

Mandating the Unauthorized Playing of Trumpets and Kettledrums in the German Principality of Anhalt-Zerbst (1677–1728): Introduction and Translation

Barbara M. Reul

Thanks to the efforts of Edward H. Tarr, two early eighteenth-century German trumpeter mandates are available in English translation.¹ Dating from 1711 and 1736 respectively, both printed sources draw attention to the fact that the Electors of Saxony (who resided in Dresden) continued to uphold an Imperial Privilege granted by the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, Ferdinand I (r. 1558–64), to the newly established guild of court trumpeters and kettledrummers in 1623.² The Privilege was confirmed in 1630 by Emperor Ferdinand II (r. 1619–37); it was expanded from twelve to twenty-three articles in 1653. The tenth article held special significance: only court and field trumpeters and military kettledrummers were to perform on trumpets and kettledrums, exclusively for the emperor, kings, and other members of the nobility at court and in public. However, that did not deter “comedians, jugglers, gamblers, tower watchmen, or even any town pipers or minstrels” to play “privileged” instruments outside of their usual places of work, and specifically at weddings, infant baptisms, dances, and other public events.³ Arguably fearing for their professional reputation and a loss of income, the court trumpeters and kettledrummers asked the Saxon electors repeatedly for “protection” from violators—and duly received it in five mandates issued between 1650 and 1804.⁴

The Imperial Privilege’s basic principles from 1653 still informed Johann Ernst Altenburg in the late eighteenth century when he detailed the education, rights, and responsibilities of these musicians in his famous *Essay on an Introduction to the Heroic and Musical Trumpeters’ and Kettledrummers’ Art*.⁵ Altenburg’s viewpoints have recently come under scrutiny. Lars E. Laubhold believes that the *Essay* contains a hidden agenda to prevent the decline of an age-old performance tradition.⁶ According to Christian Ahrens, Altenburg’s late eighteenth-century description of privileged trumpeters and kettledrummers has “less to do with reality and more to do with fiction,” because “these musicians were not generally accorded special prominence and . . . their financial and social status was average, situated in the middle range. They enjoyed special rights and privileges only when serving in an official military capacity or for governmental and political functions.”⁷

Ahrens’s research is grounded in archival documents that describe late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century practices at the Saxon courts of Gotha, Sondershausen, and Weimar.⁸ Evidently the electors of Saxony did not serve as “the arbiters of any dispute arising from the administration of the Privilege” throughout the Holy Roman Empire, or even Saxony.⁹ Instead, each Saxon ruler dealt with issues brought to his attention by the local trumpeters’ community (*Trompeter-Gemeinschaft*) individually.¹⁰

This was also the case in Anhalt-Zerbst, a principality located ninety miles northwest of Dresden and the childhood home of Catherine the Great of Russia, a former princess of Anhalt-Zerbst. Her relative Prince Johann August (1677–1742) issued a *Privilegium* for the court trumpeters and kettledrummers of Anhalt-Zerbst on 16 January 1728 (see Figure 1).¹¹

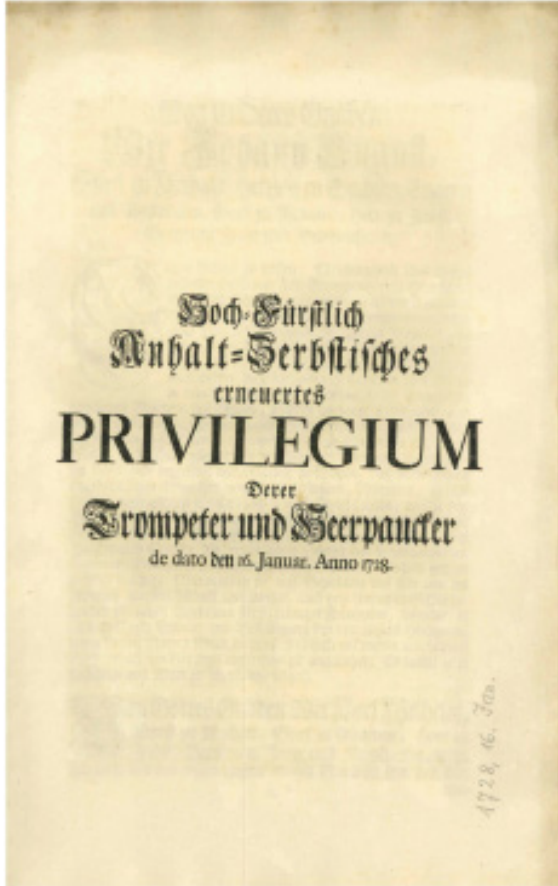


Figure 1: Title page of the 1728 Anhalt-Zerbst *Privilegium* (D-StAZE lfd. Nr. 234, fol. 1r).

A transcription of the 1728 Anhalt-Zerbst *Privilegium* and an English translation are provided in the Appendix. The language used in this document is clearly based on (and in certain sections identical to) the Saxon Mandate from 1711. Moreover, the 1728 Anhalt-Zerbst Mandate provides the text of its predecessor, a mandate issued in 1677, in its entirety—just like the 1711 Saxon Mandate, which quotes its predecessor from 1661 in full.¹² Therefore it is safe to assume that these geographically separated musicians must have been in touch

over the years. Archival documents providing information on how frequently and in which contexts their members met or corresponded do not appear to be extant. But the princes of Anhalt and the electors of Saxony were distant relatives.¹³ Their *Hoftrompeter* and *Hofpauker* could, therefore, have met in person when traveling to family weddings or political meetings as part of their rulers' entourages.

The 1728 Anhalt-Zerbst Mandate begins with a list of performance contexts that were considered violations against the Imperial Privilege. Overall, they resemble the transgressions described in the Dresden Mandates from 1711 and 1736. But only in Anhalt-Zerbst did musicians not protected by the Imperial Privilege get into trouble for playing trumpets and kettledrums while taking pleasure-boat rides on the river Elbe. Playing "small hunting horns and so-called *Invention* trumpets" or low brass instruments made to look (and sound) like trumpets, was strictly forbidden as well.¹⁴

The reader's attention is then turned to the past, specifically to the mandate that had been issued in 1677 by Johann August's father, Prince Carl Wilhelm of Anhalt-Zerbst (1652–1718).¹⁵ Having been presented with the relevant articles from the Imperial Privilege, the sovereign graciously offered his court trumpeters and kettledrummers protection from violators. Carl Wilhelm also ordered "watchmen, town pipers, shawm pipers, and village musicians" never to use wooden or copper kettledrums in Anhalt-Zerbst, as such activities diminished the art of trumpet playing considerably.¹⁶

In the next section of the 1728 Mandate, Prince Johann August promised to "graciously sustain, confirm, and renew" his father's *Privilegium*, and extend it as well.¹⁷ It had, after all, been fifty years since the last mandate had been issued. As a result, neither local nor foreign town pipers and tower watchmen, nor beer fiddlers and bear tamers were allowed to play trumpets and military kettledrums during Pentecost festivities, processions of townspeople and tradesmen, and at annual fairs.¹⁸ Performances on trumpets or trumpet-like instruments at beer houses and *Ratskeller* (council taverns) were also prohibited, perhaps because customers could enjoy a taste of the famous Zerbster *Bitterbier* while listening to music.

