

Heinrich Schütz as European cultural agent at the Danish courts

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Introduction: Schütz as cultural agent?

Many European royal and princely courts in the early modern period were eager to get in contact with skilled musicians in order to be up-to-date with the newest and most extravagant music. Cooperating with diplomats, merchants and art brokers, the courtiers were able to purchase whatever they needed to substantiate the court's significance and show off its princely power. In recent studies scholars refer to the persons that the courts cooperated with as agents, whose function »defined itself through practices of mediation and representation«¹. The agents acted on behalf of the courts and communicated with merchants and other travellers. Making an account of these »Art organizers«, the German historian Stephan Hoppe states that their role was important for the circulation and development of art: »Gerade über diese Kunstorganisations [...] wurden internationale Kunstentwicklungen von Spezialisten aus erster Hand kommuniziert.«² Since both politicians, musicians and other travellers took up the tasks as mediators representing early modern courts, their agency has been defined as function rather than profession. Being a cultural agent meant mixing together several different functions in one profession. This kind of double agency, for instance in political or cultural affairs, was far from exceptional at this time³.

Also the Danish King Christian IV (born 1577, crowned 1596, died 1648) was highly dependent on cultural agents in order to preserve the magnificence of his court. Using different types of courtiers as mediators on the musical area, the King was able to stay in touch with important European courts, such as the Emperor's court in Prague and later in Vienna, the English and Polish courts and several Electoral courts in the German Empire. He was also up-to-date with the musical developments in important musical centres such as Venice, Antwerp, London and Danzig. The King's musicians were active as cultural agents and responsible for recruiting foreign musicians and purchasing music abroad. As cultural agents they contributed to making the court into a cultural centre where international exchanges happened on a daily basis supporting the musical activities.

One of the agents that contributed to the cultural transfer at the Danish court was Heinrich Schütz, one of the major figures to participate in establishing a European network on the musical area at the

1 Marika Koblussek, *Introduction. Profiling the Early Modern Agent*, in: Hans Cools et al. (eds.), *Your Humble Servant. Agents in the Early Modern Europe*, Hilversum 2006, pp. 9–16, here pp. 9–10.

2 Stephan Hoppe, *Fürstliche Höfe im Alten Reich als Knotenpunkte des Kunsttransfers*, in: Thomas Fuchs and Sven Trakulhun (eds.), *Das Eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen. Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500–1800*, Berlin 2003 (= Aufklärung und Europa 12), pp. 47–68, here p. 61.

3 Recent studies on this topic are many, for instance: Heiko Droste, *Unternehmer in Sachen Kultur. Die Diplomaten Schwedens im 17. Jahrhundert*, in: Fuchs and Trakulhun (note 2), pp. 205–226; Badeloch Noldus, *Dealing in Politics and Art. Agents between Amsterdam, Stockholm and Copenhagen*, in: *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28 (2003), pp. 215–225; Marika Koblussek, *The Business of News. Michel le Blon and the Transmission of Political Information to Sweden in the 1630s*, in: ebd., pp. 205–213.

Danish court. As is already known, during his first visit from 1633 to 1635 he was in charge of the musical establishment at the wedding between the Danish Prince-elect Christian and the Saxon Princess Magdalena Sibylla, taking place in Copenhagen in October 1634. During his second stay from 1642 to 1644, in a similar way he took care of the musical activities at court, for instance by participating in the weddings of the King's twin daughters, Christiane and Hedevig. His contacts with the Danish royal family, thus, were both the King and his son, the future king, who unfortunately died before his father⁴.

In order to describe Schütz' activities during the royal wedding in 1634 in Copenhagen, Mara Wade used the expression »Artistic Director«⁵. Schütz was expected to rehearse with the present musicians, arrange musical activities, and maybe most important of all: keep track of the schedules in order to provide the ceremonies at court with the right music at the right time. This was similar to what he was expected to do during his employment from 1642: »what the engagement of a praiseworthy Kapell and Cantorei should be, except for being appropriate and useful«⁶. However, during both employments in Denmark he was expected to take care of other tasks as well, and like the cultural agents of the time he combined several duties in one employment. Schütz's talent went far beyond only being the daily musical director. As *Kapellmester* he possibly spent more time on organizing and administrating the chapel than on composing and leading rehearsals and actual performances. Thus, a part of our investigations on Schütz's life should also cover the activities that he as cultural agent carried out.

From Schütz's positions at German courts we know that he was a sought-after *Kapellmeister* who could seek out new musicians and purchase music. With the title of »Kapellmeister von Haus aus« he was linked to the court in Wolfenbüttel (from c. 1644), and that title meant that he – from a distance – was supposed to organize the chapels, seeking out new musicians and looking for music that could be used there⁷. From these and other known examples it seems that he was a talented music organizer⁸.

This article argues that Schütz, besides his activities as artistic director, served as a cultural agent for both the Danish King and the Prince-elect. By taking a closer look at Schütz's role as a cultural agent and his activities in providing new music and new musicians for the Danish courts, the purpose is to get an impression of how Schütz acted through his international contacts and took part in cultural exchange throughout Europe. Schütz's talent as a cultural mediator was known (at least to the Prince-elect), since he had promised him to provide the courts with music by »the most distinguished composers in Europe«⁹.

4 On Schütz's stay in Denmark see Angul Hammerich, *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof*, Diss. phil. Copenhagen 1892, pp. 104–109, 128–131; Ole Kongsted, *Archivalische Quellen zum Wirken von Heinrich Schütz in Kopenhagen*, in: Schütz-Konferenz Kopenhagen 1985, pp. 33–41; Niels Martin Jensen, *Heinrich Schütz und die Ausstattungstücke bei dem großen Beilager zu Kopenhagen 1634*, in: ebd., pp. 57–67; Mara R. Wade, *Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus. German Court Culture and Denmark. The »Great Wedding« of 1634*, Wiesbaden 1996 (= *Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung* 27); Mara R. Wade, *Prinz Christian von Dänemark und seine Braut als Mäzene von Schütz*, in: *SJb* 21 (1999), pp. 49–61.

5 Wade 1996 (note 4), pp. 221–278.

6 »[...] was Zubestellung einer ruhmlichen Capell Vnd Cantorey sonsten gerecht Vnd Vortrüglich sein magh«, from Schütz's commission as *Kapellmeister* at the royal court in 1642, see transcription of the source in: Kongsted (note 4), pp. 39–40.

