

Anton Raphael Mengs:
Portrait of Friedrich Christian, Prince of Saxony
(1722-1763)

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from his birth, though a beautiful person
from the waist upwards”
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Fig. 1 ANTON RAPHAEL MENGES (Aussig 1728–1779 Rome)

Portrait of Friedrich Christian, Prince of Saxony (1722–1763), three-quarter-length, in armour, with an ermine lined mantle and the sash and star of the Order of the White Eagle

61 ¼ × 43 ¼ in. (155.7 × 110.8 cm.)

Oil on canvas

In what is almost certainly its original mid-18th century Dresden Gallery frame with typical rococo centre and corner cartouches on a simple engraved hollow section frame. This retains its original gilding and is in near perfect condition.

Provenance

Commissioned by the sitter and by descent in the family to the following, Friedrich August III, Elector of Saxony (1865–1932), at Schloss Sybillenort, Szczodre, (almost certainly) sold following his death with the contents of the castle, and subsequently reacquired by a descendant, and by inheritance to the previous owner until 2022.

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Anton Raphael Mengs was described by his contemporary, the famous German art historian and archaeologist, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) as

“the greatest artist of his time and perhaps of succeeding times, reborn like the phoenix, from the ashes of the first Raphael, to teach the world beauty in art, and to achieve the greatest flight committed to human powers in the same”.

In his own lifetime, Mengs was an international phenomenon, arguably the most famous and influential living artist in Europe. Named after Antonio Correggio and Raphael, he was predestined by his ambitious father for greatness. By his late teens he was Court Painter to the Elector of Saxony in Dresden. Moving to Rome, he became the only serious rival to Pompeo Batoni in the field of Grand Tour portraiture, offering a more intellectual and restrained, albeit no less glamorous, likeness for the richest patrons.

This commanding portrait of the young heir to the throne of Saxony, Prince Elector Friedrich Christian of Saxony (1722–1763) is a perfect embodiment of the successful and diverse career of Mengs, who is rightfully considered one of the eighteenth century’s most important artists

and theorists. Meng’s skill as a portrait painter is demonstrated in the harmonious balance between the subtle elevation of his royal sitter, whom he paints with an elegant power, and the sense of personal engagement which the viewer feels in the presence of his easy authority.

By adopting a slightly lower viewpoint, a certain gravitas is conferred to the young Prince as the viewer is obliged to look upon his face from below. Despite appearing strong and radiant in health and strength, in reality the Prince was rather sickly. Yet his calm pose and affable expression, softly modelled by Mengs, captures the essence of the sitter’s widely acknowledged good-nature and maturity. This is seen in his diaries, where he expressed his progressive and liberal ideas on Enlightenment thought, stating ‘Princes exist for their subjects, not subjects for their princes. His subjects’ wealth, public credit and a well-standing army make up the true happiness of a prince’ (quoted in H. Schlechte, *Das geheime politische Tagebuch des Kurprinzen Friedrich Christian: 1751 bis 1757*, Weimar, 1992, p. 30). The low viewpoint also allows the viewer to take in the expanse of lavish textiles that comprise the Electoral Prince’s splendid attire. In this portrait he proudly displays all the heraldic attributes of his rank: dressed in gleaming armour covered with a





deep blue velvet mantle lined with ermine (also seen in the companion portrait of his wife), he wears the blue ribbon of the Polish Order of the White Eagle, the badge of highest honour in the Kingdom of Poland, pinned on his right hip and chest. The presence of the Order here is a marked statement of the family's prestige and power, a reminder that Friedrich Christian's father had held the throne of Poland since 1733.

The portrait is steeped in the traditions of early-eighteenth century French portraiture and shows, with the dress and stance of the Prince and stormy skies behind, Meng's homage to leading French portraitists such as Nicolas de Largillière, who painted his father in c. 1714 (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria). However, despite certain pictorial allusions, Mengs was still inventive as a portrait painter and in his depiction of Friedrich Christian, the artist was able to soften some of the stiffness found in the work of other painters of the Saxon court, notably Louis de Silvestre (1675–1760).

The third son of Friedrich Augustus II, Elector of Saxony (Augustus III, King of Poland), and grandson of Augustus II the Strong, Friedrich Christian was born in Dresden in September 1722. Contrary to the legacy of his grandfather, Friedrich Christian was a weak child, afflicted by cerebral palsy and reliant on

a sedan chair and canes for much of his early life. After the deaths of his two elder brothers, the Prince Electors Friedrich Augustus (1720–21) and Joseph Augustus (1721–28), he assumed the position of heir to the Electorate of Saxony, against the wishes of his mother, who worried about his health and favoured his younger brother. After the king's death in 1763, Friedrich Christian acceded to the Saxon throne and soon proved to be a gifted statesman. In the wake of the Prime Minister, Count Heinrich von Brühl (1700–1763), plunging Saxony into economic and diplomatic crisis, due to various misguided policies and the disastrous decision to enter the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the young Prince instituted a wave of reforms across the realm. He made significant amendments to promote more tolerant ideas in his territories and began to reconstruct the economy, paring back court expenditures and simplifying governmental procedures. Sadly, his reign ended abruptly only 73 days after his succession when he died of smallpox on 17 December 1763.

This portrait and its companion portrait of the sitter's wife, Maria Antonia of Bavaria (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister) were the first state portraits Mengs painted in his new office as Principal Court Painter in Dresden, in c. 1751. Both Friedrich Christian and his

wife were enthusiastic patrons of the arts, and advocates of the Enlightenment. The Electoral Prince was also renowned for his musical tastes and for his tenth birthday Johann Sebastian Bach was commissioned to compose the cantata *Hercules at the Crossroads*. Like Friedrich Christian and his wife, his father too was a great patron of the arts and architecture and greatly expanded the Dresden picture gallery. He would have almost certainly commissioned Mengs to paint these portraits, although the artist was paid by the sitter himself. Mengs had been introduced into the circles of elite patrons in Dresden by his father, miniature painter Ismael Israel Mengs (1688–1764), who had himself worked at the court of the Elector in Dresden. The young Mengs had travelled and studied in Italy, copying works by Titian in Venice, Correggio in Parma and the Carracci in Bologna, equipping himself with skills which he then practiced on his return to Dresden in 1749, where he devoted himself to

working in oils in the Saxon Court. Although the ambitious artist did not remain in Dresden for long and thereafter settled in Rome, he was summoned to the royal Spanish Court by Carlos III of Spain in 1761, where he was able to use the invaluable experience of working in courtly environments gained in Dresden. In Madrid, as Court Painter to King Charles III, he took charge of the decorations at the Palacio Real, where the Tiepolo family were also working. Mengs came to have an incredible influence on later painters and a generation of artists trained in his studios in Dresden, Rome and Madrid. His published ideas on art theory were translated into Italian, French, German, Spanish and English and were influential in the rejection of baroque ideas and the triumph of neoclassicism in late 18th century Rome.

This exceptional portrait has an almost unbroken family provenance and has not been publicly exhibited in over a century.



