

**Crossing Confessional  
Boundaries:  
The Patronage of Italian  
Sacred Music in  
Seventeenth-Century Dresden**

*MARY E. FRANDSEN*

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS**

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*To my family*

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13 February 2005

# Contents

Abbreviations xi

List of Musical Examples xiii

Prologue: The Forgotten *Mäzen* Johann Georg II 3

1 The Advent of the Italians, 1651–56 6

2 The Italianate *Hofkapelle* of Johann Georg II, 1656–80 32

3 Johann Georg II and the Problem of Catholicism 76

4 Piety, Penitence, and Praise: The Dresden Textual Repertoire 101

5 *Roma trapiantata*: The New Sacred Concerto in Dresden 172

6 *Musica pathetica*: Style and Affect in the Dresden Concerto 245

7 Johann Georg's Vision for Worship 341

8 *Musik im Gottesdienst*: The Liturgical Year at the Dresden Court 362

Epilogue: Johann Georg II Remembered 438

Appendix I: Source Documents 443

Appendix II: Sacred Vocal Works of the  
Principal Dresden Court Composers 455

Bibliography of Primary Sources 481

Bibliography of Secondary Sources 487

Index 501

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# Abbreviations

ASV	Archivio di Stato Veneto
BBKL	<i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i> , electronic version [followed by volume:column(s)]
EQL	Robert Eitner, ed., <i>Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon</i>
d	<i>denarii</i>
D-B	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikab- teilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv
fl	<i>floren (gulden)</i>
gr	<i>groschen</i>
LU	<i>Liber usualis</i>
N. S.	New Style
GMO	<i>Grove Music Online</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , electronic version [followed by volume: column(s)]
O. S.	Old Style
S-Uu	Uppsala University Library
Sächs HStA	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden
SLUB	Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden
tl	<i>taler</i>

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## *List of Musical Examples*

- 5.1. Gratiani, *O bone Jesu*, mm. 1–16 177
- 5.2. Gratiani, *O bone Jesu*, mm. 25–50 179
- 5.3. Gratiani, *O bone Jesu*, mm. 51–67 181
- 5.4. Gratiani, *O bone Jesu*, mm. 68–83 183
- 5.5. Gratiani, *O cor meum*, mm. 1–17 187
- 5.6. Gratiani, *O cor meum*, mm. 63–99 189
- 5.7. Albrici, *O cor meum*, mm. 17–30 193
- 5.8. Albrici, *O cor meum*, mm. 42–49 195
- 5.9. Albrici, *O cor meum*, mm. 112–26 196
- 5.10. Carissimi, *Militia est vita hominis*, mm. 78–88 200
- 5.11. Peranda, *Languet cor meum*, mm. 207–15 205
- 5.12. Albrici, *Mihi autem*, mm. 28–42 206
- 5.13. Albrici, *Mihi autem*, mm. 76–86 207
- 5.14. Peranda, *Peccavi o Domine*, mm. 57–72 209
- 5.15. Albrici, *Hymnum jucunditatis*, mm. 8–17 212
- 5.16. Albrici, *Misericordias Domini*, mm. 8–30 213
- 5.17. Peranda, *Quo tendimus mortales*, mm. 1–39 216
- 5.18. Peranda, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, mm. 107–20 220
- 5.19. Peranda, *Spirate suaves*, mm. 76–89, 129–45 223
- 5.20. Peranda, *Spirate suaves*, mm. 92–128 226
- 5.21. Peranda, *Spirate suaves*, Alleluia themes A–D 228
- 5.22. Marciani, *Quasi stella matutina*, mm. 18–30 232
- 5.23. Albrici, *Benedicte Domine*, mm. 9–21 235
- 5.24. Albrici, *Benedicte Domine*, mm. 26–63 237
  
- 6.1. Peranda, *O Jesu mi dulcissime*, mm. 1–14 253
- 6.2. Peranda, *O Jesu mi dulcissime*, mm. 15–69 254
- 6.3. Peranda, *O Jesu mi dulcissime*, mm. 70–83 261
- 6.4. Peranda, *Jesu dulcis, Jesu pie*, mm. 1–16 263

- 6.5. Peranda, *Jesu dulcis, Jesu pie*, mm. 65–81 266
- 6.6. Peranda, *Jesu dulcis, Jesu pie*, mm. 115–30 268
- 6.7. Peranda, *Te solum aestuat*, mm. 29–59 272
- 6.8. Peranda, *Te solum aestuat*, mm. 60–75 275
- 6.9. Peranda, *Te solum aestuat*, 76–109 277
- 6.10. Peranda, *Te solum aestuat*, 185–204 278
- 6.11. Albrici, *Omnis caro foenum*, mm. 1–28 282
- 6.12. Albrici, *Omnis caro foenum*, mm. 54–69 290
- 6.13. Albrici, *Cogita o homo*, Comparison of Aria Strophes 294
- 6.14. Peranda, *Quis dabit capiti meo aquas*, mm. 12–33 300
- 6.15. Peranda, *Quis dabit capiti meo aquas*, mm. 8–11 302
- 6.16. Peranda, *Quis dabit capiti meo aquas*, mm. 61–102 303
- 6.17. Cherici, *Deplorandus et amarus*, mm. 1–29 307
- 6.18. Cherici, *Deplorandus et amarus*, mm. 125–41 308
- 6.19. Cherici, *Deplorandus et amarus*, mm. 190–205 310
- 6.20. Albrici, *Spargite flores*, mm. 70–110 314
- 6.21. Albrici, *Spargite flores*, mm. 111–26 316
- 6.22. Albrici, *Spargite flores*, mm. 311–22 317
- 6.23. Carissimi, *Viderunt te Domine*, mm. 22–36 321
- 6.24. Carissimi, *Viderunt te Domine*, mm. 43–65 323
- 6.25. Peranda, *Dedit abyssus*, mm. 1–17 326
- 6.26. Peranda, *Dedit abyssus*, mm. 82–103 328
- 6.27. Peranda, *Accurrite gentes*, mm. 103–24 335
- 6.28. Peranda, *Accurrite gentes*, mm. 166–80 337
  
- 8.1. Albrici, *Dixit Dominus*, mm. 95–111 375
- 8.2. Albrici, *Missa*, Kyrie, mm. 1–9 388
- 8.3. Albrici, *Missa*, Christe, mm. 61–72 390
- 8.4. Albrici, *Missa*, Credo, mm. 1–7 393
- 8.5. Albrici, *Missa*, Credo, “Crucifixus” and “Et resurrexit,” mm. 95–118 395
- 8.6. Peranda, *Missus est Angelus*, mm. 1–24 399
- 8.7. Peranda, *Dic nobis Maria*, mm. 1–10 407
- 8.8. Peranda, *Repleti sunt omnes*, mm. 34–45 412
- 8.9. Johann Georg II, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, mm. 1–25 416

# Crossing Confessional Boundaries





*Elector Johann Georg II (1656–1680), c. 1678, by Samuel Bottschildt (1641–1706). Oil on wood, Dresden: Historical Museum, G. G. 49. Original was destroyed in World War II; reproduction provided by the Deutsche Fotothek of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden. Used by permission of the Rüstkammer of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.*

## Prologue

### The Forgotten *Mäzen* Johann Georg II

Staying in Venice amongst old friends, I discovered a method of composition which has been considerably altered and has in part put aside ancient styles, and will play with fresh enchantment on today's ears; so that I might bring forth something adapted to the modes of this school from the resources of my efforts in accordance with my purpose, I have devoted my spirit and strength to it.

—Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae* I, xxix

SO WROTE Schütz from Venice in 1629, in the preface to his collection of Latin “sacred symphonies,” published there that same year and dedicated to Prince Johann Georg II of Saxony (1613–80), the son of his patron, Elector Johann Georg I (r. 1611–56). Long regarded as an important statement from Schütz regarding his engagement with the new Venetian style of the 1620s, the preface also stands as an early testament to the musical inclinations of this young prince, who would in time gather together one of the most expansive and cosmopolitan court musical ensembles in northern Europe. In his dedication, Schütz reveals that the young man was already a formidable arbiter of musical taste, one who would “principally approve” if the Kapellmeister could offer him “something from [his] studies which is not of the common sort.”<sup>1</sup> But for as much as it reveals of the prince’s appreciation of music at the advanced age of sixteen, this preface also holds a great irony, for nearly thirty years later, as elector, this same Johann Georg II would introduce in his chapel yet another “method of composition” that had been “considerably altered,” and had “in part put aside ancient styles,” one that had also originated in an Italian musical center—Rome. But rather than serve to enrich and inform the musical style then current at the court, this new “method of composition” would usurp completely the place of the works of the famous author of this encomium, in the very chapel in which he had served for decades.

1. Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae* I, xxix.

In treatments of the political, social, and cultural history of Saxony, Elector Johann Georg II (r. 1656–80) generally receives only scant mention.<sup>2</sup> Scholars of musical life in Dresden during the Baroque era have focused their attention on the reigns of Johann Georg I, Friedrich August I (r. 1694–1733), and Friedrich August II (r. 1733–63), and have left the decades of the later seventeenth century largely unexplored. Historians have traditionally dismissed Johann Georg II as a rather insignificant sovereign, one equally famous for his profligate spending on events designed to project an image of wealth and power as for his mastery of the politics of vacillation in both the confessional and geopolitical arenas. His long-term impact as a politician may perhaps be characterized as minimal, particularly when compared to the contributions of such contemporaries as King Louis XIV (r. 1661–1715), Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658–1705), and “the Great Elector,” Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg (r. 1640–88). Undoubtedly his absence from the circle of major political players during this era has fostered a general view of his court as insignificant. But the resulting lack of attention to musical activity during his reign is unjustified, for here Johann Georg II stands as a bold and venturesome spirit, one who crossed confessional boundaries in order to introduce the most recent Italian sacred music into this Lutheran area of northern Europe. As elector of Saxony, he could easily have filled the post of Kapellmeister with any number of Lutheran composers—men such as Christoph Bernhard, Andreas Hammerschmidt, and Sebastian Knüpfer, whose compositional styles would have allowed him to forge a link with the musical past as defined by the music of Schütz. Yet rather than continue in the path of his father, Johann Georg II opted to break with tradition entirely. Thus he brought castrati to Dresden, appointed Roman composers as his Kapellmeisters, and advanced a new musical idiom in his court chapel, one whose influence would be felt in courts and cities as far away as Stockholm. With its large, Italian-dominated *Hofkapelle*, his court stood with those of the Holy Roman Emperor and the elector of Bavaria as one of the most important centers of musical patronage in the German-speaking lands.

As elector, Johann Georg II cultivated music in all three of the traditional spheres of court musical activity—the church, the chamber, and the theater. While not a center of opera, his court did mount performances of two Italian operas during his reign, as well as a number of German operas. Court documents also testify to the importance of music in the chamber, which usually took the form of *Tafelmusik* performed by a variety of ensembles, including the *Hofkapelle*, during extravagant meals held both in the castle and out-of-doors. But such performances hardly require an expensive troupe of Italian virtuosi. Johann Georg, however, seems to have developed a preference for Italian music early in life, likely as a result of

2. In the area of culture, however, a recent study forms an exception; see Watanabe-O’Kelly 2002.

Schütz's influence, and established his musical ensemble chiefly as a vehicle for the performance of Italianate sacred music during court worship services. He also left behind a record of musico-liturgical life at a mid-century Lutheran court that is as remarkable as it is rare, for it includes numerous orders of worship in which are recorded the musical works performed during weekly church services over a twenty-year period. The mere existence of such evidence testifies to Johann Georg's dedication to and determined cultivation of sacred music in the Italian style, but his desire to preserve a chronicle of his musical and liturgical achievements strongly suggests that he regarded both as important aspects of his legacy.

