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ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE MANNHEIM ORCHESTRA,
ca. 1740–1778

by EUGENE K. WOLF

The encomia are familiar, perhaps even overly familiar. From Charles Burney in 1773:

I cannot quit this article, without doing justice to the orchestra of his electoral highness [in Mannheim], so deservedly celebrated throughout Europe. I found it to be indeed all that its fame had made me expect: power will naturally arise from a great number of hands; but the judicious use of this power, on all occasions, must be the consequence of good discipline; indeed there are more solo players, and good composers in this, than perhaps in any other orchestra in Europe; it is an army of generals, equally fit to plan a battle, as to fight it.¹

From Daniel Schubart, writing in 1784/85:

Kein Orchester der Welt hat es je in der *Ausführung* dem Manheimer zuvorgethan. Sein Forte ist ein Donner, sein Crescendo ein Catarakt, sein Diminuendo – ein in die Ferne hin plätschernder Krystallfluss, sein Piano ein Frühlingshauch.²

And more prosaically – what would *not* sound prosaic after Schubart's cascade of metaphors? – from Leopold Mozart in 1763:

Das [Mannheimer] Orchester ist ohne Widerspruch das beste in Teutschland.³

As these and other quotations indicate, there seems to have been universal agreement in the eighteenth century concerning the superior quality of both the individual members and the ensemble execution of the Mannheim orchestra under Elector Palatine Carl Theodor (reigned in Mannheim 1743–78, in Munich 1778–99). Yet despite its fame, the Mannheim orchestra has never in fact received the full-scale scholarly study it deserves – nothing, for example, to compare with Robert Münster's studies of the Munich orchestra, which incorporated a majority of the Mannheim musicians after the court trans-

¹ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (London 1773), quoted from the mod. ed. by Percy A. Scholes, *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*, vol. 2: *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands* (London 1959), 35.

² „No orchestra in the world has ever surpassed that of Mannheim in performance. Its forte is like thunder, its crescendo a cataract, its diminuendo a crystal stream burbling into the distance, its piano a breath of spring.“ Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna 1806, written 1784/85), 130. All translations in the present article are my own unless otherwise indicated.

³ „The [Mannheim] orchestra is without question the best in Germany.“ Leopold Mozart, letter of July 19, 1763, as quoted in *Mozart, Briefe und Aufzeichnungen: Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Wilhelm Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, and Joseph Heinz Eibl, vol. 1 (Kassel 1962), 79.

ferred to Bavaria in 1778.⁴ Moreover, many published treatments of the electoral orchestra have been methodologically flawed, especially in their failure to distinguish carefully among the various types of evidence available to us. For this reason, I shall take special pains in what follows to outline how one can and cannot use the often meager source material that has survived from the palatine court.

I

The particular concern of the present essay is the size and makeup of the Mannheim orchestra *in performance*. Here a common error has been to confuse the size of the court's entire musical establishment or *Kapelle* with the size of an actual ensemble at the court. As Neal Zaslaw has pointed out, „It was the normal procedure in large musical organizations like those at Mannheim, Munich, or Salzburg to employ many more musicians than were needed for any given occasion“;⁵ a *Dienstplan* or system of rotation provided the actual assignments of the orchestral players and their leaders. Yet scholars have persisted in citing the full roster of Mannheim musicians, which should be thought of as representing a *maximum* number of available performers, as though it were synonymous with the actual orchestra led by Johann Stamitz

⁴ See especially Münster's article „Das Münchener *Idomeneo*-Orchester von 1781,“ in *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Idomeneo 1781–1981: Essays, Forschungsberichte, Katalog*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ausstellungskataloge, 24, ed. Rudolph Angermüller and Robert Münster (Munich 1981), 106–21. The only work known to me that purports to provide a full-scale study of the Mannheim orchestra, Mary Alyce Groman, *The Mannheim Orchestra under the Leadership of Christian Cannabich* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979), is based on a highly incomplete survey of the sources and contains too many errors to merit recommendation. Somewhat surprisingly, none of the articles in the recent volume *Die Mannheimer Hofkapelle im Zeitalter Carl Theodors*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Mannheim 1992), is devoted to the electoral orchestra *per se*.

⁵ Neal Zaslaw, „Mozart's Orchestra for *Idomeneo*,“ in *Proceedings of the International Mozart Symposium, November 18–20, 1991, Kunitachi College of Music, Tokyo*, ed. Bin Ebisawa (in press). I am grateful to Professor Zaslaw for sending me a pre-publication copy of this essay. See also his fundamental article „Toward the Revival of the Classical Orchestra,“ *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 103 (1976/77): 180, reprinted with an addendum in *The Garland Library of the History of Western Music*, ed. Ellen Rosand, vol. 7: *Classic Music* (New York 1985). Groman, *Mannheim Orchestra*, 73, touches briefly upon this problem, but her subsequent discussion neither addresses it in depth nor is free of errors (e.g., her assumption that the Hiller list of 1767 is based on direct observation of the orchestra and her statement that „only payroll-type lists indicate the presence of accessists by including their names and giving their salaries as 0 florins“ [p. 74]; unpaid accessists do not in fact appear in the Mannheim payment lists, and accessists are in fact included in the *Calender* and *Almanachs* beginning in 1767).

or Christian Cannabich.⁶ Though the size and composition of the two entities are obviously related, and each has importance in its own right, they cannot be equated, at least at a large and culturally active court like Mannheim.

Let us first consider the former subject, the size of the full electoral *Kapelle*. Here the principal source of information is the official *Chur-Pfältzischer Hoff- und Staats-Calender* or its French equivalent the *Almanach électoral palatin*, both published yearly by the court.⁷ Along with useful information on feasts, days, celebrations, and the like, the *Calender* provide a full listing of the organization and personnel of the court, including that of the *Hofmusik* and related divisions. *Calender* or *Almanachs* from Mannheim have now been found for all but one year between 1748 and 1778.⁸ Before that there exist only two *Calender*, from 1734 and 1736, plus a similar handwritten list from 1723.

A number of cautions must be sounded in dealing with the information in these and similar sources. In the first place, the musicians at Mannheim and other courts held appointments not only in the *Hofmusikstab* (court music staff) but in other administrative entities as well. This fact can lead to two opposite results. On the one hand, an important group of instrumentalists like the twelve (originally ten) electoral trumpeters and two timpanists, whose members often doubled on other instruments and who performed with the orchestra whenever needed, were not listed with the *Hofmusik* but rather with the *Oberstallmeisterstab* (equerry), since that is who paid their salaries. On the other hand, several of the musicians listed with the *Hofmusik* had responsibilities elsewhere and may have participated less fully in the orchestra than regular members, for example the dance-master Jean Duruel and the *répétiteurs* Gottfried Schöngé and Sigismund Falgera, who also appear as violinists in the *Calender*.

⁶ See, e.g., Adam Carse, *The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century* (Cambridge 1940), 23, 29. Carse's undifferentiated listings of orchestral makeup have been the source of frequent errors of this type. It may be noted here that Carse's date of „1720“ for the first of his Mannheim listings should be 1723 and that his figures for violas and for woodwinds plus horns are one too low. Groman, *Mannheim Orchestra*, 4, gives both Carse's „1720“ list – with its errors – and the correct 1723 list as though they were two separate listings.

⁷ A reproduction of the title page of the 1760 *Calender* appears in Roland Würtz, *Verzeichnis und Ikonographie der kurpfälzischen Hofmusiker zu Mannheim nebst darstellendem Theaterpersonal 1723–1803*, Quellenkataloge zur Musikgeschichte, 8 (Wilhelmshaven 1975), 21. Two pages from the 1748 *Calender*, anomalous in that it gives addresses for the musicians, are reproduced in Gabriele Busch-Salmen, „... Auch unter dem Tache die feinsten Wohnungen“: Neue Dokumente zu Sozialstatus und Wohnsituation der Mannheimer Hofmusiker,“ in Finscher, *Mannheimer Hofkapelle*, 33.

⁸ The most complete listing of the *Calender* and *Almanachs* to date, though one that still contains many gaps, is that in Würtz, *Verzeichnis*, 30–33. Other volumes have been located by Dr. Paul Corneilson (Madison, WI) and Drs. Bärbel Pelker and Jochen Reutter of the „Projekt Mannheimer Hofmusik“ of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, each of whom I would like to thank for supplying me with copies of issues I was lacking. The missing year, as will be apparent from an examination of Table 1 below, is 1753.

A second problem in dealing with the listings in the *Calender* is that many musicians who had long since retired continue to appear in the lists until their deaths, without any indication to that effect. For example, the concertmaster Carl Offhuis or Offthuis, who retired as early as the mid-1740s, is listed in the *Calender* for another twenty-five years. Likewise, Christian Cannabich's father, the flutist Matthias Cannabich, heads the list of flutists from the mid-1750s, when he retired, to his death in 1773. In these and other cases the number of available instrumentalists appears to be higher than it actually is. In Table 1, below, which provides information on the composition of the full electoral *Kapelle* between 1723 and 1778, musicians who are known to have been pensioned are omitted from the totals.

A third caution derives from the fact that, as is well known, Carl Theodor encouraged his musicians to travel, both for extended engagements elsewhere and for purposes of study. Thus Johann Stamitz was in Paris for the year 1754/55, giving concerts and conducting the orchestra of the *fermier général* La Pouplinière, while the young violinist and composer Johannes Ritschel spent the years 1758–62 in Italy, studying with Padre Martini. Yet the *Calender* for these years list both musicians without annotation. Clearly, the two problems just discussed – that of retirees and that of nonresident musicians – necessitate a thorough knowledge of the archival material of the court; one cannot simply give the personnel printed in *Calender* and *Almanachs* and expect the listing to have any practical validity.⁹

A final difficulty with the listings in the *Calender*, though one not as severe as in the case of payment lists, is that of the so-called *Accessisten* (modern German *Akzessisten*). These were young performers, often sons of court musicians, who played in the orchestra for little or no salary until a position became available. Somewhat equivalent to apprentices in the guild system, they may be referred to in English as „probationers“ or (my term) „accessists.“ Because accessists were sometimes quite young – Christian Cannabich was one by the age of thirteen – they would presumably have played less regularly in certain cases than full-fledged members of the *Kapelle*. The other problem for the scholar arises from the fact that before 1767 the Mannheim *Calender* do not specify which musicians are accessists. In general, the last three to five of the violinists may be assumed to be such, based on information contained in several payment records (to be considered below) and on the listings after 1767. But just how to „discount“ the totals based on this information will remain a matter of informed speculation.