“I suppose you know he has been lame from his birth, though a beautiful person from the waist upwards”

Portraits of Friedrich Christian,
Crown Prince of Saxony,
in images and words

MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER

Note to the reader: all transcriptions include the inaccuracies, idiosyncracies, and misspellings of the originals; translations into English are provided in the footnotes

There is nothing in Anton Raphael Mengs’s robust portrayal of Crown Prince Friedrich Christian (1722–63) of Saxony/Poland to suggest the sitter was profoundly disabled from birth, and unable to walk or care for himself into adulthood (Fig. 1). Standing nonchalantly, in the armour of one of his ancestors (Fig. 2), bewigged and enveloped in an ermine-lined mantle of royal blue, sporting a jeweled fibula and the Order of the White Eagle on his cloak and sash (Figs. 3 and 4), the pose and props recall the official portraits of his grandfather and father, Kings August II “the Strong” (1670–1733) and August III (1696–1763), by Nicolas de Largillière (1656–1746), Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743) and Louis de Silvestre (1675–1760). On the cusp of thirty, happily married, and proud father of an heir, he gazes with confidence at a future none could have predicted, given his medical history, not to mention his mother’s efforts to rework the succession, by promoting his younger brother, Franz Xaver (1730–1806).¹ Indeed, as British diplomat Charles Hanbury Williams (1708–59) observed while at the Dresden court in August 1747,

“Prince Xavier is next to the Prince Royal, and has always been the Queen’s favourite, and she

*tried every way to persuade the Prince Electoral to go into orders that this Prince might succeed his father. [...] ‘Tis publicly known that he hates his elder brother; but his pride is much abated, and his spirits much sunk since the Electoral Prince’s marriage, which was a thing that he had been taught to believe never would happen.”*²

Years earlier, in March 1740, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu reported to her husband,

*“The prince’s behaviour is very obliging to all, and in no part of it liable to censure, though I think there is nothing to be said in praise of his genius; I suppose you know he has been lame from his birth, and is carried about in a chair, though a beautiful person from the waist upwards; it is said his family design him for the Church, he having four brothers who are fine children.”*³

Ultimately, Friedrich Christian barely outlived his father, succumbing to smallpox on December 17, 1763, after just 73 days on the electoral throne of Saxony. Hence, Franz Xaver became co-regent, sharing this responsibility with his sister-in-law, dowager electress Maria Antonia (1724–80), until Crown Prince Friedrich August (1750–1827), future elector Friedrich August III, came of age in 1768.⁴



Fig. 2
Anton Peffenhauser,
Two suits of armour, a
gift of elector Friedrich
Wilhelm I of Saxon-
Weimar to Crown Princes
Christian (II) and Johann
Georg (I) of Saxony, 1694.
SKD, Rustkammer, Inv.-
Nr. M



Fig. 3
Johann Heinrich Köhler,
Order of the White Eagle,
from the ruby garniture,
c.1722-33.
SKD, Grünes Gewölbe,
VIII 121



Fig. 4
Johann Heinrich Köhler,
Order of the White Eagle,
from the ruby garniture,
c.1722-33.
SKD, Grünes Gewölbe,
VIII 215

Portraits of a Life in Words

The archival documentation for Friedrich Christian's life is unusually rich, yet largely unexplored, due to his premature death from smallpox.⁵ His demise was a sudden event that dashed any hopes of Saxony holding onto the crown of Poland and effectively reduced this particular Catholic-born elector to little more than a footnote, if that, in European history. His grandfather and father both converted to Catholicism to win the throne of the neighboring Polish-Lithuanian realm, with the support of Russia and Austria, which sought to limit French and Spanish influence on their borders by installing the Saxon electors as kings, over Stanislaw Leszczyński (1677-1766).⁶ The Church also had a stake in this manoeuvre, which promised to reassert the Catholic faith in the Protestant states in the north. As elected kings in Poland, as opposed to hereditary kings of Poland, August II and August III ruled a landmass comparable in size to that of the Catholic kingdoms of France and Spain and, in this position, they naturally engaged in dynastic and representational initiatives at their court capitals of Dresden and Warsaw; these extended to art, architecture, festival culture, royal industries, strategic marriages, and diplomacy. In 1764, however, as Saxony began to recover from the loss of its enlightened Prince, on the heels of the devastations of the Seven Years' War, Stanislaw August Poniatowski (1732-98) was elected King of Poland, with the support

of Catherine the Great, ending any Saxon pretensions for that position.

The medical reports alone provide ample material for a life's history, but it was Friedrich Christian's elevation to Crown Prince and heir, with the death of his older brother in 1728, and his grandfather's passing in 1733, that led to more official recognition and reporting for posterity. By tradition, the activities of the royal court in and around Dresden were recorded in handwritten journals, in German, and, from 1729, these formed the basis for an annual publication, entitled *Königlich-Polnischer und Churfürstlich-Sächsischer Hoff- und Staats-Calender*, which was essentially a snapshot of the previous year's events, such that the 1729 calendar published the court happenings of 1728, for example. Each edition also provided comprehensive listings of government officials and staff; the dates of the annual court celebrations ("*Galla-Tage*"), and even the weather; for some special events, a seating plan for the King's table was provided. Some of the handwritten originals were translated into French, the *lingua franca* of the day, by multilingual secretaries, and excerpts were circulated to members of the diplomatic corps.

The Crown Prince had his own household staff and administration and, given his parents frequent absences from Dresden (the Polish crown required them to spend extended periods of time in Warsaw), his

chief steward (*Oberhofmeister; majordomo*), the Italian-born Joseph Anton Gabaleon, Count von Wackerbarth-Salmour (1685–1761), at times kept a French-language journal of the Prince's daily activities, which was couriered to the King at regular intervals, and read by prime minister Heinrich, Count von Brühl (1700–63), as well, who managed the endless dispatches from ministers with aplomb.⁷ Given this was an age of letter writing, private correspondence has survived to demonstrate the regular exchange of communications between members of the royal family and others.⁸ Hence, on June 1, 1727, we find four-year-old Friedrich Christian thanking his grandfather, the King, in oversized and carefully penned French, for a pair of golden trousers.⁹ By the 1730s, the letters reveal the Prince's decision to keep a journal himself, to share with his parents, doubtless inspired by his *majordomo's* example.

The earliest journal entries are from April 1732 and provide an impression of the boy dutifully taking hundreds of steps around the perimeter of a room, with and without a cane, in an effort to master walking normally on

his atrophied legs; the same accounts mention educational visits to the royal collections and leisure activities like target practice, billiards, and boules. At times, he apologised for his shaky handwriting, yet took evident pride in accomplishing the task himself, while honestly admitting that Wackerbarth-Salmour and other members of his staff sometimes helped with spelling and grammar; they probably jogged his memory as well. By 1734, the Prince's journals are longer and more detailed; he mentions moving into a new apartment with a larger bed; dance lessons with Mr. Rotier; picking fruit with the "*Jardinier Tabel*"; and reading Baron Karl Ludwig von Pöllnitz (1692–1775) *La Saxe galante* (1734). With his father's succession to the Saxon and Polish thrones, the diaries became part of the Crown Prince's legacy for posterity and were no longer an exercise solely for his parents. Friedrich Christian's journals and some of his letters have survived in the archives, providing a rare window onto the interests and formative experiences of this disabled heir to the throne. The diaries taper off a bit after 1740 and cease altogether by 1746.