The *Privilegium* from 1728 contains exemption clauses for tower watchmen (*Thürmer*) and town pipers as well. They were now officially permitted to perform "a sacred song, using one, or at the most two trumpets" from their towers.¹⁹ Nothing is known about the repertoire they played, but supporting "the music" at worship services with one or two trumpets, was now also acceptable. The festive hymn *Tē Deum laudamus*, however, had to be performed at churches "according to their practice" on cornetts and trombones; neither trumpets nor kettledrums could be used.²⁰

Were these detailed exceptions new directives or simply a validation of current practices? Civic musicians made considerable and ongoing contributions to musical life in Anhalt-Zerbst.²¹ Unlike the court trumpeters who specialized on the trumpet, they typically played more than one brass instrument (usually trumpet, trombone, and cornett), were proficient on string instruments, and, like the court trumpeters, trained journeymen (*Gesellen*) and apprentices (*Lehrjungen*).²² In 1670 a local *Stadt-* [and] *Kunstpfeiffer* named Johann Steinbrecher had already been granted a basic *Musicantenprivilegium* by Princess Sophie

Auguste of Anhalt-Zerbst, Prince Carl Wilhelm's mother.²³ It is possible that Steinbrecher's successor, Johann Christoph Grahmann, was covered by the same privilege. The latter was appointed as *Hof-Musico* in 1699 and charged with putting together a small ensemble that performed at court. Grahmann also played at civic weddings in Zerbst, probably together with his journeymen and apprentices. Johann Vent, who took over both positions in 1719, continued this practice.²⁴

Toward the end of the 1728 Mandate, the focus shifts to the public officials who had to ensure that the regulations outlined in the *Privilegium* were strictly upheld in Anhalt-Zerbst. As in Saxony, these individuals ranged from local judges to cabinet ministers. A quick reminder—perhaps about the most common types of violations in Anhalt-Zerbst?—followed: performances of dance music, alarms, and processional fanfares on trumpets and other instruments that looked or sounded like them, were prohibited. The Mandate further emphasized that public officials would be penalized if they failed to adhere to the regulations, i.e., if they hired non-privileged performers.²⁵

All violators were subject to a fine of fifty *Reichsthaler*.²⁶ At first glance, this appears to be a shockingly high amount set by the Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst; even court trumpeters and kettledrummers earned only between twenty and sixty *Reichsthaler* annually.²⁷ The elector of Saxony had, however, already specified a fine twice that high in 1661, i.e., 100 *Reichsthaler*, and the dukes of Weimar had followed suit in 1699.²⁸ In 1728 Prince Johann August was willing to give one-fifth of the fine (ten *Reichsthaler*) to “all of the [court] trumpeters and kettledrummers” (“denen sämptlichen Trompetern und Pauckern verfallen seyn”), undoubtedly to compensate for the loss of income incurred by his musicians.²⁹ In contrast, the electors of Saxony and the dukes of Weimar had been dividing profits evenly (i.e., fifty *Reichsthaler* each) with their court trumpeters and kettledrummers since the seventeenth century.³⁰

The Anhalt-Zerbst Mandate then repeats regulations outlined in the tenth article of the Imperial Privilege. Arguably in an attempt to prevent future incidents altogether, public officials were to protect the court trumpeters and military kettledrummers from so-called “criminals and transgressors” (“Verbrecher und U[e]bertreter”). They also had to lend a helping hand to musicians covered by the *Privilegium*, whether their assistance had been requested or not.³¹

Finally, the 1728 Mandate outlines the necessary steps—or special precautions?—taken by the court to make this mandate official prior to its printing and dissemination. Several questions arise: how were repeat offenders dealt with? Did the severity of the infringement ever make a difference? Most importantly: how many of the potential violators, in particular jugglers and village musicians, would have been able to read regulations in the first place or be able to pay the full fine?

Related archival sources I examined at the Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt in Dessau and the parish archive of St. Bartholomäi Church in Zerbst failed to provide conclusive answers. It remains unclear how frequently the Imperial Privilege was violated during the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, and whether fines were collected and divided. Moreover, information on annual salaries of court trumpeters and kettledrum-

mers is available only up to 1718 in extant court account books (*Kammerrechnungen*).³² From 1719 on all court employees were grouped into “classes,” with members of the court *Kapelle* (which comprised vocalists as well as individuals playing string, woodwind, and keyboard instruments) belonging to the “third class.” Trumpeters and kettledrummers were as a rule administratively separate;³³ consequently, their wages were no longer listed in the court account books.

There is no doubt, however, that as many as six different trumpeters and one kettledrummer were simultaneously—and gainfully—employed at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst during Prince Johann August’s twenty-four-year reign.³⁴ They must have been paid from different coffers, but to date it has been impossible to determine which ones.³⁵ The court also supplied instruments for them: six new trumpets were purchased in 1745/46 by Prince Johann August’s successor, Prince Christian August, most likely to support the festivities held in Zerbst to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter, Archduchess Catherine of Russia.³⁶ In addition, the trumpeters received an annual New Year’s bonus (*Neujahrgeld*) of ten *Reichsthaler*, a payment tradition that began at the latest in 1681 and continued for over a century.³⁷

In general, kettledrummers and court trumpeters were expected to support ceremonial customs in and outside of the palace and play at official events such as princely weddings and funerals.³⁸ In Anhalt-Zerbst they would occasionally have joined the court *Kapelle*, which entertained at the palace several times a week as early as 1719.³⁹ Furthermore, the Imperial Privilege permitted *Hoftrompeter* and *Hofpauker* to play at court chapels where members of the nobility worshipped. Congregational chorales that featured trumpets and timpani were scheduled to be performed at the Zerbst Schlosskirche during the Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost seasons as well as on New Year’s Day and on *Cantate* Sunday (the fourth Sunday after Easter).⁴⁰ Services held on princely birthdays, Reformation Day, the annual feast-day that marked the consecration of the court chapel (*Kirchweih*), and on Harvest Sunday (*Erntedank*) all featured the *Te Deum* chorale (*Grosser Gott*, no. 176 in the Zerbst hymnal) referred to in the 1728 *Privilegium*.⁴¹ This piece of music always involved trumpets and timpani.⁴² *Kapellmeister* Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758) would certainly also have invited court trumpeters and the kettledrummer to join his musicians for special music that featured trumpets and timpani (such as cantatas or Lutheran *Missae Breves*) and was performed during Vesper services, on Sundays, and on feast-days.⁴³

One of the longest-serving court trumpeters in Anhalt-Zerbst was Johann Sebastian Bach’s brother-in-law, Johann Caspar Wilcke (1691–1766); he had been appointed in 1717. His colleague Johann Andreas Gregorius Fliedner (1689–1770) stood in for the Leipzig *Thomaskantor* at the baptismal ceremony of Wilcke’s son in 1729, when Bach was unable to travel to Zerbst in person. *Kapellmeister* Fasch was surely on friendly terms with the court trumpeter Johann Balthasar Schneider (ca. 1690–1741), because he agreed to be godfather to one of Schneider’s children in 1723. Did Fasch perhaps write his trumpet concerto (FWV L:D1) for him?

