

## Between Dresden and Warsaw. The Travels of the Court of August III of Poland (Friedrich August II of Saxony)

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In musicology, we tend to particularly prize those areas of research which involve weighty issues such as major events in music history, exceptionally creative composers, performers or thinkers, artistic achievements of unprecedented excellence or previously unknown facts and sources. However, the mundane realities of day-to-day existence which those same great artists had to face while composing their masterpieces can prove no less interesting or illuminating. This article will focus on that commonplace and often neglected aspects of artistic life. Many of the prosaic preoccupations that we now tend to regard (or disregard) as the dull background to artistic activity could well have been of crucial importance to the artists themselves, serving as an important indication of their living standards or social status. For that reason it seems justified to examine the particular topic of the travels of groups of composers and musicians retained by August III (some of those groups reaching considerable size) which shuttled between Dresden and Warsaw, the capital cities of the countries of Saxony and Poland then united under single rule. A distance of some 89 Polish miles (ca. 650 km) separated the two cities, and Poland and Saxony were wedged apart by the province of Silesia, which first belonged to the Habsburgs, and subsequently became part of the Kingdom of Prussia in the wake of the first Silesian war (1740–42).

Travels between distant European cities and countries were part and parcel of the experience of being a musician, singer or actor, as artists engaged in a search for patronage, tuition or artistic opportunities. Occasionally, whole companies of actors or opera singers were on the move, not to mention individual artists. Sons of wealthy families went on their traditional grand tours which involved among other things an exposure to new musical experiences. Then there was that craze for travel indulged in numerous nobly or not-so-nobly born tourists, many of them music lovers. The English historian of music Charles Burney made his famous journeys to Europe's music centres (1770, 1772) and described his experiences in the volumes entitled *The Present State of Music* (1771, 1773), which are still read today. Princely and royal courts continued to travel to some extent (usually together with their musicians), moving between different residences, paying visits to other rulers or taking part in various political ventures. All in all, the 18th century is revealed as not just the Age of Enlightenment but also as a period of intensive travel.

Although the different kinds of musical peregrinations have yielded an abundance of specialist literature, no one has yet studied the unique and highly interesting case of the regular travels of the court of August III between the two (or indeed three) countries he ruled: Saxony and Poland-Lithuania.<sup>1</sup> The only scholarly product in this area is the list of the monarch's travels (including the travels of his father, August II the Strong) published in the catalogues of the remarkable exhibition *Pod jedną koroną / Unter einer Krone* presented in Warsaw and Dresden in 1997 to celebrate the tricentennial of the Polish-Saxon union.<sup>2</sup>

### **Sojourns of the Royal-Electoral Court in Poland**

In 1697, the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania formed a personal union with Saxony when Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony, ascended the Polish throne as August II. But before that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had already been in itself a real union (since 1569), formed by

the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The son of August II, Friedrich August II, followed in his father's footsteps as the joint ruler of Saxony and Poland in 1734 when he was elected King of Poland and assumed the name of August III. This kind of joint rule exercised simultaneously in two important European states placed great demands on the two Augusts as they had to share their time, ambitions and affections between Dresden and Warsaw. Nor were they particularly even-handed in that respect – statistically, both kings spent less time in Poland than they did in Saxony. In the twenty-two-year period between his coronation as king of Poland on 17 January 1734 and the outbreak of the Seven Years' War on 29 August 1756, August III spent only five and a half years in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (and only four years and nine months in Warsaw itself).<sup>3</sup> This grand total was made up of nine separate royal visits in Warsaw. On one occasion, August III spent some twenty months in his Polish capital (21 November 1734 – 3 August 1736), on another – nine (31 May 1748 – 3 February 1749), with the remaining visits being shorter (four visits of 5–6 months each and three of 1.5 to 3 months each). The king's last (tenth) stay at Warsaw was exceptional in that it lasted for almost seven years (27 October 1756 – 25 April 1763), but that was necessitated by the warfare then continuing in Saxony.<sup>4</sup> The relatively considerable length of the royal couple's first stay at Warsaw, which lasted for almost two years, was likewise dictated by extraordinary circumstances as complex political issues at hand needed to be resolved; this involved the convocation of the Pacification Diet, an assembly intended to bring an end to the war of Polish succession between the new king-elect August III and his rival to the throne, the legitimate king Stanisław Leszczyński. The remaining eight journeys of August III to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which occurred in peacetime, were guided by the timing of parliament sessions, with visits of the royal court usually taking place in the second half of the year. Those fell on the king's birthday (7 October) – annually; the birthday and nameday of queen Maria Josepha (8 December) – on six occasions; the king's nameday (3 August) – on four occasions; and during the carnival – twice (in 1739 and 1749), when the court remained in Warsaw longer than usual.

The royal galas and the carnival called for a special musical (and occasionally theatrical) setting, which influenced the kind and number of artists August III took with him from Dresden to Warsaw. Dresden was the musical and theatrical centre of the union and the place of permanent residence of the most important ensembles in the king's employ, such as *Die Königliche Capell- und Cammer-Musique*, *La Danse*, the *comici italiani*, and the *Hof-Trompeter und Pauker*, *Bockpfeiffer*, and the theatre's technical staff. It was likewise in Dresden that the members of the *Pohlnische Capelle* resided – although the ensemble was financed from the Polish treasury, the musicians were German and had their families in Saxony.

