

Music in a Time of War

The Efforts of Saxon Prince Johann Georg II to Establish a Musical Ensemble, 1637–1651

MARY E. FRANDBEN

Among cultural historians, Elector Johann Georg II of Saxony (r. 1656–1680) is primarily remembered today for his cultivation of elaborate court festivals and a lavish musical life at the Dresden court throughout his twenty-four-year reign¹. His predilection for Italian music is well known, as is his success in assembling a glittering band of Italian virtuosi, including castrati, to form the artistic core of his expansive Hofkapelle, or court musical ensemble. Although German musicians far outnumbered the Italians in this group, the latter dominated the ensemble, and served as the principal soloists in the vast repertoire of sacred concertos and liturgical settings composed for the court worship services by the Italian Kapellmeisters, Vincenzo Albrici (1631–1690/96) and Giuseppe Peranda (ca. 1625–1675), who served as court composers. With a membership that numbered between forty-five and fifty-five musicians at any given time, the Hofkapelle of Johann Georg II was among the largest in northern Europe, and compared in its size and ethnic composition to similar establishments at the courts of Vienna and Munich. With this ensemble and its composers, Johann Georg II introduced major changes in the musical repertoire performed at the court after the death of his father, Elector Johann Georg I (r. 1611–1656). Like his father, the patron of Heinrich Schütz, Johann Georg II played an important role in the development of sacred music in seventeenth-century Germany, but his privileging of music in the modern Italian style meant that his patronage had a distinctly different impact on the musical landscape.

Those familiar with the musical history of the Dresden court during this period are aware that by the time of his father's funeral early in 1657, Johann Georg II had added his own princely musicians to the roster of his father's Hofkapelle, swelling the ranks of that group to more than forty-five musicians². In subsequent years, he seems to have used this number as a baseline figure for the size of the Hofkapelle; while the membership of the ensemble sometimes numbered nearly sixty musicians, it never dropped below forty-five³. While Elector Johann Georg II achieved this large and diverse Hofkapelle through a simple merger, however, his development of a musical ensemble as electoral prince had taken many years of painstaking effort. As far back as 1637, a full twenty years before he could boast of the grand musical company that attended at his father's funeral⁴, Johann Georg II had begun to lay the ground-

1 For recent discussions of festival life under Johann Georg II, see Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque*, Houndmills etc. 2002, and Uta Deppe, *Die Festkultur am Dresdner Hofe Johann Georgs II. von Sachsen (1660–1679)*, Kiel 2006 (= Bau und Kunst. Schleswig-Holsteinische Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte 13). For a discussion of sacred music at the Dresden court under Johann Georg II, see Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden*, New York 2006. On both topics, see also Fürstenau, pp. 204–33.

2 The roster of 1657 is reproduced in Gina Spagnoli, *Letters and Documents of Heinrich Schütz: An Annotated Translation*, Ann Arbor 1990, pp. 13–14, and in Frandsen (footnote 1), pp. 33–34.

3 See Frandsen *ibid.*, pp. 32–75 for details on the size of the Hofkapelle between 1656 and 1680.

4 See Gina Spagnoli, "Nunc dimittis": *The Royal Court Musicians in Dresden and the Funeral of Johann Georg I*, in: SJB 10 (1988), pp. 50–61.

work for the musical brilliance that would define his reign. In that year, then-Prince Johann Georg II already had two musicians attached to him⁵. Court documents demonstrate that he slowly augmented his fledgling ensemble throughout the decade of the 1640s, and that by the spring of 1651, he had accumulated eighteen singers and instrumentalists, three of whom had recently arrived from Italy. At this point, the size of the prince's ensemble rivaled that of his father's recently reconstituted Hofkapelle, which then included twenty-two members⁶. The story of the development of Prince Johann Georg's ensemble during the 1640s is a testament to its founder's tenacity and musical vision, for at a time when the Hofkapelle was nearly silenced by losses in personnel, the prince's ensemble slowly grew. Despite numerous setbacks, caused primarily by his father's failure (or sheer inability) throughout the decade to provide the funding he had pledged for the support of his son's household, Prince Johann Georg never abandoned his goal: the creation of a viable musical ensemble as part of his princely retinue. His story not only underscores the hardships that the 30 Year's War created for musicians and their patrons, but also reveals the extent to which creative thinking could generate opportunities during this time of extreme deprivation.

*

Prince Johann Georg II decided to embark upon this new cultural venture, the development of a princely musical ensemble, in the late 1630s, a time of manifest inhospitality toward both court and city music organizations. At this time, Saxony was heavily involved in the 30 Year's War, and the court's already poor financial situation was rapidly becoming disastrous⁷. In 1637, the year he acquired his first two musicians, the prince was still unmarried and financially dependent upon his father; he lacked a household staff of his own, and had little or no disposable income over which he had control. The mere fact that he began to establish a band of musicians at this time despite these obvious hindrances makes a significant pronouncement about his aesthetic priorities. In his very first foray into the world of musical recruitment, however, the prince looked no further than his father's Hofkapelle. In 1637, shortly before its near dissolution, that ensemble still included some thirty-six members, including nine trumpeters and two timpanists⁸:

5 See Agatha Kobuch, *Neue Aspekte zur Biographie von Heinrich Schütz und zur Geschichte der Dresdner Hofkapelle*, in: Schütz-Konferenz Dresden 1985, Tl. 1, pp. 55–68, here p. 63.

6 The rosters of both the elector's and the prince's ensembles in 1651 are given in Spagnoli (footnote 2), pp. 3–4; the 1651 roster of the prince's musicians is also reproduced below.

7 A complete study of the court's finances during this era has yet to be undertaken. Agatha Kobuch (*Neue Sagittaria im Staatsarchiv Dresden. Ermittlung unbekannter Quellen über den kursächsischen Hofkapellmeister Heinrich Schütz*, in: *Jb. für Regionalgeschichte* 13 [1986], pp. 79–124, here pp. 91–92) has pointed out that the elector's financial status was already severely compromised in the mid-1620s, when his Hofkapelle petitioned him for unpaid salary; she suggests that the commonly-held belief that his financial problems began later, and were associated with his involvement in the war, must be reconsidered. For additional discussions of the elector's finances, see Carl Wilhelm Böttiger, *Geschichte des Kurstaats und Königreiches Sachsen*, Hamburg 1831, pp. 91–123; Karl August Müller, *Kurfürst Johann Georg der Erste, seine Familie und sein Hof*, Dresden etc. 1838, pp. 217–23; and Ernst Sparmann, *Dresden während des 30jährigen Krieges*, Dresden 1914, esp. pp. 97–132 (includes a discussion of loans made to the elector by the city of Dresden). On Saxony's involvement in the war, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, New York 1988, pp. 110–153.

8 SHStA Loc. 8680/6, *Churfürst Johann Georgens zu Sachsen Hoff- und Haushaltung bet: Anno 1615–1666*, unfoliated. Kobuch (footnote 5, p. 63) first discussed (but did not publish) this roster. The document includes

Ungefährliche Memorial Des anietzo Chur: und Fürstlichen Hoffetats, wie sich derselbe alhier in der Churfürstlichen Durchl: zu Sachssen Residentz Dresden befinden thut, Anno 1637.

Musicanten [Musicians]

Heinrich Schütz, Capellmeister

Vocalisten [Vocalists]

M. Zacharius Hestius, Vice Cappellmeister

Bastian Hirnschredell, Tenorist

Johan Meÿr

Joseph Nossler

Bassisten [Basses]

Jonas Kittel

Instrumenten [Instrumentalists]

Greger Hoÿer

Augustus Tax

Ernst Weishain

Caspar Kittel

Zacharius Hertell

Fridrich Sulz

Johann Dixon, Engelder [Englishman]

Organisten [Organists]

Johan Müller

Johan Klemm

Tobias Weller, Orgellmacher [organ builder]⁹

Grosse oder Instrumentisten Knaben als [Older, or Instrument Youths]

Philippus Stolle

Diese zweÿ gehören Ihrer Fürstlichen Gnaden Hertzzogk Johan Georgen zu.

Adrian Sulz

[These two belong to His Princely Grace Duke Johann Georg]

Fridrich Werner

beÿ dem Capellmeister [with the Kapellmeister]

Singer oder Cappelljunger [Singers, or Cappella Youths]

Heinrich Groh

Christian Kittel

beÿ Caspar Kitteln [with Caspar Kittel]

Samuell Pohle

Davidt Pohle

Johan Golzsch

beÿm Vice Capellmeister [with the Vice Kapellmeister]

Der Calcant

Item

Elias Pinkeler Harfffenist [harpist]

Trompeter [trumpeters, 9 names]

Heer Paucker [timpanists, 2 names]

Given his familiarity with the workings of the Hofkapelle, Prince Johann Georg knew that the adult musicians were bound contractually to the elector and thus off-limits to him, but that the well-trained cappella youths (“Capellknaben”) had not yet entered into an official contractual relationship with his father, and were thus ripe for the picking. According to the

brackets around the names of the three basses and the first four “Singers, or Cappella Youths”; it also indicates with lines that the two musicians who “belong to His Princely Grace” are Stolle and Werner.

9 In addition to his court responsibilities, which seem principally to have involved the repair and upkeep of the organs in the castle rather than the building of new instruments, Weller also built or refurbished instruments in churches in the city, including the Frauenkirche, Sophienkirche, and Kreuzkirche. See Hans John, *Die Dresdner Kirchenmusik in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Schütz-Konferenz Kopenhagen 1985, pp. 81–94, here pp. 88–89, 92–94.

roster above, around 1637, Prince Johann Georg had somehow convinced his father to bind over to him two promising young musicians, Philipp Stolle (1614–1675) and Friedrich Werner (1621–1667), in order that he might establish his own musical ensemble¹⁰. The primary impetus for the prince's acquisition of musicians at this time was likely his upcoming marriage to Magdalena Sibylla of Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1612–1687), and his desire to have a few chamber musicians for his and his new bride's entertainment. The multiple talents of both musicians testify to the fine training they had received at court under Schütz and his associates, and their versatility would have made a number of repertorial choices available to them, even as a mere duo. Stolle, a theorist, also played a variety of bowed string instruments, and Werner specialized in wind instruments, particularly the cornetto; in addition, both musicians had also received training as singers (tenor and alto, respectively). In its original instantiation as a duo without a keyboard player, the little ensemble's repertoire could easily have included sonatas for a solo instrument (cornetto or violin) and plucked continuo, lute songs, German 'Arien', and works for solo lute. Their appearance on the 1637 roster of the elector's musicians suggests that they continued to serve the elector in the chapel and at his table, but the notation following their names indicates that they now "belonged" to "His Princely Grace, Duke Johann Georg", and were responsible to him as well.

In November 1638, Prince Johann Georg married Magdalena Sibylla in a festal wedding celebration that lasted nearly a month. In addition to the nuptial ceremonies themselves, the wedding festival included a display of fireworks, an equestrian event ('Gesellenrennen'), several hunts, a sleighride, and a „schön Ballet vfm Riesensaal“ – the Schütz-Buchner *Orpheus*, which the bridegroom presented as a gift to his new bride¹¹. In January 1639, just weeks after the wedding guests had departed, Johann Georg I began to contemplate the establishment of a separate household ('Hofstaat') for his son, which was to include a separate staff of officers and servants, separate living quarters, and an allowance ('Deputat') over which his son would have control. The elector may well have regretted the day he made the initial proposal, however, for with the establishment of the prince's household and budget began the latter's incessant petitions to his father for money. Although initiated early in 1639, however, the process took over two years to complete, due largely to the poor condition of the elector's finances and his extensive indebtedness¹².

- 10 Matthias Weckmann, who received a contract from the prince in 1639 together with Werner and Stolle (see below), is not represented on this roster, as he had not yet returned from his study tour in Hamburg; see Ibo Ortgies, *Neue Erkenntnisse zur Biographie Matthias Weckmans: Biographische Skizze und Zeittafel*, in: Weckmann-Konferenz Göteborg 1991, pp. 1–24, here pp. 4, 11, and Joshua Rifkin, *Schütz-Weckmann-Kopenhagen: Zur Frage der zweiten Dänemarkreise*, in: Frank Heidlberger etc. (eds.), *Von Isaac bis Bach: Studien zu älteren deutschen Musikgeschichte. Festschrift Martin Just zum 60. Geburtstag*, Kassel etc. 1991, pp. 180–188, here p. 182; Rifkin suggests that after his return from the north, Weckmann also served in an informal capacity as the prince's organist. Weckmann and Stolle first appear as 'Kleine Capell Knaben' on a court roster from the summer of 1628 (see the discussion below), Werner appears for the first time on a court roster from April 1634 (Rifkin, *ibid.*, p. 185).
- 11 SHStA Loc. 10554/2, *Bejagers Acta Herzog Johann Georgens zu Sachsen fürst: Durchl. betreffende Anno 1638*, fols. 1–11; SLUB Msc. Dresd. Q 230, *Calendar Herzog Johann Georgen des Andern als ChurPrintz 1643. angefangen von 1630* [unfoliated], entry for 20 November 1638: „Haben die sämptlichen Chur: und Fürstl: Personen in der Eckstuben Taffel gehalten, hernach haben Ihre Fürstl: Durchl: Herzog Johann George, auffm Riesen Saal ein Ballet von Orpheo und Euridice gehalten.“
- 12 See, for example, Uwe Schirmer, *Beobachtungen zur wirtschaftlichen Situation in Kursachsen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Dresdner Hefte* 56 (1998), pp. 77–85; idem (ed.), *Sachsen im 17. Jahrhundert. Krise, Krieg, und*

Already in January 1639, Elector Johann Georg I had tapped his own ‘Hauptmann’, Rudolf von Dieskaw, to serve as his son’s new ‘Hofmeister’ (his “chief of staff”), but the self-possessed Dieskaw refused to accept the position until the elector met certain conditions, the first of which involved the payment of all of his back salary¹³. Apparently the negotiations with Dieskaw slowed the entire process to a standstill, and caused the anxious prince to worry that his father had forgotten about his promise. Thus on 29 July 1639, the prince obligingly reminded the elector of his pledge to establish his household, and pointed out that his own financial situation had deteriorated to such an extent that he could hardly keep any servants¹⁴. The elector responded on 18 August, and blamed the delay on the ongoing war and on Dieskaw’s “difficulties” concerning his contract. The elector went on to establish at 6,000 fl the annual amount that he would grant the prince for his “daily expenses and extraordinary requirements” („tägliches Ausgabe vnd *extraordinari* Bedürfnüs“), granted an additional 400 fl for the princess and her ‘Frauenzimmer’ (ladies-in-waiting), and indicated that he would provide for the salaries of the prince’s yet-to-be-determined officers and servants¹⁵. Two days later, the prince wrote to thank his father for his generosity, and appended a proposal for the future composition of his ‘Hofstaat’ for his father’s perusal¹⁶. Here the prince divided his household into various categories, the fifth of which involved musicians. The numbers here suggest that by August 1639, the prince either already had a number of musicians in his employ, or planned to hire them¹⁷:

The Field and Chamber Musicians

4 trumpeters

1 youth who can “play along” (i. e., an apprentice trumpeter)

1 timpanist

4 chamber musicians, “who must also allow themselves to be used in the chapel; it would also be good if the trumpeters understood something of music”.

As a result of his August correspondence with his son, Elector Johann Georg I set members of his staff to work in earnest on the formation of the prince’s household. Numerous drafts of the prince’s new ‘Hofstaat’ survive, most of which list salaries and titles but no names. Most of these lists do not include the category of “musicians”, however, and their omission suggests that Prince Johann Georg originally planned to pay the musicians out of

Neubeginn, Beucha 1998 (= Schriften der Rudolf-Kötzschke-Gesellschaft 5); Sparmann (footnote 7), pp. 97–109; Karl Czok (ed.), *Geschichte Sachsens*, Weimar 1989, pp. 236–249; and Müller (footnote 7), pp. 217–223.