A further mandate for Anhalt-Zerbst does not appear to have been issued after 1728. This implies that the *Privilegium* had achieved its overall purpose—at least until 1735,

when the local community of trumpeters and kettledrummers lodged an official complaint about apprentices of Zerbst's town piper playing the trumpet.⁴⁴ Over twenty years later, in 1757, Leopold Mozart reported that nearly all princely trumpeters and kettledrummers in Salzburg were proficient on string instruments (violin, viola, or violoncello) and performed large-scale concerted music at court.⁴⁵ That same year, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg listed nineteen members of the Anhalt-Zerbst court *Kapelle* by name in volume 3 of his *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*.⁴⁶ The string section comprised seven "Gentlemen Violinists" ("Herren Violinisten"); however, five were actually court trumpeters, and one was the *Hofpauker*.⁴⁷ When exactly and by whom—perhaps *Kapellmeister* Fasch?—their collaboration had been suggested or requested, and how often they joined forces, could not be determined. It is also unclear who provided Marpurg with the information in the first place. But the musicians' reassignment signaled the slow demise of the Anhalt-Zerbst *Cameradschaft*, a fate it shared with many other court trumpeter and kettledrummer communities in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸

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*Barbara M. Reul is Associate Professor of Musicology at Luther College, University of Regina, Canada. Her research focuses on eighteenth-century German court music, specifically the court of Anhalt-Zerbst and its Kapellmeister J.F. Fasch (1688–1758). She has published widely, in both English and German, most recently in *Understanding Bach 9* (2014); she has also co-edited and contributed to several books, including *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities* (Boydell Press, 2011).*

APPENDIX

**Transcription of the 1728 “Privilegium” (Stadtarchiv Zerbst/Anhalt,
Historisches Archiv, lfd. Nr. 234, Stück 1, fol. 1r–4r)**

Hoch=Fürstlich
Anhalt=Zerbstisches
Erneuertes
PRIVILEGIUM
Derer
Trompeter und Heerpaucker
de dato den 16. Januar. Anno 1728.

Von Gottes Gnaden
Wir Johann August,
Fürst zu Anhalt, Hertzog zu Sachsen, Engern
und Westphalen, Graf zu Ascanien, Herr zu Zerbst, Bernburg, Jever und Kniphausen,
u.

English translation

Most Princely
Anhalt-Zerbst
Renewed
PRIVILEGE
For Its
Trumpeters and Military Kettledrummers
On the 16th of January in the Year 1728

By the Grace of GOD,
We, Johann August,
Prince of Anhalt, Duke of Saxony, Engern
and Westphalia, Count of Ascania, Lord of Zerbst, Bernburg, Jever and Kniphausen,
etc.

Fügen hiermit zu wissen: Welchergestalt Uns Unsere bestallte[n] Hoff= und Feld=Trompeter, auch Heer=Pauker, untherhänigst supplicando zu erkennen gegeben, was massen der Mißbrauch des Trompeten=blasens, auch Paucken=Schlagens, in Unserm Fürstenthumb und Landen so sehr eingerissen, und gemein werden wolle, daß die Kunst=Pfeiffer allhier, und zu Coßwig, auch andere, diese Instrumenta nicht nur zum öfftern in denen Kirchen, und vornehmlich die Trompeten von denen Thürmen fast täglich, sondern auch auf Hochzeiten, und andern Gelagen, desgleichen bey dem Spatzieren=fahren auf der Elbe, mit Aufzügen, Marchen und Lermenblasen, zu gebrauchen sich untherstünden, und daher gebethen, sie bey ihren darwieder wohl hergebrachten Privilegien dergestalt nachdrücklich zu schützen, daß allen solchen ungebührlichen Eingriffen von Kunst=Pfeiffern, Thürmern, Haus=Leuten, auch andern Stadt=und Dorff=Spiel=Leuten, welche bey Hochzeiten, Lobe[Laube?]=Tänzen, oder andern Ausrichtungen, insonderheit auch auf Jahr=Märckten, Pffingst=Gelagen, und bey Aufziehung derer Handwercks=Pursche[n], die kleinen Wald=Hörner und so genannten Inventions=Trompeten zu führen pflegen, gesteuert und Einhalt gethan werden möchte; Wannhero sie, mit Beziehung auf ihre von der Römisch=Kayslerl. Majest. und sonsten, auch von Unsern in GOtt ruhenden Löblichen Vorfahren selbst, erlangte Freyheiten, insonderheit und gnädigste Erneuer= und Bestätigung des von Unsers Hochgeehrtesten Herrn Vaters Gnäd. hochseel. Andenckens! unsern 20. Augusti 1677 erhaltenen Privilegii untherhänigst angesuchet; Es lautet aber dasselbige von Wort zu Wort, wie folget:

Von Gotten Gnaden Wir Carl Wilhelm, Fürst zu Anhalt, Graf zu Ascanien, Herr zu Zerbst, Bernburg, Jever und Kniphausen, u. u. für Uns, und wegen Unserer Herren Gebrüder Lbd. Lbd. Lbd. thuen hiermit kund und fügen jedermänniglichen zu wissen, welchergestalt Unsere bestallte Hof= und Feld=Trompeter, auch Heerpauker, untherhänigst vortragen lassen, daß die weyland Römisch=Kayslerliche auch zu Hungarn und Boheimb Königl. Majestät, Herr Ferdinand II. gloriwürdigsten Andenckens! der sämbtlichen Trompeter= und Heer=pauker=Cameradschafft, wegen des Trompeten=blasens und Heer=paukens, am 24. Octobr. A. 1630. auf damahligen öffentlichen Reichs=Tage zu Regensburg nicht allein ein sonderbares Privilegium ertheilet, Krafft dessen bey dem siebenden Punct ausdrücklich verbothen zu befinden, daß kein ehrlicher Trompeter, bey Verliehrung der Kunst, mit Gaucklern, Haustauben, Thürmern nicht blasen, auch da es geschähe, daß ein Trompeter sich von der Kunst auf den Thürmen, zu Gaucklern oder Comödianten begäbe, soll solcher der Kunst gantz beraubt seyn. Es soll auch kein Thürmer die Trompeten, ausser seines Thurms, nicht brauchen, da aber irgend ein Thürmer ins Feld käme, solcher unter ehrlichen Trompetern nicht geduldet, auch von keinem Obristen, oder Rittmeister, befördert werden, er habe denn zuvor das Trompeten, wie es sich gebühret, ordentlich gelernet, und deswegen seinen ehrlichen Lehr=Brieff aufzulegen, oder da er irgend und denselben durch Feindes, Feuers oder anderer Gefahr kommen, und nicht mehr haben könnte, gnugsam Zeugnis, daß er