⁹ More complete knowledge of such matters as dates of appointment, promotion, and retirement at the Mannheim court will doubtless emerge as a result of the extensive archival and bibliographical work presently being carried out at the „Projekt Mannheimer Hofmusik“ in Heidelberg (see fn. 8).

Two other useful personnel listings were printed by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg in 1756 and Johann Adam Hiller in 1767.¹⁰ Though Marpurg's list of musicians in the *Historisch-kritische Beyträge* for 1756 is similar to that of the 1756 *Calender*, it is more analytical in distinguishing between pensioners and active employees and in making clear the division of responsibilities at court among the different *Kapellmeister*, directors, and concertmasters. Thus Johann Stamitz's title is given by Marpurg as *Concertmeister und Director der Instrumental-Kammermusik*, while that of Alexander Toeschi is *Director der Instrumental-Kirchenmusik*; in the *Calender* they appear merely as *Instrumental-Music-Director* and *Concert-Meister*, respectively. Marpurg also distinguishes between the first and second violinists and between two *Violoncellisten* and two *Ripienvioloncellisten*. Especially informative is the fact that Marpurg appears to list the musicians in their actual seating order rather than by length of service, as in the *Calender*. By contrast, Hiller's roster in the *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* for 1767 is similar to those of the electoral *Calender* for 1765 and 1766 and doubtless derived directly from them.¹¹

As we have seen, the listings of musicians in sources like the *Calender* tend to give a somewhat inflated picture of the size of the *Hofkapelle*. Precisely the opposite effect can occur with the other principal type of evidence available to us, the payment lists or annual budgets of the court: because musicians may be paid from many different sources, not just the *Hofmusik*, the scholar must always study the entire budget of the court to glean information about the various musicians available in any given year. Moreover, the lists themselves are often vague and require much supplementary information; after all, their concerns were primarily budgetary. The payment lists for 1744 and 1745, years for which no *Calender* exist, provide an all too glaring case in point.¹² The section for the *Hofmusikstab* lists only eleven „Violinisten.“ But it turns out, as annotated in Table 1, that this list includes one known cellist and three double bassists.¹³ (No other string players are given.) Hence, external evidence forces us to reduce the number of violinists from eleven to seven (plus the two concertmasters) – a seemingly meager complement, even for the war years of 1744–45.

¹⁰ Precise citations for these and other sources appear in fn. a of Table 1, below.

¹¹ On the Hiller list see also Table 1, fn. o.

¹² Citations for these and the other extant payment lists will be found in Table 1, fn. a, under (2).

¹³ The cellist is „Beroni“ (Carl Peroni), the bassists [Georg Wenzel] Ritschel, [Jacob] Halsegger, and [Georg Anton] Hönisch.

Table 1: Number of Orchestral Personnel in Mannheim, 1723–1778

Date	Source ^a	Dir.,CM ^b	Vn.	Va.	Vc.	Cb.	Fl.	Ob.	Cl.	Bn.	Hn.	Tr. ^c	Ti. ^c	Org. ^d
1723	Hofstaat	0, 1	11	3	2	3	—9 ^e —			2	3			2
1734	<i>Cal.</i>		4	1	1	3	—6 ^e —			3	5			2
1736	<i>Cal.</i>		6	2	3 ^f	2 ^f	—5 ^e —			3	5			2
1744 ^g	Bes.	0, 2	7 [-13]	0 [-2]	2 [-3] ^f	2 ^f	2	2		1	5 [4]	1 [2]	1	2
1745 ^g	Bes.	0, 2	7 [-13]	0 [-2]	2 [-3] ^f	2 ^f	2	2		1	4	1 [2]	1	2
1748	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	13	2	4+1 ^h	2	2	2		2	3			2
1749	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	13	2	4+1 ^h	2	3	2		2	3			2
1750	<i>Alm.</i>	0, 2	13	2	4	2	3	2		2	3			2
1751	<i>Cal.</i>	1, 1	14	2	4	2	3	2		2	5			2
1752	<i>Cal.</i>	1, 1	12	2	4	2	3	2		2	4			2
1754 ⁱ	<i>Cal.</i>	1, 1	12	3	4	2	4 [-2]	3		3	4			2
1755 ⁱ	<i>Cal.</i>	1, 1	14	4	5 [4]	2	4 [-2]	3		3	4			2
[1756	<i>Cal.</i>	1, 1	19 [18] ^j	4	4	2	2	3		3	4			2
1756 ^k	Marpurg	2	9+9	4	2+2	2	2	2		2	4			2
1757	<i>Alm.</i>	1, 1	21	4	4	2	2	3		3	4			2
1758	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 1	20 ^l	4	4	1	2	3		3	4			2
[1759 ^m	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	16	5	4	2	2	3	2	3	4			2
1759 ^m	Bes.	0, 2	16 [14]	1 [5]	2+2	2	2	4		3	2			2
1760	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	18 ⁿ	5	4	2	2	3	2	3	4			2
1761	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	20 ⁿ	4	4	2	2	3	2	3	4			2
1762	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	22	4	4	2	2	3	2	3	4			2
1763	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	22	4	4	2	3	3	2	3	6	4		2
1764	<i>Cal.</i>	1, 2	19	4	3	2	3	4	2	4	5	4		1
1765	<i>Cal.</i>	1, 2	17	4	3	2	3	3	2	4	5	4		1
1766	<i>Cal.</i>	1, 2	17	4	3	2	3	3	2	4	5	4		2
[1767 ^o	Hiller	0, 2	8+8	4	2	2	3	3	2	4	5			1
1767 ^p	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	16	4	3	3	3	3	2	4	7	4		2
1768	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	16	4	3	3	3	3	2	4	7	4		2
1769	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	16	4	3	3	3	3	2	4	7	4		2
1770	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	17	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	7	4		2
1771	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	17	6	4	3	3	5	4	4	6	4		2
1772	<i>Alm.</i>	0, 2	18	6	4	3	3	3	4	5	6	4		2
1773	<i>Cal.</i>	0, 2	19 ^q	7	4	3	3	3	4	4	6	4		3
1774	<i>Cal.</i>	2, 2 ^r	16 ^q	7	4	3	3	3	4	4	6	7		3
1775	<i>Cal.</i>	2, 2	19 ^q	4 ^s	4	3	3	3	4 ^s	4	6	7		3
[1776	<i>Cal.</i>	2, 2	17 ^q	4 ^s	4	3	3	3	4 ^s	4	6			3
1776	<i>Alm.</i>	2, 2	18 ^q	4 ^s	4	3	3	3	4 ^s	4	6			3
[1776 ^t	Bes.	2, 2	17	1 [3] ^s	4	3	3	3	3 ^s	4	5 [6]			2
1777	<i>Cal.</i>	2, 2	18 ^q	4 ^s	4	3	3	3	4 ^s	4	6			2
[1778 ^u	<i>Cal.</i>	2, 2	21	3	4	3	4	3	4	4	6			2
1778	Status	2, 2	21	3	4	3	4	3	3	4	6			2

Footnotes to Table 1:

- ^a Sources: (1) *Alm.* = *Almanach électoral palatin*. (2) *Bes.* = yearly *Besoldungsdesignationen* (payment lists or budgets) for 1744 and 1745, Karlsruhe, Badisches Generallandesarchiv, 77/1648 and 1647; the „Music Staabs Lista“ of July 28, 1759, *ibid.*, 77/6193, fols. 51–52, printed in Friedrich Walter, *Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am kurpfälzischen Hofe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898), 344 (with incorrect call number; I am grateful to Dr. Bärbel Pelker for supplying me with the correct citation); and the comparative „Besoldungs Status. / der Hof und Kapell Music / in / Pfalz ... de anno 1776 ... [, in] Baiern ... de Anno 1777,“ Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (formerly in Staatsarchiv für Oberbayern), HR I, 457/13. (3) *Cal.* = *Chur-Pfältzischer Hoff- und Staats-Calender* (title varies; 1734 and 1736 eds. = *Chur-Pfältzischer Staats- und Stands-Calender*). (4) Hiller = Johann Adam Hiller, *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* 2 (1767): 167–68. (5) Hofstaat = „Titel und Nahmen Buch von Ihrer Churfürstlichen Durchleucht zu Pfaltz Gesammten Hofstatt“ (MS, 1723), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 1665. (6) Marpurg = Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* 2 (1756): 567–70. (7) Status = „Status / Sämtlicher bei der Churfürstl. Hof Music in Mannheim sich befindenden ... Personen“ (August 6, 1778), Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, HR I, 457/13.
- ^b Dir. = Director (usually „Director [*sic*] der Instrumentalmusik“); CM = Concertmaster (usually „Concert-Meister“ or „Concertmeister“). Only personnel of this rank who were violinists are included in column 3; the numbers in this column should therefore be added to those in column 4 to obtain the total number of violinists at the court in any given year, though only one of these musicians would presumably be present at many (most?) performances. In the 1736 *Calender* the violinist Carl Off(t)huis is named as both „Vice-Concert-Meister“ and as the first of the six violinists; I have chosen to list him in the latter capacity. Under 1764–66 the first digit refers to the composer and violinist Johannes Ritschel (d. 1766), whose title was vice-Kapellmeister. It should be noted that here and throughout this table, instrumentalists known to have retired are not included in the totals. Those away on travels are included, but with an annotation to that effect.
- ^c Tr. = trumpet, Ti. = timpani. Here as elsewhere in Table 1, only those musicians paid through the *Hofmusikstab* are included. Trumpeters and timpanists were supplied as needed by the *Oberstallmeisterstab* (equerry), which provided positions for an *Obertrompeter*, twelve *Hoftrompeter* (ten in 1723), and two *Hofpauker*. Many of these musicians doubled on other instruments, receiving an additional stipend from the *Hofmusikstab*.
- ^d Those holding the position of „organist“ at Mannheim evidently supplied the keyboard parts for orchestral performances unless a keyboardist such as Holzbauer or Vogler was conducting. It may be noted here that a theorbist is included in the 1723, 1734, and 1736 listings and that one or two lutenists appear through 1754.
- ^e In the 1723, 1734, and 1736 listings the flutists and oboists are grouped together under the rubric „Hautboisten.“ At least two of the musicians named in each of these lists are flutists.
- ^f The 1736 *Calender* includes Jacob Halsegger, given as a bassist in 1723 and 1734, among the cellists; he is also designated as a cellist in an electoral rescript of January 28, 1745, that reports his death (Karlsruhe, Badisches Generallandesarchiv, 77/1660, fol. 3). The figures given in columns 6–7 assume that he did indeed function as a cellist after 1734.
- ^g In the *Besoldungsdesignationen* for 1744 and 1745 all the string players are listed together as „violinists“ and the flutists and oboists together as „oboists“; the statistics given here separate them by instrument. The numbers in brackets include other string players at court who were not listed with the *Hofmusik* in these two documents (i.e., who were paid through other budgets). The concertmaster Carl Offhuis, who had evidently retired by September of 1744, still appears with full pay in both these lists and is included in column 3. I have omitted him thereafter, however (he continues to appear in the *Calender* until 1769).
- ^h The 1748 and 1749 *Calender* list four cellists and one „Bassettel-Geiger,“ the latter grouped here with the cellists (cf. fnn. k and m, below).
- ⁱ No *Calender* or *Almanach* has been found for the year 1753. Johann Stamitz, appointed director of instrumental music in February of 1750, was in Paris for the season 1754/55. The