Undoubtedly a constellation of motivating factors, among them musical taste, an obsession with courtly representation and image creation, a desire to keep pace with developments in Vienna and Munich, and quite possibly Catholic leanings on his part, lay behind Johann Georg's decision to depart from the musical path forged by his father and to privilege things Italian in his chapel. But regardless of the particular configuration of impulses that fostered its genesis, an Italianate musical enterprise flourished in Dresden between 1650 and 1680, and behind this enterprise stood the person of Johann Georg II. Although the importance of the contributions of musicians to this venture cannot be understated, it is Johann Georg who ultimately must be credited with its success; given the number of elements—confessional, economic, and nationalistic—that conspired against it, such an ambitious undertaking undoubtedly would have failed in the absence of his vision, dogged determination, and willingness to take risks. Thus he stands at the center of this study, which in its broadest outlines is an examination of one seventeenth-century patron's realization of a musical ideal. It represents an attempt to remedy the lack of musicological attention to his court, and to shine a bright light on the period of tremendous musical growth and creativity that was the middle Baroque in Dresden, so that those musicians who made such developments possible—Vincenzo Albrici, Giuseppe Peranda, Carlo Pallavicino, and Sebastiano Chericì—might no longer languish in obscurity, but might take their places alongside those who have come to define the early and late Baroque eras in Dresden—Schütz on the one hand, and Heinichen, Hasse, and Zelenka on the other.

## *The Advent of the Italians, 1651–56*

DESPITE HIS oft-bemoaned status as a cash-strapped monarch-in-waiting, at some point in 1650 Prince Johann Georg decided to take the radical step of enhancing his own musical ensemble with Italians.<sup>1</sup> His decision represents a fundamental change in his approach, for until this time the prince had either collaborated or consulted with Schütz in his various efforts to influence personnel decisions in his father's ensemble.<sup>2</sup> Now, with the war at an end and his father in his mid-sixties, the prince clearly began to think as a man who would soon inherit a throne and all of the rights and responsibilities attendant upon it—including the cultivation and maintenance of a powerful and glorious image—and thus began to prepare for his own future reign. Significantly, in the fall of 1649 the prince received a report extolling music in Venice from Henrich Hermann von Oeÿnhausen. An advisor to the prince's brother-in-law, Landgrave Georg II of Hessen-Darmstadt (r. 1626–61), Oeÿnhausen was traveling in Italy with the landgrave's son (and the prince's nephew), Ludwig VI (r. 1661–78).<sup>3</sup> Oeÿnhausen visited several of the major musical establishments in the Lagoon City and spoke with wonderment of what he heard:

Otherwise music flourishes here most excellently. The Doge's Kapelle consists of 40 very good musicians, and the Kapellmeister is so excellent that His Imperial Majesty sought to gain his service, and offered him 4,000 *Reichsthaler*; after the Kapellmeister, the organist in the Kapelle is considered masterful and without peer. In sum, Parnassus is to be sought in Italy, which has no comparison anywhere. Not only are all of the discantists in the *cappella* here castrati, but even the altos as well, and they each possess a constant, unchangeable voice. We cannot easily have such voices in Germany,

1. For a discussion of the prince's musical ensemble in the 1630s and 1640s, see Frandsen 1997:1:1–25.

2. See Frandsen 2000.

3. In 1646, Henrich Hermann von Oeÿnhausen served as “Fürstl. Hessen Darmst. Raht und Junger Herrschafft Hoffmeister”; see Lenz 1985:258.

and must make due with those voices liable to change. There is a cloister here called *La Pietà*,<sup>4</sup> in which the orphans are girls; these make such music together that there is nothing that surpasses it; they excel in both vocal and instrumental music, and one of the older girls sings with such perfection that she is heard with astonishment; I have often wished that such music might resound in the electoral court chapel in Dresden.<sup>5</sup>

Oeßnhausen was privileged to hear the cappella of Giovanni Rovetta, whom Emperor Ferdinand III did indeed attempt to lure to Vienna, and also enjoyed the keyboard virtuosity of Massimiliano Neri, who served as first organist at St. Mark's from 1644 to 1664.<sup>6</sup> Oeßnhausen's enthusiastic description of the castrati at St. Mark's seems to have whetted the prince's musical appetite, for one of Johann Georg's next hires was the Venetian soprano castrato, Giovanni Andrea Angelini Bontempi (ca. 1624–1705). Oeßnhausen may have heard Bontempi in the basilica that day and approached the singer concerning his possible relocation to Dresden.<sup>7</sup>

Not long after receiving Oeßnhausen's letter, Prince Johann Georg embarked on an Italian musical adventure that would last for thirty years, and would alter the course of sacred music in Dresden as well as in middle Germany. By the spring of 1651, the prince had managed to expand his own musical ensemble (separate from that of his father) to include thirteen adults and five youths, and to hire six new musicians, among them three Germans (Ferdinand Francke, Balthasar Sedenig, and Johann Friedrich Volprecht) and three Italians (Bontempi, Stefano Sauli, and Giovanni Severo). Not only did this expansion in personnel open up new repertorial possibilities, it also marked the beginning of the era of the hegemony of the castrato in Dresden. Johann Georg II was by no means the first Saxon prince or elector to hire Italians; already in the sixteenth century, Antonio Scandello and Giovanni Battista Pinelli had served as Kapellmeister at the Dresden court, several Italian instrumentalists had served in the *Hofkapelle* of Elector Christian II, and violinists Carlo Farina and Francesco Castelli had briefly served in the *Hofkapelle* of Johann Georg I.<sup>8</sup> And Johann Georg II was certainly not the first Lutheran poten-

4. Serving as *maestro di coro* at the Ospedale La Pietà in 1649 was Antonio Gualtieri; see Baldauf-Berdes 1993:188.

5. Sächs HStA Loc. 8562/1, fols. 44v–45r, Henrich Herrmann von Oeßnhausen to Johann Georg II, 21 September 1649. The German text appears in Appendix I (no. 1).

6. On the offer to Rovetta, see Saunders 1995:7; on Neri's career in Venice, see Sadie 1990:34.

7. Fürstenau suggested that Bernhard brought Bontempi back from Italy in ca. 1649–50 (*Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters*, Fürstenau 1861/1971:40–41, unnumbered note); as Bernhard spent these years in Dresden and northern Germany, however, Oeßnhausen appears the more likely candidate (see Frandsen 2000:23–25, 35).

8. See Landmann 1994:50–51, and Steude 2001/1:28–31.



tate to enhance his musical establishment with castrati; such singers had appeared in Copenhagen already in the 1630s, for example, and even earlier in Stuttgart.<sup>9</sup> However, in maintaining an Italian-dominated musical ensemble for three decades, and in entrusting Catholics exclusively with the musical leadership in his chapel, he stands alone among his co-religionists.

Surprisingly, given the wealth of archival evidence concerning music in Dresden during this era, documents that relate explicitly to the recruitment and hiring of musicians, whether Italian or German, have not survived, and all but one or two of the contracts of the Italian musicians hired between 1650 and 1680 have disappeared as well.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the dates of these three Italians' arrivals and appointments remain approximate. According to a financial document discovered by Beth Glixon, Bontempi was still in Venice in September 1650.<sup>11</sup> Neither Bontempi nor Sauli took part in a *Singballet* performed during a court wedding on 2 December 1650, which may suggest that neither had arrived in Dresden by that time, but the language of that libretto might also have hindered their participation in the performance. The possibility also exists that future court architect Wolf Caspar [von] Klengel, whom Prince Johann Georg sent to Italy in January 1651, played a role in the recruitment of any one or all three of the Italians.<sup>12</sup> The loss of the documentation, however, renders it impossible to determine either their arrival dates or the exact amounts of the presumably high salaries that the prince offered them. In letters of 17 and 22 February 1651 to his father's privy secretary, Christian Reichbrodt, the prince expressed an urgent need for money, as he had on numerous occasions during the previous decade, and stressed the considerable growth of his *Hofstaat* as one of the main reasons behind his appeal.<sup>13</sup> Surely the salaries of six new musicians, especially the large

9. In 1605, the Stuttgart court ensemble included one "Franciscus Franchini, Musicus"; the designation "musicus" often indicates a castrato (see Sittard 1890/1970:34). On castrati at the Danish court of Christian IV, see Hammerich 1892:114, 126–28.

10. Due to the loss of the contracts, one of the most significant surviving documents is a roster, drawn up in 1717, that lists nearly all of the musicians that served Johann Georg II when he was both prince and elector. This list, probably compiled from the contracts, provides the salary and departure date of each musician listed. See Sächs HStA Loc. 32751, Rep. LII. Gen. no. 849, fols. 145r–148v, reproduced in Spagnoli 1990:90–95.

11. ASV, Notarile atti, b. 11050, Piccini 1652, no. 1, 83v, 27 April 1652. I would like to thank Prof. Glixon for informing me of the existence of this and other Venetian archival documents concerning Bontempi, as well as for references to secondary materials. Discussions of several of the Italians who served in Dresden appear in Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, AMS Studies in Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

12. Sächs HStA Loc. 8297/2, fol. 95r–v.

13. Sächs HStA Loc. 8563/2, fols. 187–88.

amounts paid to the Italians, would have exacerbated his financial duress.<sup>14</sup> Irrespective of their exact dates of arrival, all six musicians had joined the prince's ensemble by April 1651, for they appear on a roster drawn up in anticipation of a journey that the elector and prince would take to Lichtenburg later that same month.<sup>15</sup> The placement of Bontempi's name at the top of the list of eighteen musicians indicates that he had assumed the leadership of the prince's ensemble upon his arrival in Dresden. The roster also reveals the prince's priorities with respect to the disposition of higher vocal parts, as all of the eight singers are adult males<sup>16</sup>; the five choirboys listed are instrumentalists. But this Lichtenburg roster and related documents also attest to the growing musical strength of the prince's ensemble *vis a vis* that of the elector, and to the prince's willingness to assert some authority in matters musical, particularly when the court's reputation was at stake, for the records also include a list of the court musicians selected to make the trip to Lichtenburg. This group was dominated by the prince's musicians and apparently stood under the direction of Bontempi, for Schütz did not travel with the ensemble.<sup>17</sup>

Together with the rosters that he prepared for his father in April 1651, Prince Johann Georg also included an explanatory letter (given below). Apparently his father had asked him to supply a list of all of his musicians, including the recent arrivals, presumably to constitute a musical ensemble for the journey. Somehow Prince Johann Georg had "misunderstood" his father's request and had failed to mention two additional Italian musicians, both of whom had suddenly appeared at court two days earlier and had immediately ingratiated themselves with him:

Herewith do I most obediently and humbly report to Your Grace that I reported the very same incorrectly today with respect to the musicians; I thought that Your Grace meant the Germans who have been with me and also those who have recently arrived from elsewhere; [of] the latter are two who came from elsewhere the day before yesterday, by the names of Bandino Bandini, contralto, and Gioseppe Amadei, tenor, which the late Kapellmeister in Denmark, Agostino Fontana, who so earnestly wanted to remain here, engaged for service with the present King in Denmark, where they are now going.<sup>18</sup>

14. According to Robert Eitner, Severo was appointed an instrumentalist in Prince Johann Georg's private cappella in 1651, at a salary of 600 tl—twice that received by Stolle and Werner; see *EQL* 9:149.

15. Sächs HStA Loc. 8687/1, fols. 247v–248r; reproduced in Spagnoli 1990:4.

16. The roster indicates that a number of the adults doubled as both singers and instrumentalists.

17. Sächs HStA Loc. 8687/1, fol. 248r. A list of the elector's musicians precedes the rosters of the prince's ensemble and the group selected to travel to Lichtenburg (*ibid.*, fol. 247r; reproduced in Spagnoli 1990:3–4).

18. Sächs HStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 191r. The German text appears in Appendix I (no. 2).



Neither singer remained in Dresden for long; both soon joined the musical ensemble of Danish King Frederik III.<sup>19</sup> But their appearance had significant musical consequences for the prince's cappella, for Bandini seems to have used his brief stay to engage in some significant musical politicking.