hereby proclaim and make known that Our appointed court and field trumpeters as well as military kettledrummers have most humbly brought to Our attention the extent to which the misuse of trumpet playing and kettledrum beating in Our principality and lands has run rampant and become so common that the *Kunstpfeifer*⁴⁹ here and in Coswig, as well as others [elsewhere], have dared to play these instruments not only on many occasions in their churches, and especially the trumpets from the towers almost daily, but also at weddings and other revels, as likewise for pleasure rides on the Elbe River, with processional fanfares, marches, and alarms. Therefore, they [the court and field trumpeters and military kettledrummers] have requested, on the basis of the Privileges they have had of old, that they be protected in such an emphatic manner that all such improper abuses by *Kunstpfeifer*, tower watchmen, *Hausleute*,⁵⁰ as well as other town and village musicians, who are wont to carry [i.e., play] small hunting horns and so-called invention trumpets at weddings, Lobe=Tänzen,⁵¹ and similar events, and in particular also at annual fairs, Pentecost festivities, and processions of the journeymen, be regulated and proscribed. Therefore, they [the above-mentioned supplicants] have most humbly requested, with reference to the liberties granted them by the Roman-Imperial Majesty and also by Our own praiseworthy forebears, who are resting in GOD, in particular the gracious renewal and confirmation of the Privileges received on the 20th of August 1677 from Our most esteemed father of blessed memory, which reads word for word thus:

By the grace of God, We, Carl Wilhelm, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania, Lord of Zerbst, Bernburg, Jever, and Kniphausen, etc., and on behalf of Our three living brothers [Anton, Johann Adolf, and Johann Ludwig I], hereby proclaim and make known to everyone that Our appointed court and field trumpeters as well as the military kettledrummers have humbly submitted that the late Roman Imperial and Hungarian and Bohemian Royal Majesty, Lord Ferdinand the Second of most glorious memory, granted the entire association of trumpeters and military kettledrummers, on the 24th of October in the year 1630 at the public Imperial Diet in Regensburg, not only a special Privilege concerning trumpeting and military drumming, according to the seventh article of which it is expressly forbidden for a respectable [i.e., properly trained] trumpeter, by forfeiture of the art [i.e., status], to play with jugglers, *Haustauben*,⁵² [and] tower watchmen, and if it should happen that a trumpeter betake himself from the art on to the towers, to the jugglers or actors, he shall be entirely divested of his art. Nor shall any tower watchman use trumpets anywhere but from his tower. If, however, a tower watchman were to come to the [military] field, he shall not be tolerated among respectable trumpeters, nor be promoted by a colonel or cavalry captain, unless he had previously learned how to play the trumpet properly [i.e., from a master], as is appropriate [for a properly trained trumpeter], and can show his official letter of apprenticeship, or, if he has lost the same coming through dangers posed by the enemy, fire, or other, and can

ehrlieh ausgeleinet, fürzuzeigen, und daß die Thürmer auf Hochzeiten, Kindtauffen, oder andern ehrlichen Zusammenkünfften mit Trompeten zu dienen nicht Macht haben; da aber einer hierüber betroffen würde, derselbe gestalten Sachen nach, von der Obrigkeit des Endes unnachläßig gestrafft, und die Trompeter bey ihrem erlangten Privilegio geschützet werden solten; Welche Kayserliche Verordnung und Privilegium derer Trompeter und Heerpaucker auch nachgehends in A. 1653. von des Herrn Churfürsten zu Sachsen, u. Unsers Hochgeehrten Herrn Veters und Gevatters Gnd. bey Dero damahligen getragenen Reichs=Vicaria, ferner gnädigst confirmiret worden, da dann unter andern der zehende Punct, von Wort zu Wort, folgendergestalt lautet: Zum zehenden, weil die Trompeter und Heerpaucker allein vor Kayser, Könige, Chur=Fürsten, Grafen, Herren Rittermäßigen Standes, und dergleichen Qualitäts=Personen, exerciren, und derohalben nicht jedermann gemein sind; So soll kein ehrlicher Trompeter und Heerpaucker mit Gaucklern, Thürmern, Stadt=Pfeiffern, Spielleuten oder dergleichen, wie sie sonsten Nahmen haben mögen, mit der Kunst einigermaßen Gemeinschaft halten, mit denenselben sich hören lassen, und dadurch die Kunst höchlichen verschimpffen, bey Straffe, so die Cameradschaft erkennet, vielweniger aber soll einiger Comödiant, Gauckler, Glückshäfner, Thürmer, ausser seiner Comödien=Spiel, Glücksbuden, Thürmen, noch sonsten einiger Stadt=Pfeiffer oder Spielmann, bey Gräfflichen, Freyherrlichen, Adelichen, Bürgerlichen oder andern Hochzeiten, Kindtauffen, Lobe=Täntzen, Kirchmessen und andern dergleichen Zusammenkünfften, mit Trompeten oder Heerpaucken sich hören lassen, oder derer, weniger der Posaunen, als ob es Trompeten wären, mit Aufzügen, Täntzen, Lermenblasen, gebrauchen, und in widrigem Fall ihnen jedes Orts Obrigkeit, auch ohne der Trompeter und Heerpaucker Ansuchen, solches, bey hoher Straffe, verbiethen, und die Trompeter und Heerpaucker jedesmahl bey dieser Verordnung manuteniren und schützen helfen.

Allermaßen dann von Unsern Löblichen Herren Vorfahren, denen Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten, Herrn Augusto, Herrn Joh. Casimirn, Herrn Christian, und Herrn Johann, allerseits Fürsten zu Anhalt, u. Unserer Hochgeehrten respective Herren Veters und Vaters End[schlafenen] und Lbd. Christmilden Andenckens! dißfalls ihnen ein Schutz=Mandat, unterm dato den 4. Martii Ao. 1653. welches sie zugleich produciret, gnädig ertheilet wäre; Und aber in Unserm Fürstlichen Antheile die Thürmer, Stadt=Pfeiffer, Schallmeyer und Spiel=Leute sich nun eine geraume Zeit her, und noch bis dato unterstanden, auf denen Bürger= und Bauer=Hochzeiten, Kindtauffen, Jahrmärckten und dergleichen Conviviis die Trompeten und Paucken, nicht weniger bey denen Schallmeyern höltzerne, auch zum theil küpferne Paucken zu gebrauchen, welches dann die Trompeter=Kunst nicht wenig verkleinerlich und verächtlich gemacht hätte; Dannenhero Uns obgedachte Unsere Hof= und Feld=Trompeter, auch Heerpaucker unterthänigst gebethen, sie desfalls in gnädigsten Schutz zu nehmen; Wann Wir dann solches billiches Suchen ihnen abzuschlagen keine Ursache gefunden, sondern sie vielmehr bey obbedeuteten Kayserlichen, auch