On each of his visits to Poland, August III was accompanied by ensembles of *Hof-Trompeter und Pauker* and of his *Bockpfeiffer*. The main role, however, was played by the steadily growing *Pohlnische Capelle* augmented with individual members of the Dresden ensemble. There were also other ensembles which were kept in constant readiness for use in the king's service, including the ensemble of Prime Minister Heinrich von Brühl, the ensemble of St. John's Collegiate Church, and the ensembles of major Polish and Lithuanian aristocratic families. Individual artists from other Dresden ensembles were also delegated to Poland, including singers from the royal ensemble in Dresden (on eight occasions), *comici italiani* (on four occasions), dancers (three times) and technical staff (at least three times).

Obviously, musicians and actors were merely a small component of the royal-electoral court. From the viewpoint of routine administration, other sections were undoubtedly of greater importance, such as the Secretariat, the Kitchens, the Cellars (*die Kellerin*), the Confectioners (*die Conditorei*), the Physicians (*die Leib-Medici*), the Livery (*die Livrée*) or the Hunt (*die Jägerei*). Each court journey was a precise logistical operation based on a detailed programme; it involved the issue of passports and the planning of itineraries; overnight accommodation or meal schedules needed to be arranged, and the right number and type of vehicles had to be requested; and having reached its destination, members of the court needed to be put up in different lodgings.

Relevant orders to prepare a royal journey were issued five weeks before the planned departure date at the latest. This is evidenced by numerous documents such as the *General Fourier-Zettel*, the *Post-Fortkommen*, or the *Specification derjenigen Personen so mit nach Polen zu gehen beordert, und von Hofe zu logieren sind*.<sup>5</sup> These schedules, which could be prepared well in advance, were then obviously subject to change at short notice as circumstances changed. The Warsaw visit of the generous courtly contingent originally scheduled for the second half of 1756 is an extreme example of such a last-minute major change.<sup>6</sup> Following the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the routine visit turned into a royal escape from occupied Saxony to Poland. As a result, the general *Project zur Poln[ischen] Reise 1757*,<sup>7</sup> prepared well over a year in advance, was never realized. This is regrettable as 1757 was planned to be the first ever visit to Poland for Prince Friedrich Christian, heir apparent (Kurprinz) to the Polish throne, and his consort Maria Antonia Walpurgis, both of them great lovers of music and theatre.<sup>8</sup>

Despite being relatively well preserved in general, the archival sources held at the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden<sup>9</sup> nonetheless contain substantial gaps, and none of the royal visits is documented fully. The general picture must therefore be put together using a patchwork of information spread over a period of time. This article is no exception, and I do not pretend to offer an exhaustive treatment of the subject. Rather, this is a first and modest broad-brush attempt at outlining a problem that has so far proved elusive to research.

### **Journey Routes and Durations**

Two main routes linked Dresden and Warsaw: 1) via Breslau (passing through Bautzen/Budziszyn, Görlitz/Zgorzelec, Liegnitz/Legnica, Breslau/Wrocław, Oels/Oleśnica, Wartenberg/Syców, Petrikau/Piotrków and Rawa), and 2) via Poznań (passing through Pforten/Brody, Fraustadt/Wschowa, Posen/Poznań, Kleczów, Kutno and Sochaczew). The distance travelled along both routes was similar, ca. 650 km. Reportedly, the king's messengers were able

to cover the distance in 50 hours,<sup>10</sup> but a royal journey was more leisurely – it usually took 5–6 days, with rank-and-file courtiers probably taking even longer to arrive. The first journey of August III and his consort (via Breslau) was exceptionally long in taking 18 days to complete (the royal couple left Dresden on 3 November 1734, and reached Warsaw on 21 November), but this was probably caused by the persisting political and military uncertainty in Poland-Lithuania. Even after they had reached the city in safety, the royal couple had to wait several days before putting on a ceremonious entry into Warsaw (25 November) as the city authorities are not ready to stage the celebrations.<sup>11</sup> The two journeys of August III and Maria Josepha in 1744–1745 were also longer as the royal couple stopped at the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa on the way to Warsaw,<sup>12</sup> and visited Cracow and Prague on their way back to Saxony.<sup>13</sup> On two occasions in Poland (1744, 1752) the royal progress went from Warsaw to Grodno (today's Hrodna in Belarus), where joint Polish-Lithuanian parliamentary sessions were held. On his way there, the king stayed at the residence of the Crown Marshall (Hetman) Jan Klemens Branicki in Białystok and hunting was organized on a lavish scale in the local estates in the Białowieża Forest: the monarch was known to be a great aficionado of hunting.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps concerts were also organized at this time.

The royal couple liked to set out very early in the morning, and they have been known to attend a brief Mass at 2:30 am., and depart at around 3 am.<sup>15</sup> On their visits in Poland, they were accompanied either by Princesses Maria Anna (born 1728) and Maria Josepha (born 1731), or by the Princes, Franz Xaver (born 1730) and Karl Christian (born 1733). The eldest son, Friedrich Christian (born 1722), heir apparent to the Saxon throne who was also intended to succeed his father as King of Poland, never actually visited the country. As a result of his permanent residency in Dresden, a sort of 'conflict of interest' had arisen, with a significant contingent of musicians and actors having to remain in Saxony with Friedrich Christian even while August III and Maria Josepha travelled to Poland.