increase in the number of violists from two in 1752 to three and then four in 1754–55 results from the addition of violists who also served as official court copyists; such violists/copyists are listed with the violas until 1775 (see fn. s, below). The number 2 in brackets in the flute column for 1754 and 1755 indicates the possible retirements during that time of Nicolaus Lerch and Matthias Franz (Martin Friedrich) Cannabich, both of whom had definitely retired by 1756 (and are therefore omitted from the totals given here after that date). Cannabich continues to be listed in the *Calender* and *Almanachs* until his death in 1773. The number 4 in brackets in the cello column for 1755 reflects the probable departure from service of Carl Peroni in that year.

- ^j The violinist Angelo Gagi died in 1755, probably after the *Calender* had been prepared.
- ^k Marpurg divides the violins equally into firsts and seconds and the cellists into „Violoncellisten“ and „Ripienvioloncellisten.“ He actually lists ten first and ten second violins, the former headed by Johann Stamitz, the latter by Franz Xaver Richter, whom he mistakenly includes here rather than with the (vocal) basses at the top of the same page. Richter is never otherwise identified as a violinist.
- ^l Johannes Ritschel was in Italy in 1758–62; his name appears in the *Calender* during that period but not in the payment list of 1759. The „premier violon“ Dominicus Basconi died in May of 1758 and the concertmaster Alexander Toeschi in October of the same year. A year before that Johann Stamitz had died, as well (in late March).
- ^m In the wake of the various deaths enumerated in the previous footnote, Christian Cannabich and Joseph Toeschi were appointed co-concertmasters in 1759, positions they retained until they became „Directores“ in 1774 (see fn. r). Of the last five violinists listed in the 1759 *Calender*, the first three are grouped separately under „Accessisten“ in the 1759 payment list; hence the remaining two doubtless were accessists also (presumably without payment, as they do not appear in the payment list). The figures given in columns 6–7 correct the mistaken inclusion of the contrabassist Joseph Ressler among the cellists in the *Calender* and *Almanach* listings for 1759. The 1759 payment list includes two violists among the violinists, and two others are given separately as copyists. This list also divides the cellists into two „Violoncellist[en]“ and two „Bassetlist[en],“ the latter the same individuals designated by Marpurg in 1756 as ripieno cellists (see fn. k, above).
- ⁿ These figures include the violinist Franz Wendling, who was in Italy for one year in 1760/61.
- ^o Hiller's listing of 1767 (see fn. a, no. 4) comes closest to those of the *Calender* for 1765 and 1766 but is identical to neither. For example, Hiller omits the name of the former vice-Kapellmeister Johannes Ritschel, who died in March of 1766.
- ^p The 1767 *Calender* is the first to indicate which instrumentalists are accessists – here one cellist and three hornists – though the designation of accessists is rather haphazard at first (e.g., no violinists are so labeled in 1767–69, though two of the same musicians appear among the four accessist violinists in the 1770 *Calender*). The number of accessist violinists rises to five in 1775–78.
- ^q These figures include Wilhelm Cramer, who left for London in 1772, where he remained. He appears in the *Calender* and one *Almanach* until 1777 but is omitted from the payment list of 1776.
- ^r In 1774 Cannabich and Joseph Toeschi were appointed directors (of instrumental music and „Cabinetmusik,“ respectively), their positions as concertmasters being taken over by Johann Toeschi and Ignaz Fränzl.
- ^s From 1775 onward the three copyists are finally given a separate listing, reducing the number of violists to the more realistic figure of four and then three. In addition, in the *Calender* for 1775–78 Thaddäus Hampel is listed as both a violist and a clarinetist; in the „Besoldungs Status“ of 1776 he appears only as a clarinetist, in the „Status“ of 1778 only as a violist.
- ^t The „Besoldungs Status“ of 1776 lists two known violists with the violinists, but does not include three other violinists at the court, Gottfried Schöngge (paid as a trumpeter through the *Oberstallmeisterstab*) and the unpaid accessists Franz Heroux and Johann Baptist Geiger (the latter listed in the *Almanach* but not the *Calender* for 1776); it does, however, include the violinist Paul Grua, who never appears in any *Calender* or *Almanach*. Under clarinet the list includes [Thaddäus] Hampel (see also fn. s), but excludes the unpaid accessist Franz Wilhelm

Tausch. In the horn column the figure of five rather than six hornists reflects the fact that, according to the „Status“ of 1778, the hornist Joseph Ziwini was paid entirely through the „Chatouille“ budget.

- ^u One additional listing, published in Johann Nikolaus Forkel's *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1782* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1782), 123–26, is identical with the list in the 1778 *Calender* except for a few errors and variant spellings.

But study of the full *Besoldungsdesignationen*, together with archival and other information about the musicians at court, allows us to re-expand that number significantly, as indicated by the figures in brackets under 1744 and 1745 in Table 1. One additional violinist was the aforementioned dance-master Jean Duruel, who was paid through the *Oberstallmeisterstab* (!). At least one and probably two more were Christian Cannabich and his brother, who according to a petition of May 1744 had already been appointed *Scholaren* or accessists in the *Kapelle*.¹⁴ A fourth was Jacob Cramer, listed as a timpanist in 1744–45 but primarily a violinist and copyist. And finally, the listing by name in the *Besoldungsdesignationen* of the normally anonymous trumpeters and timpanists of the *Oberstallmeisterstab* shows that many are recognized performers on other instruments who doubled on trumpet or timpani, including two violinists, one violist, and one cellist.¹⁵ Though evidently paid at this point through the *Oberstallmeisterstab*, not the *Hofmusikstab*, these musicians would certainly have been available on their primary instruments for service in the orchestra. In sum, the meager number of string players given in the payment lists for these years furnishes a completely false picture of the size and composition of the *Kapelle*, illustrating once again the dangers of uncritical use of such documents.

Unfortunately, in the case of Mannheim there exists a still more basic problem with the use of payment lists, namely that very few have survived. Aside from the two just discussed, the only extant lists are (1) one for 1759;¹⁶

¹⁴ Karlsruhe, Badisches Generallandesarchiv, 77/1657, fol. 1; see also Jean K. Wolf, „Christian Cannabich,“ in *The Symphony at Mannheim: Johann Stamitz, Christian Cannabich*, ed. Eugene K. and Jean K. Wolf, ser. C, vol. 3 of *The Symphony, 1720–1840*, ed. Barry S. Brook et al. (New York 1984), xlii. Friedrich Walter, *Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am kurpfälzischen Hofe* (Leipzig 1898), 211, gives the date of this document incorrectly as May 6.

¹⁵ The violinists are [Johann Philipp] Bohrer and Wilhelm Sepp (the latter only appears in the 1745 list; both are listed as violists beginning in 1759), the violist [Ferdinand] Fränzl, and the cellist Wilhelm Friedel. In addition, [Joseph] Götz, listed as a hornist with the *Hofmusik* and a trumpeter with the *Oberstallmeisterstab* in the 1744 and 1745 budgets, is given as a violist from 1748 until his death in 1758 and would doubtless have been available on that instrument when needed.

¹⁶ This list is printed in its entirety in Walter, *Geschichte*, 344. The number of the fascicle in the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe given by Walter is incorrect; the correct number, 77/6193, was kindly sent to me by Dr. Bärbel Pelker of the „Projekt Mannheimer Hofmusik.“

(2) one for 1776, not a true budget but rather a detailed comparative listing, with salaries, of the personnel of the *Hofmusik* in Mannheim in 1776 and Munich in 1777;¹⁷ and (3) the celebrated *Status* of 1778 showing the planned organization of the entire *Hofmusik* after transfer of the court to Munich. As shown in Table 1, the 1759 list differs from that in the *Calender* most notably in its handling of the violas, two of whom are listed with the violins and two as copyists alone. The payment list also omits two of the violinists found at the end of the *Calender* listing, undoubtedly because they were unpaid accessists. Similarly, Johannes Ritschel, in Italy at the time, appears in the *Calender* but not in the payment list. The 1776 list reveals similar discrepancies by comparison with the *Calender*, for example the continued inclusion of the violists Wilhelm Sepp and Johann Philipp Bohrer among the violins (cf. Table 1, fn. t, and also fn. 15, above). In contrast to the 1759 and 1776 lists, the names in the detailed *Status* of 1778 match those in the *Calender* quite closely; like the 1776 list, the *Status* was not an official yearly budget for the entire court, but rather a comprehensive organizational plan showing which musicians were following the court to Munich, which were remaining behind in Mannheim, and the precise source of each musician's salary and other emoluments.

II

Keeping in mind the various red flags I have raised, let us now consider briefly what the different types of evidence just discussed tell us about the constitution of the *Hofkapelle* at Mannheim. Though I have emphasized the distinction between the size of the full roster of the *Kapelle* and that of the orchestra on a particular occasion, the former is neither unimportant nor lacking in relevance to the latter. Obviously, the makeup of the full *Kapelle* is of intrinsic interest, both historically and sociologically. More tangibly, the number of instrumentalists in any given category represents a sort of flexible ceiling on the number of musicians participating in any specific performance, as I have already mentioned.

