1756⁸³ and may be identical to the singer «Hirschberger» mentioned in the lists of 1735. The identity of the instrumentalist «Obermiller» hired in 1762, 1763 and 1764 is not quite clear because several name combinations appear in the literature. Johann (Joseph Adam), Josef Adam and Joseph Anton Obermiller are mentioned and maybe identical with Hirschberger's successor from 1757 to 1769 after having been the musical director at the Jesuits from 1753 to 1756.⁸⁴ A Joseph Adam was trained in the Jesuit school (b. 1729, graduate 1746/1747),⁸⁵ but his dates contradict the ones for Joseph Anton given by Münster (b. 1701).⁸⁶ Franz Anton Stadler, maybe identical with the instrumen-

78. See *ivi*, document from 27 May 1748.

79. See SÖHNER, *Die Musik im Münchner Dom*, cit., p. 79.

80. See *ivi*, p. 80.

81. See *ivi*, p. 85; H. HELL-M. HOLL-R. MACHOLD, *Die Musikhandschriften aus dem Dom zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München. Thematischer Katalog. Mit einem Anhang. Ein Chorbuch aus St. Andreas in Freising*, München, G. Henle, 1987, p. xvi.

82. See also B. OVER, *Outstanding Payments – Outstanding Debts: Musicians at the Munich Court in the 18th Century*, in *Court Musicians and Money*, ed. by S. OWENS and B. REUL, forthcoming.

83. See SÖHNER, *Die Musik im Münchner Dom*, cit., pp. 86, 131; HELL-HOLL-MACHOLD, *Die Musikhandschriften aus dem Dom zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München*, cit., p. xviii; MÜNSTER, *Die Münchner Fastenmeditationen*, cit., p. 420.

84. See SÖHNER, *Die Musik im Münchner Dom*, cit., p. 87; HERRMANN-SCHNEIDER, *Die Musikhandschriften der St. Michaelskirche in München*, cit., p. xviii, states that he was «Seminariusinspektor oder -präfekt».

85. See PUTZ, *Die Domus gregoriana*, cit., p. 285.

86. See MÜNSTER, *Die Münchner Fastenmeditationen*, cit., p. 422.

talist «Stadler» from the list of 1774, was employed as an organist at the court since 1754. He also worked as an organist at the Jesuits from 1772 and at the Frauenkirche from 1784 to 1792. He was already involved in musical matters of the church in the 1770s because he married the daughter of his predecessor in 1775 and supported his father-in-law with his duties until his death.⁸⁷

The already mentioned cases of payments to musicians employed at court show that it was not only musicians from outside the courtly musical establishment who benefited from these. Court musicians also received money. The reason why is not easy to determine because they already earned their living as employees of the court. Sometimes *Akzessisten*, i.e. younger, unpaid musicians who were allowed to play with the *Hofkapelle* for training purposes,⁸⁸ received some money, sometimes singers received some money for playing instruments, sometimes regular musicians seem to have received a gratuity through these payments, sometimes musicians seem to have been «tested» by an engagement before being employed. Table 3 provides an illustrative list of court musicians receiving extra payments over the period of a decade – their employment at court was checked for the years 1753–1763.

Table 3. An illustrative list of court musicians receiving extra payment, from personnel recorded in the *Hofkalender* 1753–1763.

Name	Instrument	Hofkalender	Paid in
Ignati/ Ignatius Albert	double bass <i>Akzessist</i>	1763	1754, 1764–1767
Josephus/ Joseph Ignatius Aufhauser	horn	1753–1763	1753, 1774
Joseph Barth/ Bart/ Baart/ Parth	horn	1753–1758	1753–1755
Ferdinand Blaimb/ Bluemb	violin	1753–1763	1760, 1765 ⁸⁹
Franz/ Francesco Bouresi/ Pouresi/ Burresi	violin	1753–1763	1735, 1758
Virgilius Camerloher	violoncello	1753–1763	1753 ⁹⁰

87. See SÖHNER, *Die Musik im Münchner Dom*, cit., p. 90; HERRMANN-SCHNEIDER, *Die Musikhandschriften der St. Michaelskirche in München*, cit., p. xviii.

88. They served the court with the hope of obtaining one of the fixed posts. On *Akzessisten* see OVER, «*un pareill Virtuoso*», cit.

89. It is not clear whether the entries for «Bluemb» or «Bluemb»/«Blumb» junior (without name; 1758, 1774 and 1769) refer to Ferdinand or to Ludwig.

90. Maybe also in 1758, 1760 and 1765 («Camerloher», «Camerlocher» without name).

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Name	Instrument	Hofkalender	Paid in
Ignatius Doll/ Dol	vocal <i>Akzessist</i>	1753-1759	1735-1736, 1753-1755 ⁹¹
Carl Dubreil/ du Brevil	violin	1753, 1763	1753
Johann Adam Fridl	violin	1753-1756	1753
Johann Georg Fridl	violin	1753	1753
Joseph Arnold Groß	trumpet, violin ⁹²	1753-1762	1753
Ignatius Hechenthaller	vocal <i>Akzessist</i> , from 1760 listed as a bass	1753-1763	1753, 1755 ⁹³
Joseph Hechenthaller	viola	1753-1763	1765-1766
Philipp Heiß	viola	1753-1763	1728, 1735, 1753, 1765 ⁹⁴
Franz Hintermayr	double bass	1753-1762	1753
Franz Xaver/ Franciscus Xa- verius Hoffmann	vocal <i>Akzessist</i> , from 1760 listed as a bass	1753-1763	1753-1754, 1758, 1760, 1762-1763
Nicolaus Hofmayr/ Hoffmayr/ Huefmayr	tenor	1756-1763	1760, 1762
Anton/ Antoni/ Antonius Kaiser/ Kayser	double bass	1753-1763	1753, 1758, 1760 ⁹⁵
Michael Kaiser/ Kayser	bassoon <i>Akzessi- st</i> , since 1757 listed regularly	1753-1763	1753-1754, 1758, 1760, 1765
Franz Köslinger/ Köstlinger/ Kößlinger	bassoon	1753-1763	1758, 1761
Johannes Lanbeck/ Labeck/ Laabek	horn	1753-1763	1753
Joseph Lindner/ Lindtner	viola	1762-1763	1758, 1760, 1765
Antonius Lori	bass	1753-1763	1753, 1755, 1760

91. Engaged as a singer and instrumentalist; in 1755 only «Doll».

92. Groß was employed as a trumpeter with the additional task of playing the violin in ballets («als Vor-Geigern in denen Pallethen») and later was «Spielgraf». D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 787 (1747), f. 272.