- 13 SHStA Loc. 8681/2, *Des Chur-Printzens Herzog Johann Georgens des Andern [...] Hoffhaltung bet: 1620.-56.*, fols. 63^r–82^r, 85^r–87^r.
- 14 *Ibid.*, fol. 84^r: „Zu mahl auch solger gestalt aus manglung der mittel ich fast keinen diener mehr werde halten können, dan ich E. Gn. mitt grundt der warheit ich solger berichten kan.“ See also Müller (footnote 7), pp. 86–88. Kobuch (footnote 5, p. 63) erroneously reports that in this letter, the prince asked his father to raise his total allotment to 20,000 fl; see the discussion of the prince’s letter of 29 October 1639 below. Here monetary amounts given in ‘flore’ (or ‘Gulden’) are abbreviated ‘fl’, and those given in ‘Reichstalern’ as ‘tl’; ‘Groschen’ are abbreviated ‘gr’, and ‘Denarii’ as ‘d’.
- 15 SHStA Loc. 8681/2, fol. 89^{r-v}.
- 16 *Ibid.*, fols. 208^r–210^r; title on fol. 208^r: *Vnvorgrifflicher entwurf, wie künfftigke des Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten Vnd Herrn, Herrn Johann Georgens, Herzogen zu Sachsen, [...] meiner gnedigst Herrn Hoffstadt anzustellen.*
- 17 *Ibid.*, fol. 208^v: „Beÿ der feldt: vnd Cammer *Musica*. 4. Trompeter. 1. Jungen, der mitblaßen kann. 1. Herrpaucker. 4. Cammer Musicanten, die müsten sich auch in der Capelle mitbrauchen laßen, were Gut, wenn die Trompeter auch was Vf der *Musica* könten.“

his personal discretionary funds¹⁸. However, an undated “List [of] what Your Princely Highness would now like to have for officers and servants”, found among the 1639 household documents, reveals that the prince had identified the four chamber musicians referenced in the earlier document as follows¹⁹:

Matthes Weckmann	Organist
Philip Stolle	Musicanten
Friedrich Werner	
Christian Küttel [Kittel]	Capellknabe

The short list also reveals that the prince had once again raided the elector’s complement of cappella youths trained by Schütz, and had acquired organist Matthias Weckmann (ca. 1616–1674) and singer Christian Kittel, the son of Caspar Kittel²⁰. By doubling his ensemble with the addition of a singer and an organist, the prince significantly expanded the repertorial possibilities open to the group. Now, in addition to the types of solos and duos mentioned above, the ‘Musicanten’ could favor their new patron with small-scale sacred concertos for one to three voices and continuo, and compositions for voices and instruments, both sacred and secular. In addition to serving as a continuo player, Weckmann could now contribute solo organ works to the musical mix²¹.

Of the four musicians now in the prince’s employ, Matthias Weckmann was destined for the greatest musical renown. Weckmann’s arrival in Dresden cannot be dated with certainty, but Ibo Ortgies suggests that Weckmann’s father made contact with Schütz at the electoral summit held in Mühlhausen in October and November 1627, and at that time set in motion his plan for his son’s musical education. Ortgies also points out that Weckmann seems to have left his home in Oppershausen sometime in 1628, and suggests that his father brought him to Dresden before Schütz’s departure in August of that year²². Ortgies’ argument is supported by a long-overlooked piece of documentary evidence, a “list of those youths who [serve] in the electoral court and castle chapel, and in other places, live with instrumentalists, and are in need of summer clothes”, drawn up by vice-Kapellmeister Hestius²³. Both Weckmann and Stolle appear on this list, as charges of Schütz and Hestius, respectively, as does the young cornettist Johann Vierdanck (ca. 1605–1646). Vierdanck’s presence on the list helps to suggest a date for the document, as does the absence of Caspar Kittel’s name from those of the senior musicians who housed cappella youths. Kittel traveled to Italy to study in 1624, and returned to Dresden with Schütz in November 1629; in the early months of 1630, Schütz

18 Ibid., fols. 26^v–44^v, 90^r–94^v, 116^r–120^r, 122^r–126^v, 129^r–132^v, 135^r–138^v.

19 Ibid., fol. 114^r; the musicians appear as nos. 21–24 on the *Vorzeichnus. Was Ihre Fürst. Durchl. itzo vor Officier vnnd bediente haben wollen*. The list includes forty-five individuals, and does not include the stable personnel; the musicians’ names follow those of the six trumpeters and timpanist, and precede those of the pages and footmen. See also Kobuch (footnote 5), p. 63.

20 Christian Kittel joined the cohort of cappella youths sometime after 1634; he does not yet appear among the youths on the 1634 roster identified by Joshua Rifkin, but does appear on the 1637 list reproduced above; see Rifkin (footnote 10), pp. 184–185. Weckmann appears on the 1634 list among the members listed as „Abwesende oder Verreiset“ (“absent or away”).

21 At this point, Christian Kittel (son of Caspar, b. 1603) was about sixteen years old, and probably still sang a treble part; a few years later he would receive a contract as a bass (see below).

22 See Ortgies (footnote 10), pp. 2–3.

23 SHStA Loc. 8687/1, *Cantorej-Ordnung*, [...] *A^o 1581.-1707.*, fol. 50^r. The roster appears in the Appendix (no. 1).

proposed to the elector that Kittel take on four ‘Taffelknaben’, or “discantists who attend at meals”, and by 1631 the arrangements had been made²⁴. Given that Kittel remained an active member of the team responsible for the education of cappella youths from 1630 or 1631 until at least 1637, the list likely antedates his return²⁵. In addition, in July 1628, a month before he departed for Italy, Schütz recommended that the elector send Vierdanck to Vienna to study with Giovanni Sansoni (1593–1648), cornettist at the Imperial court; by November of that year, Vierdanck was safely ensconced in Vienna, and the elector was remonstrating about the amount it cost to keep him there²⁶. As the undated list of cappella youths includes Vierdanck’s name, without reference to study in Vienna, the document most likely dates from the late spring or early summer of 1628.

Once the exact personnel and financial requirements of the prince’s new ‘Hofstaat’ had been established, Elector Johann Georg I committed 20,000 fl annually to his son’s household expenses, in a letter dated 15 September 1639²⁷. According to the letter, which represents the elector’s financial covenant with his son, the prince was to receive one-third of the total annual amount at the time of each of the three Leipzig trade fairs (New Year, Easter, and Michaelmas). Various drafts of the prince’s household, several of which bear the date of 15 September 1639, reveal that the salaries and allowances originally totaled 19,419 fl 9 gr, but that an additional amount (“Zulage”) of 383 fl 15 gr was subsequently added “so that [His] Princely Highness might be able to support [his] musicians all the better”²⁸. On the same day, draft contracts for many of the prince’s appointees, including his three adult musicians, were also drawn up. The draft of the musicians’ contract, issued by the elector rather than by his

- 24 See Joshua Rifkin (biography and bibliography) and Colin Timms (works list), *Heinrich Schütz*, in: *The New Grove Northern European Baroque Masters*, New York and London 1985, p. 25, and Schütz GBr, pp. 105, 107 („Taffelknaben, oder Discantisten so bey der Taffel aufwarten“), 114.
- 25 Kittel appears in this capacity in at least three documents from the 1630s: a 1631 list of cappella youths (Schütz GBr, pp. 114–15), a roster of court musicians from 1634 (Rifkin, footnote 10, p. 185), and the 1637 roster reproduced above.
- 26 See Schütz GBr, p. 93, and SHStA Loc. 8683/4, *Eingekommenen Klagen zu Hofe [...] 1572–1656*, no. 76; the document bears the date 16 November 1628. In the latter, after learning that Vierdanck’s stipend in Vienna equaled the salary of the youth’s former teacher at the Dresden court, Johann Georg directed an unidentified court official to investigate the stipends awarded earlier to Wilhelm Günther and Johann Köckeritz for their study in Italy.
- 27 SHStA Loc. 8681/2, fols. 140–142^r, conclusion: „Geschehen vnd geben zu Dreßden, den Fünffzehenden Septembris, Im Jahr Christi, Vnsers einigen Erlösers vnd Seeligmachers, Tausendt Sechs hundert vnd neün vnd dreißig.“
- 28 SHStA Loc. 8681/2, fol. 44^r. In this set of documents, the copies of the budget on fols. 26^v and 44^r are undated; the total on fol. 26^v does not include the musicians’ ‘Zulage’ („thut alles zusammen/ 19,419 fl 9 gr“), while that on fol. 44^r (19,419 fl 9 gr) has been crossed out and the ‘Zulage’ added with the rationale concerning the musicians: „damit Sr. Fürstl. Durchl. Ihre *Musicanten* desto besser vnterhalten können“; the document concludes „vndt werden also in allem erfüllet/ 20000 fl.“. Both fols. 94^v (undated) and 126^v („Angangen den 15. Septembris 1639“) incorporate the ‘Zulage’ and explanation into the main budget document and provide a single total, 20,000 fl. The copy on fol. 138^v (dated 15 September 1639) is signed by both elector and prince, and gives the grand total as 19,419 fl 9 gr; the figure is followed by a symbol referencing a slip of paper inserted between fols. 138 and 139 that gives the ‘Zulage’ of 383 fl 15 gr, which in turn is followed by the same explanation regarding the musicians, and the new total: „vnd werden also in allem erfüllet/ 20000 fl.“ The new grand total, given as 20,000 fl, seems to have been rounded up to conform to the amount promised in the elector’s letter, for the actual sum of the two amounts was 19,803 fl 3 gr. See also the discussion in Kobuch (footnote 5), p. 63.

son, stipulates that these three musicians were to serve at the pleasure of both the elector and the prince, and to provide service to both²⁹:

By God's grace we, Johann Georg, Duke of Saxony, [etc.], do make known and acknowledge that we appoint our beloved and true Friedrich Werner³⁰ as musician and instrumentalist of our amiable, beloved son, Lord Johann Georg, [etc.], and do declare herewith and through the power of this document, that he be true and worthy of service to us and to His Dilection, [...] In particular, however, shall [he] be bound to that which the Kantoreiordnung stipulates, as well as also [to that which is] further decreed, ordered, and commanded by Us or on behalf of His Dilection, by his Hofmeister, with respect to service in the court chapel, and before Our or His Dilection's table [...] Given in Dresden on the fifteenth of September, in the sixteen-hundred-and-thirty-ninth year after the birth of Christ, our only Savior and Sanctifier.

Unlike most contracts issued to musicians during this era, this one lacks the delineation of duties specific to the individual employee, and remains curiously silent as to the salary and benefits that would accrue to the musician for his service. In fact, none of the 1639 documents reveal the musicians' actual salaries. The names of Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner also appear on an undated list of those waiting for official appointments to the prince's 'Hofstaat', however, and a note at bottom of the page indicates that the appointees were to negotiate their salaries with the prince³¹. Prince Johann Georg probably planned to pay each some portion of the 383 fl added to his household budget on their account. A document dated 2 November 1639 suggests that the three musicians were originally to receive board ('Kost') at court, which would have reduced their living expenses somewhat³².

Prince Johann Georg's efforts on behalf of his musicians continued after the formal establishment of his 'Hofstaat'. On 29 October, six weeks after he officially accepted the financial plan for his new household, the prince wrote to the elector with a request that at first seems rather redundant in light of the agreements signed earlier that fall³³:

Your Grace may most graciously recall how you allowed the four musicians supported by me up to this point to be accommodated separately, and also most graciously resolved to assign to me a few necessary persons who are as yet not included in the specification [that was] delivered up. But as the support of the aforementioned four musicians may cause many inconveniences, so I submit to Your Grace's amiable-fatherly and gracious pleasure that if you will allow the amount of 19,419 fl 9 gr assigned to me to be raised and increased to 20,000 fl, all for the better subsistence [of the musicians], I offer in return to satisfy these musicians myself.

At first glance, Prince Johann Georg would appear to be asking for that which his father had already granted him back in September – support in the amount of 20,000 fl. But a later document reveals the true rationale for the prince's letter, for it demonstrates that in Septem-

29 The German original appears in the Appendix (no. 2). The contract is cited (but not reproduced) in Kobuch (footnote 5), p. 63.

30 Although only Werner's name appears here, the document's header indicates that it was to provide the language for all three contracts. See No. 2 in the Appendix.

31 SHStA Loc. 8681/3, fol. 59r: „Inn Pflicht weren noch zunehmen. [...] 3. Musicanten alß Matthes Wigkman, Organist, Philipp Stolle vnd Friedrich W. [...] Diese bestellungen sollen in der Cammer gefertiget, und wenn es zum Soldt kömptt, diese *formalien* gesetzt werden: hingegen werdenn sich unßers geliebten Johans Ld. mit ihm seiner dienstwartung halber billichmäßi9g zuvergleichen vnnnd abzufinden wißenn.“

32 SHStA Loc. 8681/3, fol. 58r: „Ohngefehrlicher vndt zu Ihr. Fürstl. Durchl. Gnädigster Verbeßerung gestelter Vfsatz, was, vnd wie künftig beÿ dero ahngehenden Hoffstadt gespeiset werden muß“ (“Approximate list, provided for Your Princely Highness's most gracious correction, of those who in the future will have to be fed in your incipient household.”) The list includes three unnamed 'Musicanten'. Additional documents (discussed below), however, reveal that the three took their meals elsewhere.

33 The German text appears in the Appendix (no. 3).

ber 1639, the prince had already granted salaries of 200, 170, and 150 fl to Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner, respectively, and thus must have realized that the ‘Zulage’ (383 fl 15 gr), to which he refers with the phrase “separately accommodated”, would not cover the total amount of these salaries³⁴. Prince Johann Georg clearly feared that to supplement the musicians’ salaries from his own discretionary funds would only compound his difficulties. Thus he requested the actual difference between the two totals (19,419 fl 9 gr and 20,000 fl), i.e., 580 fl 12 gr. As the salaries of the three adult musicians totaled only 520 fl, the amount of 60 fl 12 gr remained for the housing, board, and further musical education of Christian Kittel, his cappella youth³⁵.

The state of the court treasury, however, meant that the pleasures the prince derived from performances of his small ensemble would be short-lived. Letters from late 1639 and early 1640 clearly demonstrate that the elector, although presumably well-intentioned, lacked the means to provide for his son’s household. The prince felt the effects of this shortfall immediately, and in a letter to his father of 23 November 1639, anxiously reported the “great disorder” that prevailed among those in his service, who had received no pay for over a year, and whose clothing was in tatters. The prince pleaded with his father to advance him some funds, and to attend to other festering problems related to the establishment of his household³⁶. Johann Georg I, however, seems to have used the letter as an excuse to justify the dissolution of his son’s incipient musical ensemble, and thus perhaps to thwart his son’s development of a competing musical ensemble within the castle walls³⁷. Just six days after receiving his son’s letter, Johann Georg I issued a decree transferring Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner back into the Hofkapelle, purportedly to fill the positions of those members of the ensemble who had either died or departed³⁸. In this the elector may well have felt justified, as he had paid for the musical educations of all three. Whether or not the prince consented to the change remains unknown. In the decree, the elector stated that he would have preferred to have obtained Schütz’s opinion regarding the salaries and contracts that should be assigned to the three, but was unable to do so, as the Kapellmeister had left Dresden³⁹. Instead, the elector left the details of the arrangement to his ‘Hausmarschall’, Georg Pflug, but in his letter to Pflug on 29 November, did express the opinion that these young musicians, who could not be compared to those who had served for many years, should receive compensation commensurate with their age and experience⁴⁰.

34 The document, which dates from February 1642, is a statement of the salary owed to the three musicians from 15 September 1639 to 17 February 1642; each musician claims back salary at the rates given above (SHStA Loc. 4520/1, *Acta Bestellungen, Expectanz-Scheine, Besoldungen und Reverse belangende Ao 1601–50*. Vol. II, fol. 195r, also cited in Kobuch (footnote 5), p. 64). Documents from 1642 give the basic cost for keeping one cappella youth at either 50 or 60 fl annually (Schütz GBr, pp. 152–54).

35 See the discussion of Schütz’s 1641 proposal below.

36 SHStA Loc. 8681/2, fol. 159r, Johann Georg II to Johann Georg I, 23 November 1639.

37 The latter idea was first suggested by Kobuch (footnote 7), p. 108.

38 SHStA Loc. 4521/2, *Bestellungen, 1619–56*, fol. 60, reproduced in Kobuch, *ibid*.

39 Schütz had departed Dresden for the court of Georg of Calenberg (Hannover and Hildesheim) sometime in the late summer or early fall of 1639; see Rifkin (footnote 24), p. 35, and Kobuch (footnote 7), p. 107–108.

40 SHStA Loc. 4521/2, fol. 60: „Worbeÿ zu erinnern stehet, das, weil diese noch Jung vndt denen vorigen wolverdienten *Musicanten*, ihrer langwürigen auffwartung nach, nicht zuvergleichen, mit dem Soldte billich ein *Proportion observiret* werden muß.“ See also Kobuch (footnote 5), p. 64.

Perhaps due to Schütz's absence, the negotiations concerning the new contractual arrangements for the three musicians proceeded slowly. A full two months after Johann Georg I had issued his decision, 'Hausmarschall' Pflug finally reached some manner of agreement with the three musicians, and notified the elector in writing⁴¹. It seems that the prospect of transfer back into the Hofkapelle had left Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner somewhat 'in dubio' about their financial futures as dependents of the elector, and had caused them to take their concerns to the prince's secretary, Christian Hertzog, with whom Pflug was negotiating. Hertzog, of course, had dutifully reported their fears to Prince Johann Georg, who had quickly developed a scheme to retain more than a mere sentimental attachment to his three former musicians. In his letter, Pflug assured the elector that all three musicians would willingly enter his service, but he also explained – very delicately – that they had expressed certain misgivings about falling victim to the elector's erratic and undependable remunerative practices. He then added that Prince Johann Georg had declared himself willing to cover the musicians' salaries himself, if the elector would only agree to increase his allowance ('Deputat') to 20,000 fl⁴². Such a plan would have allowed the prince to continue to exercise at least some degree of hegemony over the three, and perhaps to reintegrate them more easily into his household at some point in the future. Apparently the prince's October request for such an increase had fallen upon deaf ears, and he thus seized this opportunity to readdress the issue with his father. It remains unclear, however, whether or not the elector accepted his son's proposal.