7 Gina Spagnoli, *Letters and Documents of Heinrich Schütz 1656–1672. An Annotated Translation*, Rochester 1992, pp. 35–52.

8 Hans Joachim Moser (Moser, p. 164) calls Schütz »die musikorganisatorische Autorität seines Jahrhunderts«.

9 »[...] der allerfürnehmsten *Componisten* in *Europa* [...]«: Letter from Schütz to Friedrich Leibzelter 6/16 February 1633, see: Rigsarkivet Copenhagen (RA), *Kongehuset Christian 4., Prins Christian (5.), Indkomne breve fra ikke-fyrstelige personer*. See transcription in: Schütz Dok, pp. 177–180, here p. 179.

By keeping contact with this European musical agent, the Danish courts continued to be supplied with cultural goods through international channels.

Recruiting new musicians

Schütz was far from the first foreign agent that the Danish court exploited in order to recruit new musicians. During the reign of Christian IV, the court had contacts with two kinds of agents. On one hand, foreign musicians that were employed at the court were sent to their homelands to recruit musicians¹⁰. That was the case with the Dutch *kapelmester* Gregorio Trehou (employed 1594–1612), who on a journey to Brussels engaged a castrate singer in 1598¹¹. Also the Polish instrumentalist Adam Pickerow (employed 1595–1638) visited his homeland on behalf of the King in order to bring new musicians back to Copenhagen. He managed to get the Danish court in contact with at least twelve musicians from 1614–1633¹².

On the other hand, the Danish court had contacts with agents living abroad, most of them in positions at other north European courts¹³. The Danish King himself communicated with Italian musicians in Wolfenbüttel and Krakow in order to get hold of skilled musicians that could enter his *kapel*. The correspondence between the King and the Italian musician Alessandro Orologio is already known¹⁴. Yet, recent research has revealed that Orologio managed to get the King in touch with four singers from the Imperial court¹⁵. Also correspondences with the Italian musician and art broker Antonio Tarroni at the Polish court resulted in the employment of new musicians: Four Italian musicians (an organist, a viol player and two singers) travelled to Copenhagen from 1605 to 1608¹⁶.

Since this kind of agency was part of the courtly routine during the reign of Christian IV, it was probably expected of Schütz that he too would take up the task of engaging new musicians for the chapel. As will be described here, his employment was followed by several new employments of musicians, especially musicians coming from the Saxon court. By hiring Schütz as *kapelmester*, the Danish court continued the strategy of employing foreign musicians in order to stay connected to important courts and musical centres.

Here, I will stress two aspects of Schütz's efforts to provide the Danish courts with new musicians. Firstly, especially during his first stay, Schütz was focused on hiring musicians for the coming wedding. The chapel needed musicians with short term employments as reinforcements for the extensive musical

10 Bjarke Moe, *Musikkulturel trafik i København og Rostock. Musikerrekruttering og repertoireformyelse i første halvdel af 1600-tallet*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Copenhagen 2010, vol. 1, pp. 82–86.

11 Hammerich (note 4), pp. 25–26; S. A. E. Hagen, *Bemærkninger og Tilføjelser til Dr. Angul Hammerichs Skrift: Musikken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof*, in: *Historisk Tidsskrift* 6/IV (1893), pp. 420–444, here p. 435; Moe (note 10), p. 84.

12 Hammerich (note 4), pp. 52, 94; Moe (note 10), p. 85.

13 Moe (note 10), pp. 87–92.

14 Hagen (note 11), pp. 440–441; Robert Eitner, *Drei Briefe von Alessandro Orologio*, in: *MfM* 31 (1899), pp. 42–45; Rudolf Flotzinger, *Alessandro Orologio und seine Intraden (1597)*, in: *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning* 17 (1986), pp. 53–64, here p. 58.

15 Moe (note 10), pp. 87–88.

16 On the Danish efforts in recruiting these musicians see: Moe (note 10), pp. 88–91; Bjarke Moe, *Italian Music at the Danish Court during the Reign of Christian IV – Presenting a Picture of Cultural Transformation*, in: *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* 38 (2010–2011), pp. 15–32.

activities in October 1634. Secondly, one of his tasks was to re-establish the chapel with new musicians employed for longer periods. During the Danish participation in the Thirty Years' War from 1625 the King cut the economical basis of the chapel to a minimum¹⁷. In order to restore the chapel, a serious effort in recruiting musicians was needed¹⁸. That Schütz during his stay in Denmark 1633–1635 was responsible for recruiting musicians is substantiated by a letter to him from Landgraf Wilhelm V of Kassel. Shortly before Schütz was leaving Copenhagen in 1635, the Landgraf recommended a talented musician, David Frölich, to be employed at the Danish court. We do not know Schütz's response, but Frölich stayed in Kassel¹⁹. The letter shows that the recruitment of skilled musicians was a common issue for a *Kapellmeister* as well as a prince, and it shows us that Schütz was known to be seeking out new musicians for the Danish royal chapel.

Coming to Copenhagen for the first time in 1633, Schütz was not completely among musicians he did not know. First of all, he travelled with some apprentices from the Dresden court, Friedrich Werner and Daniel Hämmerlein²⁰. They obviously stayed in Copenhagen together with Schütz, even though their presence is not documented in Danish sources. This might be due to the fact that they were under the private supervision (and responsibility) of Schütz and not officially became part of the Danish court. Matthias Weckmann also travelled with Schütz, but most likely stayed in Hamburg to study with Jacob Praetorius²¹. Later, more musicians from Schütz's own circles came to Copenhagen as a result of the cultural traffic between the Danish and Saxon courts. The Danish court was supplied with several new musicians, which arrived with the Saxon bridal convoy in Copenhagen. Besides 20 Saxon *Bergmusiker*, this was the case with Gabriel Mölich, who was employed as musician and dance master at the Dresden court²². Schütz also made efforts in supplying the chapel with other musicians that could participate in the wedding. Heinrich Albert, Schütz's cousin, arrived from Königsberg and stayed in Copenhagen during the wedding, composing a song for the bridal couple²³. Also Schütz's former pupil Johann Vierdanck came to Copenhagen to participate in the musical activities²⁴. However, none of these musicians from Schütz's circles were paid by the court for participating in the wedding. This suggests that Schütz personally initiated the recruitments of these musicians²⁵.

17 Hammerich (note 4), pp. 79–84.

18 Hammerich (note 4, p. 109), on the other hand, stated that Schütz was not hired in order to re-establish the chapel, since it was »an old and already consolidated institution«.