Before leaving for Poland, the royal court was divided up into *suites*, which would then set out on their journey in succession. The first wagons would

leave one and a half months before August III and his consort, and the last ones would arrive at the destination a week or two after the royal couple. The time span between the first and last wagons departing could be as much as two months, and the thoroughfares between Dresden and Warsaw were kept very busy indeed.

### **Means of Transportation**

In addition to its own means of transportation, the court also relied on the services of the well-developed and reportedly inexpensive Post Office (reformed in 1740 by the Post Master General, Carl Graf von Bieberstein).<sup>16</sup> The type of vehicle (the names cropping up in documents are usually those of *die Chaise*, *die Calesche*, *die Kutsche*, *der Wagen* or *der Rüst-Wagen*) and the number of horses depended on the artist's social rank. In 1745, the famous castrato singer Domenico Annibali returning from Warsaw to Dresden travelled in a carriage-and-four, while the dance master François Ferrere and the priest and composer Johann Michael Breunich had carriages drawn by six horses each (although they both shared their carriages with two extra persons).<sup>17</sup> As Maria Josepha's confessor, Breunich usually travelled in her train. In 1746, Annibali had to share his carriage-and-four with the bass singer Joseph Schuster, just like the castrato Ventura Rochetti, who travelled with the musician Horn (who might have been Christian Friedrich Horn, the concert master in the ensemble of Heinrich Graf von Brühl).<sup>18</sup> In 1754, the singer Teresa Albuzzi Todeschini, rumoured to be von Brühl's mistress, received special treatment. Presumably owing to the Graf's protection, Todeschini with her family and servants were given for their Warsaw journey three wagons and 19 horses, including the singer's own riding horse, which was as a clear mark of high status.<sup>19</sup> In 1763, on the return journey from Warsaw to Dresden there was one carriage-and-four per two singers, and only the prima donna Caterina Pilaja and the castrato Giuseppe Galieni could enjoy the luxury of having a carriage each to themselves. The soprano Elisabeth

Teuber, then at the threshold of her European career, had to content herself with a carriage she shared with her mother and brother.<sup>20</sup>

The members of the Polish ensemble had a large wagon seating eight and drawn by eight horses ('ein grosser achtsitziger Wagen'), and also two smaller carriages and twelve horses when needed.<sup>21</sup> The *Hof-Trompeter und Pauken* travelled in several groups: a few were attached to the Stables (*Stall Equipage*), where they belonged either with 'zur schweren Equipage' or 'zum leichten Equipage';<sup>22</sup> a special calash ('eine Paucken-Calesche') was used by the kettledrum player and carried not only his instruments but also the luggage of the trumpeters, although the kettledrum player was also known to travel on horseback (in 1746, 'dem Paucker Ungar wird 1 Pferd zum reiten gegeben').<sup>23</sup> Also travelling on horseback were two or three trumpeters (1744, 1756 - 'reiten auf eigenen Pferden').<sup>24</sup>

The services of the Post Office were probably first sought at the turn of November 1735. After spending a year in Warsaw, the royal court summoned from Dresden ten *Cammer Musici* and four singers from the Dresden ensemble ('9 Cammer Musici nebst vier Sanger von der Konigliche Capelle'). The group, led by the concert master and eminent violinist Johann Georg Pisendel, arrived at Warsaw on 3 December. Despite using an express post-chaise, the journey took almost nine days, possibly because of the ongoing War of Polish Succession. In addition to Pisendel, the group included some eminent singers such as Domenico Annibali, Giovanni Bindi, Niccolo Pozzi and Johann Joseph Gotzel, as well as some first-rate instrumentalists, such as the flutist Pierre Gabriel Buffardin, the violinists Carl Matthias Lehneis, Augustin Uhlich, Joseph Titerle and Johann Georg Fickler, the cellist Arcangelo Califano, the bassoonist Carl Morasch and the horn-player Johann Georg Knechtel. In mid-June 1736, the same group of artists returned to Dresden in vehicles belonging to the court ('mit 4. Kutschen und 2. Rust-Wagen').<sup>25</sup> In subsequent years (1746, 1748, 1750, 1752, 1754), post-chaise services were used on a regular basis, with transports spread into as many as a dozen shipments.

### **Lodgings in Warsaw**

In this period, four kinds of accommodation arrangements can be observed: 1) the highest-ranking officials in personal attendance to August III and Maria Josepha stayed at the Royal Palace. Breunich, a composer of sacred music and the queen's confessor, was the only musician thus honoured; 2) members of the court rented accommodation in Warsaw on a commercial basis; 3) the court also paid sums of money to artists to cover the costs of renting lodgings of their own choice; 4) members of the Polish ensemble who were resident in Warsaw had their permanent lodgings in the city, and on rare occasions even owned their own houses.