93. Engaged as instrumentalist and singer; in 1753 surname only; in 1755 a «Hechenthaller» (without name) is qualified an «altist» (alto singer).

94. Engaged in 1728 as a singer; it is not clear whether the instrumentalist «Heiß» (without name; 1758, 1760) refers to Max or Philipp Heiß.

95. It is not clear whether «Kaiser» (surname only; 1774) refers to Anton or to Andreas, Michael or Thomas.

BERTHOLD OVER

Name	Instrument	Hofkalender	Paid in
Bonaventura Ludwig/ Ludtwig/ Ludwickh/ Ludwich	horn	1753-1758	1753-1755
Blasius Mack/ Mackh	viola	1753-1763	1735, 1753 ⁹⁶
Mathias Mayr	viola	1753-1763	1753
Johann/ Joannes Mosmayr	keyboard instrument	1755-1763	1755, 1766
Ferdinand Pater/ Bater/ Patter ⁹⁷	viola, since 1762 violin	1753-1759, 1762-1763	1735, 1753, 1758, 1760, 1765 ⁹⁸
Joachim Penckmayr/ Pembsmayr ⁹⁹	bellows treader «Emeritus»	1753-1754	1753
Aloysius/ Aloysi Pixner/ Pirner	double bass	1753-1763	1753, 1758, 1760, 1765 ¹⁰⁰
Caspar/ Johann Caspar Rädel/ Rädl/ Radl	double bass	1753-1754	1753-1754
Johann Rebekhe/ Rebckhe	bellows treader	1753-1763	1753
Johannes Rispler	horn	1753	1753
Johann Georg Rudolf/ Ruedolf	horn	1753-1763	1753
Jacob Rumplsperger/ Rum- melsberger/ Rummelsperger/ Rumelsberger	oboe	1754-1762	1758
Schilling	oboe	1756-1763	1758
Franz Anton/ Franciscus An- tonius Stadler/ Stadlr	keyboard instrument	1754-1763	1774
Crispinus Starckh/Starch	violin	1753-1759	1735
Benno Thomas	violin	1753-1763	1758, 1760
Michael/ Michl Wastian	bellows treader	1753-1763	1753

96. In 1735 Mack is recorded as a singer.

97. Maybe he is identical with «Pater Zeppin» listed in 1760-61 as a violinist.

98. Engaged as a singer in 1735; in 1758 and 1765 surname only («Bater», «Pater», «Patter»).

99. In the *Hofkalender* «Johann» Penckmayr is listed in 1755-1760, «Joachim» Penckmayr in 1760-1763. It is not clear whether the two musicians are identical (because of misspellings) or must be distinguished.

100. 1758, 1760, 1765 «Pixner», «Bixner» without name.

ADDITIONAL MUSICIANS AT THE MUNICH COURT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Name	Instrument	Hofkalender	Paid in
Johann Michael/ Michael/ Michl Weigl	alto	1759-1763	1754, 1758, 1760-63 ¹⁰¹
Joseph Winckler/Wünckhler	violin	1753-1763	1735, 1758, 1760
Joseph/ Josias Wodiczka/ Wodizka/ Wotizka	violin	1753-1763	1753 ¹⁰²
Andreas Wunderlich/ Wunderlich	bassoon	1753-1763	1735, 1753
Johann Georg Zechneter/ Zechetner	violoncello	1753-1754	1735, 1753

Family members of court musicians seem to have been engaged as well. In the lists, many names are found who may have been relatives of court musicians. This applies, for example, to those with surnames such as Aliprandi (Franz, Joseph, maybe sons of Bernardo Aliprandi), Dubreil (Jacob), Pluem/ Bluemb (Ludwig), Toste (Antoni), Wodiczka (Wilhelm). Maybe they served as *Akzessisten* too for which documentation is only found occasionally, for example, in the printed *Hofkalender*, but not consistently. That not all family members were engaged at court, building instead on the power of family units, seems to have been a common practice: An example may be the family Fridl which was employed at court and received extra payments in 1753. From the documents we know that they were father (Adam) and sons (Michael, Georg and Johann). However, only Adam, Michael and Georg were employed at the *Hofkapelle* on 23 January 1753, but received their salary retroactively from 21 August 1752. This was obviously their real date of joining the *Hofkapelle*. Unusually, they were employed as a group and received 950 fl. with the option of dividing the amount between them.¹⁰³ Johann, who was obviously the

101. In 1755 he was engaged as a singer from the Jesuit school; in the other years mentioned he appears as an instrumentalist.

102. It is not clear whether the entries for «Wodiczka» (surname only; 1758, 1760, 1765) refer to Joseph or Wilhelm.

103. D-Mhsa, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt 793 (1752), f. 261r.-v.: «Adam Fridl, dann dessen ältere zwaÿ Söhne, Michael: und Georg Fridl, seint inhalt ordonanz de dato .23.t Jenner Ao: 1753. als Hof Musici aufgeno[m]men: und Ihnen sa[m]mentlich miteinander Vom .21.t August Ao: 1752. als der Tag Ihrer anstellung an, zur Jährlichen bestallung 950 f. dergestalten ausgeworffen worden, daß, wann der Vater und beÿde Söhne sich miteinander nicht solten betragen: oder dergleichen können, dem Erstern Vor sich, und seine jÿbrige Kinder zum benötigten Unterhalt jÿber Steuer abzug hiervon 380: die jÿbrige 570. F: aber besaget dessen zwaÿ Söhnen, und zwar jedem jÿber abzug der steuern 285 f: verbleiben solten, id est dermahlen allen .3en miteinander

youngest son, must have been sustained by the income of the other three, but received his own payment for playing at court in 1753. Families of town musicians seem to have formed a pool as well: The members of the family Albert (without name, «junior», Anton, Ignatius – see above for his employment in Duke Clemens's *Kapelle* – and Jacob) may have had something to do with the leader of one of the urban music companies allowed to be active in the city («Albertische Compagnie»).¹⁰⁴

But, in the end, many names in the lists remain unidentified. In fact, we cannot exclude the possibility that some did not hold any official employment in Munich institutions and, therefore, did not leave any traces, but were journeymen. The guild system comprised travels as a journeyman to gain experience as part of the formation of apprentices. This system applied also for town musicians, organized in guilds. As Tanya Kevorkian mentions, musicians sometimes detailed their travels in their applications.¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