19 The letter is cited in: Christiane Engelbrecht, *Die Kasseler Hofkapelle im 17. Jahrhundert und ihre anonymen Musikhandschriften aus der Kasseler Landesbibliothek*, Kassel etc. 1958 (= Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 14), pp. 127 f.

20 On Werner see: Jerrold C. Baab and Klaus-Peter Koch, art. *Werner, Christoph*, in: *Grove Music Online* (GMO) (www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 23 July 2010). On Hämmerlein see Joshua Rifkin and Eva Linfield, art. *Schütz, Heinrich*, in: *ibid.*

21 Rifkin and Linfield (note 20); Ibo Ortgies, *Neue Erkenntnisse zur Biographie Matthias Weckmans. Biographische Skizze und Zeitafel*, in: Weckmann-Konferenz Göteborg 1991, pp. 1–24, here p. 11.

22 On Mölich see Wolfram Steude, *Auskünfte Dresdner Quellen zu Heinrich Schütz' Dänemarkreisen*, in: Schütz-Konferenz Kopenhagen 1985, pp. 43–56, here p. 48; Wade 1996 (note 4), p. 271. On the *Bergmusiker* see Hammerich (note 4), p. 103; Wade 1996 (note 4), p. 248.

23 The *Aria* was published in his *Fünffter Theil der Arien oder Melodeyen* (Königsberg 1642), see: Heinrich Albert, *Arien*, ed. by Eduard Bernoulli, Leipzig 1903 f. (= DDT 12/13), part 1, p. IX, part 2, pp. 154–157.

24 Werner Schwarz, *Pommersche Musikgeschichte II. Lebensbilder von Musikern in und aus Pommern*, Köln 1994, p. 37.

25 Six other musicians were hired during Schütz's stay: the instrumentalists Johannes Grube and Johannes Stein (13 February 1634), the bass singer Johannes Lange (30 June 1634), the singer Gregorio Chelli da Verona (1 August 1634),

Prior to Schütz's arrival in Denmark in December 1633 some musicians from Dresden were employed at the Danish courts suggesting that even before he actually took over the duties as *Kapelmester*, Schütz was preparing the stay in Denmark and taking up his future obligations. These activities show, as Mara Wade has also argued, that Schütz was in contact with the Danish courts on professional levels before actually entering in the King's service²⁶. He probably did this because he as a Saxon courtier naturally was a part of the ongoing exchanges between Dresden and Copenhagen. Both political and musical topics were discussed when representatives from the two courts met. The activities of the Saxon diplomat Friedrich Lebzelter, who has been made responsible for arranging the employment of Schütz, are a good example of this²⁷. He visited Denmark in 1632–1633 to participate in settling the political affairs between Johann Georg I and Christian IV. A row of personal letters by Christian IV to his German secretary, Friedrich Günter, provides us with information on the negotiations between the courts. The King wrote to Günter that already in the summer of 1632 he and Lebzelter met in Gottorp (Schleswig-Holstein) to discuss political matters²⁸. The Saxon *Churfürst* was seeking money in order to continue his activities in the Thirty Years' War. Because of the big expenses of the war he turned to his ally, the Danish King, to get financial help. From a later letter we learn that Lebzelter did not collect the expected amount of money as he was supposed to do during his stay in Hamburg²⁹. Again in September 1632, Lebzelter visited the King, probably while staying in Rendsburg attending the *Landtag*. Lebzelter asked the King if he himself could donate 500.000 Taler to the *Churfürst*, or be helpful in finding the money. In his letter to Günter the King expressed his opinion in this case: »Indeed, it must be a big fool, who lent money there.«³⁰

In one of the letters, Günter is given the order to find a musician »that as well as playing the symphony or the virginal can serve the [royal] children«³¹. This reveals that the King gave order concerning political matters next to musical ones, and it shows that he similarly used his political agents as cultural ones. Soon, Lebzelter was going to take advantage of this kind of double agency. Eventually in the beginning of January 1633, he was received in audience by the King at the royal residence Frederiksborg north of Copenhagen. Exactly at that time, two new singers were employed at the court, the alto Johann Hasselt and the bass Michael Lödsch.

Before coming to Copenhagen, Hasselt was employed at the Saxon court. His is mentioned there for the first time in 1625³². In 1630 however, Hasselt left the court, apparently because he and other musicians did not get their salary. Schütz, who acknowledged Hasselt as »a talented singer«, regretted this

the theorbo player Michael Ulich (24 August 1634), the instrumentalist Andreas Plattenschlager (12 September 1634). However, it is unclear whether Schütz was responsible for recruiting them.

26 Wade 1996 (note 4), p. 232; Wade 1999 (note 4), pp. 51–53.

27 On Lebzelter's efforts see Hammerich (note 4), pp. 106–108; Kongsted 1989 (note 4), p. 34; Wade 1996 (note 4), pp. 233–234; Wade 1999 (note 4), pp. 54–55.

28 C. F. Bricka, J. A. Fridericia et al. (eds.), *Kong Christian den Fjerdes egenhændige Breve* 3, Copenhagen 1878–1880, pp. 28–29 (letter from Christian IV to Friedrich Günter, Glückstadt, 12 July 1632). Due to this letter, it seems unlikely that Lebzelter visited Copenhagen in the autumn of 1632, which is stated by Kongsted (note 4), p. 34.

29 Bricka (note 28), p. 31 (letter from Christian IV to Friedrich Günter, Glückstadt, 22 July 1632).

30 »Es muste woll Ein grosser Naar Sein, der geldt dahiin leieth«: Bricka (note 28), p. 47 (letter from Christian IV to Friedrich Günter, Rendsburg, 26 September 1632).

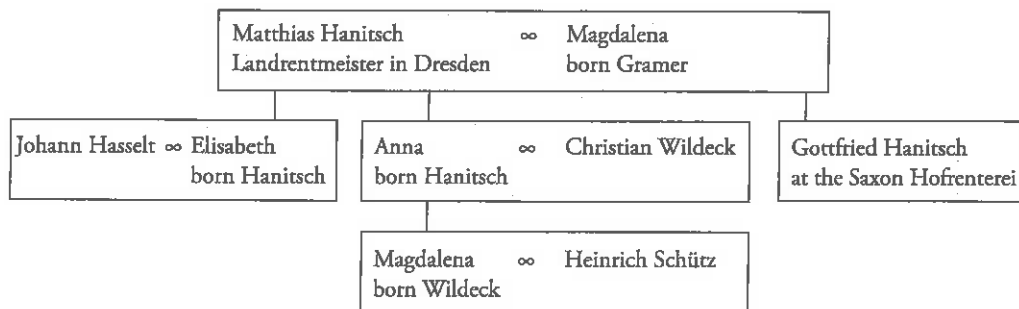
31 »[...] der woll auff dass Symphoneii oder *Virginal* slagen kan, So den kinderen auffuarten könthe«: Bricka (note 28), p. 31 (letter from Christian IV to Friedrich Günter, Glückstadt, 22 July 1632).