In 1735–36, a house located in the courtyard of St. John's Collegiate Church was leased to some of the Dresden ensemble members for an annual rent of 100 ducats; some of the musicians obtained their lodgings *ex officio*, and the flutist Pierre Gabriel Buffardin and the cellist Arcangelo Califano received 3 ducats per month from the court treasury to pay for their accommodation.<sup>26</sup> During the court's visit to Warsaw in 1748–49, eight musicians, probably members of the Polish ensemble who were connected with Dresden, received eight ducats each as 'Quartier-Geld', and two musicians from the Dresden ensemble – the violinist François de Francini and the cellist Joseph Czicha (Zicka) with his pupil rented for 20 ducats rooms in a house at the Brama Krakowska (Cracow Gate), which was owned by Józef Czanczik, organist of the Polish ensemble.<sup>27</sup>

The group of *Hof-Trompeter und Pauker*, usually numbering eight (6 trumpeters, 1 pupil and 1 kettledrum player) were usually put up in rented lodgings at Trębacka Street (referred to in the documents as 'Trompeter Gasse'),<sup>28</sup> which had been known previously as Dziekańska or Dziekanowska Street.<sup>29</sup> This suggests that the street got its new name from the regular visits of royal trumpeters (perhaps going back to the reign of August II). 'Ulica Trębacka' (Trumpeters Street) has retained this new name to this day, even of in the late 18th century it became better known as a precinct dominated by the world's oldest profession.<sup>30</sup> The bagpipers (*Bockpfeiffer*) were likewise

put up in the same place at Mostowa (Brück Gasse)<sup>31</sup> in Nowe Miasto (New Town), just outside the city walls.

The *comici italiani* enjoyed decent living standards in Warsaw. In 1740, most of them stayed at the city house belonging to the merchant Duchain, leasing two storeys for 164 ducats per annum. Married couples among the actors were entitled to keep two rooms, and single members of the troupe had one each. The company could also use a large room for rehearsals and another room serving as a wardrobe. The foremost members of the company had separate lodgings: Marianna and Antonio Bertoldi (mother and son) with their servant lived in two rooms with one Romaironi at Piwna Street, Giovanna Casanova and Rosa Grassi were put up at Krakowskie Przedmieście (Krakowskie Przedmieście Street) with Antoni Chevalier, while the singers Margherita and Cosimo Ermini, who were a married couple, first lived in the house of Maciej Siarowski at the Old Town Square (16.5 ducats quarterly), and then moved on to lodgings at the wine merchant Kurowski (45 thalers quarterly).<sup>32</sup> In 1748, new lodgings were found for the company ('ad ogni stanza letti e mobili') – eighteen rooms in total, which were scattered across the city.<sup>33</sup>

### Allowances

Allowances included free meals and drinks. As a priest, Breunich got his board in Warsaw at a table for five, which he shared with other priests ('derer Herren Geistl[ichen] Tisch'). In addition to what we may presume was a solid fare of delicacies he was entitled to receive a bottle of Rhenish wine and a measure of beer with bread and bread-rolls.<sup>34</sup> The castrato Annibali (in 1746 and 1748) and the dancing master Ferrere (in 1744) received their meals at one of the several butler tables ('Cammer-Diener Tisch') which could seat a total of nineteen people including butlers as well as pages, surgeons and artists.<sup>35</sup> In 1748, leftovers from nine dishes (presumably from the masters' tables) were served at the butler tables, and everyone additionally received half a measure of French wine, a measure of beer, a bread-roll

and a bread ('Mittags 9. Schüßeln Abhub und die Person 1/2 Mass Franz. Wein, 1 Mass Bier, 1 Stück Semmel, 1 Stück Brodt').<sup>36</sup> In 1746, Annibali drank Rhenish wine.<sup>37</sup> In 1750, Annibali's place at this prestigious table was taken by the castrato Rochetti known as Venturini, who could sample Burgundy wine at the rate of half a bottle per day.<sup>38</sup> The trumpeter on duty who served at the Marshall's table (1746, 1750) enjoyed the privilege of eating at the servants and clerks table ('Cammer-Bedienten und Officianten Tisch').<sup>39</sup> Disappointingly, the menus are unavailable. The rest of musicians and theatre performers presumably found their own board.

In 1748, Antonio Maria Cattaneo (theatre inspector, *Inspecteur de la Garde-Robe*) signed a regulation on the allotments of wine, beer and bread to persons working for the theatre in Warsaw ('Was bey denen Comoedien in Warschau an Wein, Bier und Brot gegeben wordem 1748'). The allowances due for taking part in a performance were varied and depended on the artist's rank and skill. 1) Soloists from the ballet ensemble ('die Ober Tänzer'), the eminent dancing master and choreographer Antoine Pitrot and his equally illustrious partner Catherine André were entitled to a bottle of Hungarian or Burgundy wine, a bread-roll and two white wax candles; 2) each member of the *comici italiani* troupe received a bottle of Burgundy wine, a bread roll and two candles (with superior white candles going to actresses, who had to do their makeup in front of a mirror); 3) those dancers belonging to the corps de ballet who received solo parts were honoured with a bottle of Burgundy or Rhenish wine, a bread-roll and two inferior candles; 4) corps de ballet members who performed in a *pas de deux*, *pas de trois* or in group scenes got half a bottle of Rhenish, a bread-roll and two inferior candles; 5) the *valet de la danse*, the theatre inspector, the four painters and the machinery man got a bottle of Rhenish or Burgundy wine; 6) the two tailors and their four helpers ('Scheider-Gesellen') as well as the wig-dresser and the lighting staff received beer and bread.<sup>40</sup>