Lastly, and doubtless more arguably, the *proportions* among these totals may, if used with care, provide an approximate notion of the *relative* size of the sections of an actual orchestra. Thus, it seems valid to cite as evidence indicative of actual orchestral size the changing ratios of cellists to bassists shown in Table 2, part a; these ratios, derived from the figures given in Table 1, remain a high 4 or 5:2 in the years 1748 to 1763, after which they drop to 3:2 and later 3:3 (2:2 in Hiller) before stabilizing at 4:3 in 1770.

¹⁷ A full reproduction of this undated document, which like the *Status* was probably prepared in conjunction with the move from Mannheim to Munich, appears in Roland Würtz, „Die Organisation der Mannheimer Hofkapelle,“ in Finscher, *Mannheimer Hofkapelle*, 40–43.

Similarly, it is suggestive that during the same early period, 1748–63, the number of violinists increases sharply, from an average of fourteen through 1755 to an average of twenty-one for the period 1756–63 (both figures including one concertmaster). As shown in Table 2b, this reflects a proportional increase in the number of violins versus the number of cellos and basses combined from 2.2 or 2.3:1 through the year 1755 to over 3:1 thereafter, where it remains until departure of the court for Munich in 1778. The ratio of strings to woodwinds also increases during this time, from about 2.3:1 in 1748–55 to 2.8:1 in 1756–78; the increase is more moderate if horns are included (see Table 2d–e).

Table 2: Comparative Ratios of Various Sections

<i>a. Ratio of Cellos to Basses, Full Kapelle</i>	
<u>1748–1763</u>	<u>1764–1778</u>
4–5:2 = 2–2.5:1	3:2, 3:3 (2:2 Hiller), 4:3 = 1–1.5:1
<i>b. Ratio of Violins to Cellos/Basses, Full Kapelle</i>	
<u>1748–1755 (average 14 violins)</u>	<u>1756–1778 (average 19 violins)</u>
2.2–2.3:1	3.1:1
<i>c. Ratio of Violins to Cellos/Basses, Sacred Performances</i>	
<u>Mozart Report, Mass of Nov. 1, 1777</u>	<u>Holzbauer Masses (estimated)</u>
20–22:8 = 2.5–2.75:1	16:6 = 2.67:1
<i>d. Ratio of Strings to Woodwinds, Full Kapelle</i>	
<u>1748–1755</u>	<u>1756–1778</u>
2.2–2.4:1	2.8:1
<i>e. Ratio of Strings to Woodwinds plus Horns, Full Kapelle</i>	
<u>1748–1755</u>	<u>1756–1778</u>
1.6–1.7:1	1.9:1

Note: The figures for violins given above include one concertmaster.

The lack of full documentation at Mannheim before 1748 makes it difficult to draw meaningful conclusions about the evolution of the *Kapelle* during its early years. The first known listing dates from 1723, three years after the Elector Palatine Carl Philipp, Carl Theodor's uncle, moved his court from Heidelberg to Mannheim. As outlined in Table 1, this list shows a moderate-sized orchestral complement of thirty-six performers including one theorbist and two organists, to which we may add the trumpeters and timpanists of the equerry. I might mention here that the position of organist at Mannheim was the only one devoted specifically to a keyboard instrument; one of these musicians must have served as harpsichordist in the orchestra. The only real anomaly in the 1723 list is the presence of nine musicians labeled as *Hautboisten*; two of these can in fact be identified as flutists, Matthias Franz Cannabich (given in the *Calender* as „Martin Friedrich“ Cannabich through 1756) and Nicolaus Lerch.

In the *Staats- und Stands-Calender* of 1734 and 1736 the number of orchestral players has shrunk drastically: the violinists have gone from eleven in 1723 to four and six in 1734 and 1736 (though additional violinists were undoubtedly available from other sources), while the „oboists“ have been reduced from nine to six and then five (still including at least two flutists). Perhaps the vast expenditures incurred by Carl Philipp in constructing the Mannheim palace, which was not completed until 1741, were reflected in the reduced size of the *Kapelle*. However that may be, by 1744–45, two years after the ascendancy of the new elector Carl Theodor and three years after the arrival in Mannheim of Johann Stamitz, the number of string players had rebounded to approximately the 1723 level, at least if one accepts my emendations to the payment lists from those years. Also noteworthy is the more up-to-date division of the woodwinds into two flutes, two oboes, and one bassoon and the omission of a theorbist.

The year 1748, the next for which we have a *Calender* or other listing, marks the end of the War of the Austrian Succession, in which Carl Theodor was an active participant. From that date until 1755 the number of string players remains generally stable. As already observed in our discussion of Table 2b, the violins average about thirteen in addition to the concertmaster, as opposed to four or five cellos and two basses. The violas, which number two until at least 1752, increase to three and then four in 1754–55; but the two additional players (Johann Lochner and „Reinhard“, first name unknown) are also the official court copyists and may have been required to perform less often. All the winds eventually show an increase of one player during the same period, bringing the total number of orchestral players, minus trumpets and timpani, to some forty-one in 1755; this compares with a total of thirty-five in 1748.

The next two years, 1756 and 1757, are the last two of Johann Stamitz's reign as concertmaster and director of instrumental music. As stated already, these years reveal a significant increase in the number of violins in the *Kapelle*, from twelve or fourteen to eighteen and then twenty-one; this brings the complement of violins to approximately the size it was to have for the next twenty years under the direction of Christian Cannabich, during which the number of violinists fluctuated between sixteen and as many as twenty-two (depending in part on the number of accessists admitted to the orchestra). It is difficult to avoid relating this increase to Johann Stamitz's return from Paris after his sojourn there in 1754/55, during which he was exposed to large orchestras like that of the Concert Spirituel. In any event, it is striking that most of the changes that take place from now on are gradual and incremental – for example, the previously mentioned reduction from four to three cellos in 1764 (and back to four in 1770), the addition of another bassoon in the same year, and the addition of a third double bass in 1768. These changes eventually bring the number of orchestral players at court from forty-seven in 1757, at the end of Stamitz's tenure, to a total of about fifty-seven in the years 1771–78,

at the height of Cannabich's leadership.

One of the more significant innovations, probably again traceable to Johann Stamitz's stay in Paris, is the addition of a pair of clarinets in 1758.¹⁸ However, several of the other apparent increases in size can easily be explained by external circumstances. For instance, the jump in the number of horns from five to seven in 1767 merely reflects the addition of two accessists, not any permanent increase in size. Likewise, the large number of violists in the years 1771–74 again results from the inclusion of the viola-playing court copyists – two in 1772, three in 1773 and 1774 – before they are finally given a separate listing beginning in 1775. At this point the number drops back to four and eventually three, surely a more reasonable indication of how many violists might actually have been present on any given occasion. And finally, beginning in 1763 the names of four *Chortrompeter* active in the *Hofmusik* begin to be included in the *Calender*, increasing to eight (with one vacancy) in 1774 and 1775; after that the trumpeters again disappear from the *Hofmusik* lists. Nonetheless, the conclusion seems inescapable that the basic size and makeup of the Mannheim *Hofkapelle*, or rather of the orchestral component of it, were to a large extent established during the final two years of Johann Stamitz's directorship.

III

Our greatest practical interest naturally centers on the actual size of a Mannheim orchestra, that is, on the number of musicians who would actually have performed on any given occasion. Here, sad to say, direct documentary evidence in the form of official *Dienstpläne* (or other lists) or of contemporary descriptions is almost completely lacking. The only eyewitness report known to me that provides specifics on the number of players is in fact the oft-quoted letter of Mozart written to his father on November 4, 1777, five days after he and his mother had arrived at Mannheim. On November 1, All Saints' Day, Mozart had attended high mass in the court chapel, at which a mass by Georg Joseph Vogler was performed. He writes to his father as follows:

Nun Muss ich von der hiesigen Musick reden. Ich war sammstag am allerheiligen tag in der kapelle in Hochamnt. Das orchestre ist sehr gut und starck. Auf jeder seite 10 bis 11 violin, 4 bratschn, 2 oboe, 2 flauti und 2 Clarinetti, 2 Corni, 4 violoncelle, 4 fagotti und 4 Contrabassi und trompetten und Paucken. Es läst sich eine schöne Musick machen ...¹⁹

¹⁸ Clarinets were probably present at Mannheim before that date, however; see my book *The Symphonies of Johann Stamitz: A Study in the Formation of the Classic Style* (Utrecht 1981), 293, 343 (nn. 15–16).

¹⁹ „Now I must tell you about the music here. On Saturday, All Saint's Day, I was at High Mass in the court chapel. The orchestra is very good and strong. On each side [of the organ] there are ten or eleven violins, [plus] four violas, two oboes, two flutes, two clarinets, two horns, four cellos, four bassoons, four double basses, and trumpets and timpani. They can make lovely music.“ Mozart, *Briefe* 2:101; Engl. trans. after Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 2d ed. by A. Hyatt King and Monica Carolan (London 1966), 355–56.

The figures given by Mozart are reproduced in Table 3.

Table 3: The Mannheim Orchestra at High Mass on All Saints' Day, 1777, as Reported in Mozart's Letter of November 4

Cond. or CM	Vn. 1	Vn. 2	Va.	Vc.	Cb.	Fl.	Ob.	Cl.	Bn.	Hn.	Tr.	Ti.	Org.
Vogler (?)	10–11	10–11	4	4	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	1	1

As one can see by comparing these figures with those in Table 1 from the Mannheim *Calender* of 1778 – which in fact represents the roster of musicians from the end of 1777, when Mozart was there – his figures match closely with the total available string players and bassoonists. Indeed, in the case of the violas and basses, Mozart's numbers exceed the number of players on the official roster by one; assuming his figures are correct, these must have been extra players, in the case of the viola section probably one of the copyists. Provocatively, even with such a large string section, only the usual pairs of high winds and horns were present, though additional performers on each instrument were theoretically available. As a result, the proportion of strings to woodwinds is a high 3.2–3.4:1 (2.67–2.8:1 if the two horns are included; cf. Table 2d–e).