no longer provide adequate proof of having been properly trained. Moreover, tower watchmen do not have the authority to serve with trumpets at weddings, infant baptisms, and respectable gatherings. If, however, someone is caught in such wrongdoings, he shall in the end and without fail be penalized by the authorities, and the trumpeters [of Anhalt-Zerbst] shall be protected according to the Privilege granted them; which Imperial Decree and Privilege for the trumpeters and military kettledrummers was moreover subsequently graciously confirmed in the year 1653 by the Lord Elector of Saxony, etc., Our most esteemed and gracious Lord cousin and godfather, at that time holder of the Imperial vicariate,⁵³ and in which, among other things, the tenth article reads word for word thus: Tenth, because trumpeters and kettledrummers perform solely for the Emperor, kings, electors, counts, lords of knightly rank, and people of like quality, and therefore are not common to everybody, no respectable trumpeter or military kettledrummer, under threat of a penalty to be decided upon by the [court trumpeters' and kettledrummers'] association, shall perform with jugglers, tower watchmen, town pipers, village musicians, or the like, whatever they may otherwise be called, even though they may somehow be associated with the art; for doing so, they will bring their art into great disrepute. Nor shall any actors, jugglers, persons running a gambling booth, [and] tower watchmen perform on trumpets or military kettledrums outside of their stages, booths, or towers, or any town pipers or village musicians [perform] at comital, baronial, noble, civil or other weddings, infant baptisms, *Lobe=Tänzen*, church consecration festivals, or other similar gatherings. Nor should they use them and even less so trombones as if they were trumpets, in processional fanfares, dances, or blowing alarms. In the event of violation, the officials of each place, even without the trumpeters' or kettledrummers' request, shall forbid such actions under penalty of a substantial fine, thus helping always to maintain and protect the trumpeters and military kettledrummers in accordance with this decree.

Now that Our praiseworthy ancestors, Their Princely Highnesses Lord August, Lord Johann Casimir, Lord Christian, and Lord Johann, all of them princes of Anhalt, etc., [as well as] Our Most Esteemed Lord Cousin and his Father, respectively, both of blessed Christian memory, therefore graciously granted them a protective mandate, dated on the 4th of March of the year 1653, which they produced together, and since in Our princely territory the tower watchmen, town pipers, shawm players, and village musicians have dared for some time and still continue to the present day to use trumpets and kettledrums at civic and peasant weddings, infant baptisms, annual fairs, and similar convivial gatherings, and even use wooden and sometimes also copper kettledrums with the shawms, which has done much [lit. not little] to diminish and degrade the art of trumpet playing, Our above-mentioned court and field trumpeters as well as military kettledrummers have for this reason humbly asked Us to take them into Our gracious protection. We have found no reason to decline their reasonable request, but rather want to know them always protected and maintained by the above-mentioned Imperial Privilege and [that] of Our highly

Hochgedachter Unserer Löblichen Herren Vorfahren Privilegio geschützt, und darüber beständig gehalten wissen wollen; Als befehlen Wir darauf Unserm Prælaten, denen von der Ritterschaft, Haupt= und Ambts=Leuten, Bürgermeistern und Räthen in denen Städten, auch Richtern und Schultheissen in Flecken und auf denen Dörffern, und insgemein allen Unterthanen, denen dieses Unser Mandat, oder dessen beglaubter Abdruck vorgezeigt, und sie darob umb Schutz gebührend angesuchet werden möchten, sie wollen denen Comödianten, Gaucklern, Glücks=Büdnern, Stadt=Pfeiffern und Thürmern, außerhalb denen Comödien, Gauckel=Spiele, Glücksbuden und Thürmen, ingleichen auch insgemein allen untüchtigen Personen, Bürger und Bauer=Spilleuten, Schallmeyen=Pfeiffern, oder wie sonsten Nahmen haben mögen, weder bey Adelichen, Bürgerlichen oder Bauer=Hochzeiten, Kindtauffen, in denen Wirths=Häusern, auf denen Jahrmärkten, Lobe=Täntzen und dergleichen Conviviis, mit der Trompete, noch mit der Posaune, auf der Trompeter Art zu blasen, und dabey Heerpaucken zu schlagen, im geringsten nicht verstatthen noch zulassen, sondern diejenigen, so sich der gleichen Trompetenblasens und Pauckenschlagens hierwider und Gewinstens willen, bey Zusammenkünfften, sich zu gebrauchen unterfangen würden, zu gehöriger Straffē ziehen, die Trompeten und Heerpaucken ihnen abnehmen, und solche Unserm Hoff= und Feld=Trompetern und Heerpauckern zustellen, auch nach Bewandniß der Sachen zu Unserer ferner gnädigsten Resolution Uns davon unterthänigsten Bericht thun. Daran geschiehet Unser Wille und Meynung. Dessen zu Urkund haben Wir dieses eigenhändig unterschrieben und Unser Fürstl. Secret dafür drucken lassen; So geschehen Zerbst, den 20. August. Anno Christi 1677.

CARL WILHELM, Fürst zu Anhalt, mpp.
(L.S.)

Nachdem Wir nun oberwehnter Unserer Hoff= und Feld=Trompeter, auch Heerpaucker dißfalls an Uns beschehens Supplicatiren in Gnaden erwogen, und darauf in Ansehung ihrer für sich habenden alten und neuen Kayserlichen, auch von Unserm Fürstlichen Vorfahren ihnen erteilten Privilegien, und in mehrern Betracht, daß Zeithero mit dem Trompeten=blasen, so wohl auf denen eigentlichen Trompeten und Posaunen, als auch denen sogenannten Waldhörnern, Inventionen=Trompeten, und andern auf Trompeten=Art zugerichteten Instrumenten, vielfältige Unordnung und Mißbrauch in Städten, auch auf dem Lande und Dörffern, vorgegangen, und dieselben bey Ausrichtungen und Zusammenkünfften gemeiner Bürger= und Bauers=Leute gebrauchet worden, solcher ihrer geziemenden Bitte gnädigst statt zu geben kein Bedencken gefunden; Alß wollen Wir vorstehendens von Hochgedachten Unserns in GOtt seeligst ruhenden Herrn Vaters Gnaden ertheiltes Privilegium nicht nur, seines wörtlichen Inhalts, hiermit gnädigst continuiret, bestätigt und erneuret haben, sondern erläutern auch, und extendiren dasselbe Krafft dieses dahin, daß künfftig denen Comödianten, Gaucklern, Seiltänzern und dergleichen Leuten, auch

esteemed, praiseworthy noble ancestors. Therefore, We command Our prelates, those of the knighthood, superior and subordinate local officials,⁵⁴ burgomasters and councilmen in their towns, also the judges and sheriffs in hamlets and in the villages, and in general all subjects to whom this Our mandate or an authenticated printed copy shall be shown, and when protection is duly requested of them, they neither allow nor permit in the slightest that actors, jugglers, gamblers, town pipers, or tower watchmen outside of their plays, juggling games, gambling stands, and towers, and similarly, also in general, that all incapable [i.e., improperly trained] persons, civic and peasant musicians, shawm pipers, or whatever they are called, play on trumpets, or on trombones in the manner of trumpets, and at the same time beat military kettledrums at noble, civic, or peasant weddings, infant baptisms, in inns, at annual fairs, *Lobe=Täntzen*, or similar convivial gatherings. But rather those who would undertake the playing of trumpets and beating of kettledrums in violation of this and for profit at gatherings shall be heavily fined and have the trumpets and military kettledrums taken away from them and handed over to Our court and field trumpeters and military kettledrummers. And, depending on the relationship of the circumstances to Our most gracious resolution, report shall most subserviently be made to Us. Thus is done Our will and intent. In witness thereof We have signed this charter in Our own hand and had Our princely seal affixed. Thus done in Zerbst on 20th August in the year of Christ 1677.