A similar regulation ('Specificatio derjenigen Persohnen welche bey dem Königl[ichen] Theatre in Warschau, würcklich Dienste thun') was signed by Cattaneo on 20 September 1754, but this time the list of persons entitled to receive food allowances was much longer and included the technical staff

and servants, such as the two caretakers who cleaned in the theatre. It is also noted that when trumpeters took part in a performance, they were entitled to receive a measure of French wine each.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly, this large group of beneficiaries (some 120 people strong) does not include singers, five of whom had arrived from Dresden to present to Warsaw audiences the first *dramma per musica* of the king's reign (*L'eroe cinese*, libretto by Pietro Metastasio, music by Johann Adolf Hasse). Presumably, the singers were compensated in some different way which was not documented in the sources I have examined.

### **Accompanying Persons**

For long-term sojourns, artists generally resident in Dresden would take with them to Poland various companions whose number or relation is sometimes difficult to ascertain, described as they are with a vague note 'und Cons[orts]' in the official documentation. The note can be found next to the names of almost all dancers travelling to Warsaw in 1754.<sup>42</sup> We do know, however, that the *comici italiani* and the dancers travelled with their spouses, even if the spouse was not a member of the relevant troupe, as in the case of Grassi, Franceschini or Pitrot. Sometimes the artists would also take their children along to train them from a very early age in the same profession as their parents or in a similar one. For instance, Alessandro Vulcani, son of the dancing couple Isabella and Bernard Vulcani, went on to become an actor and dancer; Anna Giranek, daughter of the musician Franz Anton Giranek, later became a dancer; the daughters of Inspector Cattaneo, Faustina and Marianna Cattaneo, were engaged for the ballet troupe. In 1738, Giovanna Casanova came to Warsaw with her son, future court painter, and in 1748 she travelled in the company of her son-in-law, organist of the Dresden ensemble Peter August. Occasionally, it was apparently useful to have a close relative at hand for a trip to Warsaw. In 1754, the castrato Giuseppe Belli came with his father, and the castrato Bartolomeo Putini arrived with his brother – who seems to have been Antonio Putini, later employed as a dancing master at

the courts of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł and Crown Marshall (Hetman) Branicki.<sup>43</sup> Distant relatives were also known to join the travellers. For example, in 1748 and 1754 the dancers Angelique Zabati (Sabati) and Marie and Louise Blanchard were accompanied by their aunt, Mrs. de Francini, and Mrs. de Francini's husband, the violinist François de Francini, who provided accompaniment for ballet performances ('so die Balette vorspielt').<sup>44</sup> Trumpeters were almost always accompanied by a pupil, as was the cellist Joseph Czicha (Zicka) when he arrived in Warsaw in 1748.<sup>45</sup> Johann Michael Breunich always arrived with his manservant, and occasionally with a copyist.<sup>46</sup> In 1754, the ballet composer Johann Adam also arrived with a copyist.<sup>47</sup> The Italian actors were frequently accompanied by their private servants – the singer Albuzzi had as many as three.

### Notable Journeys

Two visits of the royal court in Warsaw are particularly notable as they involved relocations of especially large groups of artistic and auxiliary staff. The first sojourn occurred in 1748–49, i.e. in the first season of the new theatre inaugurated on 3 August 1748. This was Warsaw's first freestanding theatre building, and it could accommodate *dramma per musica* performances. The building, owned by the king, was located in the Royal Palace gardens. It was built to a design by the Saxon architect Carl Friedrich Pöppelmann, and the construction was supervised by building professionals from Dresden.<sup>48</sup> To celebrate the inauguration of the new theatre, an exceptionally large group of artists and auxiliary theatre staff arrived from Dresden. In addition to various musicians numbering over forty in total (including three composers: Giovanni Alberto Ristori, Johann Michael Breunich and Johann Adam), there arrived 12 *comici italiani* and 16 dancers from the 25-strong ballet troupe, as well as at least a dozen technical staff. All told, there must have been a multi-national group of more than eighty people from Italy, France and Germany, locally augmented with some Poles and accompanied by family members and servants. The eight-month stay of this motley crew in Warsaw

saw numerous concerts at the Royal Palace and at the neighbouring palace of Heinrich Graf von Brühl; music was performed at numerous devotions in royal chapels and city churches, and the theatre staged performances of 33 different Italian comedies and one opera (*dramma per musica*). Probably, all theatre performances included ballets.<sup>49</sup>