Although the Munich court maintained a rather big musical establishment, for certain festivities – operas, pastorals, oratorios, balls, *Bauernhochzeiten* – extra musicians were employed. These additional forces were recruited from the musical institutions of the city, including the churches, the Jesuits (whose students also had notable acting abilities) and the Liebfrauenkirche. Moreover, the orchestra of Duke Clemens of Bavaria constituted a hub for experienced

Vom .21.t August heuer An. f: 950:-» («Adam Fridl and his two elder sons Michael and Georg Fridl have been admitted as court musicians according to the ordinance from 23 January 1753. Retroactively from 21 August 1752, the day of their appointment, together they shall receive 950 fl. per year as a salary with the following condition: should the case be that the father and his two sons will not live in good harmony the first should receive for himself and his other children for subsistence 380 fl. (after taxes), the other 570 fl. being for his aforementioned two sons. Each of them shall remain with 285 fl. (after taxes). But for the time being, they shall receive 950 fl. from 21 August»).

104. On the Albert family cf. also M. HILDEBRANDT, «Sie spielten gar nicht so übel zusammen...», cit., p. 3.

105. See KEVORKIAN, *Music and Urban Life*, cit., p. 127. Johann Georg «Pörhamb», a «Thurner gesöll» («journeyman watchman») detailed that he was a year in Ingolstadt, another in Neumarkt, still another in Schwandorf, more than a year in Landsberg (am Lech) and one and a half year at St Peter's church in Munich. From another document it is known that he came from «Dietfurth», maybe Dietfurt an der Altmühl which is 30 km distant from Ingolstadt. See D-Msta, Gewerbeamt 3499, documents from 18 January 1736.

musicians. Musicians travelling for training purposes may have been hired as well. Court musicians received some extra payment. To hire extra musicians meant to add forces to the well-integrated ensemble of the court. Therefore, rehearsal times had to be appropriate and from very complicated works we realize that they could be very intense.

Not only German musicians are found among the extras, but also Italian ones like Amprosi (Ambrosio?), Basadoni, Carl Bellini, Bopelli (in Duke Clemens's *Kapelle*, see above), Francesco Burresi (Bouresi, see above), Cattenati, Fornari and Pietro Rossi. «Rongeti», employed as an instrumentalist in 1762 and 1763, may be Elisabetta Ronchetti's husband who performed in the revival of Bernasconi's *Temistocle* in carnival of the same year 1762.¹⁰⁶ A rather exotic musician for the time is a black person called «Gägäschu, Mohr» who was employed as an instrumentalist for several occasions in 1753. Some musicians supporting the *Hofkapelle* later entered the court musical establishment so that the bulk of extras was also a hub for recruiting. Burresi is such a case.¹⁰⁷

The practice of hiring musicians from outside the court documents a rather intense exchange between the city and the court and, maybe, comprised musical forces «on the free market» as well. It is the question if the high number of these additional forces documents the wish to add more splendour to the already lavish courtly spectacles. This may have been only one of the reasons. Another may be the support or replacement of senior members of the *Hofkapelle*. Bear in mind that to enter the court meant to secure a life-long post, implying that musicians worked almost until the end of their lives.¹⁰⁸ But more than that, the documents show the intense care the court took about sound. The court theatre, the so-called Cuvilliés theatre opened in 1753 and still extant,¹⁰⁹ is not very big. According to the Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen the auditorium has a volume of 400 qm.¹¹⁰ The Salvator theatre which was opened in 1651 and located outside the court

106. See the libretto, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10382073-5>.

107. See B. KÄGLER, *Early Modern Musicians Across Europe: A Close Look at Munich in the 18th Century*, in *Glazbene migracije u rano moderno doba: ljudi, tržišta, obrasci i stilovi/Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles*, Zagreb, Croatian Musicological Society, 2016, pp. 65-101: 83.

108. See B. OVER, *Employee Turnover in Hofkapellen of the Wittelsbach Dynasty: Types of and Reasons for (Impeded) Migration (1715-1725)*, in *Glazbene migracije u rano moderno doba: ljudi, tržišta, obrasci i stilovi/Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles*, Zagreb, Croatian Musicological Society, 2016, pp. 143-163: 150.

109. It was evacuated during World War II, but transferred to another building in the Munich residence after the war.

110. https://www.schloesser.bayern.de/deutsch/raeume/objekte/mu_r_cuv.htm.

seems to have been even smaller: Gianluca Stefani hypothesizes that it may have been 29.20 m long and 14.75 m wide¹¹¹ which is equivalent to a volume of 430.70 qm – for the entire building! Therefore, in both theatres an orchestra of sometimes about 50 or more players must have resounded with a massive sonority. With sometimes more than 50 singers, the chorus was a «real» chorus as we understand it today and not an ensemble of soloists, maybe with a very small number of ripieno singers as was often practiced.¹¹² The high number of up to 48 equally divided extra choral singers (to which must be added the court singers who did not take over roles in the pieces performed) is equally indicative of the care for sonority. This also concerns the case of Bernasconi's *Demofonte* when the chorus was obliged to sing not on open stage but hidden behind the scenes, with an acoustically unsatisfactory result. The care for sonority necessitated the additional employment of more singers. Although there remain a lot of open questions, what the impressive list of extra musicians definitely shows is the high number of apparently well-trained musicians in Munich who enriched the cosmopolitan musical life of the town not only at court, but also in the public and private sphere.

111. See G. STEFANI, *I due «gemelli» veneziani. Francesco & Francesco Santurini uomini di teatro al servizio della Serenissima Repubblica*, Firenze, Polistampa, 2023, p. 27.

112. See, for example, the discussion about Johann Sebastian Bach's chorus: A. PARROTT, *Bachs Chor. Zum neuen Verständnis*, Stuttgart-Kassel, Metzler-Bärenreiter, 2003. Studies on cho-ruses in secular contexts are largely lacking.

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Appendix 1. Additional musicians in operas, serenatas, pastorals and oratorios.