It seems that when faced with the problem of how a German Lutheran prince, with few if any contacts in Italy, might go about recruiting musicians there, Johann Georg first settled upon a rather unethical solution: the purloining of musicians from other northern courts. Thus, in the winter of 1651–52, the prince created something of a brouhaha when he attempted, through the agency of the castrati Bandini and Bontempi, to lure Italian musicians away from the Bavarian *Hofkapelle*. On 31 December 1651,<sup>20</sup> Electress Maria Anna of Bavaria (1609–1665), daughter of Emperor Ferdinand II, wrote to Elector Johann Georg I complaining that four of her Italian musicians had gone missing, having been lured away by Bandino Bandini.<sup>21</sup> According to the electress, Bandini had spent some time at the Bavarian court in 1650–51, and had left early in the spring of 1651 for Dresden, from whence he had promised “all manner of appeasement, such as a high salary, support, and gifts” to four of her musicians, Balthasar Pistorini, Pietro Zambonini, Francesco Santi, and Bartolomeo Sorlisi; as a result, the four had surreptitiously decided to leave Munich and enter the service of the Saxon prince.<sup>22</sup>

In his response of 5 January 1652, Elector Johann Georg I shared in the electress's indignation and assured her that the four were not presently in his son's ensemble.<sup>23</sup> He also indicated that the prince had allowed that Bandini had told him that Maria Anna's musicians had approached him about securing other positions. Still dissatisfied, however, Maria Anna wrote again to Johann Georg I on 9 February 1652 and now asserted that “Buntempi” (rather than Bandini) had sought positions for himself and others in Dresden, on his way to Denmark.<sup>24</sup> To demonstrate the validity of her assertion, she included evidence that Bontempi had negotiated in

19. Pirro 1913/1976:23.

20. Bavaria adopted the Gregorian reform of the calendar in 1583; see Cappelli 1969:30. In the discussion that follows, dates of the correspondence of the electress of Bavaria are N. S., those of the elector and prince of Saxony are O. S.

21. Sächs HStA Loc. 8561/5, no. 15, fols. 236r–237r.

22. “allerhandt vertrösten stattlicher besoldung, vnderhalt vnnd *Donativen*, welche er ihnen mit Vmbständen, vnnd einen ieden Acht hundert Thaller, jährliche *pension* hundert Duceten *di Donativo*, vnnd den raiß costen biß nach Treßen verspricht, dahin zuvermögen sich bemüehet, das Sy hinderruckhs von hier ab: vnnd in E. L. Herrn Sohns diensten zue tretten sich entschlossen haben sollen” (Sächs HStA Loc. 8561/5, no. 15, fol. 236r-v).

23. Sächs HStA Loc. 8560/5, no. 21, fols. 55r–56r, Johann Georg I to Maria Anna of Bavaria, 5 January 1652.

24. Sächs HStA Loc. 8560/5, no. 21, fol. 57.

Augsburg with one of the four musicians, Pistorini, in an attempt to lure him away, and included a copy of the musician's statement of 10 January 1652 testifying to that fact.<sup>25</sup> In his statement, Pistorini revealed that Bontempi had negotiated with him in Augsburg regarding a position in Dresden, had offered him 300 tl for the trip to the Saxon capitol, and had insisted upon strict secrecy until such time that Pistorini had departed the Bavarian court. According to Pistorini's statement, Bontempi had sent the funds for Pistorini's travel to an Augsburg merchant on 18 January 1652 but had rescinded the order a few days later.<sup>26</sup> Upon receipt of this second letter from the electress, Elector Johann Georg I then questioned his son again about the matter and requested a list of the prince's musicians that included the details of their places of origin.<sup>27</sup> The prince dutifully provided such a list (reproduced below), which included none of the four Italians from Munich. In an accompanying letter he protested his innocence and attempted to explain away the situation as the simple result of the Bavarian electress's confusion of the names Bandini and Bontempi.<sup>28</sup> He also reassured his father that he would not hire any of the four musicians, should any of them show up looking for employment.

The true extent of Prince Johann Georg's involvement in this intrigue remains impossible to adduce with certainty, but Pistorini's statement implicates him to a considerable extent, for it suggests that he had dispatched Bontempi to Bavaria to negotiate for him.<sup>29</sup> Not surprisingly, no travel pass for Bontempi's secret journey to Bavaria has surfaced. A recently discovered Venetian notarial document, however, puts the castrato in Augsburg in December 1651—precisely when Pistorini was approached. Very conveniently for the prince, the death in Augsburg of one of Bontempi's relatives, Paulina Zonca, had necessitated that his music director travel to Bavaria to make arrangements for the funeral.<sup>30</sup> The prince's rather cheap attempt to blame the situation on an older woman's confusion suggests that he was trying to cover up Bontempi's activity, which he had doubtless authorized. Never did he allow

25. Sächs HStA Loc. 8560/5, no. 21, fol. 58.

26. Sächs HStA Loc. 8560/5, no. 21, fol. 58. Bontempi had established Munich connections already a decade before this incident occurred; see Sandberger 1901:xx. Sandberger (lxxxiv–lxxxv) includes a document that demonstrates that “ainen welschen Singer Khnaben von Perus, Namens Andre Bontempo” was in Munich in 1641 as a discantist at 30 fl per month, and indicates (xii) that Bontempi studied with Porro in Munich.

27. Sächs HStA Loc. 8560/5, no. 21, fol. 60r.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Karl August Müller briefly discussed this situation and concluded that the prince was not innocent of all charges; see Müller 1838:169–70; Fürstenau also made brief references to the episode (see 1849:74 and 1861/1971:10).

30. A Venetian notarial document dated 20 March 1653 makes reference to a debt incurred by Bontempi in Augsburg in December 1651 (ASV, Notarile atti 3471 Paulini).

that Bontempi had traveled to Bavaria during the period in question. All of the extant documentation, however, suggests that Prince Johann Georg's efforts were in vain, for none of the names of these Bavarian musicians appear on rosters from this period. Nevertheless, the contacts that the prince had established with these musicians did yield dividends in the future, for both Sorlisi and Santi joined his musical ensemble in the late 1650s.

The Bavarian correspondence also preserves a previously unknown roster (see below)<sup>31</sup> of the prince's musicians from January or February 1652, written in the prince's own hand, which reveals that his ensemble had grown by two members since April 1651: the prince had added a new violinist, Samuel Skahn (or Span), who had been a monk in Poland, and Christoph Magnus Naumann, a trombonist who hailed from Brussels.<sup>32</sup>

ROSTER OF PRINCE JOHANN GEORG'S MUSICIANS,  
JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1652

1. Giovanni Andrea Bontempi from Perugia, director, composer and discantist
2. Heinrich Groh, discantist
3. Friedrich Werner, alto and cornettist
4. Francisco Ferdinand Francke, tenor from Beuren
5. Philipp Stolle, tenor and theorbist
6. Stephano Sauli from Rome, bass
7. Christian Kittel, bass and viola da gamba
8. Michael Schmidt, bass and violinist from Bohemia
9. Giovanni Severo, violinist from Verona
10. Balthasar Sedenig, violinist from Rabe in Hungary
11. The new one [Samuel Skahn (or Span)], a violinist from Berlin "in the Mark" who was a monk in Poland<sup>33</sup>
12. Johann Friedrich Volprecht, violist and lutenist
13. Friedrich Westhoff, lutenist

31. Sächs HStA Loc. 8560/5, fol. 59r; the German original appears in Appendix I (no. 3). Here the spelling of most names has been regularized.

32. In the undated letter that accompanies this roster (in which the prince posits the "name confusion" theory), he explains to his father that he had left two names incomplete on the roster, which he had submitted the previous day. He identifies "the new one, a violinist from Berlin 'in the Mark'" as Samuel "Span" (Sächs HStA Loc. 8560/5, fol. 60r). On the 1717 roster, Samuel *Skahn* is listed as a violinist who remained at court until 1654 (see Spagnoli 1990:93). As the latter was likely drawn up from the actual contracts, it is probably a closer approximation of the spelling of the musician's name. In the same letter, the prince also supplies trombonist Nauman's full name.

33. See note 32 above.

14. Gottfriede Pasche, lutenist (is still a youth)
15. [Christoph Magnus] Nauman the sackbut player, who comes from Brussels
16. Matthias Weckmann, organist
17. and 18. Two youths who play the trumpet, and who can also play the sackbut and the “viol”
19. Yet another choirboy who studies the violin and sackbut<sup>34</sup>
20. Yet another choirboy who studies the organ and will be employed to copy music.

#### RECRUITMENT SUCCESSES AND PROBLEMS WITH SCHÜTZ

In the wake of the Bavarian debacle, Prince Johann Georg clearly recognized the need to develop a network of connections in Italy that would allow him to seek Italian musicians there. The first assistance that he received in this endeavor may have come from Bontempi's brother, Vincenzo Angelini.<sup>35</sup> According to a travel pass dated 9 March 1653, the prince sent one “Vincentium Angelini” to Italy to “undertake certain tasks” on his behalf, tasks which were to include some sort of procurement.<sup>36</sup> Angelini is likely the unnamed “agent” referred to by Müller and Fürstenau, both of whom indicated that the prince retained an agent in Venice for the purpose of engaging musicians; this agent also assumed responsibility for the prince's affairs in other Italian cities.<sup>37</sup> Bontempi himself also traveled to Italy early in the spring of 1653, for notarial documents place him in Venice on 20 March and 27 April<sup>38</sup>; his

34. Here again a number of instrumentalists are designated simply “Violist.” Schmidt (no. 8), Severo (no. 9), Sedenig (no. 10), and Skahn (Span, no. 11) appear on the 1717 composite roster among the violinists; on the other hand, Johann Georg refers to Volprecht (no. 12) as a “Violist,” and the 1717 roster lists him among the violists (*Bracisten*) (see Spagnoli 1990:93). The prince also specifies that the choirboy listed as no. 19 studies the violin (“*Geigen*”).

35. In his monograph on Bontempi, Francesco Briganti quotes from a document that registers the death in Brufa (Torgiano) of one Giovanni Andrea Angelini on 28 March 1682 and identifies the deceased as the “son of the late Vincenzo Angelini of Perugia and carnal nephew of Signor Giovanni Andrea Angelini, musician”; see Briganti 1956:39: “A di 28 Marzo 1682 Sig. Giovanni Andrea figlio del quondam Vincenzo Angelini da Perugia, nepote carnale del Sig. Giovanni Andrea Angelini musico, morì qui a Brufa a quattro ore di notte in circa.”

36. Sächs HStA Loc. 8298/7, fol. 43r: “in Italiam se conferre, praesentem Vincentium Angelini ad expedienda quaedam negotia nostra.”

37. Müller 1838:80, and Fürstenau 1861/1971:10.

38. As indicated in the notarial documents discussed above and ASV, Notarile atti, b. 1085, fol. 8, 23 March 1656.

Dresden travel pass, however, does not survive. Perhaps Angelini had traveled to Dresden to visit his brother, or had accompanied him to Saxony back in 1650/51; Johann Georg could easily have engaged him to look for musicians in Italy before his departure.

Assuming that they went in search of musicians, the trip of Bontempi and Angelini paid a dividend, for a comparison of the 1652 roster (above) with the composite roster of 1717 reveals that four Italian musicians arrived sometime after January/February 1652: the castrato Giuseppe Maria Donati, the tenor Stefano Boni, the bass Angelo Maria Donati,<sup>39</sup> and the organist Baldassare Manganoni, who served as Konzertmeister.<sup>40</sup> Although the evidence remains circumstantial at best, it is possible that Bontempi and/or his brother recruited any one or all of these musicians; a Venetian notarial document mentions the castrato with respect to the disposal of Manganoni's estate after his death, which may indicate a longstanding acquaintance with the organist.<sup>41</sup> The four likely represent those new musicians "recently arrived from Italy" that Prince Johann Georg asked Schütz to audition for him in June 1653.<sup>42</sup> The two Donati, who may have been related, may have come from Italy at this time; no information on their pre-Dresden careers has yet surfaced to suggest that they arrived from another northern court. The careers of Giuseppe Maria Donati (later known as *il Baviera*—"the Bavarian") and Stefano Boni testify to the quality of musician that Prince Johann Georg was able to lure to Dresden, if only for a short period of time. After his departure from Dresden in 1654, the castrato Donati enjoyed a career as a highly sought-after singer of opera and oratorio in Innsbruck, Venice, Bologna, Florence, and Rome.<sup>43</sup> Boni (d. 1688), who also joined the prince's ensemble during this period, served Archbishop Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels in the late 1640s and early 1650s; he traveled back to Venice from Brussels in 1649, but

39. It is possible that Donati's voice part was entered incorrectly on the 1717 roster, for a tenor by the same name served the emperor in Vienna from 1 October 1669 until 1670; see Köchel 1869/1976:63.

40. According to Fürstenau, court documents from 1652 on mention Manganoni as the prince's Konzertmeister (1861/1971:32; this evidence has not resurfaced). Manganoni's appointment to the position of Konzertmeister represents the inception of that title at the Dresden court.