Despite his presumed best intentions toward his son, however, Elector Johann Georg I could not alter economic reality. The correspondence between father and son from 1639 until at least 1653 reveals in the most personal terms the deleterious effects that the 30 Years' War had on the house of Wettin in general, and on the cultivation of music at the court in particular. As a result of his father's impoverishment, seemingly insurmountable financial difficulties plagued Prince Johann Georg throughout the decade of the 1640s in his attempts to establish a musical ensemble. Although he regularly implored his father for substantial infusions of cash, so that he might rescue his "credit and reputation" and avoid complete financial ruin, he received nothing from the elector⁴³. In fact, the combination of poor economic conditions brought on by war and his own war-related expenditures prevented the elector from fulfilling his financial obligations to his son virtually throughout the decade. In December 1642, the prince informed his father that as of 1 January 1643, he would be owed 60,000 fl in payments of his household allowance⁴⁴. More than three years after the establishment of his household, Prince Johann Georg had received only two payments from his father, those

41 SHStA Loc. 4521/2, fol. 61, Georg Pflug to Johann Georg I, 31 January 1640.

42 SHStA 4521/2, fol. 61v: „Worauf S. Fl. Durchl. sich dahinn gnädigst gegen mier ercläret, das wann E. Chf. Durchl. Dero bewilligtes *Deputat*geldt nur biß auf die Zwanzig Tausent *compliren* undt erfüllen wolten, oder würden, Sie so dann gedachte dreÿ Persohnen davonn selbstn *contentiren* undt befriedigen wolten, also, das sie oberwehntter massen ihre aufwartung ohne manngell undt zur genüge verrichten sollten.“ See also Kobuch (footnote 5), pp. 63–64; Kobuch, however, omits any mention of the agency of the prince, and says that the musicians themselves expressed the desire to be paid by the prince, which represents a somewhat inaccurate reading of the letter.

43 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, *Des Kurprinzen ꝛ. S. Johann Georg II. Handschreiben an seinem Vater, den Kurfürsten, 1634–1656*. Vol. I, fol. 143, Johann Georg II to Christian Reichbrodt [privy secretary to Johann Georg I], 10 December 1647: „Ihr Gnaden werden mich zu diesen mahl nicht lassen darmit ich nicht volgents in der fremde meinen *credit* vnd *reputation* auch vorliehre bitt zum höchsten das beste darbey zu thun.“

44 See the translation and discussion below, and the German text in the Appendix (no. 6).

for the Michaelmas term of 1639, and the New Year's term of 1640. Once established, this pattern of delinquency continued throughout the decade: documentary evidence demonstrates that the prince received no additional payments of his household allowance until 1650⁴⁵. Yet despite these privations, the tenacious prince forged ahead, and somehow found a way to expand his small musical ensemble.

Despite the addition of the prince's three musicians to the Hofkapelle, the musical situation in the court chapel grew so dire in 1640 that Senior Court Preacher Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg (1580–1645) felt compelled to involve the elector in a last-ditch attempt at a musical rescue. The frustrated Hoë complained that the lack of discantists (i.e., choirboys) and a "true alto" had all but silenced polyphony in the chapel⁴⁶. Only one choirboy, whose voice was on the verge of changing, remained available, but according to Hoë, the boy was useless, for he promptly forgot everything that he had learned. In addition, Caspar Kittel's widow, with whom the boy was living, could no longer afford to keep him. Hoë strongly urged the elector to seek out two good discantists, and to place them with Jonas Kittel, brother of the late Caspar Kittel (d. 1639), from whom the former had "learned the art". He also warned the elector that the scarcity of singers threatened the Holy Week liturgies, for the anxious vice-Kapellmeister, Hestius, had reported that he could not mount performances of the Passion and the Resurrection History, the musical and scriptural focal points of the Good Friday and Easter services, for lack of singers. To his credit, the elector answered his confessor's plea, and authorized the addition of two new choirboys. He also suggested that Hoë and Hestius consider bringing in members of the 'Stadtkantorei' to sing the Passion and Resurrection History, should the choirboys not be immediately available⁴⁷. While these stop-gap measures may have allowed the court to celebrate the liturgies of these central days in the Christian calendar with at least a minimal cohort of musicians, the poor state of the elector's finances continued to impact his musicians directly; in September of the same year, the entire membership of the Hofkapelle petitioned Johann Georg I for back salary⁴⁸.

In the fall of 1641, after he had enjoyed their service for nearly two years, Elector Johann Georg I decided to return Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner to his son's employ, thus effectively reconstituting the prince's musical ensemble. The rationale behind this second transfer remains unknown, but the elector may well have relinquished the musicians for economic reasons, as Agatha Kobuch has suggested⁴⁹. On 14 September 1641, Schütz drew up the contractual language for Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner as members of Prince Johann Georg's musical ensemble, and included Augustus Tax, a senior member of the elector's Hofkapelle, as the director of the small band⁵⁰. The actual contracts (discussed below), whose issuance

45 Discussed below.

46 An extensive excerpt from Hoë's letter appears in the Appendix (no. 4). The letter is quoted briefly in Müller (footnote 7), p. 177, and Moritz Fürstenau, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Königlich Sächsischen musikalischen Kapelle*, Dresden 1849, p. 62.

47 SHStA Loc. 4521/2, fol. 66, Johann Georg I to Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, 15 March 1640.

48 SHStA Loc. 8687/1, fol. 238, "Sämtliche Musici" to Johann Georg I, 17 September 1640.

49 Kobuch (footnote 5), p. 64. No correspondence suggesting that Prince Johann Georg petitioned his father for their return has yet surfaced.

50 Schütz GBr, pp. 145–148; the original appears in SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fols. 191^{r-v}, 197^{r-v} (see also Kobuch, *ibid.*, p. 64). Tax, a member of the Hofkapelle, was only paid 50 fl annually by the prince, which suggests that he also continued in the service of Johann Georg I; in 1612, he was appointed by the elec-

was delayed for a full year, follow closely the wording of Schütz's memorandum. Schütz's delineation of the duties of each reveals the versatility typical of court and city musicians of this era. Stolle, for example, was expected to perform as both a theorbist and a singer, as well as on the violin and other string instruments, while Werner was expected to play "all manner of wind and string instruments"⁵¹. In anticipation of their official return to his household, Prince Johann Georg likely informed Schütz of his musical expectations, which included assigning Stolle and Weckmann the task of educating his cappella youths. The prince's increasingly Italianate musical tastes reveal themselves most clearly in Schütz's enumeration of Stolle's duties, for the theorbist was to give the prince's choirboys a daily lesson at an appointed time, to "give them dictation and listen to them", and to "habituate them to a good Italian manner in singing, to the best of his ability"⁵². In this Prince Johann Georg followed in the musical footsteps of his brother-in-law, Danish Prince-Elect Christian (1603–1647), who in 1634 had hired the castrato Gregorio Chelli to instruct his own choirboys in singing in the Italian manner, a fact that the musically-interested Saxon prince likely learned when he attended his sister's wedding to the crown prince in Copenhagen that same year⁵³. Stolle probably gained his expertise in the Italian 'Manier' through his study with Caspar Kittel, who had spent four years in Italy in the 1620s⁵⁴. The prince also relied on Weckmann to help educate his cappella youths; the organist was to accompany the boys on a regal or positive organ and "help them to practice, so that they become accustomed to singing purely, and might perfect themselves in music all the more quickly"⁵⁵. Werner's duties, however, did not include work with the prince's musical apprentices; instead, he was charged with improving his own skills, and given the incentive of a higher salary upon the "betterment of his art"⁵⁶. Werner took this charge seriously, and soon left to study the cornetto with Sansoni in Vienna⁵⁷.

In addition to detailing Prince Johann Georg's musical expectations, the documents related to the reappointments of Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner to his household also reveal that the prince had not severed all ties with his musicians back in the fall of 1639. In fact, although he had ostensibly lost them to his father, he had continued to provide them with fi-

tor with a salary of 150 fl; see Siegfried Köhler, *Heinrich Schütz: Anmerkungen zu Leben und Werk*, Leipzig 1985, p. 103. See also Tax's salary in 1646 (below).

- 51 Schütz GBr, p. 146 (Stolle): „Daß Ihr. Durchl. ihm anordnet daß nicht alleine mit der Thiorbe und im Singen oder vokaliter, sondern auch auf der Diskantgeigen und andern Viola er fleissig mit aufwarten soll, wohin ihm anbefohlen wird“; *ibid.*, p. 147 (Werner): „Daß Ihm Ew. Durchl. auff allerhand sowohl blasenden als besaitenden Instrumenten, die einem Instrumentisten zustehen, [...] mit aufwarten thu.“ See also the 1642 contract (discussed below) in the Appendix (no. 5).
- 52 Schütz GBr, p. 146: „Hierüber soll er insonderheit verbunden sein ihre hochfürstl. Durchl. Singeknaben täglich zu gewissen Stunden, Lection zu geben, ihnen furzuschreiben und sie zu überhören, und also möglichen besten Fleißes Diesselbigen zu einer guten italienischen Manier im Singen gewöhnen.“
- 53 See Mara R. Wade, *Triumphus nuptialis danicus: German Court Culture and Denmark. The Great Wedding of 1634*, Wiesbaden 1996 (= *Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung* 27), p. 243.
- 54 The 1631 list of cappella youths lists Stolle as a pupil of Kittel (Schütz GBr, p. 114). Kittel demonstrated his facility with Italian vocal ornamentation in his *Cantade und Arien* of 1638, which he dedicated to Prince Johann Georg on the occasion of his wedding
- 55 Schütz GBr pp. 145–146: „auch obgemelde Knaben mehrmals in ein Instrument Regal oder Positif, absonderlich singen lassen und dergestalt exerciren helfen, daß sie rein singen sich gewöhnen und in der Musik desto schleuniger perfectioniren mögen.“
- 56 See Schütz GBr pp. 147–148.
- 57 Schütz's baptism memorandum from the fall of 1642 (see below) indicates that Werner is in Vienna studying with Sansoni.

nancial support throughout their period of service in the Hofkapelle. On 17 February 1642, just a few months after Schütz drew up his memorial reinstating them as musicians of Prince Johann Georg, the three musicians reported to their young patron the status of their salary and benefits as of that time: not surprisingly, since 15 September 1639 they had received neither their salaries nor the livery due them each year. However, they had received cash from the prince to pay for their 'Kost' (board), which they had taken 'bey Colander' up until that time, and had also received several additional cash payments from him⁵⁸. Clearly the prince doubted that the three would receive compensation from his father, and, rather than risk having them leave the court altogether, and thus possibly losing them forever, he took care to see that they at least had something to eat. Exactly five months later, on 17 July, all three received a substantial portion of their back salary⁵⁹. In light of the never-varying theme of the prince's letters to his father – imminent destitution and financial ruin – the revelation that he had paid out more than 1,300 fl in cash for his musicians' board suggests that he had sought and found alternate sources of income. In fact, in 1639 and 1640, Prince Johann Georg had resorted to borrowing against his most valuable personal possessions in order to resolve some of his most pressing debts, which probably included the support required by his musicians. In order to secure these loans, he had at various times put up numerous 'Preziösen' as collateral, including three gold chains, one of which was valued at 350 tl, at least ten pieces of jewelry studded with gemstones or decorated with painted miniatures, a gold tankard, a silver stein, a gilded goblet, two dozen silver bowls, a small gold writing tablet („schreibe Täftelein von goldt“) decorated with thirty diamonds, and even the pearls that he had given to his wife⁶⁰. By October 1644, the prince had become sorely delinquent in repaying these loans, and the accumulated debt, which now involved a significant amount of interest, had grown so onerous that he was forced to reveal all to his father, and to ask him for help; as he explained it, “the longer [the debt] stands, the higher the interest will climb”⁶¹.

58 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fols. 194–195: *Vorzeichnüs was von Ihrer hochfürstl. Durchl: seydt hero der bestallung welche Anno 1639 an 15 Septembris war das Quartal Crucis biß itzo den 17 Februrij war das Quartal Reminiscere da wir von Colanders tisch abgetreten empfangen an Kost, undt bahrem gelde* (fol. 194^r); *Vorzeichnüs was wir vom dato d. bestallung an nemlich vom Quartal Crucis Anno 1639. biß itzo Reminiscere Ao 1642. an besoldung zu fordern* (fol. 195^r). Johann Georg II had paid a total of 861 fl, 16 gr for their board, and given them additional cash payments totaling 450 fl. They were still owed a total of 1,300 fl in salary and six outfits of clothing (two each). The document states that 'Tisch bey Colander' cost six taler per week. This Colander, who presumably ran a boarding house in Dresden, was likely the widow or a relative of Anton Colander (1590–1621), who had served as a court organist from ca. 1616–1621.

59 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 188^r: „Nach gehaltener abrechnung hatt sich befunden, daß H. Fürstl. Durchl. bestelten Musicanten alß Matthes Weckmannen, Philip Stollen, vnd Friedrich Wernern vor außgehendigter schriftlicher bestallung zwey hundert gulden an besoldungen geldern im rest vorbleibet, welche ihnen deß nechsten außgezehlet werden sollen, deßwegen ihnen dieser schein außgefertiget worden. Signat. den 17. July 1642.“ Nothing survives to suggest that their colleagues in the Hofkapelle received any remuneration at this time.

60 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fols. 72^r–73^v, Johann Georg II to Johann Georg I, 21 October 1644, with an accompanying itemization of items used as collateral, capital and interest. The prince was forced to borrow against similar items again in 1644. According to his own calculations, in 1644 the prince owed 4268 tl, 785 tl of which represented accumulated interest.

61 „auch da sie lenger noch stehen sollen die intresse noch höher lauffen wirde“ (SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 72^r). Elector Johann Georg I was not able to advance Prince Johann Georg the funds to redeem these items held as securities until 1650 (see below).

As the war dragged on, the already dismal economic situation of the Dresden court and its employees continued to deteriorate. Early in 1642, five of the ten or so musicians still persevering in the elector's Hofkapelle found themselves in extremely dire straits, and pleaded with their patron for some compensation⁶²:

The absolute, most extreme need compels us to disclose our calamitous situation to Your Electoral Highness by supplicating most humbly, inasmuch as we have sacrificed everything that we had in the discharge of our duties, and thus for our vital sustenance, we have absolutely no means before us to provide ourselves with bread, butter, bread, and necessary clothing for this hard winter.

The elector's musicians went on to express the fear that, should one of them fall ill (something that was likely, they said, given their current circumstances), the music in the worship services would be compromised. They also worried that, given their small numbers, they would find it difficult to perform the music in the chapel adequately without the support of the organ and other instruments, which currently were obliged to remain silent due to the 'Hoftrauer' (court mourning period) for Electress Hedwig⁶³. Finally, they implored the elector for payment, begging him to consider their "most extreme need" and their fear that the lack of food would prevent them from performing their musical duties. It is difficult to determine if or when members of the Hofkapelle received payments during this decade. Court treasury records from 1642, for example, show that tax revenues in small amounts did occasionally trickle into the court treasury, and reveal that upon the receipt of such funds, Johann Georg I made small payments to various court employees. Of the recipients listed here, however, the only musician to receive anything was the calcant, who pumped the organ bellows⁶⁴.

In September 1642, a full year after Schütz originally drew up the contractual provisions for Weckmann, Werner, and Stolle as musicians of the prince, the actual written agreements with the three were finally issued. The long delay is inexplicable, but may suggest a hesitance on the part of the elector to surrender the three to his son. The 'Konzept' or draft used to generate the individual contracts relates solely to Werner, but the draft also provides additional language, specific to Weckmann and Stolle, for insertion at the relevant points in the contracts of the other two musicians⁶⁵. Curiously, however, the 'Konzept' was backdated

62 SHStA Loc. 7349/5, *Cammer Rechnungen, vnd was dem anhängig bel. ao. 1640–1698*, fol. 89^{r-v}: Joseph Nusser, Johann Muller, Sebastian Hirnschrötel, Johann Klemm, and Jonas Kittel to Johann Georg I [undated, but bound with documents from late January/early February 1642]: „Die vnümbgängliche eüßerste noth zwinget uns, Eur. Churfl. Durchl. Vnsern Üblen Zustandt, vnterthenigst *supplicando* zuerkennen zu geben, Sintemahl beÿ verrichtung Vnserer Diensten, wir alles was wir gehabt, zugesetzt, Vndt daher zu vnvermeidlichen Vnsern Vnterhalt, Vns gegen diesen Harten winter, mit Brodt, Butter, Holtz, vndt nothwendiger Kleidung zuversehen, gantz keine mittell vor vns wissen.“

63 Ibid. Dowager-Electress Hedwig, the widow of Elector Christian II, died on 26 November 1641.

64 In February 1642, for example, the income received totaled 1080 fl 11 gr ½ d. The total amount was then dispersed, including a payment of 29 fl 11 gr "to the calcant in the court chapel" (SHStA Loc. 7349/5, fol. 73^v). On fol. 78^v in the same volume one finds an undated list of „Supplicanten ümb geltt“; those paid here include „den Calcanten inn der Schloß Kirchen“ (29 fl 11 gr); the list also includes an entry for the 'Hoff Musicanten', but the amounts have been left blank.