The Education of a Prince

Friedrich Christian and his siblings were educated 'at home', as was standard for royal offspring until the modern era. Typically, the Queen was responsible for the general programme, even if lessons were delegated to others.¹⁰ We have a sense of the Prince's weekly schedule thanks to two charts he prepared for his parents, in 1732 and 1733 (Fig. 5). Running from Sunday to Saturday, morning rituals were followed by lessons, exercise, Mass, and lunch at noon; afternoons involved visits to the royal collections (prints, paintings, antiquities, mathematical instruments, natural specimens, or the zoo), and further lessons in history, religion, military matters, mathematics, and drawing. Instruction in the history of the Catholic faith was entwined with mastery of spiritual and secular maxims. He also enjoyed music, billiards, riding, and target practice, ahead of supper and bedtime routines. With time, he developed an eye for art and architecture, and a keen ear for music. A few years later, a schedule prepared by his staff indicates twice-daily Masses; time for correspondence, conversation, newspapers, billiards, and cards; and his lessons extended to law and foreign languages (Fig. 6). After witnessing countless performances of music, theatre and dance, he naturally became a bit of a connoisseur and critic.

The Prince was instructed by court architects Zacharias Longuelune (1669–1748) and Jean de Bodt (1670–1745), and apparently mingled easily with artists, collectors, and the keepers of the

royal collections.¹¹ On occasion, he dropped by Lorenzo Mattielli's (1687(?)–1748) workshop, conveniently located in the Zwinger courtyard, where dozens of statues were being carved for Gaetano Chiavari's Roman-style *Hofkirche* in Dresden.¹² And in a nod to the academy system, he mastered the simple anatomical designs published by Johann Daniel Preissler (1666–1737), in *Die durch Theorie erfundene Practic* (Nürnberg, 1728–31), eventually presenting his father with his own book of drawings after Preissler, in 1735, entitled "*Delineationum Rudimenta*" (Fig. 7).¹³ Subsequent studies, after other printed manuals, or even his tutors' sketches, were bound into three books for his grandmother, dowager empress Wilhelmina Amalia (1673–1742); these were entitled "*Leçons d'architectures*" (2 vols.) and "*Leçons de Perspective*." Dated to 1737, the year of the family reunion in Neuhaus (Jindřichuv Hradec, CZ), they doubtless acknowledged her gift in 1732 of "*precieux instrumens de Mathematique*" (Fig. 8, 9).¹⁴ And for his mother's birthday in 1735, unable to deliver her a bouquet of live flowers, he sent her an envelope of painted blossoms instead.¹⁵ He was the recipient, as well, of books from his siblings and staff; in March 1738, for example, his sister, Maria Amalia, presented him with *Introduction à la Géographie*.¹⁶ And for his birthday in 1739, Joseph Wilczynski gave him a book entitled *Descriptio Romæ: Nova et Antiquæ*, as well as the instructions for an educational game entitled *Le Jeu Royal du Voyageur*.¹⁷

Fig. 5
Friedrich Christian's weekly
schedule, dated August 1732
HStAD, 12527 Fürstennachlass
Friedrich Christian, Nr. 261,
fol.14

*Table pour servir de regle journaliere pendant les Mois de Février
Chancet et vol. fait à Dresde le 14^e Fevrier. 1733*

☉	☽	♂	♀	♃	♄	♅
H. Matin	H. Matin	H. Matin	H. Matin	H. Matin	H. Matin	H. Matin
7. Le lever.	7. De même	7. De même	7. De même	7. De même	7. De même	7. De même
9. Etude.	9. Etude.	9. Etude.	9. Etude.	9. Etude.	9. Etude.	9. Etude.
10. Exercice	10. Promenade	10. Promenade	10. Ex. Milit.	10. Ex. Milit.	10. Exer.	10. Promen.
11. La Messe.	11. Messe.	11. Messe.	11. Messe.	11. Messe.	11. Messe.	11. Messe.
12. Dîner.	12. La Soirée	12. La Soirée	12. La Soirée	12. La Soirée	12. La Soirée	12. La Soirée
H. Soir.	H. Soir.	H. Soir.	H. Soir.	H. Soir.	H. Soir.	H. Soir.
1. Chapelet.	1. Chapelet.	1. Chapelet.	1. Chapelet.	1. Chapelet.	1. Chapelet.	1. Chapelet.
2. La lecture.	2. Paume.	2. Paume.	2. Paume.	2. Paume.	2. Paume.	2. Paume.
3. La cathédrale.	3. Etude.	3. Etude.	3. Etude.	3. Etude.	3. Etude.	3. Etude.
4. Vapors.	4. Exercice.	4. Exercice.	4. Exercice.	4. Exercice.	4. Exercice.	4. Exercice.
5. Visite.	5. Recreations.	5. Recreations.	5. Recreations.	5. Recreations.	5. Recreations.	5. Recreations.
6. Souper.	6. Histoire.	6. Histoire.	6. Histoire.	6. Histoire.	6. Histoire.	6. Histoire.
7. Chapelet.	7. Souper.	7. Souper.	7. Souper.	7. Souper.	7. Souper.	7. Souper.

Fig. 6
Friedrich Christian's weekly
schedule, c.1738
HStAD, 10026 Geh. Kab,
loc.769/1, fol.5b

Repetition

☉	☽	♂	♀	♃	♄	♅
6. Le lever.	6. Le lever.	6. Le lever.	6. Le lever.	6. Le lever.	6. Le lever.	6. Le lever.
7. Etude.	7. Etude.	7. Etude.	7. Etude.	7. Etude.	7. Etude.	7. Etude.
8. Exercice.	8. Exercice.	8. Exercice.	8. Exercice.	8. Exercice.	8. Exercice.	8. Exercice.
9. La Messe.	9. La Messe.	9. La Messe.	9. La Messe.	9. La Messe.	9. La Messe.	9. La Messe.
10. Dîner.	10. Dîner.	10. Dîner.	10. Dîner.	10. Dîner.	10. Dîner.	10. Dîner.
11. La Soirée.	11. La Soirée.	11. La Soirée.	11. La Soirée.	11. La Soirée.	11. La Soirée.	11. La Soirée.
12. Chapelet.	12. Chapelet.	12. Chapelet.	12. Chapelet.	12. Chapelet.	12. Chapelet.	12. Chapelet.

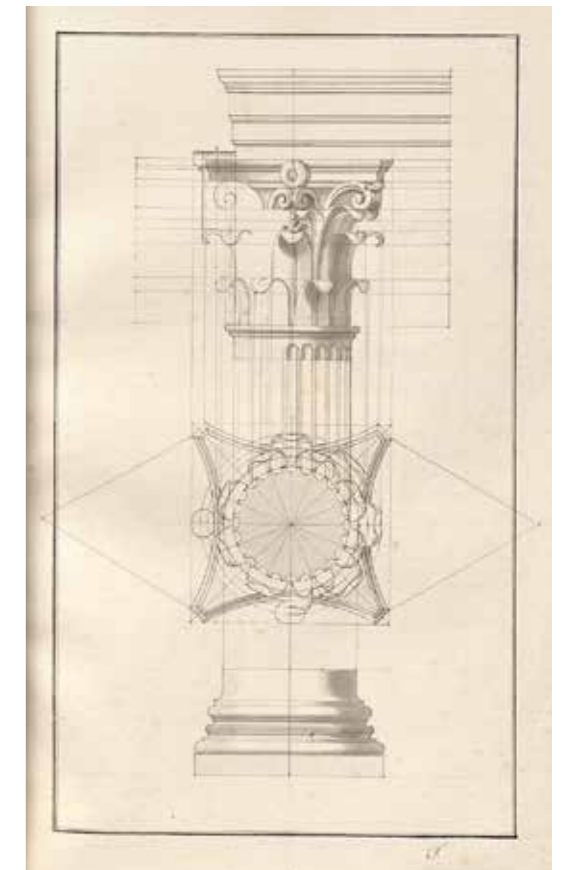
Fig. 7
Friedrich Christian of Saxony,
Delineationum rudimenta
[...] oblata VII. Octobr.
M.DCC.XXXV. (1735).
Frontispiece
SLUB, Mscr. Dresd. J.280,