The other notable visit, which was a six-month stay in 1754, caused even more of a mass peregrination from Dresden to Warsaw. On that occasion, in addition to the usual performances by the *comici italiani*<sup>50</sup> August III decided to present to his Polish subjects the first *dramma per musica* in his reign (*L'eroe cinese* by Pietro Metastasio and Johann Adolf Hasse).<sup>51</sup> An exceptionally large group of artists and 'autres personnes employées au Theatre' arrived at Warsaw, numbering well over 150, not including the different *consorts*. The group included: 5 singers (Teresa Albuzzi Todeschini, Pasquale Bruscolini, Bartolomeo Puttini, Giuseppe Belli, Ludwig Cornelius), some 30 musicians from the Dresden, Polish and Brühl ensembles, 14 *comici italiani*, 28 dancers (the entire Dresden ballet troupe), 8 *Hoftrumpeter und Pauker*, 4 *Bockpfeiffer*, 2 copyists, the director of the royal-electoral theatre (*directeur des plaisirs*), Baron Carl Heinrich von Dieskau, the German jester poet Haentzschel, 6 theatre staff (*Theater-Bedienten*), 1 ballet servant (*valet de la danse*) and numerous others, such as the theatre inspector, 3 theatre painters (*Theater-Mahler*), the wig-dresser and his apprentice, 2 master tailors and their 10 apprentices, 2 wardrobe hands, 1 joiner (*Bau-Schreiner*), 1 fire-master (*Sprizen-Meister*), 16 firemen, 1 carriage master (*Wagen-Meister*), 12 coachmen, 30 carpenters, 6 lighting staff, etc., etc.<sup>52</sup>

Of particular importance to Warsaw culture (and indirectly to Polish culture in general) was also the seven-year stay of the royal court during the Seven Years' War (1756–63). For the duration of the hostilities, August III had to construct in Warsaw an ersatz Dresden. For that purpose he summoned his artists scattered by war in Saxony, Italy and Vienna, he engaged a number of new artists, and used performers from existing ensembles retained by Polish and Lithuanian aristocrats. In this manner, for several years Warsaw became an important opera centre, overseen more or less directly by the Oberkapellmeister Johann Adolf Hasse. To prepare some of his opera

premieres for the Warsaw stage (no operas by other authors were performed in Warsaw), Hasse was willing to come from Vienna, or even all the way from Naples.<sup>53</sup>

The possible size of that royal music and theatre ensemble put together in Warsaw at that time can be inferred from the lists of persons travelling back to Dresden in the spring of 1763 following the Peace of Hubertsburg ('Postfortkommen von Warschau nach Dresden [...] Ao 1763'; 'Fracht von Warschau nach Dresden 1763'; 'Fourier-Zeddel von der [...] Schwere[n] Equippage von Warschau nach Dresden 1763', 'Fourier-Zeddel von der Stall-Equippage, von Warschau nach Dresden 1763', etc.) This presumably incomplete evidence mentions as returning from Warsaw to Dresden: the deputy theatre director (*Vice-Directeur des Plaisirs*) Friedrich August von König (taking all his three instruments along with him – a harpsichord, a cello and a *violon*), the Oberkapellmeister Johann Adolf Hasse, 11 singers (Caterina Pilaja, Elisabeth Teuber, Angelo Amorevoli, Pasquale Bruscolini, Tadeus Butz, Luca Fabris, Giuseppe Galieni, Antonio Mariottini, Giuseppe Perini, Castelli, Giorgi), 16 dancers, 26 musicians (some of them had settled down in Warsaw and decided to stay), the *Theater-Conduktor* (probably meaning the theatre inspector), 8 *Hoftrumpeter und Paucker*, 4 *Hof-Pfeiffer*, 2 opera tailors (*Opern-Schneider*) and their 3 apprentices, 2 theatre carpenters (*Theater-Zimmer-Polierer*), 2 apprentice carpenters, 1 servant for the dancers (*Tänzer-Aufwärter*). Presumably, this time the rest of the theatre staff had been recruited locally in Warsaw. Also travelling to Saxony were 9 chests of theatre costumes made in Warsaw.<sup>54</sup>

## Conclusion

The political and economic consequences of the Polish-Saxon union were far from overwhelmingly positive for either country, and the union has generally received short shrift at the hands of Polish as well as German historians. However, I believe that in terms of music and theatre Warsaw stood to gain much more from the alliance, and at the end of August III's reign the city

turned into one of the most important music and theatre centres in Central Europe. After some early exposure to European culture during the reign of the Swedish Vasa dynasty in 1587–1668, the Polish-Saxon union gave the intractable Polish and Lithuanian nobles a second opportunity to bridge the existing cultural gap separating them from Europe – an opportunity that was used well, and continued to provide a firm basis for the developments initiated by the next generation of Enlightenment thinkers.