65 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 172^{r-v}, 196^r; the document is reproduced in the Appendix (no. 5). The volume is bound in such a manner that the bifolio upon which the contract is written (with the material to be inserted given on the recto side of the second folio) serves as the outermost folios of a gathering, with other documents bound in between its two folios. Kobuch (footnote 5, p. 63) cites (but does not reproduce) the Werner contract on fol. 172^{r-v}, but apparently did not see the insertions for Stolle and Weckmann on fol. 196^r; thus she mistakenly reports that the complete 'Wortlaut' exists for Werner alone.

from 1642 to 1639, probably to reflect the original appointment date and salary, and so as not to negate the three musicians' claims for back pay to the earlier date⁶⁶. The new contracts, which were issued by the prince, rather than by his father, indicate that the three are no longer obligated to divide their service between the elector and the prince, a point that Schütz had made clear in 1641. Werner's contract also includes a later insertion from September 1644 that indicates that he received a raise to 170 fl annually at that time, likely as a result of his study in Vienna with Sansoni⁶⁷. The contract also includes an undated insertion stipulating that his duties were to include dancing, the training for which he had received through the prince's largess⁶⁸.

The transfer of the three musicians back to the prince's employ is confirmed by Schütz's undated memorandum from the autumn of 1642 regarding the upcoming baptism of the prince's infant daughter, Princess Sibylla Maria⁶⁹, for here Schütz describes Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner as musicians of "the Lord Duke Johann Georg"⁷⁰. In December 1642, a few weeks after the baptism, Prince Johann Georg penned yet another letter to his father on the topic of his allowance, which had fallen seriously into arrears. His rather petulant letter helps to explain his decision to collateralize his valuables, for, as mentioned above, it reveals how little of his promised allowance he had actually received over the course of the previous three years⁷¹:

Your Grace might most graciously recall that I have now on many different occasions very seriously and imploringly inquired about my outstanding allowance, which in the coming new year (minus everything that I have received) will reach sixty thousand Gulden, whereupon to date, apart from a little bit, nothing has resulted, but instead, the matter has been put off from one time to another, and from one occasion and opportunity to the next, as a result of which I and my most beloved wife now make do very miserably and wretchedly; I have fallen into debt, and, if the truth be told, we must live in the greatest disgrace, on which account I could not protest more emphatically to Your Grace.

The prince then went on to propose a solution to the problem, and suggested that his father use the financial contribution ("Bewilligung") of the recently-acquired territory of Upper Lusatia ("Ober Lausitz") to pay his allowance, a proposal that he would reiterate in the coming years until improving conditions finally convinced his father of the feasibility of the plan⁷².

66 Kobuch (*ibid.*) does not mention the backdating of the contract, and discusses it as a document dating from 1639.

67 Werner must have received this raise in absentia, for in September 1644 he was in Denmark in the service of Prince-Elect Christian (see below).

68 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 172r: „auch im tanzen so wir ihme lernen laßen, sich iederzeit gebrauchen laßen, und andrer auf unsern befehl darinnen *exercitieren* soll.“

69 The prince's daughter Sybilla Maria was born on 20 September 1642 and was baptized on 26 October 1642; see SHStA Loc. 8680/9, *Hofdiarium von 16. August 1642 bis 1. Jun. 1643 item vom 16. August bis 23. Septbr. 1649*, entries for 20 September and 26 October 1642.

70 Schütz GBr pp. 148–152. In addition, a list of Prince Johann Georg's household for 1643, "dictated and drawn up by His Princely Highness himself on 30 December 1642", includes four musicians and two cappella youths; SHStA Loc. 8681/2, fol. 182r: „Bey Ihrer Fürstlichen Durchl. Herzog Johann Georgens zu Sachsen Hoffstadt, Officianten vnd andere Dienere, befinden sich des 1643 Jahres.“ A note in the top left corner of the document reads „Den 30. Decem: 1642 Ist von E. Fürstl. D. selbsten alß *dictiret* vnd vffgesetzt ward.“

71 The German text appears in the Appendix (no. 6).

72 In 1620, Emperor Ferdinand II offered Upper and Lower Lusatia, which lie to the east of Saxony, to Johann Georg I in return for his agreement to raise an army and take the territory back from the rebellious

His father responded on 6 January 1643, and carefully explained that although the Upper Lusatian provincial diet had agreed in 1637 on an amount to be collected and contributed to the Saxon treasury, the full amount had still not been paid, due to the current 'Kriegs-troublen'⁷³. Thus, although he desired to come to his son's assistance, he had no remedy to offer him⁷⁴.

This news doubtless spelled disappointment for Prince Johann Georg II. Then, late in the following month, tragedy struck the prince and princess: their first child, five-month-old Princess Sybilla Maria, died on 27 February. Her death ushered in a period of mourning that would have extended a number of months past her funeral, which was held on 5 April; she was buried the next day in the Freiberg Cathedral⁷⁵. The mourning period that ensued after her death, together with the ongoing hostilities, caused the prince to decide to send his three musicians off to Nykøping to serve – and to receive compensation from – his brother-in-law, Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark⁷⁶. The prince's actions at this time attest to his determination not to lose his musicians as a result of his penurious state, particularly during a time when music at the court was silenced, giving unpaid musicians the opportunity to seek other employment. But while Christian assumed financial responsibility for the musicians⁷⁷, Prince Johann Georg retained his rights as their patron, and did not release them from their contracts; clearly he expected to call them back to Dresden when his own fiscal situation had improved⁷⁸.

By 1643, all but the most basic musical activity at the court had ground to a halt. The war and all of its consequences had forced even the optimistic Prince Johann Georg temporarily to set aside his dreams of building a distinguished and impressive musical ensemble. Yet during this period, the prince did not simply throw up his hands in despair. Despite his perpetual state of insolvency (of which he continued to remind his father), he somehow managed to hire three musicians between 1644 and 1646. In September 1644, Christian Kittel, who had served the prince as a cappella youth since 1639, received a contract as a vocalist

Bohemian Estates; the territorial gains were later enshrined into perpetuity in the Peace of Prague; see Parker (footnote 7), pp. 60, 141–42. The elector finally agreed to effectuate his son's suggestion regarding the Upper Lusatian funds in 1648 (see below).

73 SHStA Loc. 8563/3, fols. 102^r–v, 108^r, Johann Georg I to Johann Georg II, 6 January 1643.

74 Requests such as this on the part of Prince Johann Georg demonstrate his lack of familiarity with the internal workings of the Saxon government and condition of the treasury; he did not begin to attend meetings of his father's privy council until 1653, when he had reached the age of forty. See SLUB Msc. Dresd. K 113, *Diarium, Was von der Zeit an als der Durchleuchtigste Fürst und Herr, Herr Johann Georg, Herzog und ChurPrintz zu Sachsen, [...] zum Ersten mahl in den Gebeimen und Justitien Rath Ihre Session angetreten*. The diary covers the period from 23 October 1653 to 6 October 1656.

75 SHStA Loc. 8680/9, entries for 27 February and 5–6 April 1643.

76 In a letter of 25 October 1646 requesting the return of his musicians, Prince Johann Georg indicates that he had sent them to the court of his brother-in-law because of the period of mourning at court (presumably for his young daughter) as well as the ongoing war. Although the musicians' departure date is unknown, the prince's later letter suggests that they left in the late spring or summer of 1643, after the funeral; the letter also indicates that by that time, they have been in Denmark for about three years. See the discussion of this letter below, and the excerpt in the Appendix (no. 8).

77 Danish pay records indicate that Prince-Elect Christian paid Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner from 1643 on; see Angul Hammerich, *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof*, Copenhagen 1892, pp. 180–181. Payments to the three musicians in December 1645 are referenced in the Danish prince's letters; see E. Marquard and J. O. Bro-Jørgensen (eds.), *Prins Christian (V.)s Breve*, vol. 2, Copenhagen 1956, pp. 476–477.

78 Johann Georg's letters to Prince-Elect Christian in late 1646 and early 1647 (discussed below), in which he requests that his brother-in-law send the three musicians back to Dresden, make it clear that they remained contractually obligated to the Saxon prince.

and instrumentalist; at this point, he was the sole musician in the prince's service⁷⁹. The following year, the prince made his first appointment from outside the ranks of the Dresden cappella youths, and issued a contract to a musician named Andreas Künzgen, who was skilled "on the Viole (viola da gamba, and other instruments)"⁸⁰. These hires, however, did not signal an improvement in the prince's financial status. In October 1645, a few months after adding Künzgen, he begged his father to help him out financially, and not to give him cause to worry himself into an early grave⁸¹. The following March, the prince received some income from the 'Praesentgeldt' granted to him back in 1640 by the noblemen ('Ritterschaft') of the provincial diet⁸². But just two months later, during another meeting of that body in Dresden, Prince Johann Georg complained to his father that he was having "to spend the best years of [his] life and youth in sheer grief", and asked the elector to seek a payment of 20,000 fl for him from the diet; should the idea of such a request make his father uneasy, he asked for permission to approach the diet himself⁸³. This request too fell on deaf ears; a subsequent letter from the prince to his father indicates that by July of the same year, the elector had still not responded to his son's request⁸⁴. Despite his dramatic prognostications of a premature death caused by anxiety, however, the prince continued to plan for the future, and on 21 October 1646, added another former cappella youth, the falsettist Heinrich Groh, to the ranks of his musicians⁸⁵. These three appointments strongly suggest that the prince may have had access to other, still unidentified sources of income, such as private loans from cities, for his previous efforts at least to provide his musicians with meals suggests that he took his responsibilities to them seriously, and did not simply continue to enlarge his retinue irrespective of his ability to pay.

79 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 212^{r-v}; Michaelis (September) 1644: contract for Christian Kittel as a „musicanten [...] im singen und instrumenten“, at an annual salary of 170 fl plus livery. A later roster of the prince's musicians from 1651 indicates that Kittel sang bass (see Spagnoli, footnote 2, p. 4).

80 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 233^{r-v}, contract for Andreas Künzgen as a „Musicanten und Violisten auff den Viole (Viole de gamba, und andern Instrumenten) / Datum Dresden am 5. Aprilis Anno 1645“; the contract indicates that he was to serve "both in church and at table" („beydes in der Kirche vndt für der Tafel“), at an annual salary 170 fl, plus livery and meals ("Cost") at court. Künzgen is listed as a violinist on the composite roster of the musicians of Johann Georg II drawn up in 1717; Spagnoli (footnote 2), pp. 90–95, here p. 93.

81 Müller (footnote 7), p. 219: „Sie wollen mir nochmals diese hohe und väterliche Gnade erweisen und Dero Hände nicht gar vollends von mir abziehen, [...] und nicht Ursache geben, damit ich mir selber vor der Zeit mit Harm und Kummer mein Leben abkürzen mögen.“

82 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fols. 105^r–107^r: „Praesentgeldt so Ihrer Hochfürstlichen Durchlauchtigkeit, Herzog Johann Georgen zu Sachßen [...] von der Ritterschafft in Land Tage Ao 1640 Vnterthenigst offeriret vnd bewilliget worden.“

83 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 108^r, Johann Georg II to Johann Georg I, 15 May 1646: „nit wenig muß Ich meine beste Jahr und Jugendt mitt lautter bekümmerniß zubringen.“

84 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 109^r, Johann Georg II to Johann Georg I, 31 July 1646.

85 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 233^{r-v}, contract for Heinrich Groh as a „Musicanten und Sängere“ both in the church and at table, with the same salary and benefits as Künzgen. On a roster of the prince's musicians from 1651, Groh is listed with Bontempi (a castrato) as a discantist; there he is listed before Werner, who is listed as an alto (see below); Groh is listed as an alto falsettist on the 1717 roster (Spagnoli, footnote 2, p. 91).

In the summer of 1646, nearly a year after the signing of the Treaty of Kötzschbroda had effectively ended the war in Saxony⁸⁶, the court ensemble that stood under the direction of the most renowned composer in Germany had dwindled to just nine performers: three singers (two tenors and a bass), three instrumentalists, two organists, and a timpanist⁸⁷. Writing to Johann Georg I in July 1646, Jacob Weller (1602–1664), the new senior court preacher, suggested some improvements in the form of vespers as celebrated in the court chapel, but then lamented the fact that any potential liturgical changes would be stymied by this crippling shortage of choirboys, the same situation of which his predecessor Hoë had complained some years earlier⁸⁸. In fact, said Weller, the only boys currently serving in the chapel were a few “poor youths” who enjoyed no official ties to the court, but who had expressed a willingness to sing at vespers. These youths, Weller explained, were receiving instruction from the organist, and were not looking for promises of a future commitment from the elector: all they requested in daily compensation was some bread and beer. Such was the desperate state to which young musicians had been reduced at Saxony’s once most splendid court.

Perhaps due to the sorry state of his father’s Hofkapelle, the severely compromised efforts of which he also would have had to endure in church services, Prince Johann Georg seems to have concluded in 1646 that the time was right to begin to augment his own musical ensemble. As half of his musicians were still in Denmark, however, the first step involved gathering them all together under one roof. With that in mind, on 25 October 1646, he wrote to Prince-Elect Christian at his castle in Nykøping, and requested that the Danish crown prince send back the three musicians currently on loan to him, Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner⁸⁹. The exchange between the two brothers-in-law testifies to the binding force of seventeenth-century contractual relationships, which, unless expressly stipulated in the document, could only be dissolved by the issuer of the agreement⁹⁰. Thus, in rather legalistic terms, Johann Georg emphasized to Christian the fact that these three musicians, their years in the north notwithstanding, remained contractually obligated to him („worzu sie noch immer verbunden sein“).

Prince-Elect Christian seems to have come to regard the three borrowed musicians as permanent fixtures in his own princely Hofkapelle, and thus read Johann Georg’s letter of repossession with some disappointment. In his response, he assured his Saxon brother-in-law that he had no intention of detaining the musicians against his wishes, but also expressed his extreme reluctance to let them go, as their immediate departure would destroy both his musical

86 Parker (footnote 7), pp. 177, 272 n. 10. The signatories to the neutrality treaty, signed in August 1645, were Elector Johann Georg I and Swedish General Königsmark (Günter Naumann, *Sächsische Geschichte in Daten*, Berlin 1991, p. 132).

87 SHStA Loc. 8687/1, fol. 224r.

88 The relevant section of the letter is reproduced in the Appendix (no. 7).

89 SHStA Loc. 8561/3, fol. 250r-v; the relevant excerpt from the German original appears in the Appendix (no. 8).

90 Only highly-placed court officials, such as the senior court marshal, enjoyed the privilege of a severance clause in their contracts. See, for example, the 1664 contract of Senior Court Marshall von Callenberg, “chief of staff” to Elector Johann Georg II, which stipulates that he was to give notice three months ahead of the desired date of severance; the contract also allowed him three months of leave time each year to tend to personal matters (SHStA OHMA [Oberhofmarschallamt] K IV Nr. 1, *Bestellungen hoher Hof=Officiers de ao 1586 biß 1727*. Vol. I., fols. 121r–133r).

ensemble and the “special and almost singular delight” that he derived from it⁹¹. He implored Johann Georg to allow the three to remain in Denmark a while longer, arguing that they were not as crucial to the Saxon prince’s ensemble as to his own (!), and that his brother-in-law had access to “better advice” on how to replace them than he did, presumably referring to Schütz⁹². Prince Johann Georg seems to have found the Danish prince’s self-pitying arguments rather galling, however, and so in his response of 15 January 1647, pointedly reminded his brother-in-law that he himself continued to suffer from musical impoverishment⁹³:

Your Dilection will not be displeased to consider that we have done without the delight of the aforementioned three musicians for four years now, and permitted Your Dilection to use them with the greatest pleasure.

Politely but firmly, Prince Johann Georg then insisted on the return of the three musicians, as he required their services at the upcoming wedding of his brother, Duke August; he also reminded Christian of the musicians’ contractual obligations to him, and that he had furnished most of their musical training⁹⁴. In addition, Prince Johann Georg may have known by this time that his wife had conceived another child; assuming all went well, there would be a baptism that summer that required musicians⁹⁵. In order to ensure that his musicians received his orders to return, the prince asked Schütz, who was also in Denmark, to inform them of his decision, but also wrote to them himself on 15 January; he may have also included a travel pass with his letter⁹⁶.

91 SHStA Loc. 8561/3, fol. 249^r: Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark to Johann Georg II, 18 December 1646: „Was die abgeforderte Dreÿ Musicanten anlanget, sind wir zwar keines wegcs gemeinet, E. Ld. dieselbe einiger maÿen vorzueenthaltten, wollen aber dero selben gleichwohl [v--]erhalten laÿen, daÿ, wofern Sie so schleunig von vns abreisen solten, unsere Music gantz darnieder liegen, vnd wir also der daran habenden sonderbahren vnd fast einigen ergötzlichkeit ohnig gemachet würden.“ Also quoted briefly in Hammerich (footnote 77), p. 181; a summary in Danish appears in Marquard and Bro-Jørgensen (footnote 77), pp. 621–622.