Year	Opera and other vocal works	Composer	Rehearsals	Final rehearsal	Productions	Additional singers	Additional instrumentalists	D-Mhsa, Kurba- hant yern Hofahlt	Comments
1728	<i>Porsenna</i>	?	3 (16 Dec 1727 until 8 Feb)	1	8	2		1453	Johann Anton Schambische- burg and Philipp Heiß sang in the chorus
1728	tourna- ment in the «Thurnierhauß»	?	1	2 (13 Dec + repetition)	2			1453	Johann Anton Schambische- burg and Philipp Heiß sang in the chorus
1735	<i>Alessandro nell'Indie</i>	L. Vinci (pasticcio)	5 (20, 23, 29 Dec 1734, 3, 5 Jan)	9 Jan	8 (9, 12, 16, 20, 23 Jan, 6, 22 Feb, 20 Mar)	14		1476	performed du- ring carnival
1735	<i>Griselda</i>	P. Torri	? (began on 14 Jan)	24 Jan	8 (24, 30 Jan, 2, 13, 16, 20 Feb, 13 Mar)	17	14	1476	performed du- ring carnival
1736	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i>	F. Peli	8 (22, 29 Dec 1735, 4, 10, 14, 17, 21, 24 Jan)	27 Jan	4 (29 Jan, 5, 8, 12 Feb)	14	15 + 1	1491	performed du- ring carnival, Akcessist Carl Kröner play- ed violin and «Flautino»
1736	<i>Catone in Utica</i>	P. Torri		5		6	1	1491	Akcessist Carl Kröner play- ed violin and «Flautino»

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Year	Composer	Rehearsals	Final rehearsal	Productions	Additional singers	Additional instrumentalists	D-Mhsa, Kurba- yern Hofählamt	Comments	
1753	<i>San Maurizio e compagni martiri</i>	A. G. Pampani	3 (7, 8, 9 Mar)	10 Mar	3 (11, 18 Mar, 3 Apr)	4 S, 4 A (Je- suit pupils), 2 «Instrumental Accessistens»	7	1710, Doc. 2828	performed du- ring Lent in the opera house, first rehearsal in Maxburg
1753	<i>S. Cipriano e S. Giustina</i>	?	3 (21, 22, 23 Mar)	24 Mar	2 (25 Mar, 8 Apr)	4 S, 4 A (Je- suit pupils), 2 «Instrumental Accessistens»	6	1710, Doc. 2828	performed du- ring Lent in the opera house
1753	<i>Climene pastorella</i>	?	2 (22, 25 Aug)	27 Aug	1 (29 Aug)	6 (Jesuit pupils)	6	1710, Doc. 2830	performed in Nymphenburg castle for the birthday of Elec- tress Maria Anna
1753	<i>Climene pastorella</i>	?		24 Sep	1 (25 Sep)	6 (Jesuit pupils)	6	1710, Doc. 2830	performed in the Salvator theatre
1754	<i>Temistocle</i>	A. Bernasconi	10 (3, 13, 14, 24, 29, 31 Dec 1753, 1, 2, 3, 5 Jan)	4 Jan	8 (6, 14, 22, 28, Jan, 4, 11, 18, 26 Feb)		22	1730, Doc. 2804	performed du- ring carnival
1754	oratorio	G. Zonca	3 (6, 13, 20 Feb)	1 Mar	6 (3, 6, 10, 13, 17, 26 Mar)	(Jesuit pupils)	12	1730, Doc. 2806	performed du- ring Lent in the opera house
1754	<i>La Betulia liberata</i>	A. Bernasconi	5 (13, 15, 16, 18, 20 Mar)	21 Mar	4 (21, 30 Mar, 2, 29 4 Apr)	(Jesuit pupils)	12	1730, Doc. 2806	performed du- ring Lent in the opera house
1754	<i>Temistocle</i>	A. Bernasconi	1 (27 Mar)	1 (28 Mar)			17	1730, Doc. 2806	performed during vi- sit of prince of Modena

ADDITIONAL MUSICIANS AT THE MUNICH COURT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Year	Composer	Rehearsals	Final rehearsal	Productions	Additional singers	Additional instrumentalists	D-Mhsa, Kurba- nian	Comments	
1754	<i>L'ozio figato dalla Gloria</i>	P. Onori	4 (17, 19, 22, 24 Jul)	25 Jul	2 (26 Jul, 7 Aug)	12 (Jesuit pupils)	8	1730, Doc. 2808	performed in the opera house for the name day of Electress Maria Anna
1754	<i>Il Baizet</i>	A. Bernasconi	15 (25, 26, 28 Sep, 1, 2, 4, twi- ce 5, 6, 7, twice 8, 9, 10 Oct, 9 Nov)	11 Oct	7 (12, 15, 20, 27 Oct, 10, 17, 23 Nov)		21	1744, Doc. 2859	performed for the name day of Elector Max III Joseph
1755	<i>Adriano in Siria</i>	A. Bernasconi	11 (3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 19, 23, 28, 30 Dec 1754, 1, 3 Jan)	4 Jan	7 (5, 13, 23, 27 Jan, 3, 9, 11 Feb)	17 (Jesuit pupils)	25	1744, Doc. 2861	performed du- ring carnival
1755	<i>La Betulia liberata</i>	A. Bernasconi	2 (13, 14 Feb)	15 Feb	3 (16, 19, 27 Feb)	18 (Jesuit pupils)	16	1744, Doc. 2862	performed du- ring Lent in the opera house
1755	«Abrahamo» (= <i>Isacco figura del Redentore</i>)	?	4 (18, 20, 21, 25 Feb)	1 Mar	4 (2, 5, 9, 12 Mar)	4 (Jesuit pupils)	16	1744, Doc. 2862	performed du- ring Lent, most probably in the opera house
1755	«Scipione» (= <i>Il trionfo della costanza</i>)	A. Bernasconi	3 (28 Jun, 1, 3 Jul)	4 Jul	2 (6, 11 Jul)	16 (Jesuit pupils)	11	1744, Doc. 2868	performed for the wedding of Maria Anna Jo- sepha of Bara- ria with Ludwig Georg of Baden-Baden