32 Schütz GB, p. 326.

and tried to convince the *Hausmarschall* to interfere in order to get Hasselt rehired³³. Even though Schütz's plan did not work out, Hasselt's future was secured a few years later at the Danish court. He stayed in Copenhagen from 1633 to his death in 1644.

A newly found source reveals some interesting details on the relationship between Hasselt and Schütz. A publication containing two laments was issued at Hasselt's funeral at the German Church, *St. Petri Kirke*, in Copenhagen on 2 June 1644 (see illustration 1). The publication also shortly outlines Hasselt's German relatives, and this information reveals that he was married to the daughter of the Saxon *Landrentmeister* Matthias Hanitsch, the grandfather of Schütz's wife Magdalena³⁴. The publication thus reveals that Schütz during both his stays in Copenhagen worked together with a member of his wife's family. According to the front page of the publication, Hasselt died unexpectedly, and therefore Schütz without knowing it left Copenhagen only a month before Hasselt's death. Their relationship might be an explanation why Schütz back in 1631 was concerned about the future of Hasselt. Furthermore, Schütz might also have been responsible for Hasselt's employment at the Danish court in 1633.

The family relations of Heinrich Schütz and Johann Hasselt



The bass singer Michael Lödsch was hired together with Hasselt. The letter, which states his employment, was written the same day as Hasselt's, and it refers to the fact that Lödsch should be employed »in the same way [as Hasselt]«³⁵. This suggests that they arrived together, maybe following the convoy of the Saxon diplomat Lebzelter. The musician Jonas Pauffler might also have come to Denmark together with a Saxon delegation. According to the Danish Prince-elect, Pauffler was engaged at the court in Dresden but had sought permission to leave. He was auditioned by the Prince-elect, who unfortunately could not hire him himself. On 24 February 1633 the Prince-elect recommended Pauffler to the King³⁶. Less than a month later, Pauffler was hired as alto at the King's court. He stayed there until his death seven years later³⁷.

33 Karl August Müller, *Kurfürst Johann Georg der Erste, seine Familie und sein Hof, nach handschriftlichen Quellen des Königlichen Sächsischen Haupt-Staats-Archiv*, Dresden 1838, pp. 24–26; Otto Brodde, *Heinrich Schütz. Weg und Werk*, Kassel 1972, p. 126. See Schütz' letter in: Schütz GBr, pp. 112–113.

34 On Schütz' relations with the Hanitsch family see Moser, p. 92; Eberhard Möller, *Die Nachkommen von Heinrich Schütz*, in: SJB 10 (1988), pp. 41–49, here p. 41; Wolfram Steude, *Das Grab von Heinrich Schütz in der alten Dresdner Frauenkirche*, in: SJB 20 (1998), pp. 155–164, here pp. 160–161. Steude mentions briefly that Hasselt also belonged to the Hanitsch family, but he is mistaken about in what way Hasselt was related.

35 RA, *Danske Kancelli, Sjællandske Registre, 1632–1637* (B 541), fol. 69^v.

36 E. Marquard (ed.), *Prins Christian (V.)s Breve*, 2 vols., Copenhagen 1952–1956, vol. 1, p. 83. Pauffler is not mentioned in the literature on the Saxon court, and he might not actually have been employed there prior to his arrival in Denmark.

37 Hammerich (note 4), p. 222.

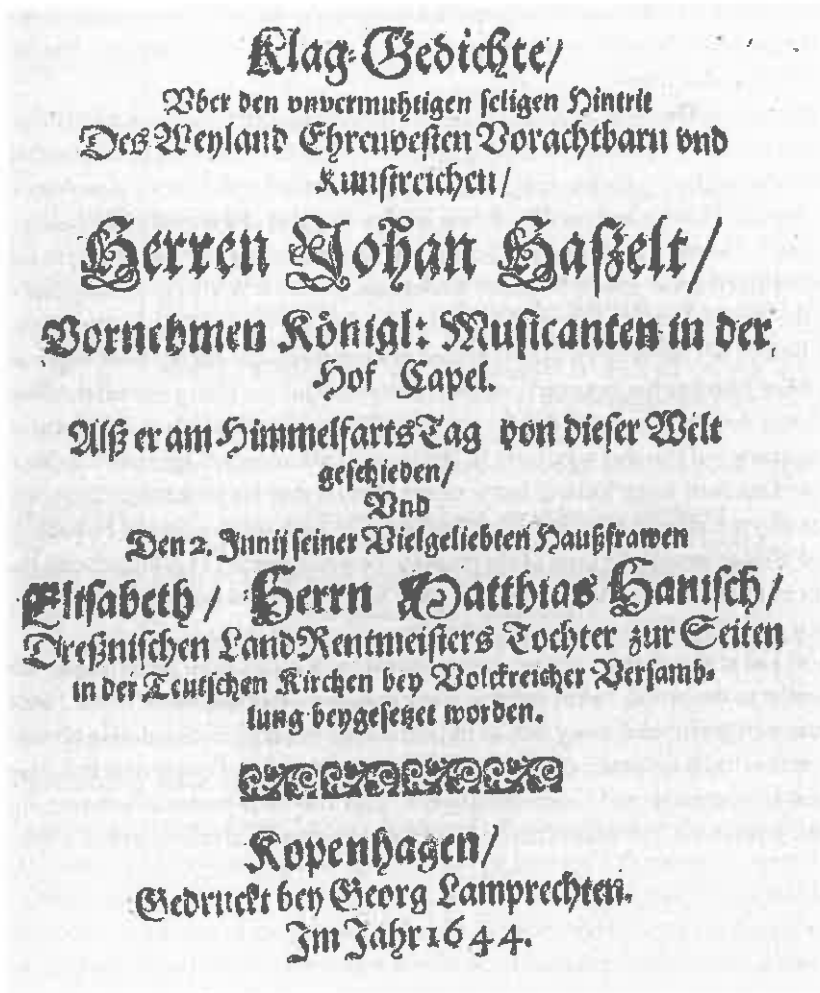


Illustration 1: Front page of the print containing two laments in honour of Johann Hasselt, Copenhagen 1644 (Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Sondersammlung, Sign. Fm-1251.19)