CARL WILHELM, Prince of Anhalt, *mpp.*⁵⁵

(*L. S.*)⁵⁶

Now that We have graciously considered that supplicated to Us by Our above-mentioned court and field trumpeters as well as military kettledrummers, and also in light of their possession of old and new Imperial Privileges and also those granted by Our princely forebears, and in further consideration that since then various disturbances and abuses have occurred in the towns as well as in the country and in the villages with regard to trumpet playing, both on actual trumpets and trombones, as well as on so-called hunting horns, invention trumpets, and on other instruments that were made to look [and sound] like trumpets, and that these were used at feasts and gatherings of common townspeople and peasants, We have no misgivings about graciously granting their befitting request; since We not only wish herewith to graciously sustain, confirm, and renew the literal content of the above Privilege granted by Our highly esteemed father, who is blessedly resting in God, but also by virtue of this explain and extend it so that in the future actors, jugglers, tightrope-walkers and such individuals, also as part of their performances, and further *Kunstpfeifer* and town pipers, tower watchmen, beer fiddlers, bear tamers,

bey ihren Spielen, item denen Kunst= und Stadt=Pfeiffern, Thürmern, Bierfiedlern, Bärführern, auch andern Bürger= und Bauer=Spieleuten, sie seyn aus unsern Landen, oder von fremden Dörffern welcher bey Pfingst-Gelagen und Aufziehung derer Bürger und Handwercks=Leute, auch denen Handwercks=Purschen, bey Forttragung ihrer Handwercks Lade oder andern Ausrichtungen und Zusammenkünfften, sie haben Nahmen, wie sie wollen, auf Jahrmärckten, in Raths=Kellern, Bier[=] und andern Wirths=Häusern aufwarten, der Gebrauch derer Trompeten und Paucken auch derer kleinen Waldhörner, oder sogenannten Inventions=Trompeten, gänzlich verbothen seyn sole; Es mögen aber doch die Stadt=Pfeiffer, oder Thürmer, in einem geistlichen Gesänge mit 1. oder aufs meiste mit 2. Trompeten von den Thürmen blasen, auch in der Kirche, bey dem Gottesdienst, zu der Music 1. oder 2. Trompeten gebrauchen; das Te Deum laudamus hingegen soll von selbigen, nach ihrer Arth, mit Zincken und Posaunen verrichtet, und darzu weder Trompeten noch Paucken genommen werden. Es ergeheth demnach hiermit an alle und jede Unsere Prælaten, die von der Ritterschaft, Haupt= und Ambt=Leute, Bürgermeister und Ræthe in denen Städten, auch Richter und Schultheissen in Flecken und auf denen Dörffern, Unser gnädigster, doch ernster Befehl, über diesem von Uns erneuerten Privilegio und Mandat steiff, fest und [un]verbrüchlich zu halten, insondernheit das Tantz= Lermen= und Aufzüge=Blasen auf Trompeten und andern Instrumenten sonderlich aber mit kleinen Waldhörnern, oder sogenannten Inventions=Trompeten, wenn gleich von Ministris, Cavalieren, Officiren, graduirten und in Unsern Diensten, oder sonst in officio public stehenden Personen, Ausrichtungen, Ehren= und Gast=Mahle geschehen, bey sich und denen Ihrigen nicht zu verstatten, sondern solches unter einer Straffe von Fu[e]nfßtzig R[eichs]thaler, davon der fünffte Theil denen sämbtlichen Trompetern und Pauckern verfallen seyn soll, zu untersagen, darwieder zum Schaden und Nachtheil offft erwehnter Trompeter= und Heerpaucker=Cameradschafft, auf keine Weise handeln zu lassen, sondern dieselben wieder die Verbrecher und U[e]bertreter jederzeit bis an Uns gehörig zu schützen, und ihnen, wenn sie darumb angelanget werden, wie auch bedürffenden Falls von selbst, hülffliche Hand zu leisten, denen Comödianten, Gaucklern, Seiltänzern, und dergleichen Leuten, das Trompetenblasen, auch bey ihren Spielen in den Städten nicht zu gestatten, und nicht minder für ihre eigne Personen sich demselben, bey Vermeidung ernster Straffe und einsehens, allenthalben gemäß zu bezeigen. Zu dessen mehrerer Urkunde haben Wir nicht nur das auf Pergament geschriebene Original dieser unser Confirmation eigenhändig unterzeichnet, und Unser Fürstl. Insiegel wissentlich daran hangen lassen, sondern es ist auch zu jedermans Wissenschaft, durch den Druck bekandt gemacht worden. Datum auf Unser Residentz zu Zerbst, den 16. Januar. Anno 1728.

JOHANN AUGUST.

L. S.

and other civic and peasant musicians, be they from Our lands or from foreign locations, who entertain at Pentecost festivities and processions of the townspeople and tradesmen, as well as of the journeymen parading with the chest of their craft, or at other feasts and gatherings, whatever they may be called, at annual fairs, in council taverns, beer houses, and other inns, shall be entirely forbidden the use of trumpets and kettledrums, and small hunting horns and so-called invention trumpets. However, the town pipers and tower watchmen may play a sacred song from the towers using one, or at the most two, trumpets; also in the church, during worship services, one or two trumpets may be used in the music. The *Te Deum laudamus*, however, shall be performed by the same, according to their practice, on cornetts and trombones, but neither trumpets nor kettledrums may be used. Herewith is therefore issued Our most gracious, yet earnest decree, to each and every one of Our prelates, those of the knighthood, superior and subordinate local officials, burgomasters and councilors in their towns, also to the judges and sheriffs in hamlets and in the villages, to firmly, truly, and steadfastly uphold this Privilege and Mandate, which We have renewed, in particular with regard to the playing of dances, alarms, and processional fanfares on trumpets and other instruments, but especially on small hunting horns and so-called invention trumpets, which shall not be permitted, either by themselves or by their subordinates, at public events, banquets with guests of honor, and dinners, even if these are hosted by ministers, knights, officers, persons with a university degree in Our service, or who otherwise fill a public office. A penalty of fifty *Reichsthaler* shall be imposed against [violators], with a fifth part going to all of the trumpeters and kettledrummers, and [those who are to uphold this Privilege are to let nobody] act in a manner that would be to the detriment or disadvantage of the frequently mentioned trumpeters' and kettledrummers' association, but rather to protect the same with proper respect on Our behalf and at all times against the criminals and violators, and to lend them [the court trumpeters and kettledrummers] a helping hand, if they request it, or if necessary, without having been asked, [and] to forbid actors, jugglers, tightrope walkers, or other such individuals, to play the trumpet, even in their performances in the towns. And no less for their own persons, they shall everywhere show themselves in conformity, in order to avoid a serious penalty, and judiciousness. For the purpose of its dissemination, We have not only signed in Our own hand this Our confirmation of the original, which was written on vellum, and deliberately had Our princely seal attached to it, but it has also, for everybody's knowledge, been promulgated in print. Dated at Our residence in Zerbst on 16th January in the year 1728.