BERTHOLD OVER

Year	Composer	Rehearsals	Final rehearsal	Productions	Additional singers	Additional instrumentalists	D-Mhsa, Kurba- yern Hofälamt	Comments	
1755	<i>Diana placata</i>	G. B. Ferrandini 5 (6, 8, 9, 11, 13 Aug)	16 Aug	2 (16, 17 Aug, 3 Sep)		13	1744, Doc. 2869	performed in the opera house for the birthdays of Clemens August Elector of Colo- gne (17 Aug) and of Johann The- odor Bishop of Freising (3 Sep)	
1755	<i>Alessandro nell'Indie</i>	B. Galuppi	8 (26 Aug, 5, 16, 19, 24, 27 Sep, 6, 8 Oct)	10 Oct	4 (12, 15, 19, 26 Oct)		17	1744, Doc. 2871	performed for the name day of Elector Max III Joseph
1755	<i>Tenistode</i>	A. Bernasconi	4 (30, 31 Oct, 4, 7 Nov)	8 Nov	2 (9, 23 Nov)		18	1744, Doc. 2871	performed for the name day of Clemens August Elector of Colo- gne (23 Nov)
1762	<i>Tenistode</i>	A. Bernasconi	3 (11, 13, 15 Jan)	16 Jan	6 (18, 25 Jan, 4, 8, 15, 22 Feb)		23	1866, Doc. 3253	performed du- ring carnival
1763	<i>Artasense</i>	A. Bernasconi	3 (5, twice 7 Jan)	8 Jan	4 (10, 17, 24, 31 Jan)	18	24	1880, Doc. 2991	performed du- ring carnival
1763	<i>Artasense</i>	A. Bernasconi			1 (15 Feb)		24	1880, Doc. 2995	performed du- ring carnival
1764	<i>Olimpiade</i>	A. Bernasconi	4 (beginning on 10 Jan)	1	8 (premiere: 16 Jan, until 6 Mar)	36 (9 S, 9 A, 9 T, 9 B)	33	1896, Doc. 3272, 3273	performed du- ring carnival

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Year	Composer	Rehearsals	Final rehearsal	Productions	Additional singers	Additional instrumentalists	D-Mhsa, Kurba-	Comments	
1765	<i>Semiramide</i>	A. Bernasconi	5 (28, 29 Dec 1764, 3, 5, 15 Jan)	1	8 (7, 11, 16, 24, 29 Jan, 3, 11, 19 Feb)	36	38	1900/III, Doc. 90, 91	performed during the wedding festivities for Joseph II of Austria and Maria Josephina Antonia of Bavaria; children (42) and adult dancers (15)
1765	<i>Le nozze di Amore e di Norizia</i>	P. P. Sales	1 (12 Jan)	2 (12, 25 Jan)	36	11	1900/III, Doc. 90, 91	performed in the Kaisersaal during the wedding festivities for Joseph II of Austria and Maria Josephina Antonia of Bavaria	
1766	<i>Demofonte</i>	A. Bernasconi	4	5 (13, 24, 27 Jan, 7, 11 Feb)	48 (12 S, 12 A, 12 T, 12 B)	12	1900/IV, Doc. 161	1931, Doc. 3524 performed during carnival, originally only 36 singers employed, enlargement because of acoustical problems	

BERTHOLD OVER

Year	Composer	Rehearsals	Final rehearsal	Productions	Additional singers	Additional instrumentalists	D-Mhsa, Kurba- yern Hofählamt	Comments
1766	<i>Endimione</i>	P. A. Guglielmi	2 (25, 27 Aug)	1 (29 Aug)	30 (8 S, 8 A, 7 T, 7 B)	26	1931, Doc. 3526, performed in the opera house [for the birthday of the Electress Maria Anna]	
1767	<i>Endimione</i>	P. A. Guglielmi	1 (3 Jan)	2 (6, 12 Jan)	36 (9 S, 9 A, 9 T, 9 B)	42	1949, Doc. 3476, performed du- ring carnival	
1767	<i>Siroe</i>	T. Traetta	2 (15, 16 Jan)	17 Jan	8 (19, 26 Jan, 3, 9, 16, 24, 27 Feb, 3 Mar)	36	1949, Doc. 3480, performed du- ring carnival	
1768	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i>	A. Bernasconi	4 (29, 30 31 Dec 1767, 2 Jan)	5 Jan	7 (6, 11/15, 18/22, 25 Jan, 5, 11/12, 16 Feb)	36 (9 S, 9 A, 9 T, 9 B)	40	1965, Doc. 3516, performed du- ring carnival, rehearsal and performance da- tes differ
1769	<i>Antigono</i>	P. P. Sales	6 (19, 22, 23, twice 29 Dec 1768)	30 Dec 1768	7 (2, 6, 9, 16, 23 Jan, 3, 7 Feb)	46	1982, Doc. 3715, performed du- ring carnival, 20 Jesuit pupils for «sea travel» in first ballet	
1769	<i>Antigono</i>	P. P. Sales	2 (opera: 8 Apr, ballet: 10 Apr)	2 (11, 19 Apr)		46	1982, Doc. 3719 performed du- ring the visit of Clemens Wen- zeslaus of Saxo- ny, Archbishop of Trier	
1773	<i>Zenobia</i>	A. Tozzi	3 (23, 25, 29 Dec 1772)	31 Dec 1772	4 (6, 11, 18, 25 Jan)	24	2047, Doc. 3929 performed du- ring carnival	

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Year	Composer	Rehearsals	Final rehearsal	Productions	Additional singers	Additional instrumentalists	D-Mhsa, Kurba- ring Hofhant	Comments		
1773	<i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i> Chr. W. Gluck	13 (14, 21, 24, 26 Nov, 15, 19 Dec 1772, 8, 12, 15, 16, twice 23, 28 Jan)	2 Feb	5 (5, 9, 15, 19, 22 Feb)	44 (incl. «Posaunisten»)	17	2047, Doc. 3932, performed du- ring carnival, rehearsal dates differ, maybe se- parate rehearsals for orchestra and chorus	3933		
1774	<i>Achille in Sciro</i>	P. P. Sales	6 (15, 20, 23, 29, 30 Dec 1773, 5 Jan)	8 Jan	6 (10, 24, 31 Jan, 7, 14, 21 Feb)	48	27	2062, Doc. 3814, performed du- ring carnival, rehearsal dates differ, maybe se- parate rehearsals for orchestra and chorus	3816	
1774	<i>Il re pastore</i>	P. A. Guglielmi	? (began on 7 Jun)	9 Jun	2 (10, 16 Jun)	23	2062, Doc. 3814; 8 dance pupils	3816	for ballets	
1775	<i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	A. Tozzi	9	9	48	25	2081, Doc. 4352, performed du- ring carnival	4353		
1776	<i>Il trionfo di Clelia</i>	J. W. Michl	2 (2, 4 Jan)	6 Jan	7 (8, 15, 22, 29 Jan, 9, 12, 15 Feb)	30	18	2098, Doc. 4433, performed du- ring carnival		
1777	<i>Ezio</i>	J. Mislive ek	1	6		18, 2 «Flautini» 2115, Doc. 4533, performed du- ring carnival	4537			
						for ballet				

Appendix 2. Additional musicians in balls and the ‘Bauernhochzeit’.