Regarding the English musician John Price, Schütz might have acted as intermediary. Price was engaged at the court in Dresden since 1629, and in 1632 he offered himself for playing at the forthcoming wedding³⁸. It is likely that Schütz have had him in mind during the preparations of the wedding in 1634, and maybe suggested him for the Prince-elect. Price entered the musical staff of the Prince-elect in the beginning of 1634, and in March the Prince sent Price, the instrumentalist Alexander Lefferentz and two boysingers to Copenhagen to participate in the musical rehearsals³⁹. They were billeted with a Copenhagen citizen, Mikkel Koch, who after the wedding was given 200 *daler* for his help⁴⁰. After the

38 Fürstenau, pp. 73–74.

39 Marquard (note 36), vol. 1, p. 133.

40 RA, *Regnskaber 1559–1660, Rentemesterregnskaber, Indtægts- og udgiftsregnskaber, Udgifter, 1635–1636*, fol. 29^r.

wedding, Price was dismissed by the Prince-elect and began his journey together with his son and a waiter to Württemberg⁴¹. Like several of the other musicians present at the wedding, Schütz engaged Price as reinforcement for the musical activities.

Concerning Schütz' stay in Denmark 1642–1644, we are unfortunately left with much less information on his activities in recruiting musicians. According to the overall picture of the chapel, he probably continued what he started doing during his first stay. Two boy singers travelled with him to Copenhagen, Andreas Gleich and Clemens Thieme, and just like during his first stay they did not officially become a part of the King's court⁴². The most important role Schütz played in recruiting new musicians for the Danish courts concerned his efforts in getting Matthias Weckmann, Friedrich Werner and Philip Stolle to Nykøbing serving the Prince-elect. It has been discussed when they arrived and whether they travelled together with Schütz or not. Most likely, Schütz arrived prior to them. His employment began in May 1642, and lately Mary Frandsen has suggested that the Saxon prince Johann Georg sent off the three others to Denmark during the mourning period of his daughter Princess Sybilla Maria in the spring of 1643⁴³. The Danish sources reveal that they were hired in Nykøbing at Midsummer Day 1643⁴⁴. Schütz' role in getting them to Denmark is not known, but it seems obvious that his presence in Denmark was one of the reasons why the Saxon prince decided to lend them to his brother-in-law in Nykøbing. Weckmann, Stolle and Werner became the heart of the chapel in Nykøbing until 1647. Periodically the chapel was extended by musicians such as Herman Höge, August Klöpffer, Samuel Künchell and a couple of boy singers so that it consisted of five to seven musicians⁴⁵.

The King's chapel had at this time an average size compared to its earlier days. Nevertheless, the expenses used were similar to the periods, when twice as many musicians were employed. In the 1640s few but better musicians were preferred to many. Schütz did not change this organisation during his stay, and the enforcement of the chapel happened (besides an Italian singer, Agostino Pisone) only by hiring two former boy singers as an organist and a cornetto player⁴⁶. That they were meant as enforcement of the chapel under the supervision of Schütz is likely, since they were dismissed shortly before Schütz left Copenhagen⁴⁷.

41 Marquard (note 36), vol. 1, p. 150.

42 Moser, p. 153; Wade 1999 (note 4), p. 60. Their names are not mentioned in Danish sources.

43 Mary E. Frandsen, *Music in a Time of War: The Efforts of Saxon Prince Johann Georg II to Establish a Musical Ensemble, 1637–1651*, in: SJB 30 (2008), pp. 33–68, here p. 48.

44 RA, *Regnskaber 1559–1660, Regnskaber vedr. prins Christian (5.)s hofholdning 1626–1647, 493 Kammerskriveren 1643–1645, BesoldingsRegister* (Register of Wages from Easter 1643–Michaelis 1643). These and other sources from the Prince-elect's archive have been uncovered mainly in Danish studies: Hammerich (note 4), pp. 178–181; Julie Sophie Borgwardt, *Musiklivet hos den udvalgte prins Christian på Nykøbing Slot*, master thesis, University of Copenhagen 2002. Wade provides a description (in English) of how festivals including music took place at the »satellite court of the Prince-Elect Christian and Magdalena Sibylla at Nykøbing on Falster«. However, she does not give a general survey of the musical activities taking place there: Wade 1996 (note 4), pp. 246–248, 281–288.

45 Hammerich (note 4), pp. 178–181.

46 Israel Sidelmann (organist) and Jørgen Lauritzen (cornetto player) were hired 15 February 1643, see Hammerich (note 4), p. 216.

47 Sidelmann and Lauritzen were dismissed 18 March 1644 (Hammerich, note 4, p. 216), and Schütz's employment lasted until 1 May (Kongsted, note 4, p. 41).

Musicians connected with the Danish courts through the contact with Schütz

1633–1635	The court of the King	
	Johann Hasselt, alto	employed 1 January 1633
	(Michael Lödsch, bass	employed 1 January 1633)
	Jonas Pauffler, alto	employed 19 March 1633
	Present at the wedding but not employed at court	
	Johann Vierdanck	—
	Heinrich Albert	—
	Gabriel Möhlich	arrived from Dresden with the bridal convoy
	Daniel Hämmerlein	accompanied Schütz from Dresden in 1633
	Friedrich Werner (Matthias Weckmann)	accompanied Schütz from Dresden in 1633, but stayed in Hamburg with Jacob Praetorius
1642–1644	The court of the Prince-elect	
	John Price	employed before 13 March 1634, dismissed 24 October 1634
	Present at the King's court but not employed	
	Andreas Gleich, boy singer	accompanied Schütz from Dresden
	Clemens Thieme, boy singer	accompanied Schütz from Dresden
	The court of the Prince-elect	
	Matthias Weckmann	employed 24 June 1643. Passport back to Dresden 12 April 1647
	Philip Stolle	—
	Friedrich Werner	—