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Notes

¹ Edward H. Tarr, “Mandate Against the Unauthorized Playing of Trumpets and Beating of Military Kettledrums Dated the 23rd of July in the Year 1711: English Translation and Commentary,” *International Trumpet Guild Journal*, special supplement, 1991; and idem, “Further Mandate Against the Unauthorized Playing of Trumpets (Dresden, 1736): Introduction and Translation,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 13 (2001): 67–89, online DOI: 10.2153/0120010011003.

² The 1711 Saxon Mandate is available online: http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Erneuertes_Mandat_wieder_das_unbefugte_Trompeten-Blasen_und_Heer-Paucken-Schlagen. A facsimile of the 1736 version was published by Bert Siegmund, ed., *Mandat Wieder Das unbefugte Trompeten=Blasen und Heer=Paucken=Schlagen (Dresden 1736)*, with an introduction (“Zur Einführung”) by Klaus Thomayer, *Michaelsteiner Forschungsbeiträge* 20 (Blankenburg: Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, 2000).

³ Quotation from the 1736 Saxon Mandate, see Tarr, “Further Mandate,” 67.

⁴ See *ibid.*, 68–69.

⁵ Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter- und Pauker-Kunst* (Halle [an der Saale], 1795), available online: http://imslp.org/wiki/Versuch_einer_Anleitung_zur_heroisch-musikalischen_Trompeter_und_Pauker-Kunst_%28Altenburg,_Johann_Ernst%29. An English translation was prepared by Edward H. Tarr (Nashville: Brass Press, 1974).

⁶ Lars E. Laubhold, *Magie der Macht: Eine quellenkritische Studie zu Johann Ernst Altenburgs Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter- und Pauker-Kunst (Halle, 1795)*, *Salzburger Stier* 2 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009). Detlev Altenburg was, incidentally, the first to question J.E. Altenburg’s viewpoints; see his *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Trompete im Zeitalter der Clarinblaskunst (1500–1800)* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1973), part 1.

⁷ Christian Ahrens, “Fiktion und Realität: Die Privilegien der Trompeter und Pauker,” in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 68, no. 3 (2011): 227 (abstract in English).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 227–55 and no. 4 (2011): 319–35.

⁹ The quotation is from Tarr, “Further Mandate,” 70, based on Thomayer, “Zur Einführung,” 7. See also Ahrens, “Fiktion und Realität,” 227 and 229.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 227, n. 1. Ahrens consistently uses the term *Trompeter-Gemeinschaft* to emphasize the anachronistic nature of the term *Zunft* (guild). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

¹¹ Copies of the *Privilegium* are extant in the Stadtarchiv Zerbst/Anhalt, Historisches Archiv (hereafter: D-StAZE), lfd. Nr. 234, fol. 1r–4r as well as at the Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt in Dessau (hereafter: D-LHASA, DE), Z88, Facharchiv Zerbst, Fach 75, Nr. 1, fol. 78r–81r. I would like to thank Andreas Dittmann, mayor of Zerbst/Anhalt, Germany, for his kind permission to reproduce the title page of the Zerbst copy (see Figure 1). The latter is reproduced in full in Barbara M. Reul, “Trompeter am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof und ein neu aufgefundenes Trompeter-Mandat von 1728,” in *Fasch und Dresden*, *Fasch-Studien* 12 (Beeskow: ortus, 2013), 187–207, here 202–07.

¹² The 1736 Saxon Mandate also quotes the 1661 Mandate in full.

¹³ In the 1677 Mandate, Prince Carl Wilhelm identified Elector Johann Georg II of Saxony (1613–80) as his “cousin and godfather.” Margarethe of Anhalt (1494–1521) had married Duke Johann the Constant of Saxony (1468–1532) in 1513.

¹⁴ The sound of the “kleinen Wald-Hörner” and the “Inventions-Trompeten” (also called “Italian trumpets”) was reminiscent of trumpets, but they looked different: the hunting horns had different mouthpieces, while the invention trumpets used a tuning slide in U-form.

¹⁵ Apparently, the four ruling Princes of Anhalt—including Johann von Anhalt-Zerbst, Prince Carl Wilhelm's father—had jointly produced the very first trumpeter mandate in March 1653, but its text was not included in the 1677 mandate.

¹⁶ "Thürmer, Stadt=Pfeiffer; Schallmeyer und Spiel=Leute ... welches dann die Trompeter=Kunst nicht wenig verkleinerlich und verächtlich [mache]." Trumpeters and military kettledrummers covered by the Imperial Privilege could fraternize with untrained persons only at the risk of losing their privileged status.

¹⁷ "seeligst ruhenden Herrn Vaters Gnaden ertheilt[e] Privilegium nicht nur, seines wörtlichen Inhalts, hiermit gnädigst [zu] continuire[n], bestätige[n] und erneure[n] ... [und zu] extendiren." It is likely that the local trumpeter and kettledrummer *Cameradschaft* had unsuccessfully petitioned the prince before 1728.

¹⁸ The 1711 and 1736 Saxon Mandates as well as the 1699 Weimar Mandate forbade performances at similar types of public events, as well as on sacred occasions (*Kirchmessen*, church fairs).

¹⁹ "Es mögen aber doch die Stadt=Pfeiffer, oder Thürmer, in einem geistlichen Gesänge mit 1. oder aufs meiste mit 2. Trompeten von den Thürmen blasen." See also Detlev Altenburg, "Zum Repertoire der Türmer, Stadtpfeifer und Ratsmusiker im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Bericht über die Zweite Internationale Fachtagung zur Erforschung der Blasmusik, Uster 1977, Alta Musica* 4 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), 9–32, here 15.

²⁰ "auch in der Kirche, bey dem Gottesdienst, zu der Music 1. oder 2. Trompeten gebrauchen; das Te Deum laudamus hingegen soll von selbigen, nach ihrer Arth, mit Zincken und Posaunen verrichtet, und darzu weder Trompeten noch Paucken genommen werden."

²¹ As a result, the town pipers of Coswig (the residence of the dowager princesses of Anhalt-Zerbst) were granted their own *Privilegium* in two volumes in 1727. These sources are no longer extant.

²² For a general historical overview (with emphasis on courts in central and southern Germany), see Tanya Kevorkian, "Town Musicians in German Baroque Society and Culture," *German History* 30, no. 3 (2012): 350–71.