92 SHStA Loc. 8561/3, fol. 249^v: „Von dem E. Ld. etwa an einzigen Dreÿ Persohnen beÿ Dero Music so hoch nicht gelegen seÿn magh, derselben auch daselbst außn zuer ersatzung zue gelangen beÿer raht an Handt kommen kan, Alÿ haben wir vns aus E. Ld. unzweiffentlich tragenden gueten Zueversicht unterstehen wollen. Dieselbe freundvetterlich vmb überlaÿung obberührter Dreÿ Musicanten auffts weinigste für einzeitlang freundvetterlich zue ersuchen, werden solches zue sonderlich hohem Danck auffnhemen vnd erkennen.“ Perhaps the musicians themselves had expressed a desire to remain in Denmark.

93 SHStA Loc. 8561/3, fol. 328^r: Johann Georg II to Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark, 15 January 1647: „Worauff E. Lbd. Ihr nicht wolle misfallen lassen zubetrachten wie wir gemelte Vnsere Dreÿ Musicanten albereit inÿ Virte Jaar gemüset, Vnsere von Ihnen gehabte ergötzigkeit entbehret, vnd E. Lbd. zu gebrauchen von Herzen gerne gegönnet.“

94 SHStA Loc. 8561/3, fol. 328^v: „Nur wir aber selbiger Diensten wiederumb bedürfftig, Vnd wegen etzliches furhaben vff des Herrn Erzbischoffes zu Magd. Lbd. bevorstehenten Gott gebe gluckliches Beÿlager, Sie etwas zeitlich anhero vorschrieben, Alÿ bitten E. Lbd. wir freundschwägerlichen, Sie wollen in ansehung dessen vnd daÿ Vnÿ sie Krafft inhabenter bestellung obligat, wie Sie auch fast alle ihre kunst erlernen lassen, nicht allein gnadigst *dimittiren*, sondern auch zu mehrer beförderung ihriere Reÿÿe alle gnade wiederfahren lassen.“

95 Prince Johann Georg III was born on 20 June 1647.

96 SHStA Loc. 8561/3, fol. 330^r: Johann Georg II to Weckmann, Stolle, and Werner; the letter begins “We do not doubt that you will have heard from Kapellmeister Heinrich Schütz that we are again in need of your service” („Vnÿ zweifelt nicht ihr werdet von dem Capell Meister Heinrich Schützen, wie wir eüre dienste zum gewissen fürhaben wiederumb von nöthen [...]“); on fol. 252^r appears an incomplete, undated draft of a travel pass, which says only „Pasbrieff Vor Mattheus Weckmann, Philipp Stoll und Friedrich Werner“, and „Wir von Gottes gnaden Johann George, Herzog zu Sachsen (tot. Tit.)“.

On 12 April 1647, nearly six months after Johann Georg made his initial request, Prince-Elect Christian finally issued a travel pass to Dresden for all three musicians, prior to his own departure for Saxony⁹⁷. Only Stolle seems to have returned to Dresden in 1647, however, for of the three, only his name appears, along with that of Agostino Fontana and two other royal Danish musicians, in the 'Fourier- und Futterzettell' drawn up in March and sent to Dresden⁹⁸. In addition, the reports of Prince Christian's progress through Saxony in May 1647 indicate the presence of only those musicians listed in the March document⁹⁹. Neither Weckmann nor Werner traveled to Dresden in Prince Christian's retinue; instead, both apparently took rather circuitous routes back to the Saxon court. Weckmann seems to have remained in northern Germany for a time, for both musical and personal reasons. He was in Hamburg on 15 June 1647, for he entered that date at the end of a manuscript of sacred vocal music that is largely in his hand¹⁰⁰. Ibo Ortgies has suggested that Weckmann did not return to Dresden until after his wedding in Lübeck on 31 July 1648, and points out that "there is no evidence for a stay in Dresden during the intervening time, but such a stay nevertheless was assumed for a long time"¹⁰¹. Ortgies's view seems to be supported by documents from the Dresden court. Weckmann's name appears, with those of Werner and Stolle, on three undated rosters of Prince Johann Georg's musicians drawn up between 1646 and 1649¹⁰². At first glance, these would seem to suggest that Weckmann did return to Dresden after his sojourn in Hamburg, and then left again to get married¹⁰³. The third of these, however, reflects the salary increases that Werner and Stolle received from the prince on 16 June 1648, after their return to Dresden (discussed below). Weckmann's salary, however, reflects no such increase; instead, the roster reports the same salary that he had received before his departure for Denmark. This suggests that Weckmann had not yet returned to court, and that the roster lists him as a member of the ensemble 'in absentia'.

97 Marquard and Bro-Jørgensen (footnote 77), p. 698; cited in Mara R. Wade, *Prince Christian von Dänemark und seine Brant als Mäzene von Schütz*, in: *SJb* 21 (1999), pp. 49–61; here p. 60, n. 66.

98 The other two musicians included the lutenist Gottschalk Beer, and an anonymous 'Bassist', whom Wolfram Steude identified as Christof Dyk; see his *Auskünfte Dresdner Quellen zu Heinrich Schütz' Dänemarkreisen*, in: *Schütz-Konferenz Kopenhagen 1985*, pp. 43–56, here p. 56, n. 49. The document, dated 5 March 1647, originated at Prince Christian's residence in Nykøping (SHStA Loc. 34171, *Des Königl. Printzen zu Dennemarck, Herrn Christiani V. und s. Hoch Prinzl. Durchl. Gemahlin etc. Ankunfft und Auflösungen. 1647*, fol. 1 ff., cited in *ibid.*). A 'Fourier- und Futterzettell', which listed all of those who were to travel in a sovereign's retinue on an upcoming journey, was sent to the destination in advance of the visit, in order to inform the host court of the number of people and horses that would require food and lodging during the visit. It also communicated the rank of the individuals involved, in order that issues of precedence might be resolved in advance.

99 The retinue made stops in Wittenberg (the border of Saxony), Lichtenberg, Zabeltitz, and Moritzburg (SHStA OHMA F Nr. 3, *Ankunfft des CronPrinzens zu Dennemarck Herrn Christian V. nebst Frau Gemahlin und Erz-Bischoffs zu Magdeburg Herrn Augusti in Dresden 1647*, fols. 96r–100v). Prince Christian's ultimate destination was Eger in Bohemia, but he died suddenly in Gorbitz, just outside Dresden, on 2 June (rather than on 1 June as given by Moser, p. 165, and Ortgies (footnote 10), p. 5; see Steude (footnote 98), p. 56).

100 Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. KN 206; see the discussion of this manuscript in Alexander Silbiger, *The Autographs of Matthias Weckmann*, in: *Schütz-Konferenz Kopenhagen 1985*, pp. 117–144, here p. 123.

101 Ortgies (footnote 10), p. 5: „Ein Aufenthalt in Dresden ist für die dazwischenliegenden Zeit nicht belegt, wurde bislang jedoch angenommen.“ See also *ibid.*, p. 14.

102 All three rosters are given and discussed below.

103 No travel passes for Weckmann to Lübeck in 1648 have survived in Dresden.

Werner's date of return remains equally difficult to pinpoint. After leaving Denmark, he may have spent time with his brother Christoph in Danzig, or with his former teacher in Vienna, Giovanni Sansoni, with whom he had studied before entering the service of Prince-Elect Christian. In March of 1648, Prince Johann Georg wrote to Sansoni to express his thanks; along with the letter, Sansoni apparently also received some tangible compensation – likely many years overdue – for his efforts¹⁰⁴:

In our grace and every good affection that we always retain for your high abilities, we do not fail to preserve always in good memory those courtesies received in the past from you by our musician, Friedrich Werner, entirely according to our wishes. We know well that your efforts and merits deserve a richer recompense than that which, for the present, comes from us. We hope, nonetheless, that you will receive this small gift as a testimony of the favor and gratitude that we retain for you, assuring you personally that you have found and always will find favor and good affection in us.

According to Werner's funeral sermon, the cornettist himself delivered the "requisite honorarium with a portrait ('Bildniss') and gold chain" to Sansoni¹⁰⁵. The prince had reason to be pleased with the results, for according to Sansoni's letter of thanks from the following month, Werner's playing had impressed no less than the emperor himself¹⁰⁶:

The cornett player Friedrich Werner, your most faithful servant, has been heard by His Imperial Majesty, which has pleased him much, and I am certain that some honor promised to him by His Clemency will not be distant. With this, hoping from God Our Lord, for Your Highness, every desired result of your great and heroic thoughts, I humbly bow before you.

Whether or not Ferdinand III bestowed any special honors on Werner remains unknown, but the prince could certainly take pride in the fact that one of his own musicians had impressed the Holy Roman Emperor.

104 SHStA Loc. 8553/6, fols. 3^r, 6^r, 9^r. Many thanks to John Walter Hill for translating this letter. The original Italian text appears in the Appendix (no. 9). Two copies of the letter to Sansoni survive, one in Schütz's hand (fol. 3^r), the other likely in the hand of the prince's privy secretary, Gabriel Voigt (fol. 6^r, with part of the text and the header on fol. 9^r). The letter in Schütz's hand is reproduced in Kobuch (footnote 7), p. 109–10. Kobuch assumed that these letters were exchanged by Elector Johann Georg I and Sansoni, essentially because the letters appear in a volume of the elector's correspondence (ibid., p. 108–110). However, it is much more likely that this correspondence took place between Prince Johann Georg II and the cornetto virtuoso. First, Werner was the employee of Johann Georg II, who had sent him to Vienna. Second, Sansoni addresses Johann Georg as 'Serenissimo Principe' rather than as elector, and both copies of the letter to Sansoni (see below) bear the header "Per la gratia d'Iddio Giovanni Giorgio Duca di Sassonia, Giuglia, Cleve et degli Monti"; one is signed (in the secretary's hand) "Gio: Giorgio Duca di Sassonia" – again the title does not include the rank of elector. Third, as Kobuch has shown (ibid.), Schütz provided the Italian text of the letter to Sansoni, which was then copied by a court secretary. Comparison with other Italian and Latin documents in the hand of Gabriel Voigt, privy secretary to the prince, reveals that this copy is very likely in Voigt's hand. It was not uncommon for letters to be misfiled; for example, two letters that stand near these in the same volume of the elector's correspondence (fols. 4–5, 7) are clearly addressed to the 'ChurPrintz'.

105 [Heinrich] Beyer, *Leichensermone auf Musiker des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: *MFH* 8 (1876), pp. 1–6, here pp. 5–6. According to the funeral sermon, Prince Johann Georg sent Werner to Vienna, where he studied with Sansoni for two years, but Elector Johann Georg I rewarded Sansoni with a 'Bildniss' and a golden chain, in addition to the requisite honorarium, which Werner himself delivered to Sansoni. The author of the sermon seems to have confused father with son in the latter case. The 'Bildniss' was likely a miniature portrait of the prince designed to be worn on a chain.

106 The Italian text appears in the Appendix (no. 10). Many thanks to Paula Higgins for translating this letter.

The eventual return of Weckmann, Werner, and Stolle marked an important turning point in the history of the prince's ensemble, and signaled the end of the numerous setbacks and reverses that had beset the group for the past decade. From this point on, until he became elector in October 1656, Prince Johann Georg continued to expand his group with one or two musicians at a time, as is demonstrated by the rosters that survive from the later 1640s and early 1650s. The three earliest of these, mentioned above, date from between 21 October 1646 and 16 September 1648 or later; they reveal that by the war's end, the prince possessed a small but viable musical ensemble. The first of these rosters¹⁰⁷ reports six musicians in service to the prince, three of whom had probably not yet returned from Denmark, but had been summoned to Dresden:

Musicanten

Matthäus Weckmann	Organist
Philipp Stoll	[theorbo, strings, tenor]
Friederich Werner	[cornetto, winds, strings, alto]
Christian Kittel	[bass, viola da gamba]
Andreas Kuzgenn	[violin, strings]
Heinrich Groh	[alto falsettist]

The second undated roster, however, includes the musicians' salaries, and also adds the name of Gabriel Mölich, the court 'Tanzmeister' who also served as a 'Cammerdiener' (valet) to Prince Johann Georg. Mölich was a published composer who had studied in Italy; the position of his name at the head of the list, together with his higher salary, suggests that he served for a time as the director of the prince's musicians¹⁰⁸.

Ihrer Hochfürstl: Durchl: Herzog Johann Georgens zu Sachsen, Musicanten Besoldung¹⁰⁹

Gabriel Mölich	200 tl – gr – d oder 228 fl 12 gr – d
Mattheus Weckmann, Organist	175 tl – gr – d oder 200 fl – gr – d
Philip Stolle, Teorbist	148 tl 18 gr – d oder 170 fl – gr – d
Friederich Werner, Cornetist	148 tl 18 gr – d oder 170 fl – gr – d
Christian Kittell, Violist und Sängler	148 tl 18 gr – d oder 170 fl – gr – d
Andreas Kintzgen, Violist	148 tl 18 gr – d oder 170 fl – gr – d
Heinrich Groh, Falcetist	148 tl 18 gr – d oder 170 fl – gr – d

As mentioned above, the salaries of Stolle, Werner, and Weckmann provide a clue to the approximate date of this roster, for they are essentially the same as they had been in 1642 and 1644; as Stolle and Werner received new contracts and raises on 24 June 1648, this roster predates those contracts¹¹⁰. The third undated roster (below) reveals that the prince has

107 SHStA Loc. 8681/2, fol. 245^r.

108 Mölich's name appears among those of the instrumentalists on a roster of the elector's musicians from 27 March 1650 (SHStA Loc. 8687/1, fol. 285^r); there his salary is given as 57 fl 3 gr quarterly, which equals the 228 fl 12 gr reported above.

109 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 192^r ("The Salaries of the Musicians of Your Most Princely Highness, Duke Johann Georg of Saxony"). The dashes preceding 'gr' and 'd' indicate zero amounts.

110 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 309^r. This new contract explicitly grants Werner his 1639 salary of 170 fl, and adds 130 fl for a total of 300 fl annually, and grants Stolle his 1639 salary of 180 fl and adds 120 fl for a total of 300 fl annually. Another copy (*ibid.*, fol. 308^r), for Werner alone, bears the same date, and breaks the salary down as 200/100 fl; it also includes language that the additional sum is „in gnädigster erkant- nüss seiner fleißigen aufwartung“. As mentioned above, Werner received a raise to 170 fl in 1644.

added three more musicians, Michael Schmidt, Friedrich Westhoff ('Westhofs'), and Jonas Kittel (whom the prince seems to have borrowed from his father's Hofkapelle); this list dates from 16 September 1648 or later, as Schmidt received a contract from the prince on that date¹¹¹. This roster¹¹² also reveals that the violinist Andreas Künzgen, appointed in 1645, had left the prince's employ¹¹³:

Ihrer Churprinzlichen Durchlauchtigkeit, Herrn Johann George Herzogens zue Sachßen, Jülich, Cleve und Bergk, Musicanten, haben Jährlichen an Besoldung zue Fordern.

228 fl	12	–	gr	–	[d]	ann 200	th	Gabriel Mölich,	[violin?]
200 fl		–	gr	–	[d]	ann 175	th	Matthes Weckman,	[organ]
300 fl		–	gr	–	[d]	ann 262	th 12 gr	Friedrich Werner,	[cornetto]
300 fl		–	gr	–	[d]	ann 262	th 12 gr	Philip Stolle,	[theorbo]
200 fl		–	gr	–	[d]	ann 175	th.	Michael Wencelaus Schmidt,	[violin, bass]
170 fl		–	gr	–	[d]	ann 148	th 18 gr	Christian Kittel,	[bass]
170 fl		–	gr	–	[d]	ann 148	th 18 gr	Heinrich Groh,	[discantist]
137 fl	3	gr	–	[d]		ann 120	th	Friedrich Westhofs,	[lute]
72 fl		–	gr	–	[d]	ann 63	th	Jonas Kittel	[bass]

The roster is followed on the same folio by a list of the amount of 'Kleÿdergeldt' (livery allowance) – 34 fl 6 gr or 30 tl – allotted to each musician save Jonas Kittel for one outfit; Kittel likely received his livery allowance from the elector. At this point, Mölich still functioned as the group's leader. This roster now reflects the raises that Werner and Stolle had received in June 1648, when they were issued new contracts¹¹⁴, but indicates that Weckmann's salary, which was originally higher than that of his two colleagues (as it was in Nykøping as well¹¹⁵), remained unchanged at this point; as mentioned above, this seems to suggest that he had still not returned to Dresden.