Year	Event	Instrumentalists	D-Mhsa, Kurbayern Hofzahlamt
1751	Hofgarten ball, 6 Jan	29 (15 vl, 4 vc, 4 vne and cb, 4 ob, 2 bn)	1672, Doc. 2527
1752	ball in Hercules-Saal, 6 Jan	29 (15 vl, 4 vc, 4 vne, 4 ob, 2 bn)	1691, Doc. 2645
1753	Dreikönig ball, 4 Jan	28	1710, Doc. 2822
1753	masked ball in Kaisersaal, lasting 8 hours	41	1710, Doc. 2823
1753	Bauernhochzeit, 1 Mar	23	1710, Doc. 2824
1758	ball at small St. Hubertus hunt in Fürstenried	32	1795, Doc. 2827
1760	Freiball in opera house, 4 Feb	22	1829, Doc. 3048
1760	Bauernhochzeit	50 peasant musicians (``Pauren Spill=Leith``)	1829, Doc. 3052
1760	Königsball in Kaisersaal, 8 Jan	14	1829, Doc. 3057
1760	Bauernhochzeit, 13 Mar	25	1829, Doc. 3058
1760	Bauernhochzeit, 13 Mar (musicians on carriage)	23	1829, Doc. 3059
1761	Königsball in Kaisersaal, 6 Jan	19	1846, Doc. 3091
1762	Königsball in Kaisersaal, 6 Jan	19	1866, Doc. 3251
1763	Königsball in Kaisersaal, 6 Jan	19	1880, Doc. 2990
1765	Königsball in Kaisersaal, 6 Jan	28	1900/IV, Doc. 161
1765	Freiball in the «Thurnier Hauß», 8 Jan	23	1900/IV, Doc. 161
1765	Freiball, 8 Jan (bill from 31 Jan)	67	1900/IV, Doc. 152
1765	Bauernhochzeit, 10 Jan (musicians on carriages; bill from 12 Jan)	24	1900/IV, Doc. 160
1765	Bauernhochzeit in Kaisersaal, 10 Jan	28	1900/IV, Doc. 161
1765	Bauernhochzeit, 10 Jan (bill from 14 Jan)	60 peasant musicians (``Pauren pfeiffer``)	1900/IV, Doc. 159
1765	ceremonial ball («Zermonial Pääll») in Hercules-Saal, 13 Jan	24	1900/IV, Doc. 161
1765	Domino ball in opera house, 14 Jan	43 (incl. 14 «Semi- naristen», i.e. musi- cians from the Jesuit college)	1900/IV, Doc. 161
1765	ball after fireworks in Nymphenburg castle, 15 Jan	21	1900/IV, Doc. 161

ADDITIONAL MUSICIANS AT THE MUNICH COURT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Appendix 3. Musicians hired for festivities of the Munich court.

Name	Instrumentalist/ Singer	Year
Adamperger/Adamberger	S	1754, 1755
Adamberger, Valentin	S	1755
Albert	I	1755, 1758, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1765, 1774
Albert, junior	I	1769
Albert, Antoni	I	1764
Albert, Ignatius	I	1754, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767
Albert, Jacob	I	1765, 1766, 1767, 1768
Aliprandi	I	1774
Aliprandi, junior	I	1768, 1769
Aliprandi/Alleprandi, Franz	I	1766, 1767
Aliprandi/Alleprandi, Joseph	I	1766, 1767
Amprosi [Ambrosio?]	I	1758
Ander	S	1753
Angermiller, Johann	I	1735
Aufhauser	I	1753, 1774
Aufhauser, Joseph	I	1753
Auracher	S	1753
Bach, Joseph	I	1769
Bachmayr	I	1763, 1764, 1765
Baader/Paader	S	1754, 1755
Baader, Georg	S	1755
Baader, Gregori	S	1755
Bader	I	1774
Parth	I	1755
Bart/Baart, Joseph	I	1753, 1754, 1755
Basadoni	I	1760
Baur/Paur	S	1754, 1755
Baur, Antoni	S	1754
Baur, Carl	S	1755
Baur, Joseph	S	1754
Baur/Baaur, Vitalis	S	1753, 1755
Bellini	I	1753, 1755
Bellini, Carl	I	1754, 1755
Bich..., Michael	S	1735
Bisser (?), Michael	I	1753

BERTHOLD OVER

Name	Instru- mentalist/ Singer	Year
Bolz	I	1767, 1769
Bolz, Johann	I	1768
Bouk	S	1754
Bömb	I	1760
Bopelli/Boppeli/Bopelli/Popelli	I	1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1774
Bouresi/Burresi, Francesco	I	1735, 1758
Buechhofer	S	1754
Camerhueber	S	1754, 1755
Camerloher/Camerlocher	I	1753, 1758, 1760, 1765
Camerloher, Joseph	I	1735
Camerloher, Virgilius	I	1753
Cattenati/Catenati/Cardenati/Cartinati	I	1764, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1774
Christoph, Christoph	I	1753, 1754, 1755
Christoph, Michael/Michl	I	1754, 1755, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769
Cröner, Carl	I	1736
Cröner, Thomas	I	1753
Dauchmann, Ambrosius	I	1753
Diener, Niclas	I	1755
Dirr/Dir, Georg	I	1767
Doll	S	1755
Doll, Ignatius/Ignati	S	1735, 1736, 1753
Doll, Ignatius	I	1753, 1754
Dorsch	I	1774
Dubreil	I	1754
Dubreil, Carl	I	1753
Dubreil, Jacob	I	1763, 1765
Eckhardt	S	1735, 1736
Eder	I	1763
Eder, Antoni	I	1764, 1765
Eigensperger/Aiglsperger/Eiglsperger	S	1754, 1755
Eiglsperger, Adam	S	1755
Eiglsperger, Joseph	S	1755
Ellinger	S	1735, 1736
Embß	I	1766, 1767
Embß, Caspar	I	1768, 1769