41. ASV, Notarile atti, b. 6058, Federici 1655, fol. 80, 25 May 1655. According to Fürstenau (1861/1971:32), Manganoni died in Dresden in November 1654 and was buried in Kloster Marienstern (formerly Morgenstern) on 22 November. Kloster St. Marienstern lies about 40 kilometers northwest of Dresden in the region of Upper Lusatia (Oberlausitz), just outside of the small village of Panschwitz-Kuckau.

42. Schütz to Heinrich II of Reuss-Gera, 16 June 1653, in Jung 1972:233. See also the discussion of the events in 1653 in Frandsen 2000:5–7.

43. Both Donati left Dresden in 1654 (Spagnoli 1990:91–92). On Giuseppe Maria's later career, see Rostirolla 1982:722–25 and Monaldini 2000:248–55, 280, *et passim*.

was in Brussels again in 1650 and 1651.<sup>44</sup> Boni may have traveled to Dresden from Venice, or may have simply stopped in Dresden on his way to Vienna from Brussels, for he left the service of Prince Johann Georg for a position with the emperor, which he had assumed by 1 July 1654. Boni later broke his service to the imperial court for four years (1665–69), during which he returned to Venice, and sang both at St. Mark's and in operatic productions.<sup>45</sup>

Rather than further expand his own ensemble with these newly arrived Italians, however, Prince Johann Georg apparently placed them in his father's *Hofkapelle*, in an effort to revive that moribund ensemble.<sup>46</sup> In addition, in July or August 1653, the prince directed that his own ensemble, under Bontempi, serve in the court worship services on a regular basis, in alternation with his father's ensemble, under Schütz's direction.<sup>47</sup> These events stand in striking contrast to the prince's earlier cautious attempts to convince his father to hire Agostino Fontana and Christoph Werner<sup>48</sup>; now, as he had finally acquired the musical muscle to do so, the prince attempted to throw his weight around in the court chapel. In a letter of protest dated 21 August and addressed to three of the elector's chief advisors, Schütz took great umbrage at the prince's proposal that the two groups alternate, for he felt that "it would be demeaning and painful . . . to alternate regularly with a man three times younger than [himself] and castrated to boot, and to compete with him for favor, *pro loco*, as it were, before biased and for the most part injudicious audiences and judges."<sup>49</sup> In stark contrast to the prince's ensemble, the elector's *Hofkapelle* had regained only a small portion of its original strength by this time, and the embattled Kapellmeister clearly felt that his small group of musicians would suffer from comparison with the prince's ensemble of highly trained Italian virtuosi.<sup>50</sup> Two days later, he wrote directly to the prince, and, without stating so expressly, nevertheless lay the blame for the situation squarely at the prince's feet. He complained that he had been unfairly blamed

44. Algemeen Rijksarchief / Archives Générales du Royaume, Manuscrits Divers no. 1374, fols. 6r–167r, *passim*; the references to Boni's trip to Italy appear on fols. 63v and 103v (this information was most kindly supplied by Sigrid T'Hooft).

45. See Köchel 1869/1976:59, 63, 67, Senn 1954:266, Emans 1981:66, and Termini 1981:71.

46. See also the discussion of the events of 1653 in Rifkin and Timms 1985:54–56, Rifkin 1985:655–56, and Moser 1959:208–9.

47. Schütz to [Senior Court Marshal] Heinrich Taube, [Senior Court Preacher] Jacob Weller, and [Privy Secretary] Christian Reichbrodt, 21 August 1653 (Spagnoli 1990:135).

48. See Frandsen 2000:15–22, 26–33.

49. Spagnoli 1990:135.

50. In February 1653, the roster of the *Hofkapelle* included two altos, a tenor, two basses, two organists, and five instrumentalists, as well as a timpanist and nonperforming personnel (Sächs HStA Loc. 8687/1, fol. 325v). The roster does not mention choirboys, but the prince's letter of September 1653 (discussed below) indicates that there were four.

for the presence of the Italians among the elector's musicians, which had apparently caused much displeasure to court officials.<sup>51</sup> With some urgency, Schütz implored the prince to intervene on his behalf and to set the record straight with these officials; his comments, and the tenor of the letter in general, reveal the sort of prejudiced resistance that the Italians encountered upon their arrival.

As a result of Schütz's protests, Prince Johann Georg seems to have pulled the Italians out of his father's ensemble and, on 30 September, offered instead a detailed plan for the improvement of that institution.<sup>52</sup> Here the rationale for the prince's actions of the previous two months becomes clearer, for he cannot quite disguise either his discomfiture over the pitiful condition in which the *Hofkapelle* still languished, or his fear that this threatened to damage his father's reputation in the eyes of his peers. But while the prince's latest plan for rejuvenating the electoral musical ensemble did not involve the participation of any Italians, it was nevertheless bound for failure, for not only did he recommend that his father pay his own musicians, he suggested that the elector expand the ensemble by ten or eleven members. In the prince's view, a "perfect ensemble in the eyes of all potentates" would include twenty vocalists, eight instrumentalists (among them violinists, a curtal player,<sup>53</sup> and a bombardist), and two organists, as well as "two good zink players and six sackbut players."<sup>54</sup> Some of these musicians, he pointed out, were already in the elector's service. So that the elector might have two singers in each of the three lower vocal ranges, Prince Johann Georg offered to transfer his own tenor and theorbist, Philipp Stolle, to the *Hofkapelle*. Lest his father think otherwise, however, the prince quickly pointed out that he himself could not compensate these additional musicians. Notwithstanding their futility, his suggestions do shed light on the prince's notion of an ensemble suitable for a potentate of his father's rank and position.

Despite his attempt to cloak his suggestions in a veil of altruism, however, the prince's ultimate design in offering this expansion plan emerges later in the letter: he still desired that the two ensembles alternate "both in church and at table."<sup>55</sup> Once constituted according to the prescription outlined by the prince, the elector's ensemble could alternate with that of his son in any venue, without putting either one at a disadvantage, and thus allaying Schütz's fears. Given the dismal state of his own finances, however, the elector almost certainly declared the prince's plan dead on arrival. After this, Prince Johann Georg never again attempted to interfere with the power structure at court as represented by the musical ensembles. Despite his genu-

51. Schütz to Prince Johann Georg II, 23 August 1653 (Spagnoli 1990:137–42).

52. Johann Georg II to Johann Georg I, 30 September 1653 (Spagnoli 1990:143–46).

53. The curtal, the direct antecedent of the bassoon, is also referred to as the dulcian; see Meyers 1997:84–85, 88.

54. Spagnoli 1990:146.

55. Ibid.



ine desire to improve the state of church music in the court chapel, the heir apparent would not be permitted to upstage his father. Pride, if nothing else, prevented Johann Georg I from welcoming his son's musicians into the chapel, for with such a move he would have declared his own impotence "in the eyes of all potentates."

#### ITALIAN ARRIVALS AND GERMAN DEPARTURES

The prince's own pursuit of the "perfect ensemble," however, soon received a boost (if temporary) from a wave of Italian musicians who made their way south from the Swedish court of Queen Christina. In November 1652, the queen famous both for her celebrated abdication and conversion to Catholicism as well as for her patronage of the arts, hired a band of Italian musicians, seven of whom would eventually make their way to Dresden.<sup>56</sup> Two of the queen's castrati, the soprano Domenico Melani (1634–93) and the alto Niccolo Milani, left Sweden in the summer of 1653, and the castrato Antonio Piermarini and the bass Vincenzo Cenni either accompanied them or followed shortly thereafter.<sup>57</sup> All may have come having heard that the Saxon prince, like Queen Christina, was rumored to have "Catholic inclinations," but they may also have heard that Dresden had once again become a place of musical opportunity. Melani was hired by Prince Johann Georg on 1 November 1653, with a salary of 480 tl, and Milani may have received the same offer.<sup>58</sup> The starting salaries of Piermarini and Cenni remain unknown, but at the time of their departure from Dresden in 1654, both received 600 tl annually; Milani's salary, however, remained at 480 tl.<sup>59</sup> Of the four who had departed Stockholm for Dresden, however, all but Melani left for good during 1654. Piermarini went on to Innsbruck early in 1654, while Milani and Melani left for Italy in September; only Melani returned to Dresden.<sup>60</sup> Melani's salary history suggests that he was given additional, non-

56. See Sundström 1961.

57. Sundström 1961:301; Sundström only gives the departure date of Melani and Milani. The 1717 roster gives 1654 as the departure date of both Piermarini and Cenni (Spagnoli 1990:91–92). The two singers were apparently not related; Melani hailed from Florence, Milani from Livorno, and the Dresden documents consistently reflect the difference in spelling of the two names.

58. While Melani's first contract does not survive, a later document provides a history of his salary from the time of his hiring until 1680 (Sächs HStA Loc. 8687/6, fol. 8r).

59. The 1654 salaries of Milani, Piermarini, and Cenni appear on the 1717 composite roster in Spagnoli 1990:91.

60. Sächs HStA Loc. 8298/7, fol. 45r, travel pass dated 1 September 1654; the Latin text appears in Appendix I (no. 4). No travel passes survive for Cenni and Piermarini, but the latter probably left sometime in March; he shows up as a *Musikant* in Innsbruck court records and had lodgings with innkeeper Martin Wieser from 25 March to 27 April 1654 (Senn 1954:266). Cenni's post-Dresden musical activities remain unknown.



musical duties early in his Dresden career, for already on 1 January 1654, just two months after his arrival, Prince Johann Georg awarded him a new contract, more than doubling his salary to 1000 tl annually.<sup>61</sup> Unlike other musicians' contracts, Melani's does not specify his duties. During this first trip back to Italy, Melani may have recruited future Kapellmeister Peranda and/or the castrato Antonio Protogagi, but he may also have come back empty-handed, having established contacts in Italy (primarily in Florence); perhaps he extracted promises from musicians to come to Dresden at some point in the future.<sup>62</sup>

Unfortunately, court documents yield little information concerning the musical activities of Prince Johann Georg's Italo-German ensemble during the early years of its existence. Scattered entries in the court diaries reveal, however, that the prince's musicians were active at court, despite their exclusion from the court chapel. The earliest reference to a musical performance by the prince's ensemble appears in the records of the 1651 Lichtenburg visit. The first reference to the group's musical performance in Dresden, however, dates from Sunday, 30 October 1653, and refers to the "vocal and instrumental musical entertainment" performed by the prince's "own entire Italian and German musical ensemble" during their patron's midday meal.<sup>63</sup> A few months later, in February 1654, four "chamber musicians"—Melani, Milani, Georg [Giorgio] Berthold[i],<sup>64</sup> and Sauli—accompanied Prince Johann Georg to Wittenberg for the investiture of Abraham Calov as Gen-

61. Sächs HStA Loc. 8687/6, fol. 8r; the German translation of the Italian original appears in Appendix I (no. 5). Melani's salary remained unchanged until Easter 1662, when it was raised to 1200 tl. A document drawn up in 1680 indicates that Melani's salary was divided into two parts, 600 tl for salary and 400 tl as a *Zulage* (an additional allowance), and that he did not receive the *Zulage* for a number of years.

62. A comparison of the rosters of 1656 (below) and 1717 reveals that these two musicians were the only possibilities for recruitment by Melani at this time.

63. "bey solcher gehaltenen Tafel wurde biß halbweg 4. uhr *vocaliter und instrumentaler* von Ihrer Chur: Printzl. Durchl. eigener gesambter Italiänischer unnd teutzscher *Musica musicirt*" (SLUB Msc. Dresd. K 113, fol. 5v).