Given the specificity of Mozart's information, are we not justified in citing it as clear proof of the normal size and proportions of the famous Mannheim orchestra, as has frequently been done by scholars in the past?²⁰ In my opinion, the answer must be „no“; or rather, always a safer reply for the scholar, „It depends.“ For Mozart's description is of the orchestra at a major sacred service; the size of the orchestra on such an occasion can no more be equated with that of the orchestra for a concert or „academy“ than it can with that of the orchestra for an opera or a theatrical presentation. At Mannheim these occasions all had different venues, and the well-documented sensitivity of the period to the relationship between the size of the hall, the character of the occasion, and the performing forces involved must always be taken into account.²¹ In the present case, for example, the mass Mozart attended took place in the court chapel (see Fig. 1, letter a), a large space approximately the size of

²⁰ E.g., Georges de Saint-Foix, *The Symphonies of Mozart*, trans. Leslie Orrey (London 1947, orig. ed. 1932), 68.

²¹ Especially revealing in this regard are Johann Adolph Scheibe's comments in *Der critische Musikus* (rev. ed., Leipzig 1745), 620–21.

the auditorium (not including the vast stage) of the palace opera house.²² Furthermore, the service Mozart attended was not just any service, but the principal mass for All Saints' Day – even more important at Mannheim than elsewhere because it preceded by only three days the name day of the elector Carl Theodor, with its festive string of celebrations known as the gala days. On such an occasion the largest possible performing forces would surely have been employed – certainly larger than those for a more quotidian service. Also worth noting is that, somewhat atypically for Mannheim, the Vogler mass heard by Mozart utilized a full complement of winds, including flutes, oboes, clarinets, horns, and trumpets as well as four bassoons; a wind group of this size presupposes a somewhat larger string complement.

Orchestral concerts at Mannheim, called „academies,“ were quite different occasions. They took place in the *Rittersaal*, located in the central tower of the palace (see Figs. 1–2). Though large in comparison with typical concert spaces of the time, the *Rittersaal* is some 20% smaller than the chapel and has lower ceilings. Moreover, by contrast with the pomp of either a major mass performance or an opera,²³ the academies were relatively informal social gatherings. This fact emerges clearly from a gossipy epistolary description from May of 1785, when the court returned temporarily to Mannheim after its removal to Munich in 1778. The writer first describes his visit to the elector's famous collection of antique sculpture, then continues as follows:

Es war diesen Abend Akademie, oder – welcher Ausdruck mir passender zu seyn scheint – Konzert bei Hof. Ich verliess daher nach fünf Uhr meine Statuen, und eilte in den Rittersaal, wo das Konzert gegeben wurde. Der Hof kam erst nach sechs Uhr, und ich hatte also noch viel Zeit, mich umzusehen. Der Saal macht ein grosses Oval aus, mit vier hohen Fenstern und einem Attik.²⁴ Die Decke, al Fresko gemahlt, stellt eine Seeparthie, den Neptun und sein Gefolge, vor.²⁵ Die Wände sind oben mit Bildnissen alter Kurfürsten in Lebensgrösse behängt

²² The chapel measures approximately 15 x 30 meters, the *Rittersaal* 15 x 24 meters. I might note here that when the chapel was rebuilt after destruction of the palace in World War II, the choir loft was moved to the back of the church. For a view of the original placement at the front of the church see Jochen Reutter, „Die Kirchenmusik am Mannheimer Hof,“ in Finscher, *Mannheimer Hofkapelle*, 100, or Eduard Schmitt, ed., *Kirchenmusik der Mannheimer Schule*, vol. 1, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, new ser., vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1982), cxiii. The opera house, destroyed in 1795, was located in the west (or north) wing of the palace (see Fig. 1, letter b). The stage of the opera house, excluded in the above comparison, was over thirty meters deep – one and one-half times the depth of the auditorium. A good sense of the proportions of the various spaces discussed here can be gained from the plan reproduced in Friedrich Walter, *Geschichte Mannheims von den ersten Anfängen bis zum Übergang an Baden (1802)* (Mannheim 1907), 551.

²³ On the ceremonial, ritualistic, often transparently political aspects of mass and opera at Mannheim see my chapter „The Mannheim Court“ in *Man and Music: The Classical Era*, ed. Neal Zaslaw (London and Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1989), 216–22.

²⁴ There are actually only three large windows. The „Attik“ is the classical cornice just below the ceiling fresco in Fig. 2.

²⁵ The principal subject matter of the fresco, by Cosmas Damian Asam, is really a banquet of the gods.

... Unten sind wieder etliche Gemählde und zwei Nischen, worinnen die Statuen des jezigen Kurfürsten und seiner Gemahlin in Lebensgrösse stehen. Der Saal wird durch elf Kronleuchter erleuchtet, der Boden ist eingelegt.

Oben und rechter Hand an den Fenstern herab waren Spieltische gesetzt, linker Hand ist der Platz des Orchesters, etwas über dem Fussboden erhaben und mit einem Gelender eingefasst.²⁶ Nach sechs Uhr kam der Hof, der Kurfürst und beide Kurfürstinnen²⁷ samt den Hofdamen und Kavaliers. Die Musik gieng nun an, und man setzte sich gleich zum Spiel. Oben am ersten Tisch sassen die beiden Kurfürstinnen, und in ihrer Gesellschaft spielten die Frau von Sickingen

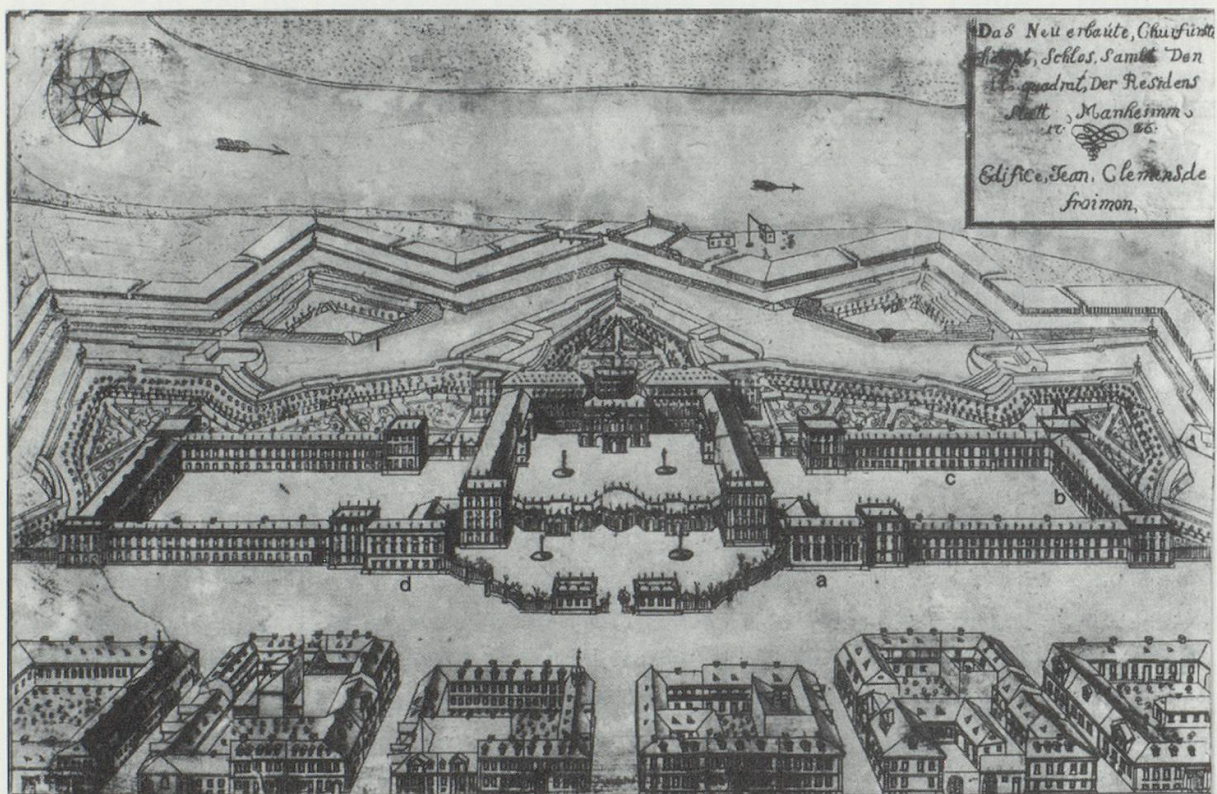


Figure 1: View of the electoral palace at Mannheim showing the central tower containing the *Rittersaal*, the court chapel (a), the opera house (b), the ball-house (c), and the library (d). Anonymous engraving of 1726, after the drawing by Jean-Clément Froimon(t). Mannheim, Städtisches Reiss-Museum, Kat. Nr. A 162.

²⁶ I interpret this statement to mean that the orchestra was in the approximate position of the photographer of Fig. 2, i.e., to the left of the main doors. Bärbel Pelker, „Musikalische Akademien am Hof Carl Theodors in Mannheim,“ in Finscher, *Mannheimer Hofkapelle*, 53, locates the orchestra along the right wall of the photograph, across from the windows; she feels that the writer can only be describing the scene from a position near the right side doors, those seen in the center of Fig. 2. This placement would, however, put the orchestra in front of the main entrance to the room (or in front of one of the large fireplaces that flank it), and it would also be somewhat abnormal for the period.

²⁷ I.e., the electress of the Palatinate and the dowager electress of Bavaria.

und von Dahlberg.²⁸ Man sagt es seye L'Ombre, was sie spielten ... Anfänglich gab ich alle Hoffnung auf, mich durch das Gedränge durchzuschlagen, um die fürstlichen Personen selbst zu Gesicht zu bekommen. Allein ich wagte es mit einigen Abbé's, Rippenstösse auszuhalten, und wieder zu ertheilen, – und so kamen wir endlich wohlbehalten nahe bei den zwei fürstlichen Spieltischen an.

Aber was sahe ich da? – den Kurfürsten zwar in einem neuen Kleide, – allein es war Karl Theodor, wie im alten auch. – Die Kurfürstinnen hingegen, auf die ich eigentlich ausgegangen war, sassen so, dass ich sie nicht im Gesicht sehen konnte ... Doch ich gab mich zuletzt in Gedult, und horchte inzwischen auf das Orchester, mich durch die bezaubernden Töne einer Mamsell Schäfer²⁹ wieder mit meinem Schicksal aussöhnte. Der Kurfürst stund etlichemal auf, und gieng mit einem heiteren Lächeln an den Spieltischen herum. – Und nun erhoben sich dann auch die beide Kurfürstinnen von ihren Sesseln, kamen gegen das Orchester her, und hatten die Gnade, meine Neugierde durch ihr zugewandtes Antlitz sattsam zu befriedigen ... [Here the writer devotes an entire paragraph to a description of the electresses.]