ADDITIONAL MUSICIANS AT THE MUNICH COURT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Name	Instrumentalist/ Singer	Year
Faber	I	1774
Feichther, Georg	I	1767, 1769
Feiffer (?), Ernesto	I	1735
Phaifer	I	1774
Feinerman/Feinermann	I	1767, 1769, 1774
Fornarij	I	1755
Forstner	I	1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769
Frech (?), Joseph	I	1735
Freithofer/Freithover/Freithoffer/Freuthofer	S	1753, 1754, 1755
Freithofer, Caspar	S	1755
Fridl, Adam	I	1753
Fridl, Georg	I	1753
Fridl, Johann	I	1753
Fridl, Michael	I	1753
Fröhehl	S	1755
Gägäschu, Mohr	I	1753
Gansbeckh/Ganspeck, Leonhard	S	1735, 1736
Gerbl, Joseph	I	1764
Gigl	I	1766, 1767
Glonner	I	1765
Glonner, Peter	I	1758, 1760, 1761
Göbl	I	1758, 1760, 1762, 1763, 1764
Göbl, Joseph	I	1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1765
Golthammer	I	1763, 1764, 1765, 1767, 1768, 1769
Grienwalt/Grienwaldth	S	1753, 1754, 1755
Grill, Franz	I	1735
Grill, Jacob	I	1735
Grill, Johann	I	1765
Grill, Joseph	I	1769
Groß, Joseph	I	1753
Grueber	I	1760, 1774
Haimbhaußer/Haumbhaußer	I	1767
Haindl, Francesco	I	1754
Haingartmair	S	1755
Hammer, Michael	I	1769
Hassler, Michl	I	1767
Hautter, Petrus	S	1735

BERTHOLD OVER

Name	Instru- mentalist/ Singer	Year
Hechenthaller	S	1753
Hechenthaller, «altist»	S	1755
Hechenthaller	I	1758, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1774
Hechenthaller, Ignati	I	1753, 1755
Hechenthaller, Ignati	S	1755
Hechenthaller, Jacob	I	1765, 1766
Hechenthaller, Joseph	I	1765, 1766
Hechenthaller, Michl	I	1767, 1768, 1769
Heichel	S	1735, 1736
Heiß	I	1758, 1760
Heiß, Max	I	1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1768
Heiß, Philipp	S	1728
Heiß, Philipp	I	1735, 1753, 1765
Heller	I	1769, 1774
Heller, Joseph	I	1768
Hintermayr	I	1753
Hirschberger	S	1735
Höringer/Hieringer	S	1754
Hofer	S	1754
Hofman	I	1760, 1762, 1765, 1769
Hofmann, Franz Xaver	I	1753, 1754, 1758, 1760, 1762, 1763
Hofmann, Xaveri	S	1754
Hofmayr/Huefmayr	I	1760, 1762
Holtzbogen, Giorgio	I	1754, 1765
Hueber/Huber	S	1753, 1754
Hueber	I	1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1774
Hueber «Corregent»	I	1765
Hueber, Joseph	S	1753
Hueber, Leonhardt	I	1755
Hueber, Michl	S	1755
Humpl	I	1753, 1754, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769
Jandofscki	I	1765
Kaiser	I	1774
Caiser, And.	I	1765
Kaiser/Kaißer, Antoni	I	1753, 1758, 1760

ADDITIONAL MUSICIANS AT THE MUNICH COURT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Name	Instrumentalist/ Singer	Year
Kaiser/Kayser/Caiser, Michael/Michl	I	1753, 1754, 1758, 1760, 1765
Kaißer, Thomas	I	1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769
Keissler/Kistler (?),	I	1753
Keyßer, Ernst	I	1735
Kazmayr	I	1767
Kieffer, Maximilian	S	1735
Kiennner	I	1754, 1755, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769
Kiennner, Joseph	I	1755
Kirmayr	S	1754
Kirmayr	I	1764, 1765, 1767, 1768, 1769
Kyrmajr, Wolfgang	I	1754
Koch	I	1755, 1760
Koch, Antoni	I	1767, 1768
Koch, Joseph	I	1769
Kölbl, Augustin	I	1769
Kölbl, Joannes	S	1735
Kölbl, Johannes	I	1765
König, Leopold	I	1769
König/Könnig, Michl	I	1754, 1755
Kopolt, Antonius	I	1754
Köpflsperger	S	1754
Köstlinger	I	1758, 1761
Kornteur	S	1754
Chron, Franz	I	1760
Krugg	S	1754
Kumph, Ludovicus	I	1754
Labeck	I	1753
Läbickh (?) [Le Picque, Labeck?]	I	1753
Lang, Matthias	I	1735
Leimiger	S	1753
Lench	I	1774
Lichteisen (?), Michael	S	1736
Lidl	I	1760, 1761, 1762, 1765, 1774
Lidl, Antoni	I	1762, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769
Liegrunner/Lingrunner	I	1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769
Lindauer	I	1767, 1768, 1769
Lindinger, Jacob	I	1735

BERTHOLD OVER

Name	Instru- mentalist/ Singer	Year
Lindtner	I	1758, 1760, 1765
Lops (?)/Lobß	I	1753, 1765
Lorri	I	1755
Lorri, Antoni	S	1753
Lori/Lorri, Anton	I	1753, 1755, 1760
Ludtwig	I	1753, 1755
Ludwig/Ludtwig/Ludwickh, Bonaventura	I	1753, 1754, 1755
Mack, Blasius	S	1735
Mackh, Blasius	I	1753
Mader/Madar, Joseph	I	1769
Maister, Antonius	S	1735
Mayr	S	1753, 1754
Mayr/Majr	I	1760, 1765
Mayr, Andere [Andreas?]	I	1767
Mair, Bartlme/Bartolomeus	S	1753, 1755
Mayr, Ferdinand	I	1765
Mair, Johannes	I	1753
Mair, Joseph	S	1755
Mayr, Mathias	I	1753
Mayr, Xaveri	S	1754
Mayr, Xaveri	I	1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1768, 1769
Mellet	S	1735, 1736
Mellet, Maximilian	S	1735
Michl	I	1763, 1774
Michl/Michael, Joseph	I	1767, 1768, 1769
Michl/Michael, Virgili	I	1758, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768
Michlhammer	I	1767, 1768, 1769
Michlpaur	I	1763, 1764
Millpaur	I	1765
Miller	I	1766
Miller, Johann	I	1767, 1768, 1769
Mittermayr	I	1762, 1763, 1764
Morret, Andreas	S	1735
Moser	I	1760, 1767
Moser, Johann	I	1764, 1765
Mosmayr	I	1766