64. Georg [Giorgio] Berthold[i] was appointed in 1649 as a "Cammerdiener, Tenorist id Musicus" (valet, tenor and musician) (Sächs HStA Loc. 4520/2, fol. 6r), but appears here for the first time on a list of musicians. The establishment of the correct form of his name remains problematic: while the first names of the Italians were often given in their German equivalent in court documents (e.g., "Joseph Peranda"), their surnames were never altered. This tenor's name, however, appears variously as "Giorgio Bertholdi," "Giorgio Berthold," "Georg Bertholdi," and "Georg Berthold," with the latter two forms appearing often enough that a clear determination of his national origin is not possible. Berthold[i] may have hailed from a German/Italian region in southern Austria or northern Italy; for purposes of calculating the number of Italians in the Dresden ensembles, he will be counted among the Germans rather than the Italians.

eral Superintendent there.<sup>65</sup> During the first course of the celebratory banquet held on 13 February, Johann Georg flaunted his newly found musical ecumenism before the eminent Lutheran theologian, and had this four-part ensemble, which included two castrati, perform before Calov and the entire assembly.<sup>66</sup> In June of that same year, the prince again selected a group of Italians—Melani, Milani, Sauli, Severo, and Konzertmeister Manganoni—to travel as chamber musicians in the large retinue that accompanied him and his father to Altenburg for a baptism.<sup>67</sup> On this occasion, the prince's small ensemble (soprano, alto, bass, violin, and organ) may have performed only in private for the prince, for the records make no mention of performances of *Tafelmusik* by this ensemble. In addition, the record specifies that the Altenburg court musicians “performed beautiful music” before and after the consecration ceremony.<sup>68</sup>

Despite his increasing success in recruiting Italians, however, Prince Johann Georg still faced a serious retention problem—many of his early Italian musical acquisitions seem to have regarded his cappella merely as an attractive place to earn an income temporarily while they contemplated their next career moves. Although the years 1653 and 1654 saw a significant influx of Italians into the ensemble, most of these musicians left soon after their arrival: of those who received appointments in these years, only Melani remained in the prince's service (Manganoni died in November).<sup>69</sup> A number of factors may have contributed to this exodus. First, the newcomers may have heard rumors that their employer lacked the means to pay them. After all, the prince had expressed an urgent need for funds on several occasions in 1653, and a letter of Philipp Stolle to the prince on 30 October of that year (discussed below) indicates that at least one musician had not received his salary. In addition, Schütz's resistance, coupled with the elector's intransigence, probably denied performance opportunities in the court chapel to the prince's musicians. Third, unlike the courts of Vienna and Munich, the Dresden court lacked even a fledgling opera program, which may also have proved a disincentive to remain in the Saxon capital for young singers who entertained hopes of operatic careers. And

65. SLUB K 113, fol. 14r, entry for 13 February 1654. Calov (1612–1686), an ardent proponent of Lutheran Orthodoxy, was appointed Professor of Theology at the University of Wittenberg in 1650, where he taught until his death; he also held a similar position at the University of Königsberg (1639–43) and served as pastor and director of the Gymnasium in Danzig from 1643 until 1650; see Schüssler 1957:99–100.

66. SLUB K 113, fol. 18r.

67. Sächs HStA OHMA I Nr. 8, fol. 467r.

68. “vor und nach gehaltener Einsegnung wurde von Altenburgischen Musicanten gar schön musiciret” (Sächs HStA OHMA I Nr. 8, fol. 475v).

69. A hypothetical roster of the prince's musicians in 1654 appears in Frandsen 1997:1:32–33.

finally, the anomalous confessional situation may also have contributed to their respective decisions to leave. As a result of the departures of so many musicians around this time, the prince seems to have regarded the recruitment of singers, particularly castrati, as his main priority after 1654.

But the prince's proactive recruitment of Italians seems to have caused retention problems among the German musicians, for between the years 1653 and 1655, a number of Germans in the prince's ensemble left his employ for significant positions elsewhere. In 1653, one of the founding members of the prince's ensemble, the tenor and theorbist Stolle, wrote to the prince to ask for dismissal. Stolle had clearly heard of the prince's offer to transfer him to his father's ensemble and now feared that, "with the current constitution of the musical ensemble," the prince intended to "dispense with [his] person," despite his twenty-one years of service.<sup>70</sup> Stolle went on to complain that he could not support his wife and three young children on his salary of 300 tl, and that he had fallen into debt. In this respect, his letter represents an early protest vote against the salary inequities that now characterized the prince's payroll—in 1654, for example, tenor Stefano Boni (who may have replaced Stolle as a tenor) received 840 thaler.<sup>71</sup> In the end, the prince lost Stolle to his brother in Halle, Duke August; in 1654, Stolle assumed the position of director of music left vacant by the death of Samuel Scheidt.<sup>72</sup> German musicians in the prince's ensemble continued to depart in 1654 and 1655, and, with no surviving letters such as that from Stolle to provide their rationale, salary inequities and a general lack of pay stand out as the most credible explanations. While most of the Germans received the sum of 300 tl per annum at this time, salaries for the Italians began at 480 tl and reached as high as 1000 tl or more. For example, in 1654, the falsettist Heinrich Groh left Dresden for the court ensemble of Johann Georg's brother Christian in Merseburg; as one of Prince Johann Georg's altos, his salary of 300 tl stood at just half that received by soprano castrato Antonio Piermarini, and far less than half of the 744 tl paid to soprano castrato Giuseppe Maria Donati.<sup>73</sup> Two other Germans, lutenist Gottfried

70. Philipp Stolle to Johann Georg II, 30 October 1653 (Sächs HStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 189r): "das bey itziger beschaffenheit der *Music* meiner persohn wohl zu enthrathen, . . ."

71. Spagnoli 1990:91.

72. See *EQL* 9:299.

73. Spagnoli 1990:91. Groh is listed among the altos on the 1717 composite roster, with a departure date of 1654; his service in Merseburg is noted in *EQL* 4:382. The 1717 roster reports all salaries in *Reichsthaler* (tl); however, at the time of their appointments in the 1630s and 1640s, musicians such as Stolle and Groh received their salaries in *Gulden* (fl). It remains possible that Barkstroh, who compiled the 1717 roster, did not convert the older salary figures to tl; if so, the difference between the German and Italian salaries was even greater.

Pasch and violinist Samuel Skahn (Span), also departed in 1654; Pasch, it seems, had run into trouble by stabbing a calcant in Freiberg.<sup>74</sup>

But even more significant was the departure of Matthias Weckmann in the mid-1650s. Weckmann, another founding member of the prince's musical ensemble back in the 1630s, had seen his chances for advancement in Dresden diminish with the arrival of the Italians; his salary remained at 300 tl (or fl), and after the November 1654 death of Manganoni, the Italian organist who served as Konzertmeister at a salary of 1000 tl, Weckmann was not promoted to that position.<sup>75</sup> Thus, at some point in 1655, Weckmann traveled to Hamburg to audition for the post of organist at the Jakobikirche, which had been vacated by the death on 31 December 1654 of organist Ulrich Cernitz.<sup>76</sup> Weckmann won the Hamburg position and received a letter of dismissal from the prince on 12 October 1655; his Hamburg contract dates from 27 November.<sup>77</sup> Even allowing for a possible nationalistic slant lent by Germans such as Kortkamp and Mattheson to their reports concerning Italian musicians in Dresden, it is not difficult to imagine that relations between the two nationalities had begun to deteriorate.<sup>78</sup> Upon the arrival of these Italian virtuosi, Prince Johann Georg seems to have become a star-struck Italophile who quickly lost his sense of perspective with respect to the contributions made by his German musicians, some of whom—such as Weckmann—were virtuosi in their own right. And the difficulties inherent in retaining the Italians forced the prince to pay the newcomers at least twice the “going rate” for Germans, which only compounded the problem—even *Oberhofkapellmeister* Schütz's salary of 400 fl could not compare

74. Pasch seems to have attacked the calcant in November 1653. Prince Johann Georg reported to his father that Pasch “the lutenist youth” had returned to Dresden, and that as soon as he had learned of his return, he had begun the legal process to put him in jail (Sächs HStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 217, Johann Georg II to Johann Georg I [undated, probably November 1653]). A ballet cartel from 25 August 1653 indicates that Pasch was still in Dresden at that time (ibid., fol. 211r). See also Spagnoli 1990:93–94 (here Pasch's name is misspelled as “Rasch”).

75. Spagnoli 1990:91; the post of Konzertmeister remained vacant until the appointment of Constantin Christian Dedekind to the post ca. 1666.

76. Ortgies 1993:15.

77. On Weckmann's Hamburg contract, see Ilgner 1939:38–39. Weckmann's letter of dismissal from the prince, the existence of which was previously unknown, was drafted from a similar document drawn up for Christoph Naumann; Weckmann's name and the particulars of his situation appear in pencil in the left margin of the draft document (Sächs HStA 8297/2, fol. 101r–v).

78. See Krüger 1933 and the entries for Bernhard and Weckmann in Mattheson 1740/1994:17–22, 394–98.

to that of the prince's own music director, Bontempi, who likely earned about three times that amount in 1654.<sup>79</sup>

At some point between January 1652 and September 1656, during these years of German departures, one of the musicians who would define sacred music in Dresden for many years joined the prince's musical ensemble. Giuseppe Peranda (ca. 1625–75), an alto, served Johann Georg II for at least nineteen years, and spent his last twelve years in Dresden as Kapellmeister.<sup>80</sup> He stands with Vincenzo Albrici as a purveyor of the musical style of mid-century Rome, the arrival of which marked the end of the Schütz era in Dresden. Despite his importance, however, little is known of his pre-Dresden biography. According to Agostino Rossi, he was born in Macerata,<sup>81</sup> but his birth date remains approximate; nothing is known of his musical training, or whether or not he was a castrato. Recent scholarship, however, suggests that he may have sung as a contralto at the Chiesa del Gesù in Rome during the years 1647, 1649, and 1650, under *maestro di cappella* Bonifatio Gratiani, a composer

79. Though not reported in court documents, Bontempi's salary at this time can be estimated: as of 1 January 1654, Domenico Melani received 1000 tl, as did Baldassare Manganoni, in positions of singer and Konzertmeister, both of which ranked beneath that of Bontempi, who served as the prince's director of music. Thus Bontempi probably received at least 1200 tl already in 1654. Schütz's salary had remained unchanged for years; it is reported as 100 fl per quarter on a roster of the elector's musicians drawn up between 15 March 1654 and 19 July 1655; Sächs HStA Loc. 7287/3, fol. 191r.

80. Peranda's name has long been given as "Marco Giuseppe" (or "Marco Gioseppe," or "Marco Gioseffo"). However, there is no surviving evidence in the composer's hand, in Dresden court documents of various types (including rosters, letters, court diaries, pay records, and travel passes), on seventeenth-century musical manuscripts, or in seventeenth-century publications, that his name was other than "Giuseppe (Gioseppe) Peranda." In October 1656, he witnessed Bontempi's will and signed himself "Joseph Peranda" (Briganti 1956:34), and in 1670, he signed his name "Giuseppe Peranda" in a letter to Johann Georg II (discussed below); in 1681, Albrici referred to him as "Joseph Peranda" in a 1681 inventory of music (Spagnoli 1990:224). His name is given as "Gioseppe Peranda" in the 1675 libretto of his oratorio, *Il sacrificio di Iephte* (Sartori 1990-5:86), as "Josephus Peranda" by Printz (1690/1964:146), and as "Giuseppe Peranda" by Rossi (1694/1980:137). In addition, his first name appears only as "Gioseppe," "Gios;," or "Giuseppe" in seventeenth-century music inventories (listed in Appendix II), and on the musical sources preserved in the Düben, Grimma, and Bokemeyer collections. His name first appears as "Marco Gioseffo" in Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740/1994:18–19). It now seems likely that one of Mattheson's sources mistook an abbreviation for "Maestro" as that for "Marco." As the composer himself used the Italian form "Giuseppe," that spelling will be retained here. I thank Paula Higgins and Wolfram Steude for profitable discussions of this matter.

81. Rossi 1694/1980:137.

whose influence is strongly felt in the Dresden repertoire.<sup>82</sup> But Peranda's whereabouts after 1650 remain shrouded in mystery; he first appears in Dresden court documents in 1656, when he is listed as an alto on a roster of the prince's musicians from September of that year (reproduced below). According to Mattheson, Peranda was a Roman musician who arrived in Dresden via the agency of Bernhard. On his first trip to Italy, according to Mattheson, Bernhard brought two castrati back to Dresden, "but as [the elector] still desired three more persons, specifically an Italian Kapellmeister, an alto, and a tenor, [Bernhard] had to travel there once again, and brought back the famous 'mover of the emotions'—the Kapellmeister Marco Gioseffo Peranda—together with the two singers."<sup>83</sup> Wolfram Steude has suggested that these three musicians are those who arrived in 1653 and were auditioned by Schütz.<sup>84</sup> This date would seem too early, however. Although both Mattheson and Johann Kortkamp report that Bernhard undertook two separate journeys to Italy,<sup>85</sup> only a trip in 1657 can be documented.<sup>86</sup> Whether his second trip took place before or after this time remains open to question—no evidence survives to suggest that he traveled to Italy in 1653.