Translated by Piotr Szymczak

### Notes

- 1 Those travels are also not mentioned by Andrea Dietrich; cf. Andrea Dietrich, 'Reisen nach Dresden im 18. Jahrhundert,' in: *August der Starke und seine Zeit: Beiträge des Kolloquiums vom 16./17. September 1994 auf der Festung Königstein*, ed. Klaus Gumnior (= Saxonia. Schriftenreihe des Vereins für Sächsische Landesgeschichte 1) (Dresden: Sächs.Dr.- und Verl.-Haus, 1995), pp. 108–19.
- 2 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Pobyty dworu królewskiego w Polsce,' (Sojourns of the Royal Court in Poland) in: *Pod jedną koroną. Kultura i sztuka w czasach unii polsko-saskiej* (Under One Crown. Culture and Art in the Times of the Polish-Saxon Union), (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski, 1997), pp. 57–61; also as 'Die Reisen und Aufenthalte des Königs August II' and 'Die Reisen und Aufenthalte des Königs August III.,' elaborated by Britta Günter, Nina Krüger and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, in: *Unter einer Krone. Kunst und Kultur der sächsisch-polnischen Union* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1997), pp. 49–53 and pp. 58–63.
- 3 As regards August II, cf. Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie* (Music at the Court of August II in Warsaw), (Warsaw: Arx Regia, 1997), pp. 37–51.
- 4 Data recounted from: Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Repertuar muzyczno-teatralny na warszawskim dworze Augusta III (w świetle nowych badań),' (Music and Theatre Repertoire at the Warsaw Court of August III (in the Light of New Research)) in: *Europejski repertuar muzyczny na ziemiach Polski* (European Music Repertoire in Poland), ed. Elżbieta Wojnowska (Warsaw: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich and Biblioteka Narodowa, 2003), p. 210.
- 5 These are preserved at the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (D-Da), in the document collection of the Oberhofmarschallamt, hereinafter abbreviated to OHMA.
- 6 OHMA I Nr. 162 a, *Reise von Dreßden nach Karga, Mens. Jun. 1756. Projectirte Reisen von Dreßden nach Warschau, 1756 und 1757. Sr. Königl. Majt. in Pohlen Rück-Reise von Warschau nach Dreßden, Mens. April 1763*, fol. 32–137.
- 7 *ibid.*, fol. 152–61.
- 8 *ibid.*, fol. 161.

- 9 Cf. Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Königliche Archivalien als Gegenstand musikwissenschaftlicher Forschungen,' *Fontes Artis Musicae* 52 (2005/4), pp. 193–203; Polish version: 'Archiwalia królewskie jako przedmiot badań muzykologicznych,' *Muzyka* 47 (2002/3–4), pp. 63–75.
- 10 Jacek Staszewski, *August III Sas* (August III the Saxon), (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989), p. 206.
- 11 OHMA I Nr. 45, *S.e Königl. Maj.t[...] Herrn Friedrich Augusts mit Dero Frau Gemahlin Königl. Maj.t erste Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau 1734*; Loc. 9990, *Warschauer und Cracauer Journal 1733*. 34.; *Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats Kalender auf das Jahr 1736*.
- 12 OHMA I Nr. 101, *Königl. Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau Me. May 1744*.
- 13 OHMA I Nr. 102, *Königl. Reise von Warschau über Cracau und Praag nach Dreßden Me: Jan. 1745*; OHMA T III Nr. 22, *Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau 1744 und Rückreise über Cracau, Olmütz und Prag. Mens. Jan. 1745*.
- 14 OHMA T III Nr. 2, *Reise von Warschau nach Grodno und Hoflager daselbst 1744*; OHMA I Nr. 111 *Königl. Reise von Warschau nach Grodno und Retour 1752*. August III stayed at the Hetman's estates (Białystok, Łada, Białowieża, Choroszcz) on 20–30 (?) September and 23–24 November 1744, as well as on 26–30 September 1752. Cf. also Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego,' (Music at the Court of Jan Klemens Branicki) in: *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe* (Aristocratic Courts in the 18th Century. Their Role and Cultural Importance), eds. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Agata Ročko (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2005), pp. 221–44.
- 15 Detailed information is contained in different court journals, either published in the court year books (*Königl.[ich] Polnischer und Churfürstl.[ich] Sächsischer Hof- und Staats Kalender*) and preserved as manuscript documents of the Oberhofmarschallamt.
- 16 See note 9.
- 17 OHMA T III Nr. 22, fol. 6, 16, 46.
- 18 OHMA T III Nr. 26, *Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau und Rückreise von Warschau nach Dreßden 1746*, fol. 25, 30. Cf. also: OHMA I Nr. 120, *Königl. Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau Anno 1748 und Retour 1749*, fol. 55, 140.
- 19 OHMA T III Nr. 45, *Reise nach Warschau und Retour 1754*, fol. 117.
- 20 OHMA I Nr. 162 a, fol. 192–3.
- 21 OHMA I Nr. 111, fol. 83; OHMA T III Nr. 31, *Ihro Königl. Majt.: völliges Hoflager in Warschau nebst dann dabey vorgefallenen Festins und an denen Ausrichtungen vom Monath May 1748 bis Februar 1749*, unnumbered fol. ('Fortkommen mit Post aller von Dreßden nach Warschau abgegangenen Suiten Mens. Maio 1748').
- 22 E.g.: OHMA T III Nr. 33, *Reise des Hofes nach Warschau 1748 und Rückreise 1749*, unnumbered fol.; OHMA I Nr. 128, *Königl. Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau Ao. 1750 und Retour*, fol. 48.
- 23 OHMA T III Nr. 26, fol. 36.