Not all of the prince's cappella members served at court solely as musicians. In September 1649, Georg Berthold (or Giorgio Bertholdi) received a contract from Prince Johann Georg II as a „Cammerdiener, Tenorist id[em] Musicus“ (valet, tenor and musician) with a salary of 400 tl – higher than that of the other musicians in the prince's ensemble¹¹⁶. This elevated salary likely reflects Berthold's dual appointment as both musician and valet. Berthold first appears in a musical capacity in the role of Apollo in Acts I and V of the ballet *Paris and Helena*, which Prince Johann Georg presented at court on 2 December 1650 during the festive double wedding of his brothers, Dukes Moritz and Christian¹¹⁷. Curiously, Berthold's name

111 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 318: *Bestallung vor Michael Wenzel Schmieden/ Dresden den 16. Sept. 1648*; the salary given in the contract is 200 fl. Later records reveal that Schmidt was a bass singer. Neither Mölich nor Jonas Kittel became permanent employees of the prince. A contract for Friedrich Westhoff has not yet been located; such does not survive with the others in SHStA Loc. 4520/1. A roster from March or April 1651 (discussed below) indicates that Westhoff was a lutenist.

112 SHStA Loc. 4520/1, fol. 190^r ("The Musicians of Your Electoral-Princely Highness, Lord Johann Georg, Duke of Saxony, Jülich, Cleve and Burg, can claim [the following amounts] of salary annually"). As on the previous roster, the salaries are given in 'flore[n]' (or 'Gulden'), with the equivalent amount in 'Reichsthaler'. The salary amounts are also reckoned for a half year, a quarter year, and a month (fols. 192^r–193^r).

113 According to the 1717 roster, Künzgen departed in 1648; see Spagnoli (footnote 2), p. 93. He is listed among the violinists on the roster. The salary given there, 148 th, agrees with that given in the list above.

114 See footnote 110.

115 See Marquard and Bro-Jørgensen (footnote 77), pp. 476–477.

116 Berthold's contract appears in SHStA Loc. 4520/2, fol. 6^r.

117 See Fürstenau, pp. 117–126.

does not appear on rosters of the prince's entire musical ensemble until 1656. However, the designation 'Tenorist id Musicus' in his appointment papers suggests that he also sang with the prince's ensemble from the time of his arrival in Dresden¹¹⁸. The tenor's name appears variously in court documents as 'Giorgio Bertholdi', 'Giorgio Berthold', 'Georg Bertholdi', and 'Georg Berthold'¹¹⁹. Thus he may have been an Italian, and if so, was the first such musician hired by Johann Georg II.

By the late 1640s, Prince Johann Georg had finally assembled a musical ensemble sufficiently disposed to mount performances of small-scale sacred concertos (both with and without obbligato instruments), secular vocal works, and instrumental music. Although no inventories of the court's musical holdings survive from this period, the contents of Weckmann's manuscript of vocal music (referenced above) provide a sense of the repertoire that this ensemble performed for its patron. Whenever he finally did resume his duties in Dresden, Weckmann likely brought this volume (now Lüneburg KN 206) with him, which included seventy-five compositions by various Italian and German composers, among them Monteverdi, Grandi, Rovetta, and Schütz¹²⁰. Long ago, Max Seiffert suggested that Weckmann copied this manuscript for use with the musical ensembles in Copenhagen and Dresden¹²¹. Weckmann could easily have collected many of these works with an eye toward performances with Prince Johann Georg's ensemble; in the late 1640s, the group possessed the vocal and instrumental forces to perform more a third of the compositions included. While performances of most of the works that Weckmann copied from Monteverdi's *Selva morale e spirituale* (1641) and Johann Stadlmayr's *Psalmi integri* of the same year would have required the use of additional forces from the Hofkapelle, the small-scale works by Grandi, Merula, and Christoph Werner (the brother of Weckmann's Dresden colleague) would have provided ample repertory in the Italian style for Prince Johann Georg's enjoyment. Performances of motets by Werner (ca. 1617/18–1650), seventeen of which appear in Weckmann's manuscript, may well have influenced Prince Johann Georg's decision in 1649 to approach the composer regarding the position of vice-Kapellmeister at court (see below)¹²². According to Schütz, Christoph Werner had studied with Marco Scacchi, who had praised Werner's "outstanding genius" and

118 Some documentary evidence confirms this assumption. In 1654, for example, Berthold was one of four "chamber musicians" (all singers) who accompanied Prince Johann Georg to Wittenberg for the investiture of Abraham Calov as General Superintendent; see SLUB K 113, fol. 14r, entry for 13 February 1654.

119 The latter two forms of the tenor's name appear often enough to prevent a clear determination of his national origin. Berthold(i) may have hailed from a German/Italian region in Switzerland, southern Austria, or northern Italy.

120 The composers represented in the manuscript, and the number of compositions by each are as follows: Anonymous (2), Lorenzo Agnelli (1), Ferdinand III (1), Agostino Fontana (1), Giovanni Ghizzolo (1), Alessandro Grandi (7), Tarquinio Merula (3), Claudio Monteverdi (21), Georg Pichelmayr (1), Benedetto Re (1), Giovanni Rovetta (1), Christoph Sätzler (2), Heinrich Schütz (1), Johann Stadlmayr (10), Simplicio Todeschi (1 or 3), Giovanni Valentini (1), Georg Weber (1), Christoph Werner (17); collation from Silbiger (footnote 100), p. 130–135.

121 Max Seiffert, *Matthias Weckmann und das Collegium Musicum in Hamburg*, in: SIMG 2 (1900–01), pp. 76–132, here p. 84. Given Weckmann's employment with Prince-Elect Christian, however, it is more likely that he intended the works for the ensemble in Nykøping rather than Copenhagen. See also the discussion in Silbiger (footnote 100), p. 123.

122 All of the motets by Werner were drawn from the latter's *Praemessa musicalia* (Königsberg 1646).

cited these pieces as models of the ‘seconda pratica’ style¹²³. Such works were perfectly in line with the increasingly Italianate tastes of Weckmann’s princely patron.

Although the expansion of the prince’s musical ensemble documented above suggests that his fiscal situation was improving, his letters from this same period reveal that he was still bedeviled by monetary troubles. In one of his semi-regular missives to his father concerning his household allowance, dated 20 November 1646, the prince once again proposed the “Lusatian solution”, and assured the elector that the funds would only be used for himself and his wife¹²⁴. Elector Johann Georg I answered his son’s most recent request with uncharacteristic alacrity, on 24 November, and although he once again rejected the Lusatian proposal, he did not simply resort to pleading poverty. Instead, he offered an alternative solution, which involved the transfer of one quarter of the excise tax receipts (‘Accisen’) to the prince’s allowance on a monthly basis. In addition, the elector proposed to arrange for the transfer to the prince of an additional 661 fl currently sitting in the court coffers¹²⁵. If the prince was encouraged by this promise of a regular income, he soon found his hopes dashed, for once again his father was unable to keep his word. As a result, the prince fell behind in salary payments to his servants and musicians, all of whom wrote to him in April 1647 requesting the compensation due them for the past four months¹²⁶.

Given that Prince Johann Georg had received virtually none of his annual allowance since the beginning of the decade, this request from his staff is particularly revealing, for it suggests that the prince had somehow managed to keep up with his own financial obligations for the most part, despite the lack of payments from his father. Clearly the elector’s straitened circumstances had forced the prince to develop creative strategies for keeping himself afloat financially. One of these, of course, had been to borrow money against his own valuables; another, which he disclosed in a letter to his father dated 6 October 1647, involved borrowing funds from “foreigners”¹²⁷:

I ask Your Grace most humbly and as a most obedient child that you not abandon me at this time, and that you not pull your gracious hand away from me, but help me now with at least 4,000 taler, or give me a payment-order for this amount¹²⁸. I assure Your Grace that in so doing You will show me as great a favor as if you had given me 100,000 taler, since my entire reputation rests upon it, as well as my credit, and I will immediately approach Your Grace no more, [if only] you do not abandon me at this time, for God’s sake, since it concerns mostly foreigners who have helped me out with cash. For this I will be indebted [to you] throughout my entire life, and I remain Your true, most humble and obedient son.

123 See Mary E. Frandsen, *Allies in the Cause of Italian Music: Schütz, Prince Johann Georg II, and Musical Politics in Dresden*, in: JRMA 125 (2000), pp. 1–40, here pp. 26–29; and the excerpt from Werner’s *Ego dormio*, also found in Weckmann’s manuscript, on pp. 28–29. Many other collections, of course, would have stood at the disposal of this ensemble, including those published by Schütz in the 1620s, 1630s, and 1640s.

124 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, unfoliated (bound between fols. 116 and 117), Johann Georg II to Privy Secretary Reichbrodt, 20 November 1646.

125 *Ibid.*, fols. 116^r–117^r, Johann Georg I to Johann Georg II, 24 November 1646.

126 SHStA Loc. 8687/1, fol. 237^{r-v}, „Diener und Musici insgesamt“ to Johann Georg II, „Cantate [22 April] Anno 1647“.

127 The German text appears in the Appendix (no. 11). The prince also wrote to his father concerning finances on 8 July 1647; that letter appears in SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 134^r.

128 According to Uwe Schirmer (*Beobachtungen*, footnote 12, p. 82), an ‘Anweisung’ was a payment order rather than cash; in the 1620s, for example, the court paid its employees with ‘Anweisungen’ to the ‘Obersteuerkollegium’, which was supposed to convert them into cash (but lacked the means to do so). Individuals who owed taxes also began to use ‘Anweisungen’.

Hearing nothing in response, the prince wrote yet again on 1 December 1647, and asked his father to put into effect his own suggestion of the previous 24 November 1646 concerning the transfer of excise taxes and other funds; he also proposed three additional payment options¹²⁹. As the days passed, however, the prince's sense of desperation increased; on 11 December, he wrote to his father to ask that he simply make a decision, "yes or no, so that [he] might no longer hold out vain hopes"¹³⁰. Finally, on 7 January 1648, the elector responded, and accepted the suggestion that his son had first made in November 1646, and had reiterated over a year later: Prince Johann Georg would now receive a third of his 'Deputat' (6,666 fl) from the Upper Lusatian contribution ('Verwilligung'), twice a year, at Bartholomeae (August 24) and at Christmas, beginning at Bartholomeae of that year. At the same time, however, the elector warned his son that times might worsen, and that he could not necessarily count on either the Lusatian monies or the excise taxes¹³¹. This new agreement should have helped ease the prince's financial burden, but gaps in the correspondence between father and son concerning the finances of the latter renders it impossible to determine if and when the prince received any monies as a result of the elector's resolution¹³². Documents that date from 1650, however, strongly suggest that the elector's plan remained unrealized.

In the later 1640s, as he continued to expand his own ensemble, Prince Johann Georg also turned his attention to the affairs of his father's Hofkapelle, and his actions in this area reflected his own growing interest in Italian music and musicians. The years between 1647 and 1650 witnessed the prince's much more aggressive attempts to infuse the musical ethos of the Dresden court with an Italian spirit, such as that which would dominate his own future Hofkapelle. During these years, he attempted to persuade his father to bring first an Italian, and then an Italian-trained exponent of the 'seconda pratica', to Dresden as Schütz's vice-Kapellmeister and principal musical assistant. Still dogged by persistent financial problems, the prince sought the most viable alternative to hiring his own Italian musicians at this time, as these were much more costly to acquire; such a plan, if successful, would redound to his benefit, but cost him nothing other than time and effort.

The prince's first efforts to "Italianize" the Hofkapelle occurred in September 1647, when he assisted Schütz in his attempt to persuade the elector to hire the Italian singer Agostino Fontana as his vice-Kapellmeister¹³³. Prince Johann Georg wrote to Fontana to encourage him to accept an offer, should one be made, and also wrote to his father to encourage him to extend an offer to Fontana. In his letter to the elector, the prince made suggestions concerning Fontana's potential duties, which were to include providing vocal coaching to all of the singers at court. For reasons that remain unknown, however, Elector Johann Georg I did not offer Fontana a position at court. As a result, rather than miss out entirely on the benefits of Fontana's musical expertise, Prince Johann Georg then requested permission of his father in

129 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 142r, 1 December 1647.

130 Ibid., fol. 141r, 11 December 1647: „Denselben noch mahlen zu erinnern, wegen meiner sachgen, ob sich doch Ihr Gnaden eins mahlen gndigst *resolviren* möchten, Ja oder nein, darmitt Ich mir mitt vorgebli-her Hoffnung nicht lenger auffhalten mögte.“

131 Ibid., fols. 146r–147r, Johann Georg I to Johann Georg II, 7 January 1648.

132 The surviving correspondence skips from 7 January 1648 to 16 July 1649.

133 Schütz's proposal concerning Fontana appears in Spagnoli (footnote 2), pp. 115–118. Fontana had come to Dresden in the summer of 1647 as part of the retinue of Prince-Elect Christian. For a detailed discussion of the events of 1647–1650 and the individuals involved, see Frandsen (footnote 123), pp. 1–40.

July 1649 to send Christoph Bernhard to the Gottorf court to study Italian vocal techniques with Fontana¹³⁴. Bernhard, an alto, had only recently arrived at the Dresden court, and had not yet been appointed to the Hofkapelle by the elector, but his musical abilities had already impressed Schütz, who recommended him to the prince as someone “well disposed to understand this type of singing”¹³⁵. In this effort the prince was successful; Bernhard traveled to Gottorf and remained there with Fontana for some months¹³⁶, and the fruits of his study there included a didactic singing manual, *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier*, which Bernhard conceived for use with choirboys.

In September 1649, not long after dispatching Bernhard to northern Germany, Prince Johann Georg received an enticing musical report from Italy that can only have whetted his growing appetite for Italian music and musicians. In the letter, a correspondent writing from Venice extolled the abilities of the musicians of the Doge’s ‘cappella’ at St. Mark’s, and lavished particular praise on the voices of the castrati¹³⁷. Given that Italian musicians appeared in his musical ensemble about a year and half later, the prince may well have begun to act on this information immediately upon receipt of the letter. At the same time, however, he once again attempted to help Schütz bring an outside musician with a command of the contemporary Italian style to Dresden as his vice-Kapellmeister. This time he recommended that his father hire his cornettist’s brother, Christoph Werner, who was then serving as cantor at the Katharinenkirche in Danzig¹³⁸. Werner’s status as both a cantor in a large urban church and a published composer who had studied with Scacchi must have made him a particularly attractive candidate to both Schütz and Prince Johann Georg. The prince conducted the negotiations with Werner himself, through an agent in Danzig¹³⁹. Although Werner expressed a willingness to assume the post, he died in November 1650, before he could take the position. Faced with this disappointment, Prince Johann Georg seems at this point to have abandoned any other plans that he may have had for the Hofkapelle, and refocused his attentions on developing his own ensemble.

Such development required funding, of course, and at the war’s end, the prince’s financial outlook was bleak at best – he was owed more than 180,000 fl toward his ‘Deputat’ for the past nine years. In May 1649, apparently now facing a crushing debt of some 15,000 tl on his mortgaged valuables, the prince requested 20,000 tl from his father¹⁴⁰. The elector resolved

134 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 137r; undated; the German text appears in Frandsen (*ibid.*), pp. 38–39.

135 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 137r: „[...] welcher zu begreifung solcher art zu Singen wohlgeschicket“.

136 See Folkert Fiebig, *Christoph Bernhard und der stile moderno. Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk*, Hamburg 1980 (= Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 22), p. 32. See also Winfried Richter, *Die Gottorfer Hofmusik. Studie zur Musikkultur eines absolutistischen Hofstaates im 17. Jahrhundert*, Ph. D. Diss., Christian-Albrechts-University of Kiel 1985, p. 398. In the 1649 Kammerrechnungen published by Richter, the amounts paid to both „Agostino Fontana, Hofkapellmeister aus Dänemark“ and „Christoph Bernhard, Altist aus Dresden“ are listed under ‘Gemeine Ausgabe’ (general expenses) rather than with the ‘Musikanten’ and ‘Trompeter’ regularly employed at the Gottorf court.

137 An excerpt from the letter of this correspondent, Heinrich Hermann von Oeÿnhausen, appears in Frandsen (footnote 123), p. 34. Oeÿnhausen also praises the singing and playing of the young women at the Ospedale della Pietà.

138 See the discussion and quotations in Frandsen (*ibid.*), pp. 30–33.

139 The prince’s letter to Werner, dated January 1650, survives in SHStA Loc. 8563/1, no. 78, and is reproduced in Frandsen (*ibid.*), p. 40.

140 The prince’s memorial to his father, dated 25 May 1649, does not survive, but is referenced in SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 155r, ‘Ober Steuer Einnehmere’ (Chief Tax Collectors) to Johann Georg I, 14 June

to raise this amount through taxation, but his chief tax collectors soon informed him that the task of collecting this amount would prove difficult, as many of his subjects, hard-pressed by the passage and billeting of troops, had nothing to give, and regularly beseeched the tax collectors to have patience; the tax collectors did, however, include a plan by which such funds might be collected¹⁴¹. By January 1650, however, tax receipts had increased slightly, such that the elector could finally pay that portion of his son's household allowance in arrears through the New Year's term of 1641¹⁴². But in the following month, as he still faced many years' worth of bills with more to come, Prince Johann Georg attempted to secure a loan from an outside source, as he had done back in 1638, and apparently many times in the interim¹⁴³. This time he approached the city of Danzig with a request for 10,000 fl; for confidential assistance in securing the loan, the prince relied upon the same military officer who had carried out the negotiations with Christoph Werner¹⁴⁴.