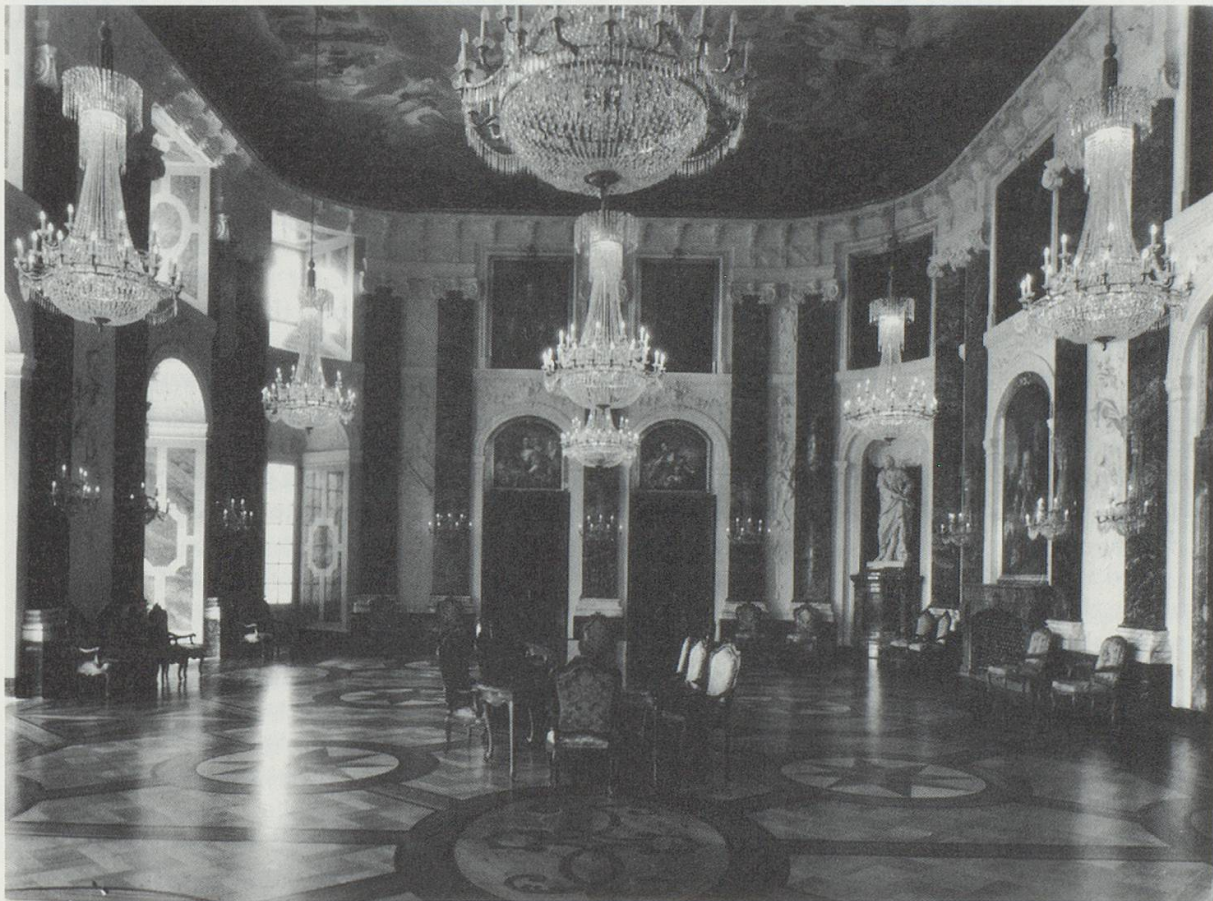


Figure 2: The *Rittersaal* of the palace, scene of the orchestral academies. Photo: Robert Häusser (Mannheim, Verkehrsverein e. V).

²⁸ „Frau von Sickingen“ was presumably the wife of Carl Theodor's envoy in Paris, Count Carl Heinrich Joseph von Sickingen; Wolfgang Heribert von Dalberg was Intendant of the Nationaltheater in Mannheim.

²⁹ The soprano Josepha Schäfer or Schaeffer (d. 1827), student of Dorothea Wendling and a leading singer at the Mannheim Nationaltheater.

Als sich die fürstlichen Personen wieder gesetzt hatten, wartete ich noch so lange, bis die Kronleuchter angesteckt wurden, und dann gieng ich ab, – vergnügter, als vielleicht mancher, den die Etikette an die Spieltische gefesselt hatte, die ich vorbei passirte.³⁰

A second, briefer description of an electoral academy, this time in Munich, makes clear that card-playing – and relative inattention to the music – continued into the 1790s:

Der Hof[,] der sich mit Spielen unterhielt, schien der Musik wenig zu achten. Freilich kann die Gewohnheit auch das vortrefflichste zum Gewöhnlichen herabwürdigen.³¹

These descriptions recall in their essentials the depiction in Louis Spohr's autobiography of academies at Braunschweig in 1799, at which the duchess

³⁰ „This evening there was an academy, or what I would call a concert at court. I therefore left my statues and hastened to the *Rittersaal*, where the concert was to be given. The court was to assemble after six o'clock, and I therefore had time to look around. The hall is large and oval-shaped, with four [three] high windows and an attic. The ceiling has a fresco portraying a sea-party, Neptune with his train. The walls are hung above with life-size paintings of former electors ... Below there are other paintings and two niches with life-size statues of the present elector and electress. The room is lit with eleven chandeliers, and the floor is inlaid. In front and to the right of the windows [literally „above and to the right around the windows“] card tables had been set up, and to the left was the space for the orchestra, raised somewhat off the floor and encircled with a railing. After six o'clock the court entered, the elector and electress, the [dowager] electress of Bavaria, and the ladies-in-waiting and cavaliers. Then the music began, and at the same time everyone began to play cards. The two electresses sat at the first table, together with Frau von Sickingen and von Dalberg. I was told that it was ombre that they were playing ... [In the section for standees] there was such a crush of people that I at first gave up any hope of getting through to see their highnesses up close. But then I decided, together with some priests, to endure and also mete out some elbows in the ribs – and in this manner we finally came close to the two princely tables.

And what did I see there? Well, Carl Theodor in a new robe, just as in former times [i.e., before the transfer of the court from Mannheim to Munich]. But the electresses ... were seated so that I was unable to see their faces ... So I waited patiently, and in the meantime listened to the orchestra, which through the magical tones of one Mamselle Schäfer reconciled me to my fate. The elector stood up several times and went from table to table with a cheerful laugh. Finally, the two electresses had the honor to satisfy my curiosity by getting up from their seats and going up to the orchestra, giving me the opportunity to examine their faces to my heart's content ...

After their princely highnesses had again been seated, I stayed until the last candle had been extinguished, and then departed – as satisfied, perhaps, as certain others [that night] who indulged in a pastime I denied myself: stealing the place-cards from the tables as souvenirs.“ Gottfried von Rotenstein, *Lustreise in die Rheingegenden, in Briefen an Fr. J. v. Pf.* (Frankfurt 1791), 102–6 (letter of May 11, 1785), as quoted in Friedrich Walter, „Ein Akademiekonzert im Rittersaale des Mannheimer Schlosses 1785,“ *Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter* 10 (1909): 210–11. The writer, not named by Walter, is identified as von Rotenstein in Pelker, „Musikalische Akademien,“ 54 and 58, which also provides a good treatment of the social aspects of the academies.

³¹ „The court, which played cards and conversed, seemed to pay little attention to the music. Of course, habit can transform even that which is most excellent into something routine.“ Philipp Ludwig Hermann Röder, *Reisen durch das südliche Teutschland* (Frankfurt 1795), 4: 22–23; quoted in Pelker, „Musikalische Akademien,“ 56.

forbade the orchestra to play forte so that her card-playing would not be disturbed.³² They also agree with Mozart's statement about his performance at Mannheim in the gala concert of November 6, 1777, that „in der academie, alle zweymal wie ich spielte so gieng der Churfürst und [Churfürstin] völlig neben meiner zum Clavier.“³³ The informal social character of a Mannheim academy, at which conversation and cards competed with the music,³⁴ together with the smaller size of the *Rittersaal*, may well imply the presence of at least somewhat smaller performing forces than those Mozart heard in the chapel on All Saints' Day.

As it turns out, there is at least some concrete evidence to support the contention that Mozart's figures should not be regarded as typical for an orchestral academy at Mannheim. This evidence takes the form of manuscript parts that research by my wife and myself has shown to stem from the actual Mannheim performance library.³⁵ The first group of such parts is the important series of Cannabich symphonies at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Unfortunately, these works had their duplicate parts removed in the nineteenth century, thus destroying what would have been prima facie evi-

³² *Louis Spohr's Selbstbiographie*, vol. 1 (Kassel 1860), Engl. trans. by Henry Pleasants, *The Musical Journeys of Louis Spohr* (Norman, OK 1961), 4–5.

³³ „At the academy, both times I played the elector and electress came right up next to me at the keyboard.“ Mozart, *Briefe 2*: 109, letter of November 8, 1777. The report of this concert by the Saxon envoy to the Palatinate, Count Andreas von Riaucour, states only that Princess Marianne sang two arias; Mozart is never mentioned (cf. Bärbel Pelker, „Theateraufführungen und musikalische Akademien am Hof Carl Theodors: Eine Chronik der Jahre 1742–1777,“ in Finscher, *Mannheimer Hofkapelle*, 257).

³⁴ Barbara Russano Hanning, „The Iconography of a Salon Concert: A Reappraisal,“ in Georgia Cowart, ed., *French Musical Thought, 1600–1800* (Ann Arbor, MI 1989), 129–48, argues that music and conversation did not necessarily vie with each other in concerts of the time – that the frequent representations showing little attention to the music are not, and are not meant to be, realistic, but rather that they „telescope“ or synchronize temporally disparate moments in the course of the social occasion. Given the evidence presented above (and much other), this argument must count as sophistic. This is not to say, however, that music for an academy was merely background music, like *Tafelmusik* or Muzak, but only that it probably enjoyed less concentrated attention than that of a public concert later in the century, to which one paid admission.