Purchasing new music for the courts

In the existing literature on Schütz's activities in Denmark, one of the main discussions has concerned which music he wrote or might have written during his stays⁴⁸. However, no one did try to give an account of which compositions he provided the chapel with besides his own⁴⁹. One should not be surprised by that, since it was one of the primary tasks of a *Kapellmeister* to equip the chapel with music that would fit the daily requirements. However, it should be stressed that Schütz not necessarily wrote all the music himself. He pointed to the importance of the task of purchasing music in his letter from February 1633 to Lebzelter (which was handed over to the Prince-elect). By doing this, he was trying to persuade the Prince-elect into hiring him. Besides his own humble compositions he could provide the chapel with music by other composers, he wrote. If he were to travel to Denmark, he would bring with him a »considerable amount of good pieces or compositions not only my own inventions as the poorest, but also by the most distinguished composers in Europe, which I not without big efforts have got at hand«⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ Among the many contributions see Hammerich (note 4), pp. 109–119; Jensen (note 4), pp. 57–67; Kongsted (note 4), pp. 36–37; Steude 1989 (note 22), pp. 50–54; Wade 1999 (note 4), pp. 57–61; Walter Werbeck, *Musik am dänischen Hof. Bemerkungen zum zweiten Teil der »Symphoniae sacrae« von Heinrich Schütz*, in: Ole Kongsted et al. (eds.), *A due. Musical Essays in Honour of John D. Bergsagel & Heinrich W. Schwab*, Copenhagen 2008 (= Danish Humanist Texts and Studies 37), pp. 687–700.

⁴⁹ The following passages are based on my studies of how foreign music came to the chapel of the Danish King: Moe (note 10), vol. 1, pp. 127–153.

From the beginning of the reign of Christian IV, the *Kapelmester* or the *Vicekapelmester* at the Danish court were in charge of the royal music collection. This meant – besides taking care of the valuable prints and manuscripts and on a daily basis keeping track of the collection – that they also were supposed to purchase new music⁵¹. Several music prints kept at the Royal Library in Copenhagen were most likely brought to Copenhagen by the *Kapelmester* over the years, trusted musicians, and other court servants on their journeys home from musical centres in Europe. That seems to be the case with several madrigal publications from Antwerp and Venice from the period 1585–1616⁵². Later in the 1620s, the musicians in the chapel regularly visited the book keepers in Copenhagen in order to get hold of the newest music prints. Thanks to the international book market in the Danish capital, they were able to purchase publications from Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, containing profane as well as sacred music⁵³.

When Schütz came to Denmark and took over the responsibility of the chapel, he must – just like his predecessors – have been in charge of renewing the repertoire. In the period when Schütz was in Copenhagen, the account department did not record any payments of new music prints from the local book keepers. This indicates that he did not buy the music locally, but brought collections of music with him just as he promised. Let us have a look on some sources that reveal how he did and what the results of his efforts were.

In his letter to Lebzelter Schütz mentioned that it was not always easy to get hold of new music. He himself had obtained music »that I not without great effort have at hand«. During his trip to Italy in 1628–1629, Schütz collected music in order to bring it back to the Saxon Chapel. In November 1629 shortly before he began his home journey, he dispatched a cargo with Italian music instruments and music⁵⁴. The collection of music must have contained music prints and copies that he collected during his stay there. Again a few years later in 1632, he wanted to purchase Italian music, but this time without travelling there himself. He contacted the art agent Philipp Hainhofer and wanted him to get hold of music prints from Naples. His letter to Hainhofer describes in details what specific publications he was looking for: a broad selection of vocal music from c. 1600 to 1630, profane as well as sacred music, for few as well as many voices⁵⁵. Hainhofer was a skilled art broker, having contacts all over Europe. In 1636 and again in 1640 Hainhofer purchased Italian music for Duke August II of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Hainhofer wrote letters to leading composers of the time, including Claudio Monteverdi (Venezia), Giovanni Valentini (Vienna) and Giovanni Giacomo Porro (Munich), and requested their music⁵⁶. When Schütz took off for Denmark in autumn of 1633, he must have brought some of the Naples prints with him, keeping his promise to the Prince-elect. By using his knowledge of Italian music, Schütz proved

50 »[...] zimlicher anzahl gueter stük oder *Composition*, nicht alleine meiner *invention* als der schlechtesten, sondern auch der allerfürnehmsten *Componisten* in *Europa*, welche ich nicht sonder grosser müh beÿhanden bracht [...]«; Schütz letter to Lebzelter, 6/16 February 1633 (note 9).

51 Moe (note 10), pp. 131–134.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 134–140.

53 On the Copenhagen book market in general, see Otto Andersen, *Boghandlere på Børsen*, in: *Bogvennen. Årbog for bogkunst og boghistorie* (1962–1963), pp. 49–65; Aleksander Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie 1482–1945. Med et kapitel om bogen i oldtid og middelalder*, Copenhagen 1974, pp. 54–56; Charlotte Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark*, Copenhagen 2001 (= *Danish Humanist Texts and Studies* 23), pp. 470–479. On the selection of music prints at Copenhagen book keepers, see Moe (note 10), pp. 125–127, 153–160.

54 Schütz Dok, p. 149.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 173–176.

56 Stephen Rose, *The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40*, in: *JRMA* 130 (2005), pp. 1–37, here p. 16, note 62.

to be a cultural agent purchasing desirable music from one of Europe's major musical centres. When he left Denmark in 1635, the Italian singer Gregorio Chelli da Verona took over acting as agent in these affairs. In 1636 he worked out a list of Italian music publications in Italian, listing publications of composers such as Marco da Gagliano and Leone Leonì. The King himself posted the list to the account department adding that the music »could be very useful for his majesty's chapel«⁵⁷.

In the existing literature Schütz is mentioned as the *primus motor* for bringing the modern concerto repertoire to Denmark. It has been suggested that Schütz was responsible for renewing the musical repertoire at the Copenhagen Grammar School and the city churches⁵⁸. Recent studies reveal that this was not the case, since the musicians at these institutions themselves had contacts through which they purchased new music⁵⁹. On the other hand, Schütz must have found himself in the middle of a musical milieu at the Danish courts surrounded by musicians, who were eager to integrate the newest repertoire, especially the Italian, in the daily musical activities. The manuscript collection KN 206, kept at Ratsbücherei in Lüneburg, gives us an impression of how Schütz and the Saxon musicians at the court of the Prince-elect took part in this⁶⁰.

