

Introduction

Scholars who wish to study the role of concerted music in the Lutheran liturgy in the seventeenth century, or who wish to examine the repertoire of chorales sung during the liturgy on particular dates, have very little documentary evidence upon which they may rely. Such records are extremely rare and survive only from a few institutions in Saxony: the ducal courts of Saxe-Weissenfels and Saxe-Merseburg, the Fürstenschule in Grimma, and the electoral court in Dresden.¹ But of these four, only the records in Dresden preserve entire orders of worship that document not only the titles and dates of performances of particular works of sacred music but also the title incipits of the chorales sung during the services. Thus, they represent a veritable treasure trove of information concerning the adornment of the Lutheran liturgy with chorales and figural music (both modern concerted works and older polyphony), the use of sacred art music in conjunction with particular Gospel readings, and the selection of chorales throughout the church year with regard to the Gospel readings. The information survives in the form of entries in manuscript court diaries (*Hofdiarien*) from the Dresden court of Elector Johann Georg II (r. 1656–80), housed today in the Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Hauptstaatsarchiv (*D-Dla*) and the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats und Universitätsbibliothek (*D-Dl*). This music-loving ruler hired many Italian musicians for his court musical ensemble (the Hofkapelle) and seems to have instituted the practice of including the orders of worship in the diaries; none appear in the diaries that document the reign of his father, Johann Georg I (r. 1611–56).² The purpose of this study is to present a compilation of the orders of worship as found in these documents, in order to facilitate the study of Lutheran musical and liturgical practices in the early-modern era.

The orders of worship in these diaries present in a very concise fashion the liturgical and musical content of services as they were celebrated on particular occasions. They generally provide the genres and title incipits of the musical works performed, for example, but with the exception of the year 1665–66, include neither precise scorings nor indicate who performed particular compositions.³ They do, however, often indicate which Kapellmeister directed the music, and quite often note whether he had composed all of the concerted works performed during the liturgy. Orders of worship for the main morning service (the *Hauptgottesdienst*) and for vespers are silent about the role of the organist, who likely introduced most of the sung elements of the liturgy, but those for the early communion service do mention the organist's preluding duty at the opening of that rite. The concise nature of the information often disguises the fact that

¹ For the Weissenfels performance calendar, see Gundlach 2001. Performance records for Merseburg from the years 1689–91 were recently discovered by Michael Maul, who plans to publish the information. The part sets for works copied by cantor Samuel Jacobi in Grimma preserve performance dates on their title pages, but this information has not been collated and published. The Dresden records are presented here and have been discussed in Frandsen 2006.

² Some orders of worship for services celebrated on special occasions during the reign of Johann Georg I do appear in the Dresden Amtsbücher, which was rediscovered in 2008; for examples, see Richter 2016, 63, and Jeßberger 2009, 164; see also the discussion in Stauff 2016. A publication of the information on music and musicians contained in the Amtsbücher is in preparation by Christa Maria Richter.

³ Surviving contracts for Italian and German musicians, however, reveal the different duties and responsibilities of each; see Frandsen 2006, 55–56.

elaborate liturgical practices were probably observed, such as the singing of dialogues by the celebrant and musical ensemble to introduce the collect before the Epistle as well as the Gospel; the former may also have included the responsorial singing of a verse. The orders of worship for vespers often give only the incipit of the opening versicle, *Deus in adiutorium meum*, but the musical ensemble likely performed a figural response (*Domine ad adjuvandum*), particularly on feast days, as suggested by a setting of the response by Albrici that appears in an inventory of music from the period.⁴

For the most part, the orders of worship conform to the elector's liturgical formulary, the *Kirchenordnung* (KO) of 1662, which prescribes the type and number of services to be celebrated on particular days, the liturgical form of those services, and some of the precise content.⁵ The *Kirchenordnung* seems to have been developed early in the elector's reign, and to have been fully implemented by the latter part of 1662; earlier orders of worship depart from it in a few details.⁶ It is available in a modern edition in both German and English.⁷ The KO 1662 undoubtedly served as the principal liturgical resource for the clergy and the Kapellmeisters; its official nature is seen in the fact that the court secretaries employed its wording when formulating the orders of worship in the court diaries. Information about the musical works performed seems to have been supplied by the Kapellmeisters (likely through the senior court preacher) in the following format; in this case, the works mentioned are those of Giuseppe Peranda:

In die Sabbhati

Concert: post Psalm: Dixit Dominus
Concert: post Magnificat

Languet cor meum
Quo tendimus mortales

In die Dominico

Concert: Post Psalm: Letatus sum
Concert: Post Magnificat

Spirate suaves
Das alte Jahr vergangen ist⁸

The diaries also include many examples of courtly representation as it manifested itself in

⁴ See the Services and Service Elements file below, 7–8, for a discussion of the opening versicle.