³⁵ The results of this research were first presented in Eugene K. and Jean K. Wolf, „A Newly Identified Complex of Manuscripts from Mannheim,“ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27 (1974) 379–437. Research since then has greatly extended the findings of this article, both in the number of manuscripts identified as being from Mannheim (now over 300) and in the precision with which provenance and date can be determined; see, e.g., our article „Rastrology and Its Use in Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Studies,“ in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (Madison, WI 1990), 237–91, esp. pp. 269–71, 280–87. We are presently completing a book on the entire Mannheim corpus of manuscripts, tentatively entitled *Music from Mannheim: A Methodological Study of the Manuscripts*.

dence of the number of performers utilized. But what has seemingly gone unnoticed until now is that at Mannheim duplicate parts were often numbered, using roman numerals. Luckily for present purposes – though for few others – when the manuscripts were culled the selection was made more or less at random. The result is that one can make at least a provisional judgment as to how many parts were present simply by observing how high the roman numerals go. Briefly, five of the sets of violin parts bear the number III, while a sixth has the numeral IV (see Fig. 3).

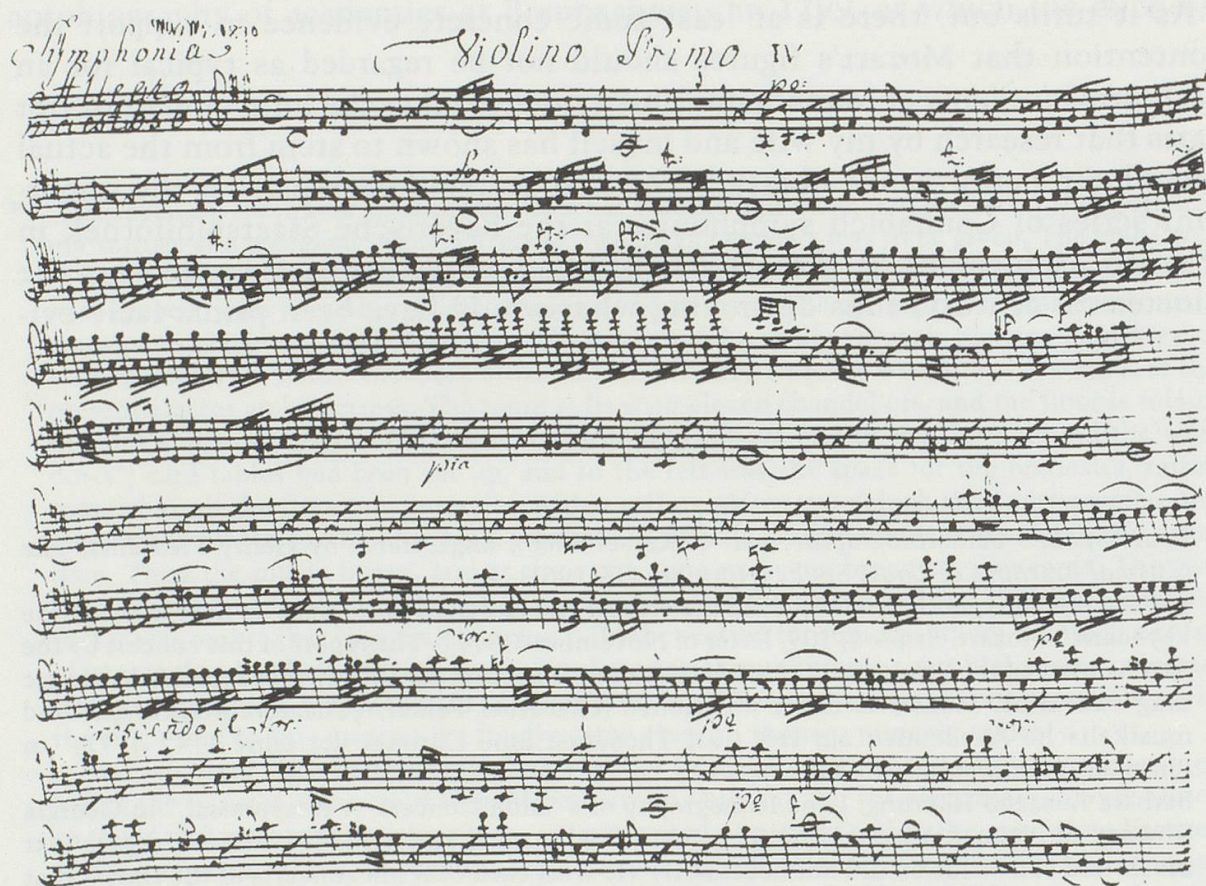


Figure 3: First page of the violin 1 part to Christian Cannabich's Symphony No. 46, showing the roman numeral IV to the right of Violino Primo. "Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus. Ms. 1890.

However, in the latter case the number itself is later – from the Munich period – and could reflect the addition of extra parts for performance there. Hence, these numbers provide some indication that three or possibly four first and second violin parts were normally provided in these works. As we shall see, there is certain other evidence to support this hypothesis. If we assume two

performers to a part,³⁶ this would produce a violin section of some six to eight firsts and six to eight seconds or, as the concertmaster presumably did not share his part, five to seven of each. (The only two listings of the Mannheim orchestra that split the violins into firsts and seconds, those of Marpurg and Hiller, show them evenly divided.)

There are often two viola parts in the Cannabich symphonies at Munich, marked „Viola Prima“ and „Viola Seconda.“ However, intensive study of the handwriting, watermarks, and staving of these parts shows that, with one exception, all the second viola parts have been added at a much later date, after the court had arrived in Munich. Thus, a maximum of two or at most three performers must have been involved. The exception just mentioned is Cannabich's one-movement „Sinfonia à 15 Strometi [*sic*]“ No. 11 of ca. 1760–61,³⁷ probably written as an overture. This work calls for pairs of flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, and trumpets; the double viola parts may have been intended to allow for a larger viola section of as many as four performers. But this would clearly be an exception and would almost certainly require a proportional reinforcement of the other string parts.

The bass parts of the Cannabich symphonies are generally of the all-purpose type, labeled „Contrabasso con Violoncello“ or something similar. The highest roman numeral found among them is a III. Though this occurs only once,

³⁶ As the article by John Spitzer in the present volume demonstrates, this is not an assumption one can automatically make, as many iconographic data from the period show one performer on a part. However, it seems a reasonable one in the case of Mannheim. For one thing, Mozart reports that the festive Vogler mass he heard had „ten or eleven“ first violins and the same number of seconds. As we shall see in a moment, the parts from which the violinists played in the Mannheim court chapel generally numbered four firsts and four seconds, meaning that some stands would have had *three* players (unless parts have consistently disappeared since then or Mozart was mistaken). The same is true of the various bass parts (cello, organ, etc.), while the usual two viola parts of the extant manuscripts would each have been performed two on a part (Mozart mentions four violists). With only three or four firsts and the same number of seconds (i.e., with one player per part) the resulting balances vis-à-vis the winds would be askew in much of this repertoire; see, e.g., Neal Zaslaw's comments on the practical difficulty of maintaining acceptable balance with so few strings (*Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* [Oxford 1989], 456). The forceful, often massive style of the typical Mannheim symphony, rooted in the style of the Italian opera overture and often adding trumpets and timpani, is particularly difficult to imagine with such a small orchestra. It may be mentioned here that we have no direct evidence regarding the size of the orchestra used in an opera performance at Mannheim, though there would surely have been more than six to eight violins in toto. One final thought: the choice of number of players per part need not involve a binary, either/or decision in which all parts are either doubled or not; there was undoubtedly some flexibility on this issue based on such parameters as style, performance venue, social function of the music, and availability of personnel, as the Mozart example illustrates. Cf. also fn. 47, below, and related discussion.

³⁷ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (hereafter D-Mbs), Musikabteilung, Mus. Ms. 1837. For the dating of this work see J. Wolf, „Cannabich,“ pp. liii, lxxviii.

there is other evidence, to be discussed shortly, to suggest that a total of three such cello/bass parts was fairly normal at Mannheim. This would mean a total of five or six performers in addition to the cembalist, probably divided into two to four cellos and two basses until at least 1768, since only two bassists appear on the court rosters until that date.

The figures just outlined are summarized in Table 4, which provides tentative suggestions for performance of an orchestral work at Mannheim.

Table 4: Probable Size of the Mannheim Orchestra for Performance at an Academy, ca. 1748–1778

CM (violin)	Vn. 1	Vn. 2	Va.	Vc.	Cb.	Fl.	Ob.	Cl.	Bn.	Hn.	Tr.	Ti.	Kbd.	
1	+	4–7 ^a	5–8	2–3	2–3	2–3	2	2	2	1–2	2	2	1	1
				or 4 ^b	or 4									

Note: In general, the smaller sizes given for the string sections would be appropriate for earlier works in the repertory, especially those without full winds and/or trumpets and timpani (refer to Table 1).

^a The sizes suggested for the first violin section assume the presence of a (violin-playing) concertmaster.

^b Occasional fully-scored works with two separate original viola parts may call for four performers.

In general, the initial figures in each column would seem to be appropriate for earlier works (especially with reduced winds), the higher ones for later works. Incidentally, the figures for the strings in Table 4 match rather well with those given for ideal string sections by Quantz in 1752, Johann Samuel Petri in 1782, and Francesco Galeazzi in 1791,³⁸ which Neal Zaslaw has pointed out are more suitable for a midcentury treble-dominated repertory like that at Mannheim than for works like the late Mozart symphonies.³⁹

The wind parts of the Cannabich symphonies at Munich require no special comment other than to remark that the two obbligato bassoons called for in many of his works are always notated on a single part, *divisi*; therefore, they were probably not doubled. As already noted, a keyboard instrument seems generally to have been included at performances by the Mannheim orchestra. Evidence for this statement appears in several Cannabich symphonies that contain figures in one of the cello/bass parts and in Vogler's statement in the *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule* that, although a fully scored

³⁸ The figures given by these and other writers are conveniently assembled in Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies*, 461–62 (with full citations).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 461.