Left: Fig. 8
Friedrich Christian of Saxony,
Leçons d'architecture II, 1737
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,
Munich, Cod.icon.408,
frontispiece



Right: Fig. 9
Friedrich Christian of Saxony,
Leçons d'architecture II,
"Septieme Figure," 1737
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,
Munich, Cod.icon.408, fol. 18



**A Portrait of Princely Spending:
The Privy Purse**

Remarkably, the accounts of the Prince's private expenditures, or privy purse, have survived, from his ascendancy in September 1733 until his death in 1763 (Fig. 10).¹⁸ Accordingly, we know that he covered the salaries of some of his staff; provided tips, alms for the poor, and pensions; purchased relics, sheet music, extravagant gifts, and costly fabrics for jackets and waistcoats; paid artists, composers, musicians, and poets; and covered his regular gambling debts from billiards and cards ("Verlohren in Spiel"; the games were *minchiate*, *ombre*, *renverso*, *tressette* and *sybille*). Exceptionally, he spent 200 *Ducats* (550 *Thalers*) for a Phaeton, a type of carriage, in 1741. The expenditures were authorized by Wackerbarth-Salmour until the Prince turned twenty-one in 1743.

Beyond his majordomo, the staff included a chamberlain, priest (who also acted as tutor), personal physician, manager, accountant, secretaries and pages, as well as a hairdresser, chefs and kitchen help, and other domestics. Expenditures for food, transportation, entertainment, his marriage in 1747, housing, and security, are not indicated, for these would have been the responsibility of the state. He spent large sums at the thrice-yearly Leipzig fairs, which brought the royal family to the mercantile capital of Saxony, as hosts and sponsors of the prestigious marketplace, where the region's luxury goods and elite industries were showcased and sold, akin to our modern-day art fairs.¹⁹ Guests were entertained with balls, banquets, hunts, and theatre, and the King, the Queen, and their offspring shopped for one-another

and others, thereby boosting profits and setting an example for others to follow. Big-ticket items included snuffboxes of polished regional or exotic hardstones set in gold, easily costing 200 *Thalers* or more, as well as rings, some with portrait miniatures, cane handles, *etui*, and other so-called *galanteries*, some of them by French makers. The Queen's privy purse survives as well and shows her spending patterns from her marriage in the autumn of 1719 until her death in 1757.²⁰

The Prince wrote lengthy descriptions of his experience at the fairs in his diaries of the 1740s, indicating a fascination with the manufacturing industries, the textiles and books on offer, and Professor Winckler's electrical experiments.²¹ He also met with Leipzig university professors and students, and toured the natural history collections ("cabinets") of Johann Ernst Hebenstreit (1703–57) and Johann Christoph Richter (1689–1751).²² With the outbreak of the Seven Years' War and the invasion of Saxony in August 1756, patterns of spending naturally changed and reporting about the Prince's life in occupied Dresden, and in exile from 1759 in Prague and Munich, is rather limited. Remarkably, plans for renovations of the Prince's residence, the Taschenberg Palais, continued into 1758. With the surrender of Dresden to the Prussians on September 4, 1758, the Prince ordered the removal of the King's paintings to Königstein and in August 1759, before embarking for Munich, he authorized the transfer of property from the Japanese Palace to the castle, for safekeeping.²³

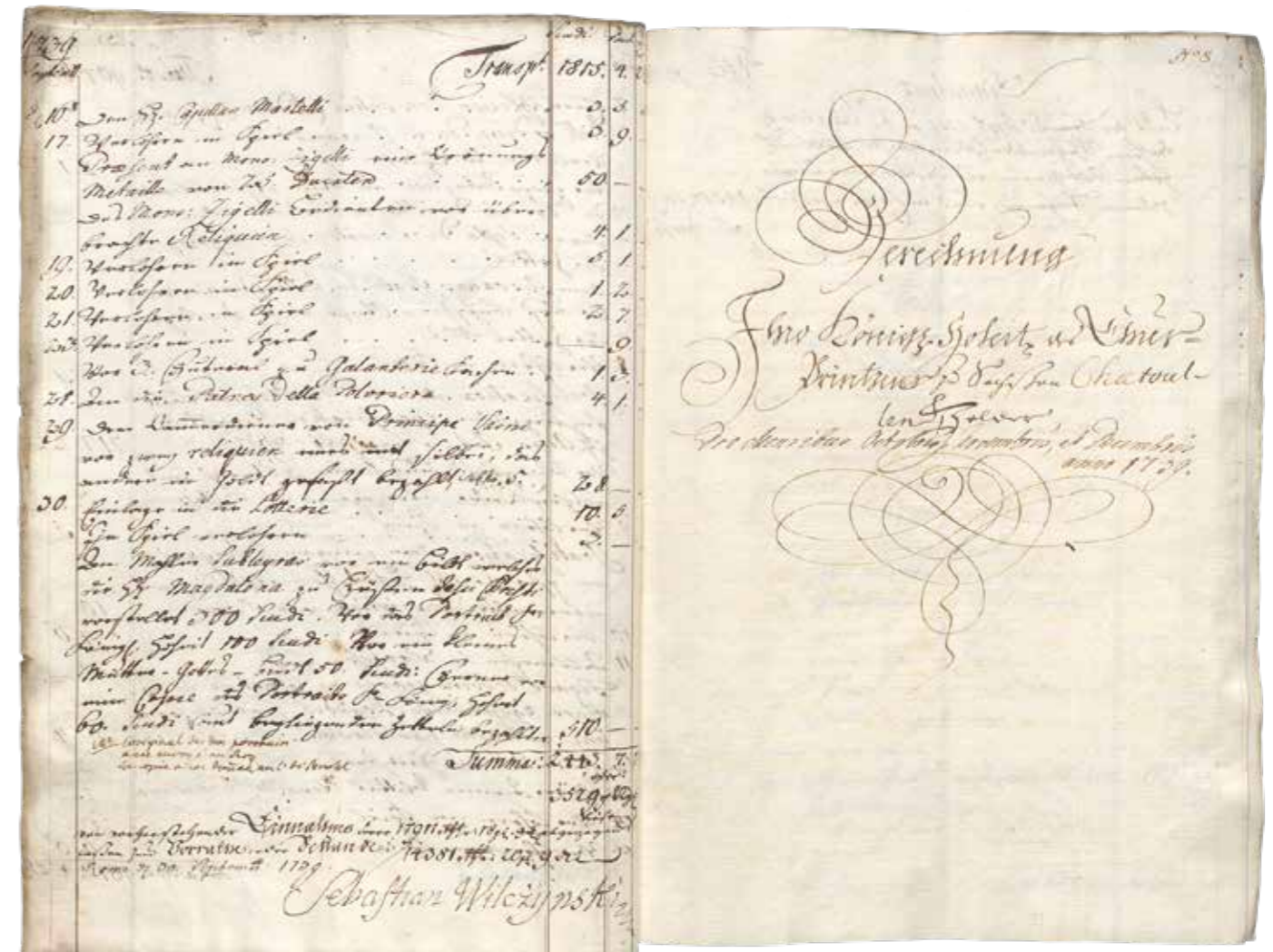


Fig. 10
Account book for the Prince's private expenditures (privy purse), for October 1739, indicating the payment to Subleyras.
HStAD, 10076, Rechnungen der Hof- und Staatsbehörden 7/55.