⁵ “Ordnung Wie der Durchlauchtigste Hochgebohrne Fürst und Herr, Herr Johann Georg, der Ander, Hertzog zu Sachsen ... und Churfürst ... es in Dero Hoff-Cappella, mit der Musica, an denen Fest- und Sontagen, auch in der Wochen, hinführo wolle gehalten haben,” *D-DI* Msc. K 89. See, for example, the discussions of the introit and chorales below: Services and Service Elements, 1–3.

⁶ See the discussion of the development and implementation of the *Kirchenordnung* in Frandsen 2006, 341–61.

⁷ See Spagnoli 1990, 175–209. Spagnoli gives the German text and an English translation; the German text has been cited in the Compilation.

⁸ *D-DI* Loc. 12026, fol. 34, musical works performed at vespers on New Year's Eve, 1664, and New Year's Day, 1665; the title of the German concerto is given in German script, the remainder in italic script. Another similar record survives in the same source on fol. 251, for vespers on the Feast of the Annunciation in 1665.

liturgical celebrations and practices. This is seen in particular in the descriptions of chapel decorations (paraments, tapestries, etc.), communion vessels, altar accoutrements, vestments of the celebrant, and processional entrances of the elector and his family members to the accompaniment of the organ, as well as by the use of trumpets and timpani on feast days, and the firing of cannon salvos during the *Te Deum* on several feast days, and during the introit on Easter Sunday. Much of this information is given here in the notes to the various services.

The information on worship and music contained in the diaries is presented here in composite form. The Compilation includes all of the orders of worship for services celebrated in the Dresden court chapel in the 1660s and 1670s, as well as the few that are available from the 1650s, and is organized according to the liturgical year. The diaries do not contain orders of worship for all liturgical years in this period, however; the majority of records date from the years 1661–62, 1664–67, 1672–73, and 1675–76. The majority of orders of worship stem from the main morning worship service (the *Hauptgottesdienst*) on Sundays and feast days and from vespers on feast days, but the diaries also include some weekday services, baptisms, memorial services, services of investiture, and other occasional services, and these have been included. As given here, the orders of worship for each date in the liturgical calendar include all of the service elements, chorales (hymns), and figural compositions (settings of parts of the Mass Ordinary, as well as the Litany, *Te Deum*, Magnificat, vesper psalms, sacred concertos, and motets) that formed part of the liturgy on that day in every year for which records are available.⁹ For a key to the abbreviations used to identify the various components, see the Services and Service Elements file below. A date in parentheses gives the year of the liturgical celebration in which the particular element (chorale, sacred concerto, concerted psalm, etc.) is found. A lower-case letter (1662a, 1662b, etc.) identifies the particular diary when two or more survive from that year; concordant sources are indicated as, e.g., “1662a/b.” Dates reflecting the same attribute are separated by commas and bounded by semicolons; thus, for instance, on Easter Monday Psalm 118 was read in 1665, 1666, and 1667:

Scripture Reading (1662a: Ps 16; 1665a/c, 1666, 1667a: Ps 118; 1673a: Ps 81; 1676a: Ps 98)

Each order of worship is given in its entirety and presents all of the liturgical elements in the positions in which they occur; readers can determine the content of any particular service by following similarly dated items through the liturgy, along with the undated unchanging elements (scripture readings, etc.).

The Dresden court diaries contain a remarkable wealth of details about musical and liturgical life at a seventeenth-century Lutheran court. They reveal patterns of chorale selection with relation to the lectionary Gospels, the frequency with which particular chorales were sung, the size of the overall sung repertoire of chorales, and the practice of using single chorale stanzas as sermon hymns and doxologies. They allow the study of the nature and type of works of sacred art music that were interpolated into the liturgy at this time and suggest resonances between the texts of

⁹ In the court diaries, Mass movements and other standard liturgical texts (the Litany, Magnificat, etc.) are often described as having been performed “*musicaliter*”; the term indicates a figural or concerted setting.

those works and the Sunday and festal Gospels. They also document the prominence of musical compositions with intimate devotional texts in corporate worship services at this time. In addition, however, they comment on the liturgical use of the organ, the place of music in the so-called *Nebengottesdienste*, the cycle of feasts observed at the court and the manner in which they were celebrated, and the retention of older musico-liturgical traditions, such as *alternatim* performances of the Kyrie with interpolated chorale stanzas, and of the Latin and German hymns at the Introit. In short, these unusual sources open a new window into the nature of Lutheran worship at this time.