Given Peranda's absence from both lists of musicians who traveled with Prince Johann Georg in 1654, it is more likely that he arrived in Dresden sometime in 1655 or early 1656; he may have been recruited by Melani, who traveled to Italy in September 1654 (although his sphere of activity seems to have been Florence), or by

82. Lars Berglund recently examined the account books of the Gesù and found references to payments made to one "Gioseppe contralto" on 30 September 1647 (for July–August), 3 and 30 September 1649 (for July–September), 30 December 1649 (for October–December), and possibly on 1 May 1650 ("per copie di Musica"); Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Chiesa del Gesù 2009, Libro dell'entrata e uscita per la Sagrestia della Chiesa del Gesù (anni 1637–1654). Peranda, who was hired in Dresden as an alto, was likely in Rome during these years; his musical style and textual borrowings from Gratiani suggest that the latter was highly influential upon the younger musician. I thank Dr. Berglund for allowing me to include this unpublished information.

83. "Der Churfürst war mit dieser Verrichtung überaus wohl zufrieden; weil er aber noch 3. Personen, nemlich einen italienischen Capellmeister, einen Altisten, und Tenoristen, mehr verlangte, so muste Bernhard abermahl hin, und holen den berühmten Affecten-Zwinger, den Capellmeister Marco Gioseffo Peranda, samt den beiden Sängern, auch heraus, nach Dresden" (Mattheson 1740/1994:18; the reference to Peranda as a Roman musician appears on p. 19).

84. Steude 1999:68; see also Jung 1972:233.

85. According to Kortkamp, Bernhard had reported that the elector (Johann Georg II) had sent him twice to Italy, and paid his expenses; see Krüger 1933:210 and Frandsen 2000:25.

86. Bernhard was in Rome on "3./13. Septembris 1657," when he dated a dedicatory poem for his brother-in-law Constantin Christian Dedekind's *Aelbianische Musenlust*. See Fiebig 1980:34 n.1.

the Roman bass Stefano Sauli, who received a Latin travel pass on 26 June 1655, in which the destination is not indicated, but Italy remains the most likely.<sup>87</sup> It is also possible, however, that Peranda arrived in Dresden via the agency of Cardinal Friedrich of Hessen-Darmstadt (1616–82), the younger brother of Prince Johann Georg's brother-in-law, Landgrave Georg II of Hessen-Darmstadt (1605–61), and a man with well-established Roman musical connections.<sup>88</sup> Friedrich's musical interests are quite well known; he studied with Carissimi in the mid-1630s and remained in contact with the composer for many years.<sup>89</sup> Letters survive from Friedrich to the composer from 1642 and 1647. In those written in the latter year, Friedrich attempts to coax Carissimi into leaving Rome for Brussels in order to enter the service of Archduke Leopold; he also asks him to bring specific singers from the German College, as well as compositions:

Try again to bring Giuseppe Scorbista with you, and a good contralto. And if it would be possible to have Odoardo [Ceccarelli], [Giuseppe] Bianchi and Giovannino, let me know about their terms, which His Highness will arrange with them. Meanwhile, send me some motet [*sic*], a Vespers, and a Mass with some *sinfonia* [*sic*], so that His Highness, while he cannot for the present enjoy your person, may at least console himself in the meantime with your beautiful compositions.<sup>90</sup>

At the request of Emperor Ferdinand III, the yet-to-be-ordained Friedrich was elevated to the ecclesiastical rank of cardinal on 19 February 1652, and his membership in that elite Roman circle would have only enhanced his access to Italian musicians. Most of Friedrich's sojourns in Rome between 1637 and 1666 were quite brief, but he did spend over three years there between January 1655 to late summer 1658, where he may well have hired musicians for his own household.<sup>91</sup> In a letter of 14 April 1655 to Prince Johann Georg, Landgrave Georg, the cardinal's older brother, mentions a request that the Saxon prince had made during Georg's most recent visit to Dres-

87. Sächs HStA Loc. 4520/2, fol. 184r.

88. The young Friedrich officially converted to Catholicism in Rome on 11 January 1637 and received Holy Communion at St. Peter's; Pope Urban VIII celebrated the conversion of this scion of one of the Lutheran ruling houses of Germany with a performance of the opera *Chi soffre speri* in February 1637; see Kast 1969:129–30. For a biographical sketch of Friedrich, see Noack 1928.

89. Culley 1970:180, 188–93, 330–31, 333–35.

90. Culley 1970:191.

91. Brück 1960. In December 1655, Friedrich was one of two cardinal legates that formed part of the large company that conducted Christina, the former queen of Sweden, to the pope for her official welcoming on 23 December; see Bjurström 1966:10–11 and Noack 1928:366.



den<sup>92</sup>; it seems that Johann Georg had asked the landgrave to communicate with his brother the cardinal about Italian musicians.<sup>93</sup> Georg requested that the prince send him a short description of his “intention”—presumably the specifics of what Johann Georg was seeking with respect to musicians—upon receipt of which he would gladly “discharge his duty” (i.e., communicate the same to his brother). This episode demonstrates once again that Prince Johann Georg availed himself of each and every possible opportunity and connection to acquire Italian musicians. The possibility that Peranda arrived in Dresden as a result of some association with the cardinal is further suggested by a letter dated 11 March 1670 from Johann Georg II to Cardinal Friedrich, then residing in Rome: “We have been approached most humbly by our Kapellmeister, Gioseppe Peranda, about a recommendation to Your Eminence for his brother-in-law, Doctor Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Gasparini of Macerata, and the same has the most obedient confidence that You will take the aforementioned, his brother-in-law, under your protection.”<sup>94</sup> Although the text of the letter makes no reference to any previous service of Peranda with the cardinal, both the very fact that Peranda asked Johann Georg to write to Friedrich in particular and the elector’s use of the phrase “has the most obedient confidence” are strongly suggestive of some previous association.

Johann Georg’s family connections seem to have played no role in the recruitment of another Roman musician, the future Kapellmeister Vincenzo Albrici (1631–1690/96), whose Roman roots were both hereditary and acquired. Albrici was the grandson of the Roman composer and anthologist Fabio Costantini (ca. 1579–1644), under whom he sang as a young boy at the *Duomo* in Orvieto.<sup>95</sup> He continued his musical education in Rome, where from 1641 to 1645 he sang as a *putto soprano* under Carissimi at the Jesuit German College. Throughout most of 1646 he received pay-

92. According to Weck, the visit took place in January 1653 (Weck 1680:396).

93. Sächs HStA Loc. 8561/1, fols. 167–68 (here fol. 167v), Landgrave Georg II of Hessen-Darmstadt to Johann Georg II, 14 April 1655.

94. “Wir seyn umb recommendation an E. Lbd. von unserm Capellmeister Gioseppe Peranda vor seinen Schwager Dottore Gio: Batt:a Gasparini da Macerada unterthänigst angelanget worden, und hat derselbe die gehorsamste Zuversicht, daß vom E. Lbd. gedachten seinen Schwager unter Dero Protection nehmen wolten” (Sächs HStA Loc. 8753/6, fol. 39r). Peranda’s letter to Johann Georg appears on fol. 40 of the same volume.

95. The recent research of Mary Paquette-Abt has added significantly to Albrici’s early biography and has revealed that Albrici’s father Domenico was married to Fabio Costantini’s daughter and sang as a contralto at the *Duomo* in Orvieto from 1636 to 1642, when Costantini served there as *maestro di cappella*. From 1638 to early 1641, young Vincenzo was paid one *scudo* per month to sing in the cathedral along with his father, a testament to his precocious talent. See Paquette-Abt 2003:89–91.



ments as an organist there.<sup>96</sup> Between December 1649 and March (or possibly June) 1651, he likely served under Gratiani as organist at the Chiesa del Gesù in Rome, where he also may have worked with Peranda.<sup>97</sup> In November 1652, together with his father Domenico and his brother Bartolomeo, he entered the service of Swedish Queen Christina, remaining there until at least 1 March 1653. While in Stockholm, Vincenzo served as *Organista e Compositore*, and his brother as a *Soprano non Castrato*; both were identified in the payment records as *Romani*.<sup>98</sup> Upon departing Sweden, the two briefly held positions at the court of Stuttgart.<sup>99</sup> The brothers Albrici arrived in Dresden sometime during the spring or summer of 1656; both had likely heard about the opportunities to be found in Dresden from some of the Italian musicians with whom they had served in Stockholm, such as Melani. A roster from September 1656 (reproduced below) reveals that soon after Vincenzo's arrival in Dresden, if not immediately thereupon, the prince appointed him Kapellmeister, probably in recognition of his responsibilities in Sweden; thus Vincenzo shared the rank of Kapellmeister with Bontempi. His brother Bartolomeo received an appointment as an organist.<sup>100</sup> Like that of Peranda, the arrival of Albrici marked a significant moment in musical life under Johann Georg II, for the Roman-trained Albrici would promulgate a new type of sacred concerto in Dresden, one that would result from his assimilation of certain style characteristics from the Roman motet and the German sacred concerto.

96. Culley 1970:216–17.

97. In his examination of the account books of the Gesù, Lars Berglund found references to salary paid to one “Vincenzo Organista” from December 1649 through March (or possibly June) of 1651; Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Chiesa del Gesù 2009, Libro dell'entrata e uscita per la Sagrestia della Chiesa del Gesù (anni 1637–1654). The musician's family name does not appear in the records. However, Albrici worked as an organist in the Jesuit circuit and was probably still in Rome at this time. Arnaldo Morelli, who has done extensive work on musicians in Rome during this period, believes that the musician in question is most likely Albrici (private correspondence, 7 March 2005). I again thank Dr. Berglund for this new information and for the permission to include it here.

98. Sundström 1961:301, 308.

99. Vincenzo's service in Stuttgart began in the Bartholomew term (24 August) 1655 and lasted until around 1 February 1656; his brother Bartolomeo may have left after the end of September (Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A282, Ba 1391, *Kirchen Castens Verwaltung Jahr Rechnung 1655–56* [unfoliated]). Many thanks to Paul Ranzini for informing me of the references to the brothers Albrici in these materials.

100. Albrici's appointment as Kapellmeister may suggest that Bontempi had already begun to move on to other interests. In the spring of 1655, for example, the latter seems to have designed a new *Lustbau* for the electoral princess's garden (SLUB K 113, fol. 45v, entry for 6 April 1655).

# PREPARATIONS FOR MUSICAL REGIME CHANGE

In June 1655, Elector Johann Georg I established the practice of holding two morning worship services on Sundays and most feast days; apparently for health reasons, he no longer desired to attend worship in the chapel. Thus from Pentecost Sunday (3 June) 1655, services were held first in the chapel and then in the *Steinerne Gemach*.<sup>101</sup> In the spring of 1656, due to his increasingly poor health, the elector ceased attending worship services altogether in “public” spaces in the castle and apparently ordered that the second morning worship service be celebrated for him privately, in his antechamber. Diary entries for 1656 record fifteen such services, celebrated between Palm Sunday (30 March) and the Feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July); unlike the entries recording services in the *Steinerne Gemach*, most of these entries provide details on the musical accommodations made for these double services.<sup>102</sup> Although the simplest solution would have been to give the morning service in the chapel over to the prince’s Italian *Director musices* and his ensemble, and to require Schütz and his musicians to perform in the elector’s antechamber, the diary indicates that the same music director and musical ensemble usually performed in both services, which did not occur simultaneously. For example, on Easter Sunday (6 April) 1656, “Doctor Weller preached the sermon both in the church as well as in the [elector’s] antechamber, and the electoral Kapellmeister directed the musical ensemble at both [services].”<sup>103</sup> On most occasions, the septuagenarian Schütz either conducted the music at both services, or turned responsibility for the chapel service over to Bernhard, his vice-Kapellmeister; only Schütz conducted in the elector’s antechamber. This curious arrangement suggests that the elector still held strong feelings on the subject of the participation of the prince’s musicians in worship services, and that he attempted to retain hegemony over the chapel even when it was becoming increasingly clear that his reign would soon come to an end. Prince Johann Georg nevertheless managed to turn the situation to his own advantage and may have either been given or simply taken the opportunity to hear his musicians perform in the castle chapel. On Pentecost Sunday, for example, “Dr. Weller preached the sermon both in the church and in the antechamber; however, His Electoral Princely Highness’s Kapellmeister directed the music in the church, and the electoral Kapellmeister directed in the antechamber . . . M. Laurentius preached

101. SLUB K 113, fols. 49r, 51v.

102. SLUB K 113, fols. 75v–84r.

103. “Die Predigt so wol in der Kirchen, als im vorgemach, verrichtete Herr D. Weller, vnd bey beyden Predigten die *Musica* der Churfürstl. Cappellmeister” (SLUB Msc. Dresd. K 113, fol. 76r). The court diarists commonly refer to church services as “sermons” (*Predigten*).

the sermon at Vespers, and the Electoral Prince's Kapellmeister directed the music in the service.<sup>104</sup> It remains possible that this reference indicates that Bontempi conducted the electoral *Hofkapelle* in Bernhard's stead, but it more likely documents the inaugural performance of the prince's musicians in the chapel.<sup>105</sup> In the case of the latter, the occasion may well have marked the first time that the court congregation heard the voices of castrati in the chapel, although they had certainly heard them in performances of *Tafelmusik*.