Left: Fig. 11
Louis de Silvestre and
workshop, Portrait of Prince
Friedrich Christian of Saxony,
age 1, September 1723.



Middle: Fig. 12
Louis de Silvestre and
workshop, Portrait of Prince
Friedrich Christian of Saxony,
age 3, 1725



Right: Fig. 13
Louis de Silvestre and
workshop, Portrait of Prince
Friedrich Christian of Saxony,
age 10 (?), 1731.
All above: Schloss
Hämelschenburg, Emmerthal



Portraits of a Life in Paintings

According to the Queen's privy purse, in 1721, she paid 300 *Thalers* to Louis de Silvestre and 75 *Thalers* to Adam Manyoki, for unspecified family portraits, among other named artists. Silvestre was paid 330 *Thalers* in 1724, and in 1725, he received 340 *Thalers*, for five portraits. Perhaps these were some of the likenesses of the royal family which were sent to her mother, dowager empress Wilhelmina Amalia (1673–1742), in Vienna, and ultimately passed at her death to Charlotte von Klencke (1685–1748) and thence to von Klencke's descendants²⁴ (Figs. 11–13); it was customary for royal families to commission copies of original portraits, to hang in an “*Ahnengallerie*” (gallery of ancestral portraits), in other palaces, or to serve as ‘snapshots’ for members of the immediate family who lived abroad. Further payments to Silvestre are indicated in 1726 (382 *Thalers*) 1727 (750 *Thalers*), and 1730 (300 *Thalers*). Court artists Benjamin Thomae and Christian Sigismund are cited as well. Friedrich Christian wrote to his parents in Warsaw, in 1735, “*Je souhaiteris d’etre en personne à la place de mon Portrait,*” though which portrait he might be referencing is unknown.²⁵

The Prince too paid out-of-pocket for portraits of himself over the years, and some of his sittings were noted in his diaries, and in Wackerbarth-Salmour's journals. The privy purse indicates, for example, that he paid Lorenzo Zucchi ten *Thalers* in 1737 for an engraved portrait in a gold frame, which was

perhaps a gift for his grandmother at the family reunion at Neuhaus that year. The diaries, on the other hand, tell us that he sat for Stefano Torelli (1704–84) on April 19, 1741, for a lost portrait known only through an engraving by Zucchi (Fig. 14); a year later, in April 1742, Zucchi was paid 25 *Ducats* (68.18 *Thalers*), for unspecified work. In 1741, Friedrich Christian had a sitting with Silvestre for a portrait “*par ordre de S.M. le Roi.*” At some point, Manyoki painted a half-figured portrait of the Prince in what seems to be his ‘cadet’s’ uniform, which was engraved by Zucchi in 1737, according to the date on the copperplate; that painting, or a copy of it, hangs today in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome (Fig. 15–16).²⁶ On October 1, 1745, the privy purse shows a payment to Anton Raphael Mengs for 50 *Ducats* (137.12 *Thalers*) for a portrait of his father, August II (Fig. 55). Silvestre later provided a portrait of the prince for his future consort, Maria Antonia, that was shipped to Munich in August 1746.²⁷

With the birth of Prince Friedrich August (III) on December 23, 1750,²⁸ Anton Raphael Mengs was commissioned, presumably in 1751, when the baby was expected to survive, to prepare three portraits, which must be the pastels and/or the oils of Friedrich Christian, his consort, and their infant son, that are known to us today (Figs. 1, 17–20); the artist was paid 300 *Ducats* (825 *Thalers*) on October 18, 1751 for “*Dreij Portrait von Mahler Mengs. 300. # [ducats] – 825 [Thlr.]*”



Fig. 14.
Lorenzo Zucchi Stefano
Torelli, Portrait of Crown
Prince Friedrich Christian,
1742.
Staatliche Porzellan-
Manufaktur Meissen,
Historische Sammlungen,
VA 1718



Left: Fig. 15
Adam Manyoki,
Portrait of Crown Prince
Friedrich Christian as
“Lusazio Argireo”, c. 1737
Accademia dell’Arcadia, Rome



Right: Fig. 16
Lorenzo Zucchi (1704–1779)
after Adam Manyoki (1673–
1757), Portrait of Crown
Prince Friedrich Christian,
dated 1737. Engraving.
SKD, Kupferstich-Kabinett,
A 115710

Left: Fig. 17
Anton Raphael Mengs,
Portrait of Crown Princess
Maria Antonia of Bavaria,
1751. Oil.
SKD, GAM, Gal.-Nr. 2163



Right: Fig. 18
Anton Raphael Mengs,
Portrait of Crown Prince
Friedrich Christian, 1751.
Pastel.
SKD, GAM, P 174



Left: Fig. 19
Anton Raphael Mengs,
Portrait of Crown Princess
Maria Antonia of Bavaria,
1751. Pastel.
SKD, GAM, P 175



Right: Fig. 20
Anton Raphael Mengs
(1728–1779), Portrait of
Elector Friedrich August
III as a baby, 1751. Pastel on
paper.
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte
Meister, P 176



just days before his departure for Rome, never to return to Dresden. For the Crown Prince's likeness, Mengs apparently borrowed an Anton Peffenhauser (1525–1603) helmet and breastplate from one of a pair of suits of tournament armour gifted to Saxon Princes Christian (1583–1611) and Johann Georg (1585–1656) in 1594, when they were nine and eleven years of age (Fig. 2); a margin notation in the inventory of the *Pailenkammer*, the room where the tournament armour was stored, indicates the pieces were never returned and so they are lost today.²⁹ Whether the artist took the two items to Rome is unknown, but the helmet and breastplate do not appear in the inventory taken at Mengs's

death. Court artists were typically allowed access to the royal collections, in Dresden and elsewhere, for study purposes, and they are known to have borrowed items on occasion, to serve as models. While the otherwise highly emblematic Peffenhauser suits of armour were too small to be worn by an adult, the helmet and breastplate could nonetheless have served as models and props in the artist's workshop, a condition that surely extended to much of official princely portraiture of the day. There was no precedent for portraying disability, however, especially when the sitter was heir to the throne, so Mengs followed convention, and showed him as able-bodied. Another portrait of the Crown

Fig. 21
Workshop of Anton Raphael
Mengs, Portrait of Crown
Prince Friedrich Christian
of Saxony, prepared for the
engraver, for a frontispiece
to the *Recueil d'Estampes* vol. 3
SKD, Kupferstich-Kabinett,
C 2466



Fig. 22
Recueil d'Estampes, vol. 1,
Frontispiece



Fig. 23
Recueil d'Estampes, vol. 2,
Frontispiece



Prince, likewise dating to 1751, is owned by the Rijksmuseum; signed by an otherwise obscure artist named Gottfried Boy, who labelled himself "*Peintre du Roy*," it is not a convincing likeness, notwithstanding the sitter wears the order of the white eagle on his ermine-trimmed cloak and blue sash.³⁰