- 24 OHMA I Nr. 128, fol. 48; OHMA T III Nr. 26, fol. 36; OHMA T III Nr. 35, *Reise des Königl. Hofes nach Warschau und zurück 1750*, fol. 49.
- 25 OHMA O II Nr. 1, *Hof-Marschall-Amts-Journal so auf der Königl. Reise nach Warschau, und dann daselbst gehalten worden. 1734. 1735. 1736*, unnumbered fol., entry dated 3 December 1735; OHMA I Nr. 74, *Ausgefertigte Pässe in denen Jahren 1733. 1735. 1736. 1737. 1738. et 1739.*, fol. 149–150; OHMA O II Nr. 1, unnumbered fol., entry dated 8 June 1736.
- 26 OHMA I Nr. 76, *Königl. Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau Mense Aug. et Septembr. 1740*, fol. 33.
- 27 OHMA I Nr. 120, fol. 99–103.
- 28 OHMA I Nr. 101, fol. 197; OHMA I Nr. 120, fol. 91 passim; OHMA I Nr. 128, fol. 90; OHMA I Nr. 139, *Königl. Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau und Retour Anno 1752*, fol. 93.
- 29 Eugeniusz Szwankowski, *Ulice i place Warszawy* (The Streets and Squares of Warsaw), (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), p. 225; Kwiryna Handke, *Słownik nazeunictwa Warszawy* (A Dictionary of Names Related to Warsaw), (Warsaw: Sławistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 1998), pp. 88, 208.
- 30 Kazimierz Konarski, *Warszawa w pierwszym jej stołecznym okresie* (Warsaw in the Early Period as Capital of Poland), (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970), p. 227.
- 31 OHMA I Nr. 101, fol. 198; OHMA I Nr. 114, *Königl. Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau und Retour mense Septembr. 1746*, fol. 104; OHMA I Nr. 120, fol. 91 passim; OHMA I Nr. 139, fol. 102–3.
- 32 OHMA I Nr. 76, fol. 40, 263; Loc. 3524 vol. IX, *Pohlische Reise-Cammer-Cassa Sachen Ao 1740*, fol. 120. Cf. also: Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'The 'comici italiani' at the Warsaw Court of Augustus III,' in: *Poland in Europe. Imitation or Interaction of Models?* (= Musicology Today 2), ed. Zofia Helman (Warsaw: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich and Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2005), pp. 72–105.
- 33 OHMA I Nr. 120, fol. 18, 99–100.
- 34 OHMA T III Nr. 36, *Hof-Lager in Warschau 1750*, fol. 45; OHMA T III Nr. 46, *Hof-Lager in Warschau 1754*, fol. 39; OHMA I Nr. 110, *Königl. Reise von Warschau auf den Reichs Tag nach Grodno. Anno 1744*, fol. 267; OHMA I Nr. 114, fol. 125.
- 35 OHMA O I Nr. 110, fol. 271; OHMA I Nr. 114, fol. 125; OHMA I Nr. 120, fol. 108.
- 36 OHMA I Nr. 120, fol. 108.
- 37 OHMA I Nr. 114, fol. 125.
- 38 OHMA T III Nr. 36, fol. 47.
- 39 OHMA I Nr. 114, fol. 125; OHMA T III Nr. 36, fol. 44, 49.
- 40 OHMA T III Nr. 31, unnumbered fol.
- 41 OHMA T III Nr. 46, fol. 90–92.
- 42 OHMA T III Nr. 45, fol. 117–119.
- 43 OHMA T III Nr. 46, fol. 24; Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'U źródeł polskiego baletu,' (The Sources of Polish Ballet), *Ruch Muzyczny* 29 (1985/13), pp. 3–4; Irena Bieńkowska,

- 'Zespoły muzyczno-teatralne Białej i Słucka w korespondencji Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła (1715-1760),' (Music and Theatre Ensembles in Biała and Słuck in the Correspondence of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715-1760)) *Barok. Historia - Literatura - Sztuka* 12 (2005/1), p. 71; Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego', pp. 234-6.
- 44 OHMA T III Nr. 31, unnumbered fol.; OHMA T III Nr. 33, unnumbered fol.; OHMA T III Nr. 46, fol. 18.
- 45 See note 26.
- 46 OHMA I Nr. 120, fol. 101; OHMA T III Nr. 46, fol. 24.
- 47 OHMA T III Nr. 46, fol. 19.
- 48 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Die Oper in Warschau in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Vom Hoftheater Augusts III. zum öffentlichen Theater von Stanisław Poniatowski,' in: *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Mitteilungen der internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Technischen Universität Chemnitz*, H. 3, eds. Helmut Loos and Eberhard Möller (Chemnitz: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1998), pp. 79 passim.
- 49 OHMA I Nr. 120; OHMA T III Nr. 31; OHMA T III Nr. 33; Żórawska-Witkowska, 'The 'comici italiani' at the Warsaw Court', pp. 90-3.
- 50 Cf. Żórawska-Witkowska, 'The 'comici italiani' at the Warsaw Court', pp. 98-9.
- 51 Cf. Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'I drammi per musica di Johann Adolf Hasse rappresentati a Varsavia negli anni 1754-1763,' in: *Johann Adolf Hasse und Polen*, eds. Irena Poniatowska and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1995), pp. 123-48.
- 52 OHMA T III Nr. 45; OHMA T III Nr. 46.
- 53 Żórawska-Witkowska, 'I drammi per musica', passim.
- 54 OHMA I Nr. 162 a.