ADDITIONAL MUSICIANS AT THE MUNICH COURT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Name	Instrumentalist/ Singer	Year
Mosmayr, Johann	I	1755
Murman, Joseph	I	1735
Nagl	S	1755
Nagl, Antoni	I	1768, 1769
Neuman	I	1774
Neumayr	I	1768, 1769
Neumayr, Joseph	I	1753
Obermiller	I	1762, 1763, 1764
Ohl, Joseph Carl	S	1735
Oltman	S	1754
Oltman, Wolfgang	S	1753
Ominger	I	1760, 1761, 1762
Ostermayr	I	1764, 1765, 1768, 1769
Oßwaldt	I	1765
Painhardt	I	1767
Painhardt, Xaveri	I	1767
Bater/Pater/Patter	I	1753, 1758, 1765
Patter, Ferdinand	S	1735
Patter/Pater/Bater, Ferdinand	I	1753, 1760
Paull, Dominicus	S	1735, 1736
Pembsmayr (?)	I	1753
Pembsmayr, Joachim	I	1753
Pezel/Petzl/Betzl [Pez]	I	1760, 1761, 1774
Pichlmayr/Bichlmayr	I	1754, 1755, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1769
Pixner/Bixner (?)	I	1753, 1758, 1760, 1765
Pixner, Aloysi	I	1753
Pleps/Bleps/Blepbs	I	1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1768
Bleps, Joseph	I	1766
Bluemb	I	1758, 1774
Bluemb/Blumb, junior	I	1769
Bluemb, Ferdinand	I	1760, 1765
Pluem, Ludwig	I	1735
Pranger	I	1767, 1768, 1769
Preymayr/Breymayr	S	1754, 1755
Rädl	I	1753
Rädl, Casparus/Caspar	I	1753, 1754

BERTHOLD OVER

Name	Instru- mentalist/ Singer	Year
Radlmayr/Rädlmayr	I	1765, 1767, 1768, 1769
Ramlo	I	1774
Raßo	I	1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1767, 1768, 1769
Rebckhe, Johann	I	1753
Reiner, Felix	I	1754
Riechmayr (?)	S	1755
Riedtmayr	S	1736
Ringlstötter	I	1766, 1767, 1768, 1769
Ripfl	S	1753, 1754
Rischler	I	1753
Röbhiendl, Joannes	S	1735
Rödl, Joseph	I	1753
Rongeti [Ronchetti?]	I	1762, 1763
Rosmayr	S	1754
Rossi, Pietro	I	1754
Ruedolf	I	1753
Rumbl, Joseph	I	1765
Rumpfsperger	I	1758
Sailler, Georg	I	1765
Sautner	I	1753
Sautter, Franz	S	1735
Schampsdeburg, Anthoni/Johann Anton	S	1728, 1735, 1736
Schbertfeger, Petrus	S	1735
Schiling	I	1758
Schluderer	S	1754, 1755
Schmelcher	S	1755
Schmelcher, Dominicus	S	1753
Schmid	S	1753
Schmid	I	1754
Schmidt, Antoni	I	1768, 1769
Schmidt, Laurentius	I	1754
Schurz	I	1767
Sedlmayr	I	1763, 1764, 1765
Seidl/Seydl	S	1753, 1754, 1755
Seitz/Seiz	S	1754, 1755
Seiz, Andreas	S	1755

ADDITIONAL MUSICIANS AT THE MUNICH COURT IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Name	Instrumentalist/ Singer	Year
Sepert	I	1755
Simerl/Simeth	S	1753, 1754, 1755
Simerl, Martin	S	1753
Stadler	I	1774
Stadler, Caetan	S	1735, 1736
Stainab	I	1765, 1767
Stainab, Michl/Michael	I	1755, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1768, 1769
Starckh, Crispinus	I	1735
Steigenperger/Steignperger/Steigenberger	S	1755
Stickher, Georg	I	1769
Stimpfl	S	1754
Stimpfl, Franz Baul [Paul]	S	1753
Stolz, Johannes/Johann	I	1762, 1764, 1769
Stolz, Joseph	I	1768
Sutor/Suttor	S	1735, 1736
Sutor/Suttor	I	1760, 1762, 1763, 1769, 1774
Sutor, junior	I	1774
Sutor, Augustin	S	1753
Sutor/Suter, Joseph Augustin	I	1754, 1762
Sutor/Suter, Antonius	I	1754
Taper	I	1760, 1761
Taper, Ferdinand	I	1762, 1763
Thomas, Benno	I	1758, 1760
Threer	I	1768, 1769, 1774
Toste, Antoni	I	1768
Viedtmayr (?)	S	1735
Virgili	I	1765
Vogl	I	1760, 1762, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767
Vogl, Georgius	I	1754
Wastian, Michl	I	1753
Weber	S	1755
Weichlperger/Weichlberger	S	1753, 1754
Weickhoffer, Antoni	I	1735
Weigl/Waigl	I	1758, 1760, 1765
Weigl, Michl	S	1755
Weigl, Michl/Michael	I	1760, 1761, 1762, 1763
Werner	I	1763, 1764, 1765 1766, 1768

BERTHOLD OVER

Name	Instru- mentalist/ Singer	Year
Witner/Weidtner	I	1763, 1765, 1767
Widtner, Carl	I	1764, 1765
Widman	I	1774
Widtman, Xaveri	I	1769
Willer, Johann	I	1735, 1753
Wünckhler	I	1758, 1760
Winckhler/Wünckhler, Joseph	I	1735
Winklhofer, Anthoni	I	1735
Wißinger	S	1754
Wißmayr	S	1754
Wismayr, Georg	S	1753
Wodiczka	I	1758, 1760, 1765
Wodiczka, Joseph	I	1753
Wodiczka, Wilhelm	I	1762, 1763
Wöstermayr	S	1735, 1736
Wünckhlmayr	I	1755
Wunderlich	I	1753
Wunderlich, Ander	I	1735
Zech	S	1755
Zechetner	I	1753
Zecherter/Zechneter, Johann Georg	I	1735, 1753
Zeller, Johann	S	1735, 1736
Zennet, Gotthard	I	1755
Zepert/Zeppert	I	1755, 1758