In 1754, the Prince paid 14 *Ducats* (38.12 *Thalers*) to the artist Johann Christian Bessler (1717–1786), for a copy of one of the Mengs portraits. Perhaps this was not for an oil, but was instead for the drawing after the original with Agnews, which was to be engraved in Paris to serve as the frontispiece to volume three of Carl Heinrich von Heinecken's *Recueil d'Estampes d'après les plus célèbres Tableaux de la Galerie Royale de Dresde* (Fig. 21); volume one, published in 1753, opened with an engraving after Rigaud's portrait of August III (Fig. 22), and the frontispiece to volume two, published in 1755, was an impression of Silvestre's portrait of the Queen (Fig. 23).³¹ There are, of course, multiple oils and pastels after the Mengs originals, according to Steffi Röttgen's catalogue raisonné. The inventory taken after Wackerbarth-Salmour's death, in Munich in 1761, indicates he owned two framed portraits of Friedrich Christian, valued at 10 and 8 *Thalers* respectively, as well as a pastel under glass (2 *Thalers*).³² Maria Antonia's 1780 testament listed just one framed portrait of her husband.³³ Medals featuring Friedrich Christian's profile

Left: Fig. 24
Unknown artist, Medal commemorating Friedrich Christian's return from Italy, 1740. Coppergilt. SKD, Münzkabinett, BG4292



Middle: Fig. 25
Franz Andreas Schega, Medal commemorating Friedrich Christian's marriage in 1747. Silver. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Münzkabinett, 1909/396

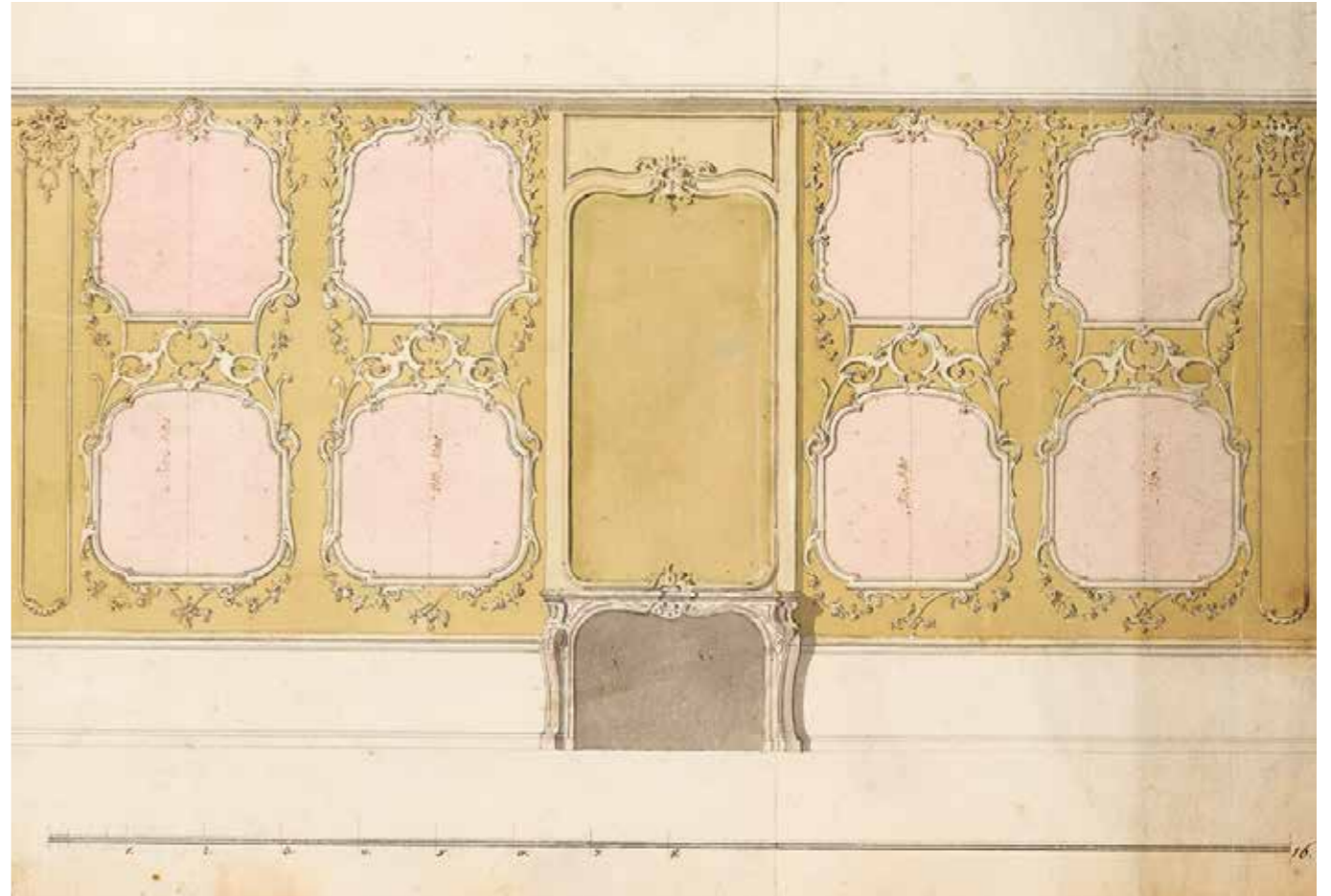
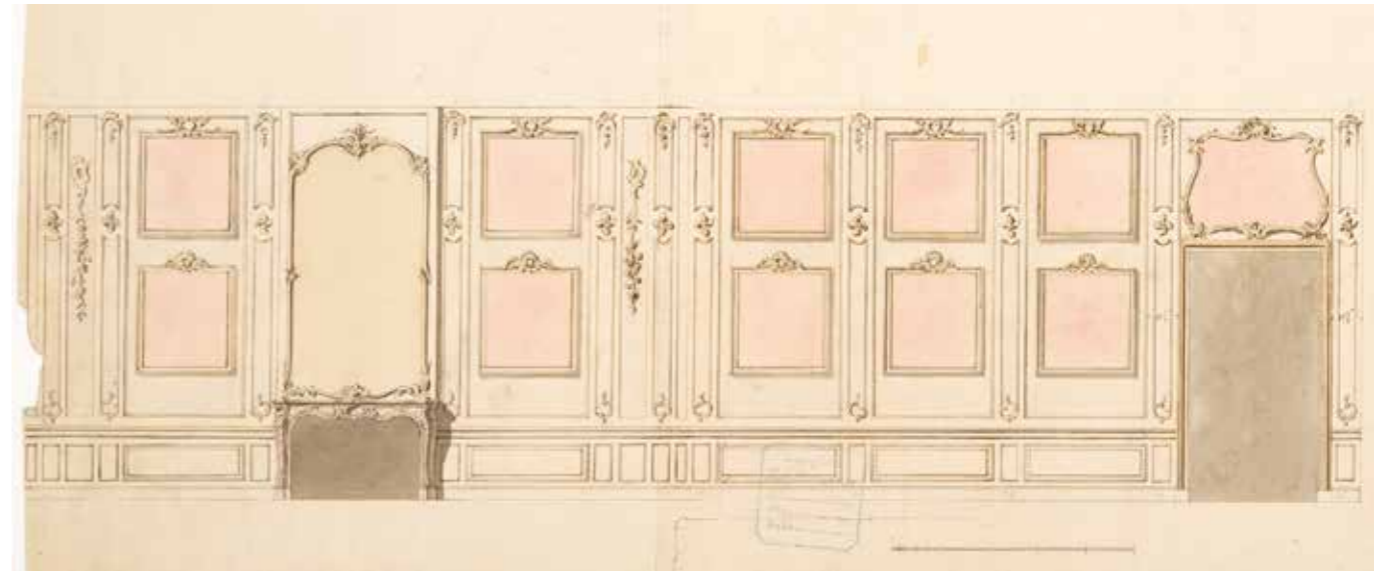
Right: Fig. 26
Franz Andreas Schega, Medal with the profile portrait of elector Friedrich Christian, struck on the death of August III, 1763. Silver. SKD, Münzkabinett, 2012/4789