At some point later in the spring of 1650, the prince penned yet another appeal to his father for help with his debts, and reminded his father of the request he had submitted on 4 May of that year¹⁴⁵. These entreaties seem to have produced more significant results. A treasury document dated 17 May 1650 reports various revenues totaling just over 89,531 fl, and demonstrates that such funds would cover Prince Johann Georg's 'Deputat' though the Easter term of 1645, with the remainder being applied to the Michaelis term of that same year; it also demonstrates that the prince would still be owed over 97,135 fl for the years 1645–1650¹⁴⁶. But while the document suggests that the funds were on hand, the prince did not immediately receive payment. Thus on 24 May he again wrote to the elector, reminded him once more of his previous request, and addressed the issue of the substantial portion of his household allowance still in arrears¹⁴⁷. In his usual tones of desperation, the prince implored his father to advance him 10,000 tl to cover his most pressing debts, and to pay the 5,000 tl he owed to his tailor¹⁴⁸. As he explained to his father, not only did he desire to help his "poor servants" out of their "great need", but he still had been unable to discharge the debt on his secured valuables, on which the interest continued to mount. Less than two weeks later, on 5 June, the elector promised the prince that he would receive about half of the

1649. According to a letter from the prince to his father quoted by Wilhelm Schäfer, the prince first made this request on 17 January 1649; see Schäfer, *Einige Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kurfürstlichen musikalischen Capelle oder Cantorei unter den Kurfürsten August, Christian I. u. II u. Johann Georg I.*, in: *Sachsen-Chronik für Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1. Serie (Dresden 1854), p. 437 n. 65.

141 SHStA *ibid.*, the German text appears in the Appendix (no. 12). See also the elector's instruction of 27 June 1649 addressed to the same in *ibid.*, fol. 152^{r-v}.

142 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 167^r, 17 May 1650; the text references a document of 10 January 1650 showing that the prince's 'Deputat' has been paid through the New Year term of 1641.

143 In 1638, before his wedding, Prince Johann Georg received a loan of 1,000 fl from the nearby town of Pirna, the funds for which were lent to the city by Schütz; see Wolfram Steude, *Neue Schütz-Ermittlungen*, in: *DJbMw* 12 (1967), pp. 38–74; here pp. 64–69.

144 See Frandsen (footnote 123), pp. 32–33. See also the correspondence between the prince and the officer, Detlev Wedelbusch (SHStA Loc. 8563/1, no. 76, *Correspondenz Churf. Johann Georg II. mit Detlev Wedelbusch, Commandant zu Danzig, 1650/51*, fols. 1086^r–1088^v; letters of 1 February and 5 April 1650).

145 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 162^r. The prince here refers to an earlier memorial to his father that does not survive.

146 *Ibid.*, fols. 167^r–168^r.

147 *Ibid.*, fol. 160^{r-v}.

148 The amount of the prince's request suggests that the Danzig loan did not materialize.

outstanding balance of 90,000 fl within the next twelve months, but accompanied his assurances with another stern admonition¹⁴⁹:

Whereby I, in addition to the further upkeep and maintenance of the electoral household, owe it to my beloved younger sons, both to defray the necessary expenses, and also to mount and execute the princely wedding with suitable dignity; when Your Dilection wisely considers all of this and along with it keeps the impoverished condition of the subjects before your eyes, then you will not have as much reason to bewail the accrued amount in arrears of your allowance as rather to be astonished that, in such universal, miserable confusion, you will receive over 40,000 fl of the 90,000 fl in cash over the course of the coming year, and can thereby bring princely praise upon yourself and your loved ones (God be given thanks and praise for them).

The prince, however, could not afford to wait for these funds to be collected. Thus he penned yet another urgent request to his father, on 15 July 1650, this time asking for 20,000 tl from the tax receipts toward the amount of his 'Deputat' still owed him, in order that he might settle some debts, lend financial aid to his servants, and cover the expenses that he himself expected to incur in connection with his brothers' upcoming double wedding¹⁵⁰. The elector granted the prince's request on 20 July, but insisted that his son use the money in part to resolve the debts that he had incurred back in 1639, 1640, and 1644, when he had used various valuables as securities for loans. This particular action on the part of the prince seems to have caused the elector considerable vexation – he apparently found his son's use of court treasures as collateral far more ignominious than his high level of debt in general; in mortgaging these items, the prince had transgressed the bounds of acceptable behavior for someone of his rank and station¹⁵¹. At some point that fall, the prince did receive the requested 20,000 tl. The records indicate, however, that he immediately used every 'groschen' of the sum received to redeem the valuables he had used as securities, pay salaries, buy necessities (including several horses), and discharge debts to various tradesmen; thus once again he was left with nothing to spare¹⁵². Presumably the prince's musicians received at least a portion of their salaries at this time¹⁵³. As time went on, the prince's financial situation continued to improve; by 22 February 1651 he had received his 'Deputat' through 1645 (89,531 fl), and the elector was paying down the remaining amount of 97,135 fl¹⁵⁴. By 1 March of that year, the elector's debt to his son had shrunk to just over 67,146 fl¹⁵⁵. The prince did not rest, however, until he had secured the entire amount owed to him; he persisted with requests for financial restitution until the Saxon provincial diet finally came to the rescue in 1653¹⁵⁶.

As taxes and other revenues slowly trickled into the court coffers after the war's end, Prince Johann Georg finally began to experience some semblance of financial stability. As he

149 The German text appears in the Appendix (no. 13).

150 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 179^r, Johann Georg II to Privy Secretary Reichbrodt (for Johann Georg I), 15 July 1650.

151 Ibid., fols. 177^r–178^r, Johann Georg I to Johann Georg II, 20 July 1650.

152 Ibid., fol. 180, undated, after 20 July 1650; the header reads „Die von dem Durchleuchtigstem Churfürsten zu Sachsen, [...] Sr. Durchl. dem Herrn ChurPrinzen in die Steuer gnädigst-angewiesenen Zwanzig-Tausent Reichs thllr. sein von Deroselben nachfolgender gestalt gebrauchte, vnd angewendet worden.“

153 The total amount paid out in salaries was 8171 tl (ibid.).

154 SHStA Loc. 8563/2, fol. 189^{r-v}.

155 Ibid., fol. 190^r.

156 See the documents in SHStA Loc. 8560/6: *Chur-Fürst Johann Georgens zu Sachsen Hoff- und Haushaltung bet: Anno 1615–1666* [unfoliated] and the discussion in Müller (footnote 7), p. 222.

gained confidence that his situation would continue to improve, he began to expand the size of his princely musical ensemble more rapidly, and to explore new options with respect to musicians. A roster dating from April 1651 (reproduced below) demonstrates that between that time and the fall of 1648, or in just over two years, the prince was able to increase the number of adult musicians in his group to thirteen, and to add five cappella youths to the ensemble. He now had at his disposal a diverse group of musicians with a sufficient number of voices, obbligato instruments, and continuo instruments to offer a great variety of works for his own delectation. Even more significantly, however, the same roster reflects a new and important milestone in the prince's recruitment efforts, for it marks the beginning of the Italian presence in his ensemble: topping the list are now the names of the Venetian castrato Giovanni Andrea Angelini Bontempi (1625-1705), the Roman bass Stefano Sauli, and the violinist Giovanni Severo. All three had likely only recently arrived in Dresden; Bontempi, for example, was still in Venice in September 1650¹⁵⁷. While no documents concerning the recruitment of Bontempi have yet surfaced, it is tempting to speculate that the prince's Venetian correspondent played a role in facilitating his appointment. In addition, Schütz may also have encouraged the prince to pursue the castrato; as recently as 1645, the Kapellmeister had recommended eunuchs to Duchess Sophie of Braunschweig-Lüneburg as one of the four types of treble singers necessary for her court musical ensemble¹⁵⁸. With the engagement of Bontempi as "composer and discantist" and thus director of his musical ensemble, Prince Johann Georg also established a tradition that he would continue to observe for nearly thirty years, that of entrusting the leadership of his musical ensemble to an Italian composer¹⁵⁹.

ChurPrinzl: Durchl: zue Sachßen, Musici

1.	S ^r : Giovanni Andrea Bontempi	Componiste vndt Discantiste
2.	Giovanni Severo	Instrumentiste
3.	Stefano Sauli	Bassiste
4.	Matthes Wegkmann	Organiste
5.	Philip Stolle	Tenoriste vndt Teorbiste
6.	Friedrich Werner	Cornetiste vndt Altiste
7.	Christian Kittel	Bassiste vndt Instrumentiste
8.	Ferdinand Francke	Tenoriste
9.	Heinrich Groh	Falsetiste
10.	Michael Schmiedt	Violiste vndt Bassiste
11.	Friedrich Westhoff	Lauteniste
12.	Balthasar Sedenig	Violiste vndt Cornetiste
13.	Johann Friederich Volprecht	Lauteniste vndt Violiste

Capellknaben

1.	Gottfried Pasche	Lauteniste
2.	Simon Leonhardt	Violiste vndt Trompeter

157 See Frandsen (footnote 1), p. 8. Bontempi had arrived by mid-January 1651, however, for Schütz mentions him as a possible substitute in a letter to Elector Johann Georg I of 14 January of that year (Schütz GBr p. 215). No information has yet surfaced concerning the whereabouts of Severo and Sauli before their arrivals in Dresden. The contracts of most of the Italian musicians hired by Johann Georg II do not survive, which renders it difficult to pinpoint the dates of their appointments.

158 Schütz GBr, pp. 155–156. Schütz also includes discantists, boys, and falsettists as trebles in the „Companey der Sängers“.

159 SHStA Loc. 8687/1, fols. 247^v–248^r; also reproduced in Spagnoli (footnote 2), p. 4. Here the forms of the proper names and the descriptions (voice and instrument) given in the manuscript have been retained.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 3. Daniel Philomathes | Bosauniste vndt Trompeter |
| 4. Andreas Winckeler | Instrumentiste |
| 5. George Rumpff | Instrumentiste |

*

The roster of April 1651 testifies to one German prince's perseverance in the pursuit of a musical vision during a time of economic and political turmoil. Although plagued by financial woes throughout the 1640s, Prince Johann Georg somehow found the means gradually to build and fund a musical ensemble. Throughout that decade he had proceeded slowly, step by step, and developed creative strategies to support the musical institution that he regarded as the foundation of his own future Hofkapelle. By 1651, his efforts of the past fourteen years had finally begun to bear fruit, and had produced a musical ensemble both comparable in size to that of his father and reflective of his own stature as one of the future rulers of Europe. Over the course of the next five years, after finally attaining some measure of much-desired financial security, Prince Johann Georg continued to augment his ensemble. During this time, a significant number of Italian singers and instrumentalists were attracted to the prince's court; some of these musicians remained in Dresden for only a brief period, while others served there for many years¹⁶⁰. By the fall of 1656, when his father's rapidly failing health made his own succession to the throne imminent, Prince Johann Georg had added nine adult musicians to his ensemble, for a total of twenty-two, and had increased the size of the Italian cohort to seven¹⁶¹. At this point, he was musically prepared to assume the throne and the control of the cultural agenda at court. After the death of his father in October of that year, the prince merged the two court musical ensembles and began to move ahead with the final stage of his comprehensive plan: the abandonment of the Schützian musical ethos that had held sway in the court chapel for decades, and its replacement with a musical culture imported directly from contemporary Italy.

160 See Frandsen (footnote 1), pp. 6–31.

161 SHStA Loc. 8681/2, fol. 237r: *Des Durchleüchtigsten Chur-Printzens und Hertzogens zu Sachsen, 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). The roster is reproduced in Frandsen (*ibid.*), pp. 28–29.

Appendix

1. Roster of Cappella Youths, Late Spring/Summer 1628; SHStA Loc. 8687/1, fol. 50^f

Verzeichnüs derer knaben, welche in Churfl. Hoff: vnndt Schloß Capellen, Vnndt sonsten, beÿ Instrumentisten Vnterhalten, Vndt der Sommerkleidung benötiget gewesen,

7. Kleine Capell Knaben,

Matthias Weckman	
Christian Krüger	Beÿ dem Capellmeister
Friederich Grohman	
Melchior Simon	Beÿm Vice-Capellmeister
Philip Stolle	
Simon Michael	
Augustinus Michael	Beÿ ihren Vater

5. Folgende der Instrumentisten

Hanß Vierdanck,	beÿ Wilhelm Günthern
Michael Grundt,	beÿ August Taxen
Daniel Hämmerlein,	beÿ dem Capellmeister
Christian Pietzsch,	beÿ Thomas Taxen
Abraham Herman,	beÿ Hanß Göckeritzen

M. Zacharius Hestius
Vice-Capellmeister mpp.

2. Draft of contract for Werner, Stolle, and Weckmann, issued by Johann Georg I, 15 September 1639; SHStA Loc. 8681/3, *Ihrer Fürstl. Durchl: Herrn Johannis Georgen [...] Hoffhalt belangende, Ao. 1639*, fol. 43^{r-v}

Bestallung: Der Dreÿer Musicanten Alb: 1. Matthes Wiekmanns. 2. Philipp Stollens. 3. Friederich Werners.

Von Gottes gnaden Wier Johann George Herzog zu Sachsen [...] Thuen kundt vndt bekennen, Das wier Vnsern lieben getreüen Friederich Wernern zue des Hochgebohrnen Fürsten, vnsers freündlichen lieben Sohnes Herren Johannes Georgen, [...] *Musico* vnd *Instrumentisten* bestellet vnd aufgenommen, vnd thuen solches hiermit vnd in Craft dieses briefes, das Vns vnd Sr. Ldte. er getrew, Holdt vnnd dienstgewertig sein, [...] Insonderheit aber schuldig sein soll, was die *Cantoreÿ* ordenunge vermag, darbeÿ auch vonn Vns oder Sr. Ldte. wegen, durch dero Hoffmeister der Aufwartunge halber in der Hof Capell, vndt fur Vnserer: oder Sr. Ldte. Tafel weiter geschafft, verordnet, vnd befohlen, [...] Geben zue Dreÿden am funfzehenden *Septembris* Nach *Christi* vnsers einigen Erlösers vnd Seeligmachers geburth, Im Sechzehen Hundert vndt Neün vnd Dreÿßigsten Jhare.

3. Johann Georg II to Johann Georg I, 29 October 1639; SHStA Loc. 8681/2, *Des Chur-Printzens [...] Hoffhaltung bet: 1620–56*, fol. 145^r

E. Gn. erinnern sich gnedig, wie sie die, biß hero von mir vnterhaltene vier *Musicanten*, absonderlich *accomodi*-ren zulassen, wie auch mir noch etzliche in der außgehendigten *designation* nicht begriffens, gleichwohl nothwendige persohnen, zuzuordnen sich gnedig *resolüret*; Wan dan die vnterhaltung der gedachten vier *Musican*ten viel vnbequemlichkeiten vrsachen möchte, So stelle zu E. Gn. freündväterlichen vnd gnädigen gefallen, ob sie zu desto beßerer außkommung, die mir *assignirte post*, der 19419 fl 9 gr biß 20000 fl erhöhen vnd erstreckten lassen wollen, dargegen ich solchen *Musican*ten selbst zu *contentixen* mich erbithe.

4. Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg to Johann Georg I, 11 March 1640; SHStA Loc. 4521/2, *Bestallungen*, 1619.–56., fol. 67^{r-v}

Ich vnumbgänglich erinnern, das die Music in der Hof Capell, in solches abnemen gerathen, das mann fast gar nichts mehr figuralter musiciren kann. Sintemal nit allein kein rechter Altist, sondern auch nur ein einiger Discantist vorhanden: Da zuvorn 4. Capell: vnd 4 Tafelknaben gehalten wurden. Vnnd der ietzo noch übrige einige Discantist, wird nit nur bald die stimm ändern: sondern es will ihn auch Caspar Kittels hinterlassene Wittib, nit länger mit unterhalt versehen: Vnnd ist auch nit rathsamb, daß er länger, darbei, oder an disem ort bleibe, weil Er allda im singen nichts sich übet: Vnd was Er vorhin gekönn, ietzo verlernet. Derowegen mein Vnvorgreifliches unterthänigstes gutachten wäre, daß Ihre Churf. Durchl. gnedigst bewilligte, vmb zwei gute discantisten sich eheist zubemühen, vnnd die selbe Caspar Kittels Bruder, dem Jonae, der die art vom Bruder gelernet, zu untergeben. Ihme auch, weil Er den verlag nit hatt, wegen Ihres vnterhalts, erkleckliche mittel zu verordnen. Sonsten protestiret der Vice Capellmeister, daß Er weder mit absingung der Passion, mit dem Evangelisten noch der Aufferstehung Christi fort zu kommen ihm getrav.