By September 1656, the health of Elector Johann Georg I had deteriorated to such an extent that preparations commenced for the transferral of power to his son upon his imminent death. At the beginning of the Michaelis term (29 September) 1656, a list of the members of the prince's household, including the musicians, was drawn up and submitted to the elector on the following day.<sup>106</sup> This September 1656 roster represents the last record of the princely musical ensemble before it was merged with the *Hofkapelle*:

MUSICA

Kapellmeisters

Giovanni Andrea Bontempi (soprano castrato)

Vincenzo Albrici (organist)

Discantist

Domenico Melani (soprano castrato)

104. "Pfingstag ☉ den 25 Mayß . . . Die Predigt sowol in der Kirchen, als im Vorgemach verrichtete Herr D. Weller, die *Musica* aber in der Kirchen Sr. ChurPrinzl. Durchl.: und im Vorgemach der Churfürstl. Cappellmeister . . . Die Vesper Predigt thate *M. Laurentius*, und die *Musica* darbey verrichtete der ChurPrinzl. Cappellmeister" (SLUB K 113, fol. 80r). The colon that follows "ChurPrinzl. Durchl." indicates the genitive, "Your Electoral Highness's [Kapellmeister]." While the references to the prince's Kapellmeister likely refer to Bontempi, there is some possibility that they refer to Albrici, who had arrived in Dresden sometime after early February 1656.

105. Bernhard's August 1655 contract as vice-Kapellmeister suggests that the prince's musicians did perform in the chapel (Spagnoli 1990:163–64), while a letter of court preacher Jacob Weller from 1654 suggests that they did not (Sächs HStA Loc. 8563/1, fol. 858r–v). SLUB K 113 chronicles the prince's activities from October 1653 to October 1656, and while it records his attendance at worship services, it makes no mention of his musicians performing in the chapel until the spring of 1656. Steude has suggested that the prince's musical ensemble took over for the elector's ensemble in the chapel "from time to time" beginning around 1651 (1999:66). Although not definitive, the surviving evidence suggests that this is unlikely to have been the case.

106. Sächs HStA Loc. 8681/2, fol. 237r: "Des Durchleüchtigsten Chur-Printzens und Hertzogens zu Sachßen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, *Estat, Michaelis Anno 1656*" ("The Estate of the Most Serene Electoral Prince and Duke of Saxony, Jülich, Cleve, and Berg, Feast of St. Michael, 1656"). On the top right-hand corner of the same folio appears the following

Alto	
Giuseppe Peranda	(falsettist or castrato?)
Tenors	
Georg [Giorgio] Berthold[i]	
Adam Merckel	
Basses	
Stefano Sauli	
Christian Kittel	
Organists	
Bartolomeo Albrici	(also soprano falsettist)
Georg Rumpf	
Instrumentalists	
Giovanni Severo	(violin)
Friedrich Werner	(cornetto and alto)
Michael Schmidt	(violin and bass)
Balthasar Sedenig	(violin)
Johann Friedrich Volprecht	(viola and lute)
Friedrich Westhoff	(lute)
Andreas Winckler	(sackbut)
Jeremiah Seyffert	“Instrument Maker”
Hanns Christoph Schrieker	Calcant
Musical Trumpeters	
Simon Leonhard	
Daniel Philomathes	
Wolff Voigt	
Christoph Richter	
Christian Rockstroh <sup>107</sup>	

In the weeks just prior to his ascent to the throne, Prince Johann Georg could boast of a musical ensemble of twenty-two adult performing members, and prob-

note: “Den 30. Septemb. 1656. Ihrer Churfürstl. Durchl. also überreichet ward” (“Submitted to His Electoral Highness on 30 September 1656”). Fürstenau referred to this roster and indicated that Peranda appeared on it as an alto, but he did not publish the list or provide a citation (Fürstenau 1849:73); Spagnoli indicated that the roster “appears to be lost” (Spagnoli 1990:359 n. 61).

107. Sächs HStA Loc. 8681/2, fol. 239r–v. The spelling of names has been regularized, and vocal and instrumental designations added in parentheses; the names of five additional trumpeters, who are not designated as “musical trumpeters” (those who played with the musical ensemble) have been omitted here.

ably another three to five choirboys whose names do not appear on this list, as well as several nonperformers who maintained the instruments and provided wind for the organ (calcants). One new German name appears, that of tenor Adam Merkel; in addition, two former *Instrumentisten Knaben*, Georg Rumpf and Andreas Winckler, have now been graduated from those ranks to become adult members of the ensemble.<sup>108</sup> Georg [Giorgio] Berthold[i], who was appointed in 1649 as a valet and musician, appears here for the first time on a full roster of the prince's musicians. The roster demonstrates that while the prince was quite well supplied with vocalists and instrumentalists at this point, his ensemble had not yet attained the standing of a "perfect ensemble in the eyes of all potentates," for it still lacked some of the singers and instrumentalists included in the prince's 1653 description of such a group.

The roster does demonstrate, however, that by the fall of 1656, an endeavor that Prince Johann Georg may have begun as an experiment—the recruitment and appointment of Italian musicians—had solidified into a well-established practice. At the time of his father's death in 1656, the prince's ensemble not only exceeded the *Hofkapelle* in size, but also differed quite radically from that ensemble in its ethnic and confessional composition. Despite the constant pressure of debt, Prince Johann Georg managed to establish the musical agenda of his future electorate in the years between 1651 and 1656. During this period, he laid the groundwork for the future in several key ways, first by making at least four strategic hires—Bon-tempi, Melani, Peranda, and Albrici—and then by determining the stylistic direction of the ensemble by installing Italian composers at its helm, and furnishing them with Italian singers, including castrati, to perform their musical contributions. From the outset, however, doubtless due to both financial and confessional considerations, the prince found it difficult to retain Italian musicians, whose transience produced instability in his cappella membership. Thus he soon realized that establishing a network of contacts in Italy was vital to the success of his musical enterprise, and he developed a strategy for recruitment there that would lend him access to a ready supply of musicians. In this he was aided by the cessation of hostilities in German-speaking lands and the slow improvement in economic conditions there that resulted. After the war ended, a number of northern European courts enjoyed a steady influx of Italian musicians, a phenomenon first instantiated in Dresden by the groundswell in the number of Italians appointed, if only briefly, in the early 1650s. These appointments were costly, however, and although Prince Johann Georg managed to establish policies during these years that ensured the future musical success of his initiative, he did not simultaneously discover the

108. See the 1651 list above.

means to provide his musicians with financial security. Still, with his Italian composers and singers now in place, the prince found himself well positioned to introduce sweeping musical changes in the court chapel, a task that he undertook with relish soon after the guardianship of the electoral sword and habit devolved to him on 8 October 1656.

## *The Italianate Hofkapelle of Johann Georg II, 1656–80*

### A NEW ERA BEGINS

After his death on 8 October 1656, Elector Johann Georg I lay in state in the castle in Dresden until February of the next year, during which time his son's staff prepared for the elaborate state funeral services that took place on 2–4 February 1657.<sup>1</sup> The elector actually received four funeral services, the first of which took place on 16 October 1656 in the castle chapel. In February 1657, after a period sufficient to allow various invited dignitaries the time needed to travel to Saxony, three additional funerals were held over a three-day period, in three different locations—a *triduum* doubtless intended to evoke the theological symbolism of Christ's Passion, Death, and Resurrection. The first funeral took place on the morning of 2 February 1657 in the castle chapel, followed by another in the Dresden Kreuzkirche that afternoon; on 3 February the body was transported to Freiberg, and on 4 February 1657, Johann Georg I was finally laid to rest in the cathedral there, in the Italianate burial chapel designed in the late sixteenth century by Giovanni Maria Nosseni (1544–1620).<sup>2</sup> Although Johann Georg II's reign as elector had commenced immediately upon the death of his father, the public presentation of the symbol of his accession to the throne was delayed until the conclusion of his father's funeral, when the electoral sword was finally removed from its sheath and carried before him in the procession out of the cathedral.<sup>3</sup>

While the court musicians were not required to travel to Freiberg (with the exception of the bass Jonas Kittel, who carried the crucifix), they did lead the singing of hymns during the October and February funeral services held in the castle

1. See Spagnoli 1998 and 1990:7–16.

2. See Meine-Schawe 1992 and Fürstenau 1861/1971:83–84.

3. See Spagnoli 1990:8–9, 12–13. According to the funeral documents examined by Spagnoli, the electoral seal, crown, and sheathed sword were carried in each funeral procession; the sword was not unsheathed until the final procession.

chapel, and formed part of the official court retinue that accompanied the body into the Kreuzkirche on the afternoon of 2 February, and as far as the Dresden city gate on the morning of 3 February.<sup>4</sup> In order that they might participate, all of the cappella members received attire appropriate to such ceremonies, in the form of a mourning robe made either of *Leibtuch* or *Landtuch*. The list of the musicians who received robes provides the first extant roster of the new elector's musical ensemble (see below)<sup>5</sup> and reveals that he had merged his princely cappella with that of his late father, which at the time of his death included Schütz and Bernhard, three organists, five vocalists, and seven instrumentalists, as well as an organ builder, the court sexton (*Hofküster*), and a calcant.<sup>6</sup>

#### MUSICIANS

Heinrich Schütz*	Kapellmeister
Giovanni Andrea Bontempi	Kapellmeister and soprano
Vincenzo Albrici	Kapellmeister <sup>7</sup>
Christoph Bernhard*	Vice-Kapellmeister and alto
Giuseppe Peranda	?Vice-Kapellmeister and alto
Domenico Melani	Soprano
Tobias Tille*	Alto
Christian Weber*	Alto and harp
Matthias Erlemann*	Cantor, bass, and alto?
Georg [Giorgio] Berthold[i]	Tenor
Adam Merckel	Tenor
Stefano Sauli	Bass
Christian Kittel	Bass
Constantin Christian Dedekind*	Bass
Bartolomeo Albrici	Organ

4. Spagnoli 1990:8–13. The performance of figural music was prohibited during the entire period of mourning; see Müller 1838:151–52.

5. The 1657 roster, which was first published by Spagnoli (1990:13–15), appears in Sächs HStA OHMA C Nr. 8, fols. 407r–408r. The titles and voice and instrument designations for all but Schütz, Melani, Weller, Mildner, and the four choirboys have been added by the author from various rosters; the spelling of names has also been regularized. Asterisks indicate musicians of former elector Johann Georg I; of these, the third organist, sexton, and calcant do not appear here, and may have been pensioners.

6. So listed (without names) in Sächs HStA Loc. 12030, “Lit. A” (see the description of this document in n. 26 below).

7. Albrici's rank is given as Kapellmeister (together with Bontempi) in the roster of September 1656 (see chapter 1). Curiously, the 1657 funeral documents mention only Schütz and Bontempi as “the two Kapellmeisters” (“die beyden Capellmeistere”); Sächs HStA OHMA C Nr. 8, fol. 211v.