Fig. 27
Pietro Antonio Rotari (1722-1763), Portrait of Crown Prince Friedrich Christian, 1755. Oil on canvas. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Inv.-Nr. 99/75

were struck in 1740, 1747, and 1763; whether these were inspired by the painted portraits warrants consideration (Figs. 24-26).³⁴

In 1755, the Prince sat for Pietro Antonio Rotari (1707-1762), for a painting that likewise yielded several copies (Fig. 27). This was one of several Wettin ancestral portraits commissioned from Rotari, and also from Torelli, for one of the two *Familienzimmer* (family portrait galleries) designed by architect Julius Heinrich Schwarze (1706-75) for Maria Antonia's apartments in the Taschenberg Palais, where the Crown Prince and Princess resided with their children, opposite the royal castle.³⁵ One of the rooms celebrated the Albertine branch of the house of Wettin, that is, the Saxon royal family (Fig. 28), while the other was devoted to Maria Antonia's family, the Bavarian branch of the Wittelsbachs, with portraits by Georg Desmarées (1697-1776) and his workshop (Fig. 29).³⁶ The latter was based upon the c.1726-31 Ahnengalerie (ancestral portrait gallery) in the Munich Residence, designed by Joseph Effner (1687-1745) and François Cuvilliés (1695-1768); in fact, drawings of the Wittelsbach gallery in Munich were prepared and sent to Dresden in 1758, to serve as models for Schwarze (Fig. 30).



Top: Fig. 28
Julius Heinrich Schwarze, Elevation of a western and northern walls of the Saxon family room in Maria Antonia's apartments in the Taschenberg Palais, 1757-58. LfD, Dresden, Plansammlung, inv. M 58 I Bl. 20)

Bottom: Fig. 29
Julius Heinrich Schwarze, Elevation of a western wall of the Bavarian family room in Maria Antonia's apartments in the Taschenberg Palais, 1758. LfD, Dresden, Plansammlung, inv. M 58 I Bl. 14)

Fig. 30
Johann Baptist
Gunetzhainer after
Joseph Effner and **François**
Cuvilliés, **View of a wall of**
the Ahngalerie and the
Green Gallery in the Munich
Residenz, 1758.
 LfD Dresden, Plansammlung,
 M 6 X, Bl. 39

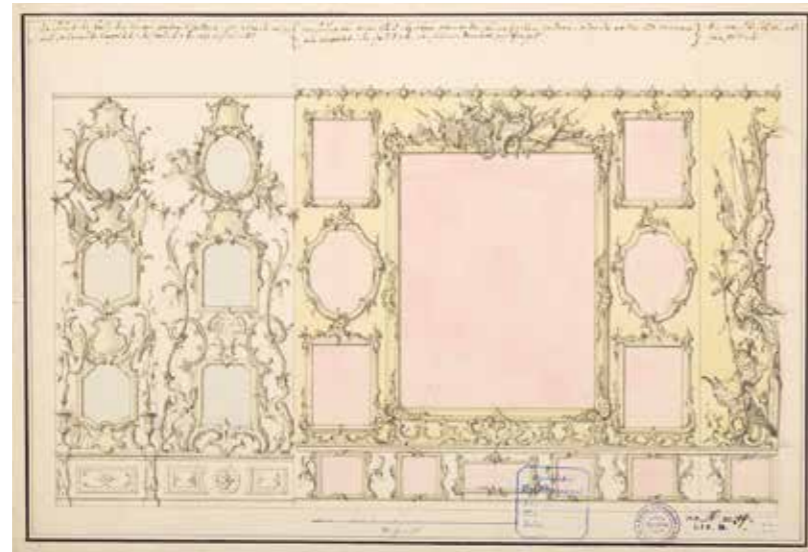


Fig. 31
Peter Horemans, **Maximilian**
III Joseph and the electoral
families of Bavaria and
Saxony in Munich, 1761.
 Schloss Nymphenburg, BVS,
 inv. Ny.G0001



Fig. 32
 Artist unknown. **Design for a**
wheelchair for Crown Prince
Friedrich Christian, c. 1760.
Pencil, ink and watercolour
on paper.
 Archives départementales de
 l'aube, Troyes, EE 2017

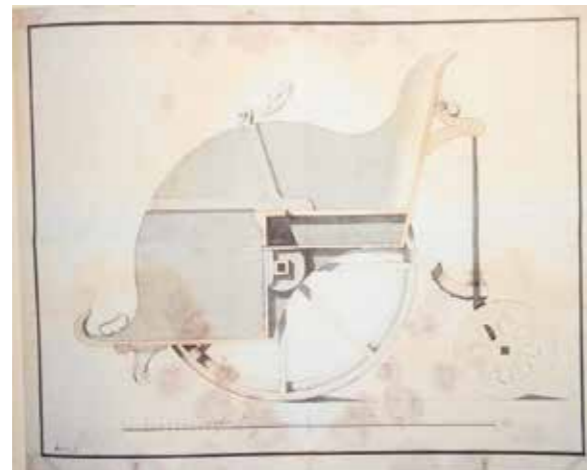


Fig. 33
Bernard Bellotto,
The Nymphenburg Palace
from the Park
 Residenz, Munich, ResMü
 G 0035

The architect also designed Maria Antonia's private chapel and music room, among other interiors for the palace, which was bombed in 1945 and restored fifty years later, in 1995.

Two family portraits were painted while Friedrich Christian and Maria Antonia were in exile in Munich, both of them dated 1761. Peter Horemans (1700–76) shows the Prince seated in a wheelchair, at a gathering of Wettin and Wittelsbach family members in the garden of a belvedere set with classical sculpture; elector Maximilian III Joseph and others play

instruments, or cards, and some of the women take tea (Fig. 31). The Prince could have been posed in a chair, like his brother-in-law, so it seems purposeful, that he was shown in a wheelchair; whether it was the state-of-the-art model sent to him from Paris by his sister, Dauphine Marie-Joséphé, is not known (Fig. 32). Bernardo Bellotto (1722–1780) also portrayed the family reunion, in a view of Nymphenburg Palace, where the royal couples are depicted, albeit in miniature, seated in the gondolas in the foreground (Fig. 33).³⁷

A Portrait of Disability in Words

Modern readings of the Prince's medical history confirm what contemporary physicians reported during his lifetime: he suffered from a neurological condition acquired *in vitro*, which was likely to have been cerebral palsy (see Appendix A).³⁸ Treatment was limited to physical therapy, mineral baths, and various sorts of oral remedies for digestive and sleep disorders; these included elixirs of rhubarb, chicory, snake (“*vipere*”³⁹), donkey's milk cut with pepper or seltzer, magnesium, and Cochlearia (scurvy grass), the latter considered to be a miracle cure by the clergy in Rome. The medical reports that survive are variously written in German, French (the diplomatic language of the day), Italian, Latin, and even English, intermingled with translations from one tongue to another; the bound volume devoted to the years 1722–44 extends to nearly 300 pages. A separate binding contains the collected medical opinions of physicians at foreign courts in 1738–39, solicited via members of the diplomatic corps who were posted abroad. *Pro Memoria* and *Historia Morbi*, that is, summaries of the Prince's condition and treatments over the years, were evidently compiled and shared with the consulting physicians, whether or not they examined him in person; a few of these are bound into the medical histories (see Appendix C).⁴⁰ Remarks about the health of the Prince are also found sprinkled across the pages of the diplomatic and private correspondence in the Dresden State Archives, corroborating or amplifying the evidence in the medical reports. Bystander accounts, however, such as the unusually candid eyewitness observations by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Charles

Hanbury Williams (see Appendices B and D), are exceptional. The Prince's personal physician, Filippo di Violante (dates unknown but evidently Neapolitan), played a crucial role in distilling and interpreting the incoming medical opinions, besides advising the King and the Queen, and overseeing any treatments, at home and on the road.