Dieweil aber mein gnädiger Churfürst vnd Herr iederzeit ein hoher Liebhaber der Music gewesen: Vnnd in dero Schloss Kirchen einen schönen Gottesdienst gehabt: mit dem Sie für Gott: auch allen alhier gewesenenen Chur: vnd Fursten anselig bestanden: Vnnd ietzo nur zum wenigstens ein bahr Discantisten zuhalten, unterthänigst angesuchet wird.

5. 1642 contract (backdated to 1639) for Werner, Stolle, and Weckmann; SHStA Loc. 4520/1, *Acta Bestallungen, Expectanz-Scheine, Besoldungen und Reverse belangende Ao 1601–50*. Vol. II, fol. 172^{r-v}, 196^f. The insertion symbols are approximations of those found in the original. In order that the 1642 contract might be compared with Schütz's memorandum of 14 September 1641, Schütz's language relevant to each musician has been included in brackets (see Schütz GBr, pp. 145–148). The language of Werner's contract also includes two insertions added at a later time.

Bestallung für Fridrich Wernern Musicanten. Dresden den 15. Sept: 1639.

Von Gottes gnaden, Wir Johan Georg Herzog zu Sachsen, (totus titulus) thun kund vnd bekennen, daß wir vnsern lieben getrewen (x) Fridrich Wernern zu vnserm Musicanten bestellet vnd angenommen, vnd thun solches hirmit in crafft dieses briefes, dergestald vnd also daß vnß er getreue, hold vnd vnd [sic] dienstgewertig sein, vnsern nutz ehre vnd wohlfart zu befördern, schimpf vnd schaden zu warnen und furzukommen, In sonderheit soll er schuldig sein sich wesentlich beÿ vnß aufzuhalten ohne erlaubnuß sich nicht weg zu begeben, oder ohne vnser bewilligung zu vorreÿsen, sondern vnß mit der kunst so er gelernet (p) uf allerhand sowohl blasenden als beseitenden instrumenten, die einem instrumentisten zustehen, beÿdes in der Kirchen vnd fur der taffel oder wo sonst ihme hinbefohlen werden möchte, iederzeit vntherthenigstes vleißes aufzuwarten, den *Exercitio* allermaßen wie es anordnen werden, allemahl fleißig beÿ zu wohnen, [insert: auch im tanzen so wir ihme lernen laßen, sich iederzeit gebrauchten laßen, vnd andrer auf vnsern befehl darinnen *exerciren* soll.] In summa sich dermaßen zuerweisen was einem getrewen vleißigen diener wohl anstehet eigenet vnd gebuhret, inmaßen er solches zu thun versprochen auch mit einem handschlage angelobet, Hiergegen vnd vor solche seine dienste wollen wir ihm iährlich vnd iedes jahres besonders von dato ahn zurechnen (&c) Einhundert vnd funfzig gulden nebenst einem Kleide geben [insert: Ein hundert vnd Sibezig gulden am tage Michaels daß 1644 iahres] vnd reichen vnd hieruber do wir seinem versprechen nach, fernern fleiß vnd darauf erfolgte beßerung spuren werden so dan noch eine gnedigste zulage ihme widerfahren laßen, Alles trewlich vnd sonder gefehrde zu vhrkund haben wir dieses eigenhändig vnterscriben, vnd vnser fürstl. *Secret* hierunter zu drucken befohlen, so geschehen zu Dresden am funfzehenden tage Septembris daß 1642 1639 iahres.

[Schütz 1641: „Daß Ihm Ew. Durchl. auff allerhand sowohl blasenden als besaitenden Instrumenten, die einem Instrumentisten zustehen, er beides in der Kirchen und für die Tafel, oder wo sonst ihm hinbefohlen werden möchte, unterthänigen Fleißes mit aufwarten thu. 2. dem Exercitio, allermaßen Ihre Durchl. es anordnen werden, fleißig beiwohnen soll. Hiergegen haben Ihre fürstl. Durchl. nebenst einem Jahrkleide ihm 150 Gl. Jahresbesoldung bewilliget, welche ihm quartaliter und jedesmahl 37. Gl. 10 Gr. 6 Pf. entrichtet werden soll. 3. Und lassen Ihre Fürstl. Durchl. ihm hierüber noch die gnädigste Vertröstung thun, wofern sich hiernächst seinem Versprechen nach, seinen fernern Fleiß und die darauf erfolgte Besserung in seiner Kunst erspüren werden, daß noch eine gnädigste Zulage sodann ihm widerfahren solle.“]

fol. 196^r: Language to be inserted for Weckmann and Stolle

Vor Matthes Wegkmannen

x Matthes Wegkmannen zu vnsern Hof Organisten

þ mit der Kunst so er gelernet, wie einem organisten zustehet, beydes in der Kirchen vnd fur der Tafel oder wo sonst ihme hinbefohlen werden möchte iederzeit vntherthenigstes vleißes aufzuwarten, Vnd ob wir wohl wegen der Discantisten oder Singerknaben eine absonderliche verordnung gemachet, So soll doch Weckman auch itzgemelte Knaben mehrmahls in ein instrument, Regal oder Positif absonderlich singen laßen, vnd dergestalt *exerciren* helfen, daß sie [rein] im singen sich gewehnen vnd in der Music desto schleuniger *perfectioniren* mögen. Auch sonstem dem *Exercitio*,

& zurechnen zweyhundert gulden

[Schütz 1641: „Daß beides in der Kirchen und für die Tafel oder wo sonst Ihr. Durchl. ihn hinverordnen werden er fleißig aufwarten soll. 2. Und ob wohl ihm Ew. Durchl. wegen ihren Discantisten oder Sängerknaben Unterhaltung und Institution eine absonderliche Verordnung gemacht haben, so soll doch Weckmann auch obgemelte Knaben mehrmals in ein Instrument Regal oder Positif, absonderlich singen lassen und dergestalt exerciren lassen, daß sie rein singen sich gewöhnen und in der Musik desto schleuniger perfectioniren mögen.“]

Vor Philip Stollen

x Vor einen Tiorbisten vnd Sänger

þ Vnd zwar nicht alleine mit der Tiorba vnd im singen oder *vocaliter*, sondern auch auf der Discant geige vnd andern violen, wohin ihme anbefohlen wird vleißig aufwarten, vnd hieruber insonderheit verbinden sein soll, vnserer Singerknaben täglich zu gewissen lection zugeben, ihnen furzuschreiben vnd sie in vberhören mögliches bestes vleißes, in der guten Italienischen manier in singen gewehnen, Auch dem *exercitio*,

& zurechnen 170. vnd hieruber 10 fl zu säiten, thut in allen 180 fl.

[Schütz 1641: „Daß Ihr. Durchl. ihm anordnet daß nicht alleine mit der Thiorbe und im Singen oder vokaliter, sondern auch auf der Diskantgeigen und andern Viola er fleissig mit aufwarten soll, wohin ihm anbefohlen wird. 2. Hierüber soll er insonderheit verbunden sein ihro hochfürstl. Durchl. Singeknaben täglich zu gewissen Stunden, Lection zu geben, ihnen furzuschreiben und sie zu überhören, und also möglichen besten Fleißes Diesselbigen zu einer guten italienischen Manier im Singen gewehnen.“]

6. Johann Georg II to Johann Georg I, 7 December 1642; SHStA Loc. 8563/3, *Des Kurprinzen z. S. Johann Georg II. Handschreiben an seinen Vater, den Kurfürsten, 1634–1644*. Vol. II, fol. 103^r. Hand of Gabriel Voigt.

E. Gn. erinnern sich gnedigst, was nun zu vielen vnterschiedenen mahlen, bey deroselben, wegen meines außstehenden *Deputats*, so sich nunmehr, (nach abzug alles so ich bekommen) kunfftig Neu iahr auff Sechzig Tausent gulden belaufen thut, Ich ganz beweg; vnd flehentlich gesucht, worauff aber bis *dato*, außserhalb etwas wenigens, nichts erfolget, sondern von einer Zeit zur andern, vnd bald vff diese bald vff iene *occasion* vnd gelegenheit verschoben werden, woruber ich mich den nebenst meiner herzlieben Gemahlin, biß anhero recht kümmerlich vnd elend behelfen, mich in schulden stecken, vnd die wahrheit zusagen, mit höchsten schimpf leben mußten, Welches E. Gn. ich nicht weitleuffiger *remonstriren* mag.

7. Jacob Weller to Johann Georg I, 16 July 1646; SHStA Loc. 8687/1, fols. 234^r–235^r

Des Sontags ist vor diesen auch die Orgel geschlagen, und die Litaney, darinnen alles anliegender Christen begriefen, gesungen worden. Allein wie aus mangelung der Capellknaben oder Discantisten solches hinterblieben: also wil sichs fast noch darann stoßen, wie E. Churfl. Durchl. der Herr Capellmeister Schütze berichten kan. Denn diese ietzige knaben seind ganz nichts in E. Churfl. Durchl. bestallung, sondern arme knaben, so von dem Organisten abgerichtet werden. Wollen aber gerne in der Vesper auch weiter aufwartten, und bitten nur unterthenigst E. Churfl. Durchl. geruhete gnadigst, ihnen nichts als ein *debitum* und *continuirliches* werck, son-

dern aus gnade und ohne nachfolg um bis zu anrichtung der Capellen, da denn nothwendig knaben müßen bestellet werden, teglich reichen zu laßen 4 Brott und 3 Kanne bier, damit sie ihre Kost ein wenig haben möchten.

8. Prince Johann Georg II to Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark, 25 October 1646; SHStA Loc. 8561/3, *Herzog Johann Georgens zu Sachsen Correspondences vnd Besuchungs Schreiben Königl. Chur- vnd Fürstl. Persohnen Ao 1635–49*, fol. 250^r

Sonsten haben E. Lbd. noch in guten gedächtniß, welcher massen vor vngefehr dreÿ Jahren Vnserer bestalte *Musici* namens Mattheus Weckman, Philipp Stoll, vnd Friederich Werner, (welche wir damahls, wegen eingefalener trauern, vnd sonst anhaltenter Landes vnruhe, vff etzliche zeit, biß zu Vnserer zurückfoderung in gnaden erlaubet) bey deroselben auffzuwarten sich vntherthanigst, vnd noch biß *Dato* gebrauchen lassen, Welches wir dann auch vmb angerechter Vrsachen willen wohl haben zusehen vnd geschehen lassen können, Demnach wir aber derselbige itzo wiederumb zugebrauchen gemeinet, Vnd sie deshalben zu ihrem Dienst vnd auffwartung anhero (worzu sie noch immer verbunden sein) verschreiben lassen, Alß haben E. Lbd. wir solches freündschwägerlichen nicht verhalten mögen, mit freundliche bitte Sie wolle nicht misfallen dreÿen obgemelte *Musicos* gnädigst zu erlassen, Vnd zu gnädigster fortsetzung ihrer Reise alle gnade vnd beförderung wiederfahren lassen, Daß sein vmb E. Lbd. wir mit allen angenehmen Diensten Vnd wilfehriger erweisung zuerwiedern erbötig vnd gefliessen, Befehlen Sie auch nebenst Dero hochgeliebten Gemahlin Lbd. in des höchsten treue bewahrung.

Geben in Dresden am 25 *Octobris*, Anno 1646.
Johannes George.

9. Prince Johann Georg II to Giovanni Sansoni, 29 March 1648; SHStA Loc. 8553/6, fols. 6^r, 9^r. Hand of Gabriel Voigt

Al M^{to} Virtuoso N^{ro} ben diletto, il Sig^r Giovanni Sansone Maëstro de' Concerti nella musica della Sacra Maëstà Cesarea.

Per la gratia d'Iddio Giovanni Giorgio Duca di Sassonia, Giuglia, Cleve et degli Monti.

Appresso la nostra gratia et ogni buon affetto che sempre portiamo alle virtuose qualtadi sue, Noi non manchiamo a conservare, sempre in buona memoria, quelle cortesie ricevute gia da lei dal nostro Musico Federigo Werner del tutto secondo nostro desiderio. Sappiamo bene che le fatiche et li meriti suoi, richedono piu ricca ricompensa che per hora non comparisce con questa nostra. Speriamo nondimeno ch'essa ricevera questo picciolo gratiale in testimonio del favore et della gratia che le portiamo assicurandosi della persona sua, che l'habbia trovata et sempre trovera app[ress]o noi favore et buon affetto. Di Dresda alli 29 di Marco A.º 1648.

10. Giovanni Sansoni to Prince Johann Georg II, Prague, 27 April 1648; SHStA Loc. 8553/6, fol. 8^r

Sereniss:º Prencipe mio Sig:º S:º Clemen:º

Eccede di gran lunga al mio merito il grand' honore che V. A. Sereniss:º hà uoluto gratiosamente conferirmi qual godo, et goderò con eterna memoria della benignissima sua gratia; et per che uiuo sempre bramoso di acquistarmela maggiormente con la mia (ben che debole) prontiss:º seruitù; mentre con il douuto ossequio uengo per render a V. A. humiliss:º et infinite gratie supplico insieme la continuatione de Clementiss:º suoi comandamenti de quali sempre son per gloriarmi. Il cornetista Federico Werner suo fedeliss:º seruitore è stato sentito da Sua M:ª Ces:ª, che gl' hà piaciuto molto, et son per certo che non sarà distante qual che honore a lui promesso da la Sua Clemenza; con che augurando io a V. A. da Dio N. S:º ogni bramato fine de grandi et Heroici suoi pensieri, humiliss:º me le inchino. Praga il di. 27. Aprile. 1648.

Di. V. A. Ser.^{ma}

Humiliss:º et obligatiss:º servitore.
Giovanni Sansoni.

11. Johann Georg II to Johann Georg I, 6 October 1647; SHStA Loc. 8563/2, *Des Kurprinzen z. Sachsen Johann Georg II. Handschreiben an seinem Vater, den Kurfürsten*, 1634–1656. Vol. 1, fol. 135^r

Durchlauchtigster Hochgeborner Churfürst,
Aller Gndigster Herr Vnd Vatter.

E. Gn. bitte Ich gantz Vntertentig Vnd kindlich gehorsambstes sie wollen doch mich zu diesen mahl nicht lassen, vnd dero gndige handt nicht von mir abziehen, vnd zum wenigsten nuhr mit virtausent thl helfen, oder soviel anweisung geben, Ich vorsichere E. Gn. das sie mir hirtinnen ein solge hohe gnade erweisen, als wan sie mir hundert dausent geben, die weill itzunden alle meine reputation hirtan liget, auch mein *credit*, vnd will Ich E. Gn. so balten vmb nichts mehr ansprechen, sie lassen mich vmb Gottes willen nuhr zu diesen mahl nicht, dieweil es auch meist frembde betrifft, so mir auch theils bar ausgeholffen, Ich will es die zeit meines lebens hinwieder vorschulden, vnd vorbleibe dero trewer vntertentigster gehorsammer Sohn

J G H z Sachßen
Dreßden
den 6 Weinmonat 1647

12. Chief Tax Collectors to Johann Georg I, 14 June 1649; SHStA Loc. 8563/2, *Des Kurprinzen z. S. Johann Georg II. Handschreiben an seinem Vater*, fol. 155^{r-v}

Anfangs nun, so ist zwar E. Churf. Durchl. vor uns, mehr dann allzuwohl bekannt, und offenbar, wie Deroselben trewe unterthanen, etzliche Jahre her, zeit wehrenden Kriegen und getroffenen Stillstandes, ein hartes ausstehen, erdulden, und denen hinn und wieder *marchirenden*, sowohl auch einquartierten Völckern, ein überaus grosses hergeben müssen, Da dann manches seine *substanz* und vermögen, gänzlich drauf gangen, und der meiste theil sich kümmern: und elendiglich, ehe er das seine verlassen wollen, seither behelffen müssen, inmassen solche klagen bey der Ober Einnahme noch täglich und häufig einkommen, und darbey geseufzet und geflehet wird, mit ihnen, wegen einforderung der versessenen und verfalligen Steuer bis zu besseren zustande, gedult zu haben.

13. Johann Georg I to Johann Georg II, 5 June 1650; SHStA Loc. 8563/2, *Des Kurprinzen z. S. Johann Georg II. Handschreiben an seinem Vater*, fol. 166^r

[W]odurch Ich, negst ferner erhaltung und unterhaltung der Hofstadt, zue meiner geliebten iüngerer Söhne bedürffen, gleichfals die notwendigen *spoesen* aufbringen, zumal aber die fürstlichen Beylägerer mitt geziemender *reputation* fortsetzen und ausrichten werde, Wenn dießes alles E. L. wislich *consideriret* und darnebenst ihr den erschöpfften zuzustand der Unterthanen wol fur augen stellet, So wird Sie sich über den aufgewachsenen Rest der *Deputat* gelder nicht so sehr zue beklagen alß fast zu verwundern haben, das Sie bey solchem allgemeinen iämmerlichen unwesen in die 90000 fl und zwartt allein in negst verfloßnen Jhare über 40000 fl baar erlangen undt noch dabey sambt denen geliebten Ihrigen (Gott sey davor lob und danck gesagt!) Fürstlich loben und sich hinbringen können.