The manuscript belonged to the organist Matthias Weckmann, and the majority of the 75 vocal pieces was copied by Weckmann⁶¹. The manuscript has previously been taken into account in order to describe the activities of Weckmann himself, since it reflects what repertoire Weckmann studied⁶². Furthermore, it has been suggested that Weckmann copied the large number of pieces for the purpose of bringing it back to the Saxon courts when he left Denmark in 1647⁶³. More than half of the pieces, however, are most likely dating before 1642, and therefore Schütz too must have had access to most of them during his stay in Denmark 1642–1644. Some of the newest pieces in the manuscript, for instance the 15 pieces by Christoph Werner from his publication *Praemessa musicalia* (Königsberg 1646), could have come to Schütz's attention through Weckmann's transcriptions. Weckmann prepared the large manuscript for several reasons: studying the newest music he had at hand during his stay in Denmark, storing the pieces for later usage, collecting different kinds of pieces (solo concertos as well as large 18-voice motettos). Weckmann made a note on his copying-methods writing off pieces from Johann

57 »[...] kunde være meget brugelige vdi Kong. Mtt. Capella [...]«, cited in Moe (note 10), vol. 1, p. 133; vol. 2, p. 31; Moe (note 16), pp. 20–21.

58 Jens Peter Larsen, *Schütz und Dänemark*, in: *Sagittarius* 2 (1969), pp. 9–16, here p. 16; Nils Schiørring, *Musikkens Historie i Danmark* 1, Copenhagen 1977, p. 206; Nils Schiørring, *Geistliches und weltliches Liedschaffen in höfischer Umwelt in Dänemark während der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Schütz-Konferenz Kopenhagen 1985, pp. 269 to 273, here p. 272; Henrik Glahn and Søren Sørensen (eds.), *The Clausholm Music Fragments*, Copenhagen 1974, pp. 34–36, 48, 53; Wade 1996 (note 4), pp. 244–245.

59 Moe (note 10), pp. 153–169, especially pp. 153 and 166–167.

60 Ratsbücherei Lüneburg, mus. ant. pract. KN 206. The content of the collection was listed by Alexander Silbiger, *The Autographs of Matthias Weckmann, A Reevaluation*, in: Schütz-Konferenz Kopenhagen 1985, pp. 117–144, here pp. 130–135.

61 See Silbiger's extensive study of the manuscript (note 60).

62 Max Seiffert, *Matthias Weckmann und das Collegium Musicum in Hamburg. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Musikgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: *SIMG* 2 (1900), pp. 76–132, here pp. 84–85; Geoffrey Webber, *A Study of Italian Influence on North German Church and Organ Music in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century, with Special Reference to the Collection of Gustav Düben*, Ph.D. Diss. Oxford 1988, pp. 166, 182–183; Silbiger (note 60), pp. 122–124; Frandsen (note 43), p. 56.

63 Seiffert (note 62), p. 84; Frandsen (note 43), p. 56.

Stadlmayr's *Psalmi integri* (Innsbruck 1641). Since the psalms in the print were composed in the same manner, Weckmann did not copy all of them. The pieces he selected were put in a more or less casual order, and he did only pick those of Stadlmayr's pieces »that I liked the best«⁶⁴.

The manuscript was partly fabricated during Weckmann's stay in Denmark. He finished the writing in Hamburg 15 June 1647 according to his note written after the last piece, two months after having left Nykøbing⁶⁵. However, an extensive part of the manuscript must have been written during his stay at the court of the Prince-elect in Nykøbing and while being in contact with musicians from the royal court in Copenhagen. The presence of a vocal concerto, *Exurgat Deus* (fol. 63^r–64^r) by the Italian singer Agostino Fontana, who served the Danish King from 1638–1650, substantiates this⁶⁶.

What makes the manuscript interesting in the context of this article is the fact that part of the content most likely was brought to Denmark by Schütz and the Dresden-musicians following him. Here, I will focus on the copies of music from Danzig and Vienna. In 1628, Schütz was trying to get his pupil Johann Vierdanck to study with the Italian musician Giovanni Sansoni at the Imperial court in Vienna. The Saxon contact here, Friedrich Lebzelter, was helping Schütz arranging the stay. The plans failed at this point; however, in 1641 Vierdanck apparently went to Vienna to stay with Sansoni⁶⁷. Also Friedrich Werner stayed with the imperial musician during the 1640s, even though it is not clear when that happened. Recently, Mary Frandsen has suggested that Werner studied in Vienna in 1642 prior to his employment at the Prince-elect's court in Nykøbing. In the manuscript KN 206 there are three pieces from the Vienna court. The vocal concerto *In te Domine speravi* (fol. 8^r–10^r) is by Giovanni Valentini, the imperial *Kapellmeister*, who served there from 1626 to 1649, when Werner was present. This piece is only known from this source⁶⁸, suggesting that someone knowing Valentini personally must have brought it to Weckmann. The second piece (fol. 102^r–104^r) is by the musician Georg Pichelmayr, who is mentioned in the manuscript as »the emperor's musician«⁶⁹. The piece by Pichelmayr, then, must have come to Weckmann's attention by someone knowing Pichelmayr (or at least the specific piece) from his employment in Vienna from 1637–1638⁷⁰. The third and last piece (fol. 104^r–105^r) stemming from Vienna was written by the Emperor Ferdinand III himself. This piece as well is only known from this source⁷¹, and we might suggest that the music was brought to Denmark as a result of personal contact to the court in Vienna. This personal contact could have been Friedrich Werner.

64 KN 206, fol. 36^r: »Nota[:] Weil in diesem opere die Psalmi (: so an d[er] anzahl 16 v[nd] 2 Magnificat :) alle auff einerley manier seynd (: das letzte Magnificat ausgenommen :) so hab ich sie nicht alle od[er] nach d[er] Ordnung abgesetzt, sondern nur etzliche, so mir am besten gefallen.«

65 KN 206, fol. 160^r. The note is reproduced by Silbiger (note 60), p. 143. The Prince-elect issued a security passport for Weckmann, Werner and Stolle 12 April 1647; see Marquard (note 36), vol. 2, p. 698.

66 Two anonymous concertos, *Florete flores* (fol. 64^r–65^r) and *En choris angelorum* (fol. 64^r–65^r), were probably also written by Fontana, see Moe (note 10), pp. 38–39; editions of all three concertos, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 270–278.

67 Schwarz (note 24), pp. 34–36.

68 Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre. Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619 to 1637)*, Oxford 1995, p. 244.