Christoph Kittel*	Organ
Georg Rumpf	Organ
Johann Klemm*	Organ
Antonio [de Blasi], Italian <sup>8</sup>	Soprano
Johann Bartholomäus Buhler	??
Vicatororius, Italian	??
Jonas Kittel*	Bass and violone
Pietro Finati	Tenor?
Instrumentalists	
Giovanni Severo	Violin
Friedrich Werner	Cornetto and alto
Michael Schmidt	Violin and bass
Balthasar Sedenig	Violin
Johann Friedrich Volprecht	Viola and lute
Friedrich Westhoff	Lute
Wilhelm Burrowes*	Viola da gamba
Friedrich Sulz*	(Instrument)
Jacob Sulz*	Sackbut
Johann Friedrich Sulz*	Sackbut
Clemens Thieme*	Curtal
Andreas Winckler	Sackbut
Johann Wilhelm Forchheim	Violin and organ
Johann Dixon*	Sackbut
Daniel Kreße	??
Tobias Weller*	Organ builder
Jeremiah Seiffert	Organ builder/tuner
Christian Mildner	Choirboy
Johann Thorian	??
Sebastian Ludwig Sulz*	Violin
Four Choirboys	
Gottfried Böhme	??
George Fritzsche	??
Johann Gottfried Behr [Ursinus]	Tenor
Gottfried Janetzky	Alto and cornetto

Given the disappearance of all but a few of the Italian musicians' contracts, the organization of lists such as this can provide important clues to the rank and specialization of various musicians at particular periods of the ensemble's history. Most important, the positioning of Peranda's name on this roster directly after that of

8. Spagnoli rightly suggests that this "Anthoni Italiener" is Antonio de Blasi (1990:14).

Bernhard, who was named vice-Kapellmeister in 1655, and before that of Melani, a soprano, rather than with the altos, suggests that Johann Georg II had already elevated Peranda to the rank of vice-Kapellmeister by February 1657, although the first document to associate him with that post dates from 1661.<sup>9</sup> The addition of the descriptor “Soprano” after Melani’s name may well indicate that the singers’ names commence from this point, for, from Melani on, the singers are grouped together by voice part, with the exception of the bass Erlemann, the Hofcantor. Among the organists, the position of Bartolomeo Albrici’s name demonstrates once again the quick ascendance of the Italians within the cappella of Johann Georg II; although he had only recently arrived, Albrici already received the highest salary of the four, and his name appears at the head of the group, which suggests that he was regarded as the “senior” or “first” organist.<sup>10</sup>

In the simple act of integrating the two court musical ensembles, Johann Georg II had more than doubled the size of his cappella and produced a group capable of mounting performances of anything found in the contemporary sacred repertoire, from intimate sacred concertos to *concertato* motets for five-part double choir and a host of instruments. All but two of the forty-seven individuals listed above functioned as performers in this ensemble, thirty-eight of them adults, with seven choirboys.<sup>11</sup> By February 1657, the Italian presence in Johann Georg’s ensemble had increased by three since September 1656; the merged ensemble included ten Italians among its ranks, three or four of whom were castrati.<sup>12</sup> Although the personalities would change frequently over the years, the number of Italians would remain relatively stable. While it appears to be complete, this roster actually does not represent the entire ensemble, for it omits as many as five musical trumpeters and several calcants. The September 1656 roster of the prince’s musicians had included five musical trumpeters, but these musicians probably marched with the field trumpeters in the 1657 funeral processions, dressed in that livery, and thus did not require robes.<sup>13</sup> Thus the full ensemble numbered about fifty-four members, fifty of whom were performers. Surely this expansive group, with its fourteen or more adult singers, five

9. Peranda is listed as a vice-Kapellmeister on a 1661 roster of musicians slated to travel to Hirschberg with the elector (discussed below).

10. See the 1717 roster in Spagnoli 1990:92. The actual rank of “senior” or “first” organist did not exist in Dresden.

11. The choirboys begin with Mildner; the first three are probably older boys who now served as instrumentalists, while those listed as “Cappella Youths” are probably younger musicians who served as singers.

12. The elusive “Vicatororius” may also have been a castrato.

13. In all, twenty-four trumpeters participated in the processions; see Spagnoli, 1990:11.

violinists, four sackbut players, four organists, and other performers, now constituted a “perfect ensemble in the eyes of all potentates.”

The realities of the time, however, delayed the assumption of chapel duties by this “perfect ensemble” until late 1657 or early 1658, for the musical ramifications of the lengthy *Hoftrauer*, the period of mourning for the late elector, included the silencing of the organ and a moratorium on the performance of figural music. Thus the court diary for 1657 includes no references to church music or musicians,<sup>14</sup> and the first mention of an Italian, Bontempi, directing the service music in the court chapel during the electorate of Johann Georg II does not appear in a diary until January 1658:

Friday, 1 January . . . then the worship service began, and Senior Court Preacher Dr. Weller delivered the sermon, but Kapellmeister [Giovanni] Andrea Bontempi directed the musical ensemble. . . . and after the meal Vespers was celebrated by Magister Geisthoff Laurentius, at which the aforementioned Bontempi again led the musical ensemble.<sup>15</sup>

Johann Georg II spent a good part of 1658 (February–August) in Frankfurt, however, where he attended the electoral diet that elected Habsburg Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658–1705). Thus the 1658 court diary chronicles his daily activities there and offers little information on life back at court. The next surviving reference to Bontempi's activity in the chapel dates from 19 December 1658, well after the elector's return.<sup>16</sup> Entries in a diary for January 1659, however, indicate that Bontempi and Albrici shared in the directing of the service music, and one can presume that each of them, especially Albrici, presented a number of his own compositions.<sup>17</sup> Musical information is lacking for the following months of 1659, however, which likely reflects another silencing of the music in the chapel due to the death on 12 February of the dowager Electress Magdalena Sibylla, Johann Georg's mother.<sup>18</sup> This *Hoftrauer*

14. SLUB Msc. Dresd. Q 238.

15. “[symbol for Friday] den 1. [Januar] . . . dann gieng den Gottesdienst an, und verrichtete der Oberhoffprediger D. Weller die Predigt, die *Musica* aber der Cappellmeister Andreas *Bontempi* . . . und nach derselben [i.e. Tafel] wart eine Vesper Predigt von M. Geisthoff Laurentio gehalten beÿ welcher abermals obberürter *Bontempi* die *Musica* verrichtete” (Sächs HStA Loc. 12026, fol. 494r, entry for 1 January 1658). Bontempi also directed the musical ensemble on 6 January 1658 (*ibid.*, fol. 494v). The term *Vesperpredigt* refers to a vesper service that included a sermon (*Predigt*); “die *Musica*” (which is always italicized in the diaries) refers to the performing ensemble.

16. Sächs HStA OHMA N I Nr. 8, fol. 36r, entry for 19 December.

17. SLUB Msc. Dresd. Q 238, entries for 1 January (Bontempi), 2 January (vice-Kapellmeister, no name given), 6 January (Albrici), 9 January (Albrici).

18. Fürstenau 1861/1971:205.

seems to have lasted for a year, for a diary entry for Sunday, 19 February 1660 indicates that instrumental music was heard again for the first time on this day.<sup>19</sup> One wonders how the musicians, particularly the Italians, occupied themselves during these long periods of enforced inactivity. Some of them clearly used this opportunity to attend to personal matters; six travel passes for musicians survive from 1659, all of which date from the period of the *Hoftrauer*.<sup>20</sup>

Once the restrictions on the performance of music during worship services had been lifted, the elector's musicians resumed their weekly responsibilities in the chapel. On 13 May 1660, the Dresden court commemorated the ten-year anniversary of the 1650 *Friedensfest* (festival of peace), which had celebrated the final departure of Swedish troops from Saxony after the signing of the Peace of Westphalia, with an elaborate Sunday morning worship service.<sup>21</sup> The surviving documentation for this celebration includes the order of worship for the service. This, the earliest of such documents to survive from the reign of Johann Georg II, demonstrates the extent to which sacred music in the modern Italian style had already come to dominate the chapel liturgies.<sup>22</sup> As a court Kapellmeister typically showcased his own works during the worship services, particularly in those services in which he served as the conductor, the attributions to composers found in these orders of worship also serve as a chronicle of the musical activities of various individuals during particular periods of time. On this particular Sunday, Albrici composed all of the music sung by the members of the cappella; his compositions included large-scale settings of the Kyrie, Gloria, and a motet (now lost), *Reboent aethera*, as well a small-scale sacred concerto, *Hymnum jucunditatis*, which survives in several collections.<sup>23</sup>

### Financial Challenges

The cost—just over 1530 tl—of the forty-seven robes provided to the musical ensemble for the 1657 funeral represented but a minute amount when measured against the 100,000 tl required to outfit the entire court in appropriate funeral garments,

19. SLUB Q 239, entry for Sunday, 19 February 1660.

20. Michael Schmidt to Bohemia, 6 May (Sächs HStA 8297/2, fol. 108r); Vincenzo Albrici to Frankfurt, 14 June (Sächs HStA Loc. 8299/1, fol. 15v); Antonio de Blasi to Italy, 15 July (Sächs HStA 8298/7, fol. 57r); Friedrich Westhoff to Lübeck, 12 August (Sächs HStA Loc. 8297/3, fol. 26v); Domenico Melani to Italy, 23 September (Sächs HStA Loc. 8298/7, fol. 57r); Angelo Maria Marchesini to Italy, 5 December (Sächs HStA Loc. 8298/7, fol. 57r). These Latin and German passes give the reasons for the musician's travel as "negotiorum suorum causa" or "seiner Angelegenheiten."

21. On the peace festivals held in Saxony between 1648 and 1650 see Keller 1998.

22. Sächs HStA OHMA N IV Nr. 1, fols. 12r–15r.

23. See the list of works in Appendix II.

and the latter figure itself comprised well over half of the total amount of 178,000 tl spent on the funeral ceremonies.<sup>24</sup> Now, of course, Johann Georg II could no longer depend upon his father to provide the funds to cover such expenses, but would have to assume responsibility for all costs himself. His ability to create an image as a wealthy, powerful, and cultured European ruler would depend on his ability to maintain not only a large retinue of court officers and servants, but also those “departments” most closely associated with courtly representation—the *Hofkapelle*, the stables (*Stall*), and the game and gamekeepers for the hunt (the *Jagdamt*). Thus, almost immediately after his father’s death, he launched an investigation designed to reveal the true size of the household (*Hofstaat*) that he had inherited from his father, and on 31 October 1656, instructed his *Cammer Räte*—those aristocratic court officers charged with oversight of the court treasury, who enjoyed the rank of “advisor” or “counselor”—to prepare a complete list of all of his father’s employees and their salaries.<sup>25</sup> This daunting task required over two months to perform, and when the counselors finally responded on 19 January 1657, they reported to Johann Georg II that his father’s household comprised a staggering 1036 individuals, some 600 to 750 of whom performed their duties in the Dresden castle complex, and whose salaries and perquisites (allowances for food and clothing, and at times heating materials, wine, and beer) cost the court 192,443 fl annually.<sup>26</sup> The advisors’ gloomy report continued with the news that, although the contribution from the provincial diet (*Landschafts Bewilligung*) could be estimated at 400,000 fl annually, the elector should probably expect to receive only two-thirds of this amount, given the current economic conditions in the land.<sup>27</sup> They also pointed out that, when the salary total was added to the estimated cost of feeding these individuals at court, the costs climbed to about 390,000 fl per annum, and exceeded the amount of income upon which Johann Georg could depend. Finally, the counselors informed the elector that their calculations did not include the expenses related to his own musical ensemble, his annual court festivities, and other departments (such as the stables and gamekeepers) and events, and that the addition of those amounts would produce a total far higher than that given. Thus, resuming their role as counselors, they stressed the need to balance receipts with expenditures and to put something away for unexpected expenses.<sup>28</sup>

24. See Müller 1838:152.

25. Sächs HStA Loc. 12030, fol. 1, Johann Georg II to the Cammer Räte.

26. Sächs HStA Loc. 12030, fols. 3r–18r, and Lit. A, a large chart (unfoliated) that lists all of the late elector’s employees by department (*Amt*), together with their salaries and perquisites. The author totaled the number of employees from the figures given in Lit. A; the salary total (including a breakdown by salary and perquisites) appears on p. 2 of Lit. A.

27. Sächs HStA Loc. 12030, fols. 10r, 11r.

28. Sächs HStA Loc. 12030, fols. 6r–8r.