²³ Hermann Wäschke, "Musikantenprivilegium 1670," *Alt-Zerbst: Mitteilungen aus der Geschichte von Zerbst und Ankuhn* 2, no. 75 (1905). It outlines Steinbrecher's duties: in addition to having to perform at both Lutheran Orthodox churches in Zerbst (i.e., St. Trinitatis and St. Bartholomäi) as well as on the Bartholomäi church tower, he was allowed to keep four journeymen and three apprentices as *Kunstpfeiffer* and to play at local weddings.

²⁴ See Barbara M. Reul, "Court Musicians at Anhalt-Zerbst: New Sources for Eighteenth-Century Employment Practices," in *Haydn and His Contemporaries*, ed. Sterling Murray (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2011), 122–23, which detail Vent's duties.

²⁵ The Imperial Privilege did not allow court trumpeters and kettledrummers to join forces with other musicians who were not part of an official *Cameradschaft*.

²⁶ In 1677 Prince Carl Wilhelm of Anhalt-Zerbst merely threatened violators not covered by the Imperial Privilege with a hefty penalty, but failed to specify an exact amount.

²⁷ Reul, "Trompeter am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof," 195–96.

²⁸ See "Von Gottes Gnaden Wir...", trumpeter mandate of Dukes Wilhelm Ernst and Johann Ernst von Sachsen-Weimar (1699), Varia of the Herzogin Anna Amalia Library Weimar, call number G2: 27 [a], HAAB Monographien Digital; available online: http://ora-web.swkk.de/digimo_online/digimo.entry?source=digimo.Digitalisat_anzeigen&a_id=9395.

²⁹ With regard to loss of income, see Reul, "Trompeter am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof," 192, n. 19. The (huge!) sum of fifteen *Reichsthaler* was paid to several unidentified trumpeters who had played for a wedding on 17 June 1670. Moreover, Christian Meyer, a *Musicus Instrumentalis*, asked the court for permission in 1697 to hire trumpeters on the occasion of his wedding, but failed to specify

whether he was going to approach performers covered by the Imperial Privilege or explore other options. It is also unclear how much money he was willing (or required) to pay, but his request proves that musicians who played trumpets or trumpet-shaped objects were in demand.

³⁰ See the respective references in the Weimar and Dresden Mandates.

³¹ In 1677 violators still had to hand over their instruments to the court trumpeters and military kettledrummers, as in Dresden.

³² See Reul, "Trompeter am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof," 196.

³³ John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 236.

³⁴ These numbers are also confirmed by Hermann Wäschke, "Zerbster Hoftrompeter," *Alt-Zerbst* 3, no. 201 (1906).

³⁵ The court of Gotha, for example, used funds from the *Kriegskasse* (war chest), see Reul, "Trompeter am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof," 196; see Tables 1–3 for the names of court trumpeters and kettledrummers who served between 1663 and 1763. See also Reul, "The Court of Anhalt-Zerbst," 300–03.

³⁶ See Barbara M. Reul, "Catherine the Great and the Role of Celebratory Music at the Court of Anhalt-Zerbst," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 6, no. 3 (2006): 280–81.

³⁷ See D-LHASA, DE, Z92, Kammer Zerbst, Kammerrechnungen, entries in court account books from 1681–1793, and Wäschke, "Zerbster Hoftrompeter."

³⁸ These musicians were also involved in military exercises and expeditions, an important requirement for trumpeters and kettledrummers who wished to take on students. See D. Altenburg, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Trompete*, 1:138.

³⁹ Reul, "The Court of Anhalt-Zerbst," 263.

⁴⁰ See Hermann Wäschke, "Rölligs Kantate für St. Jakobs-Tag," *Zerbster Jahrbuch* (1908): 18. Moreover, it is likely that they processed in together with the court Kapelle, see Reul, "Trompeter am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof," 192–93.

⁴¹ For an examination of extant eighteenth-century Zerbst hymnals, see Chapter 5 of Nigel Springthorpe's Ph.D. dissertation, "Passion Composition and Composers of Passion Music Associated with the Court of Anhalt-Zerbst" (University of Surrey, 1997).

⁴² See the respective entries in D-LHASA, DE, Z91, Konsistorium Zerbst, vols. 352–72. Regarding princely birthdays, see Rashid-S. Pegah, "Fürst Johann Augusts Geburtstag anno 1728: Ein Rahmen für Johann Friedrich Faschs 'Jagdconcerto' (FWV L:D6)?" in *Fasch—Vater und Sohn*, Fasch-Studien 11 (Beeskow: ortus, 2011), 28.

⁴³ The new online thematic catalogue of Fasch's works ("Fasch-Repertorium") by Gottfried Gille and Brian Clark offers detailed descriptions, including the scoring, of Fasch's vocal music at www.faschverzeichnis.wordpress.com, specifically of his church cantatas, Magnificat, and vesper psalms.

⁴⁴ See Reul, "Trompeter am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof," 200. Given that this primary source is no longer accessible, it is unclear whether their petition was successful.

⁴⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (Berlin, 1757/58), Stück 3, 196–97, see http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Historisch-Kritische_Beytr%C3%A4ge_zur_Aufnahme_der_Musik_Bd.3.pdf?page=

⁴⁶ See *ibid.*, Stück 2, 130–31.

⁴⁷ The other "violinist" was the custodian of the court chapel (*Hofkirchner*). See Reul, "Music at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst," 276, which erroneously refers to only six violinists.

⁴⁸ The changing roles of military musicians, including seventeenth- and eighteenth-century court trumpeters, is discussed by Christian Ahrens, "Concert, Abendessen und Ball: Neue Strategien

und deren Auswirkungen in der Militärmusik nach 1800,” in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch des Tiroler Landesmuseums* (2010): 13–27, online: WissJbTirolerLM_3_130027.pdf.

⁴⁹ Alternative term for town musician, see *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst*, ed. Gustav Schilling (Stuttgart: Franz Heinrich Köhler, 1838), s.v. *Stadtmusicus*.

⁵⁰ Yet another term for town musicians, see *ibid.*, s.v. *Hausmann*; see also Kevorkian, “Town Musicians in German Baroque Society and Culture,” 354.

⁵¹ Literally “dances of rejoicing.” A synonymous eighteenth-century term was apparently “Laube-Tänze” (lit. “arbour dances”), see Johann Leonhard Frisch, *Teutsch-Lateinisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1741), s.v. *Laube*.

⁵² In central Germany this term referred to apprentices of tower watchmen. See Mirko Soll, *Verrechtlichte Musik: Die Stadtmusicanten der Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein*, Kieler Studien zur Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte 5 (Münster: Waxmann, 2006), 82, n. 284.

⁵³ The Imperial Vicar was a prince-electoral charged with administering the Holy Roman Empire during an interregnum. See Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon* (Halle and Leipzig, 1731–54), s.v. *Reiches-Vicarien*.

⁵⁴ The terms “Haupt- und Amtsleute” could also refer to captains and bailiffs.

⁵⁵ *Manu pro propria*, i.e., by one’s own hand.

⁵⁶ *Loco sigili*, i.e., place of the seal.