69 KN 206, fol. 102^r: »Georgij Pichelmayr. Musici Caesarij.«

70 On Pichelmayr see Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867. Nach urkundlichen Forschungen*, Wien 1869, p. 130; Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)*, Mainz 1967, pp. 246–247.

71 Steven Saunders, *The Emperor as Artist: New Discoveries Concerning Ferdinand III's Musical Compositions*, in: *StMw* 45 (1996), pp. 7–31, here p. 27.

The manuscript also contains music from Danzig. Weckmann's colleague in Nykøbing Friedrich Werner had a brother, Christoph, in Danzig. Christoph was *Kantor* at St. Katharine's, and their family relations might have been exploited in order to renew the repertoire for the princely chapel. Indeed, Friedrich was sent on a journey to Danzig by the Prince-elect in 1645. The reason for the journey is unknown, but probably Werner was supposed to do musical business for the prince. At least, Werner had the opportunity to obtain music from Danzig and bringing it back home to Denmark⁷². Whether Friedrich undertook other journeys is unclear, but he might have done so, since Weckmann's manuscript contains copies of music from the publication *Praemessa musicalia* (1646) by his brother. Also the unique copy of Christoph Werner's concerto *Es erhub sich ein Streit* (for 12 voices and 6 instruments) could have been brought to the princely court in Nykøbing by Friedrich from journeys to Danzig⁷³.

Copenhagen as a European cultural centre

The successful cooperation between Schütz and the Danish courts resulted in a cultural flow to and from Denmark that both the Danish and the Saxon courts could benefit from. Looking at Schütz's activities in Copenhagen from another perspective – not what Schütz took with him to Copenhagen, but what he might have taken back to Dresden – we can supply our picture of Schütz as a cultural agent that acted through European contacts in order to build up high musical standards wherever he was staying. Copenhagen was one of the new places he got to know and act through in the 1630s and 1640s. Schütz spent more than three and a half years in Copenhagen and the surrounding area during his two periods as *Kapelmester* at the Danish court, and while staying in the Danish capital, he was right in the middle of one of the major cultural centres of northern Europe. Besides being the biggest city of the Danish Kingdom (which at that time included Norway), Copenhagen was in other senses the most important city of the country. The royal administration had their headquarter at the Copenhagen Castle, the bishop of Seeland, who since the reformation was the ecclesiastical head of Denmark, was connected to the main Cathedral (*Vor Frue Kirke*) in the city, and the only university in the kingdom, and with it the most prominent academics of the country, was situated in Copenhagen. Also trade was of great importance for the status of the city. With many foreign merchants living there, the city was supplied with goods from all over Europe, that were being traded for instance at the King's new-build stock house (called *Børsen*). These conditions were of great importance for the kind of cultural traffic that involved music. The city was an attractive place for foreign musicians to stay while being involved in the musical activities at court or at the city churches. Schütz must have found himself in a lively city with loads of opportunities of establishing new contacts.

72 The Prince-elect ordered Johann Bram, a Copenhagen merchant, to send money to Werner, stating that »Ich habe ein von meinem musikanten abgefertiget nach danzig«, see: RA, *Kongebuset Christian 4., Prins Christian (5.), Prins Christians egenhändige breve 1627–47*, letter to Johann Bram, 13 April 1645. Werner confirmed having received 60 *daler* [Taler] in Danzig on 23 May 1645, see RA, *ibid.*, statement in Werner's own hand dated 23 May 1645:

»Ich ends bemelter bekenne das ich uon dem Ehreuesten vorachtbarnen und Vornehmen Herrn Christian Horstmann [Danziger merchant] auff begehren Herrn Johann Bramms Sechzig Reichsthlr. empfangen.

Actum Danzig den 23 Maij Ao 1645.

Friederich Werner [m.p.]

Hochprinzl. dhl. bestalter Musicus.«

73 KN 206, fol. 21^v–34^r.

Schütz had several advantages of staying in a cultural centre like Copenhagen. He was able to flee the ongoing war in Saxony – this being one of his own arguments, trying to persuade the Elector to let him go⁷⁴ – and still being engaged in music-making. He also had the opportunity of getting in contact with music and musicians that he did not know before. Since 1638, two Italian singers had been employed at the King's court, the alto Agostino Fontana and the bass Benedetto Bonaglia⁷⁵. During Schütz's second stay in Denmark another Italian was hired, the soprano Agostino Pisone, who 1636–1637 was taught by Francesco Foggia at San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome⁷⁶. Like the two others, he must have been a skilled singer. As is already known, Schütz tried to get Fontana employed as *Vice-Kapellmeister* in Dresden in 1647⁷⁷. In his efforts in turning the chapel in Dresden towards an Italian model, Schütz drew on his contacts in Copenhagen⁷⁸. Also in this case, Schütz's role as mediator in recruiting musicians was dependent of his international connections – this time in the opposite direction, from Copenhagen to Dresden.

While staying in Denmark, Schütz too was introduced to certain musical pieces that he did not know before. Several Italian pieces of vocal music from the manuscript KN 206 were most likely brought to Denmark by recently arrived Italian musicians⁷⁹. Schütz obviously would have been interested in this repertoire from Italian colleagues; however, we have no documentation that he brought copies of them back to Dresden. That Schütz did receive music from the Italians at the Danish court, though, is supported by a brief comment in one of his letters. Here it appears that Fontana had agreed to provide music from Danzig from the bookshop of Kaspar Förster (the elder)⁸⁰. It is likely to assume that a similar exchange of repertoires took place while Schütz stayed in Denmark, and that he made use of his new contacts in Denmark in order to purchase new music back home in Dresden.

74 See Schütz' *Memorial* to the Kurfürst 9 February 1633: Schütz Dok, pp. 182–185.

75 Hammerich (note 4), p. 127.

76 On his employment in Rome from 1 November 1636 until 11 February 1637, see Wolfgang Witzemann, *Die Lateran-Kapelle von 1599 bis 1650*, Laaber 2008 (= *Analecta Musicologica* 40), vol. 1, p. 102; vol. 2, pp. 671, 678, 684, 769. I am grateful to Prof. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska for pointing this out to me.

77 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. 15–25; Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries. The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden*, Oxford 2006, pp. 9, 15.

78 That the Danish court was influenced by Italian music is argued in Moe (note 16).

79 Moe (note 10), p. 145.

80 Schütz wrote the letter to an unnamed person in the circles of Förster in Danzig, see: Schütz Dok, pp. 287–291. I am grateful to Prof. Gregory S. Johnston for making me aware of this letter.

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