(„vollstimmige“) symphony does not *require* a cembalo, one can direct the orchestra from there.⁴⁰

In support of the conclusions presented above, one can cite certain additional evidence regarding the number of duplicate parts common at Mannheim – all of it, though, from the realm not of orchestral but of sacred music. In addition to the Cannabich symphonies, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek houses a second large group of manuscripts brought to Munich from the Mannheim court, containing masses and other sacred works by the Mannheim Kapellmeisters Carlo Grua and Ignaz Holzbauer.⁴¹ Like the Cannabich manuscripts, these sources were culled of duplicate parts in the mid-nineteenth century. But by great good fortune, Robert Münster was able in 1971 to obtain for the Staatsbibliothek an early nineteenth-century thematic catalogue of the church music then owned by the Königliche Hofkapelle in Munich, music that was eventually deposited in the Staatsbibliothek. This catalogue has been published in the series *Kataloge bayerischer Musiksammlungen*.⁴² What commands our attention here is the presence in the catalogue of pencil annotations from the nineteenth century giving the number of multiple parts extant at the time, before the duplicates were discarded.

For the one Grua mass with such notations, from 1751, the figures are two parts each for violin 1 and 2 and viola, plus one bassoon, one *basso*, and one organ part.⁴³ This small complement of players, probably characteristic of most performances of sacred music at Mannheim during the 1740s and early 1750s, enlarges significantly in the listing for the masses of Holzbauer, whose works span the period from 1753, when he arrived at Mannheim, to 1778, when the court departed. Of the fifteen Holzbauer masses with notations in the catalogue,⁴⁴ three works have three first and three second violin parts and eight have four of each; the four remaining works contain uneven groupings

⁴⁰ „Zu einer vollstimmigen Sinfonie ist der Zembalist unnöthig, es sei dann, der Tonsezer size am Clavier, und gebe den verschiedenen Hauptleuten [the leaders of each section] ... das ächte Zeitmas und die Modificationen zu erkennen.“ Georg Joseph Vogler, *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule*, vol. 2 (Mannheim 1780), 296.

⁴¹ D-Mbs, Mus. Mss. 1981–82 and 1987 (Grua), and 2289–2301, 2305–6, and 2721 (Holzbauer); see Wolf, „Manuscripts from Mannheim,“ 381–86, 406–9. For a thematic index of Grua's liturgical music see Schmitt, *Kirchenmusik der Mannheimer Schule*, vol. 1, xxxiii–xxxvi; for thematic indexes of the Holzbauer masses see *ibid.*, vol. 2 (1980), lxxi–lxxx, and Deanna D. Bush, *The Orchestral Masses of Ignaz Holzbauer (1711–1783): Authenticity, Chronology, and Style* (Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music 1982), Appendix I. Chapters 3–4 and pp. 475–84 of the latter study discuss the Holzbauer manuscripts in Munich.

⁴² Gertraut Haberkamp and Robert Münster, *Die ehemaligen Musikhandschriftensammlungen der Königlichen Hofkapelle und der Kurfürstin Maria Anna in München: Thematischer Katalog, Kataloge bayerischer Musiksammlungen*, 9 (Munich 1982).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 48; the manuscript in question is D-Mbs, Mus. Ms. 1987.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 92–94; D-Mbs, Mus. Mss. 2289–2301, 2305, 2721.

of 2 + 4, 3 + 4, and 4 + 3 first and second violin parts that should very probably be interpreted as originally quadruple parts of which one or two had already gone astray. Interestingly, there are always two viola parts, as in the Grua entry and as implied in Mozart's figure of four violists, presumably to provide better support for the middle voice parts; as we have seen, one viola part, often *divisi*, was the norm in the orchestral works played at the academies.

The bass instruments listed in the catalogue for the Holzbauer masses always include an organ part, from which, as we know from iconographic evidence, other instrumentalists might read. The other bass instruments present range from a single bassoon part (found in four masses), to two cello/bass plus one or two bassoon parts, to three cello/bass parts with no bassoons. No particular pattern is evident, not even the expected correlation between the number of violin parts and the number of bass parts. For this reason, and because one cannot know exactly which instruments played from the organ and cello/bass parts, it is difficult to make precise recommendations in this sphere. It is worth remarking, though, that if we assume two performers to a part, the presence of four first and four second violin parts plus three cello/bass parts, for a total of sixteen violins and six cellos and basses, almost exactly duplicates the ratio of violins to cellos and basses in Mozart's listing, as can be seen in Table 2c, above. Mozart mentions twenty or twenty-two violins vs. eight cellos and basses, a ratio of 2.5–2.75:1, whereas sixteen violins vs. six cellos and basses produces a ratio of 2.67:1.

Welcome substantiation of the figures from the Munich catalogue comes from two other extant groups of manuscripts that my research shows to have been part of the Mannheim performance library. Unlike the sources in Munich just discussed, these have *not* been winnowed of their duplicate parts and thus seem to represent the manuscripts more or less as they were used at Mannheim. The first of these is a group of three sacred works in the collection of the Frauenkirche in Munich by, again, Carlo Grua. These manuscripts are especially informative because two of them, unlike most Mannheim sources, bear the precise dates at which their parts were copied. The first of these, a *Memento Domine David* of 1753,⁴⁵ originally contained two each of first violin, second violin, and viola parts, plus single parts for cello, bassoon, and organ respectively. Except for the designation „Violoncello“ for what had been a *basso* part, this orchestra precisely matches that of Grua's 1751 mass in the Munich catalogue. What is noteworthy, though, is that three years after the main set had been copied, two additional violin parts were added, dated 1756, bringing the number of violin parts to three firsts and three seconds. The other two Grua manuscripts in the Frauenkirche collection, one of which is dated 1757, contain precisely the same number of parts as the enlarged version of

⁴⁵ Mf 596; Schmitt, Carlo Luigi Pietro Grua d. J., II, 2. The manuscripts of the Frauenkirche (Munich Cathedral) are now housed at D-Mbs.

the 1753 mass – three first and three second violins, two violas, one cello, one bassoon, and one organ.⁴⁶ These three manuscripts provide invaluable evidence of the performing forces typical at Mannheim during the 1750s. Together with the figures for the 1751 Grua mass in the Munich catalogue, they add both weight and chronological precision to my thesis of an expansion in the size of the Mannheim orchestra after Holzbauer's arrival in 1753 and Stamitz's return from Paris in 1755.

The second cache of manuscripts from Mannheim again presents the electoral orchestra in its function of accompanying sacred vocal music, this time near the end of its stay in Mannheim. This is the large group of sources, including parts and autograph scores, by the Mannheim Kapellmeister, court chaplain, and *Geistlicher Rat* Georg Joseph Vogler that was left in Darmstadt after his death there in 1814. These are now housed in the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt (D-DS). The upper string parts here are quite consistent, exactly reflecting the practice documented in the Munich catalogue for Holzbauer's larger masses: nearly every manuscript contains four first and second violin parts and two viola parts. In one case alone, Vogler's big German cantata *Die Auferstehung Jesu* of 1777, there are six rather than four first violin parts.⁴⁷

The consistency with which Holzbauer's and Vogler's manuscripts from Mannheim made use of four first and four second violin parts may imply a similar size for the performance of orchestral works at the academies, at least during the later years; as will be recalled, this is the number of violin parts indicated by the roman numeral IV in one of the Cannabich symphonies. Again generally assuming two on a part, the presence of four first and four second violin parts would permit a total of sixteen violinists for such a performance, the maximum I have chosen for Table 4. As mentioned earlier, however, it seems likely that the concertmaster, normally a violinist at Mannheim, would have had his own stand, reducing that number by one. Alternatively, one could argue for *three* stands each of firsts and seconds, on the contention that the single Cannabich manuscript with a roman numeral IV in Munich might be an anomaly (five bear the number III, and the IV is

⁴⁶ Mf 597 (anonymous, but unquestionably by Grua; dated 1757) and 598; Schmitt, C. L. P. Grua d. J., I, 4–5.

⁴⁷ D-DS, Mus. ms. 1059e. This manuscript is of interest in that the main string parts contain the names of the Mannheim performers: the first of the violin 1 parts is marked „H. Director Canabich,“ the first of the violin 2 parts „H. Toeschi / H. Dan[ner],“ the second of the violin 2 parts „H: Winter,“ and two of the bass parts „H. Bohrer“ and „H. Friedel.“ These names, all in the same hand, refer to prominent Mannheim performers. It is unclear, however, what if any significance one should attach to them as evidence of how many players performed from a part (cf. fn. 36, above). On the one hand, the two names on the second violin part could be alternates, and on the other, the single names on the remaining parts may refer merely to the principal or desired performers, and do not preclude their being joined by additional players.

from the Munich period) and that performances of sacred music in the court chapel would have utilized somewhat larger orchestras than orchestral academies in the *Rittersaal*. A different issue is raised by the fact that the Vogler works just discussed are precisely the type Mozart heard and commented upon in 1777, in which there were „ten or eleven violins on each side“; if so, several of them must have played *three* to a part, unless extra parts were provided that have consistently disappeared since then (cf. fn. 36, above).

The lower parts of the Vogler manuscripts in Darmstadt generally consist of two to three combined cello/bass parts plus an organ part, again close to the proportions of the orchestra Mozart heard. Mozart's large group of four cellists and four double bassists could be accommodated by three cello/bass and one organ part if two of the players read from the organ part. Bassoon parts in the Vogler manuscripts are present only when they are part of a larger wind complement; otherwise, bassoonists presumably played from one of the other bass parts.

*

Owing to the loss of most of the archival and performance materials from Mannheim, scholars working in this area typically find that they must resort to indirect, even convolute methodological approaches in order to answer quite basic questions of biography, chronology, influence, performance practice, and the like. In the present essay, for example, much of the evidence presented about the size of the Mannheim orchestra in performance is in essence a byproduct of research on the distribution and physical characteristics of manuscript sources traceable to Mannheim. Likewise, the process of argumentation in such studies tends to involve not direct proof but the accumulation of circumstantial evidence of various kinds. Needless to say, things would have been far simpler for all concerned if Mozart in one of his letters to his father had only chosen to describe the orchestra at an electoral academy in as much detail as that for the Vogler mass! But even here, might not Mozart's failure to comment upon the size of the orchestra for one of his concerts at Mannheim conceivably indicate that he did not consider it out of the ordinary? If so, it presents us with yet another shred of circumstantial evidence on which to build our case.