The medical history tells us that the Prince was sickly and weak from birth, with incidents of colic and convulsions, and mobility issues. Given the royal family's demonstrated embrace of the healing powers of the hot springs at Töplitz (Teplice, CZ), around 45 miles from Dresden, cures there were prescribed for the boy from the age of eight or nine. These involved a series of warm baths over several weeks, vigorous massage with unctuous ointments, oral remedies, and a regimen of daily exercise.⁴¹ His father was hopeful, writing to his son in June 1732 :

*“Mon cher Fils, c'est avec bien de Plaisir que j'ay aprie par vôte lettres, que vous vous trouvez en parfaite Santé, et qu'après avoir prie un couple de jours de repas, vous comencerez à prendre les bains, je souhaite de tous mon cœur que par la Graces et Benediction Divinne vous en ressenties tous l'effet desirable.”*⁴²

However, after reading about the various musical diversions and target practice allowed by his mother, who accompanied the boy to Töplitz, his father admonished him to remember his duty to God, who healed the sick and the lame.⁴³ Upon completion of the cure, the Prince promised his grandfather, the King:

Fig. 34
Lorenzo Zucchi (1704–1779)
after Louis de Silvestre, after
1737. Family reunion with
Empress Wilhelmina Amalia
at Neuhaus (present-day
Jindřichuv Hradec, CZ), 1737,
showing the Crown Prince to
the left of the King and the
Queen. Engraving.
SKD, Kupferstich-Kabinett, A
1951-23



*“J’y ai pris les bains 30. Jours de suite, et ma cure e’étant terminée heureusement je fus avanthier de retour à Dresde. Après donc avoir ainsi soigné ma santé, je dois presentement donner toute mon application aux Etudes et aux Exercices qui conviennent à mon age.”*⁴⁴

Hence, he dutifully practiced walking around the perimeter of a room, twice a day, with and without a cane, and sometimes on a carpet, or in the garden, which were evidently more challenging than on a flat stone or wooden floor. In this light, it is not surprising to read that he received many cane-handles (“*pommeau de Canne*”) from members of his family as gifts, even if such luxury items were bestowed upon the able-bodied as well.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the Prince regularly admitted to having tables positioned conveniently within reach, while he walked between them, at times using what he termed a “*machine*”, for support while standing. On one occasion, he noted, with pleasure:

*“Je marchai de manière que tout les specteurs [sic] en furent surpris.”*⁴⁶

And in 1733, he wrote:

*“Comme je me suis propose à faire des mervailles ce jour là, ainsi je l’ay d’abord commencé par un solid Exercice des Pieds à 7 heure du matin je faisois l’entrois dans la Salle avec M. Kramersbach, les Pages, mon Valet de Chambre, et le Fou, j’y avois immité le Granadier en faisant leur Marche le pieds bien plantés et accompagné de la Musique, tantôt je m’avois ordonné mes troupes devant, à coté et deriere moi, dans une fort belle ordre [...]”*⁴⁷

He seemed to have been able to shoot at targets and mount a horse by the age of ten, and could stand for short periods of time on one leg.

In 1733, it was reported,

*“Vers le mois de Juin S.A.R. alla pour la troisieme fois aux bains de Töplitz, et avec le secours de ces cures on parvint à luy procurer plus de force, de sorte qu’Elle pouvoit deja marcher seule avec le secours de la canne et se tenir droite et sans apui sur une chaise de meme qu’à cheval.”*⁴⁸

Following this welcome improvement, a plan to send the Prince to “Aix la Chapelle” for a cure was abandoned and only the oral remedies were continued, together with routine exercise.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Giovanni Bartolomeo Monza, a physician in Prague, was consulted in 1734, and in 1736, when the Prince fell seriously ill, the mineral waters at Wiesbaden were contemplated.⁵⁰ The family reunion at Neuhaus in June 1737 allowed Leopold Kirchsclager, physician to dowager empress Wilhelmina Amalia, to examine her grandson while they were all together;⁵¹ it was also the occasion for a family portrait by Louis de Silvestre, where the Prince is portrayed standing at ease, among dozens of relatives and retainers (Fig. 34).⁵² And in 1738, Amilius Count Villio, Saxon envoy to the Venetian Republic (active 1712–63), wrote to Dresden to recommend his own personal physician, Andrea Rossetti, who, with an associate named Jean Baptiste Paiton, advocated customised equipment for physical therapy, for which he sent two designs (Fig. 35–36):

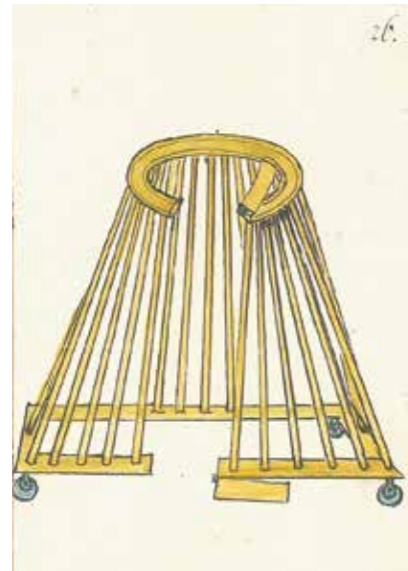


Fig. 35
Design for a physical therapy machine, from physicians in Venice, June 1738.
HStAD, 10026, Geh. Kab.,
Loc. 767/3, fol. 26

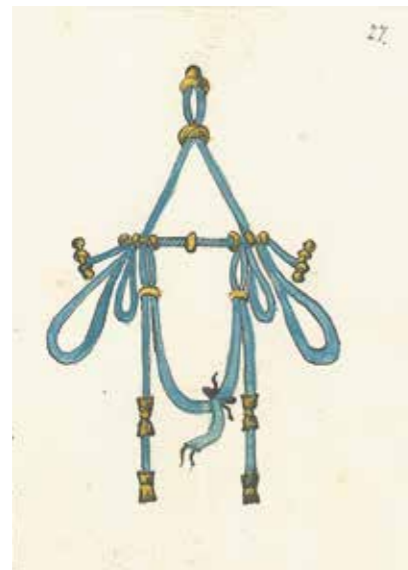


Fig. 36
Design for a physical therapy machine, from physicians in Venice, 1738.
HStAD, 10026, Geh. Kab.,
Loc. 767/3, fol. 27

“une machine, à la quelle il fait travailler, pour envoyer à son Al^e. Roy. Elle doit etre propre a l'aider a marcher toute seule. Le dessein est de l'y accoutumer a peu, a peu, et de lui fait prendre une espece de urgeur aux genoux.”⁵³

“Machines” were also promoted when, in June 1739, the Saxon envoy in London, Philippe Frederic Steinheil, recommended the (possibly Huguenot) physical therapist John Dappé (also Tappé; dates unknown) to prime minister Brühl:

“Il y a déjà quelques années je conois ici un tres habile Mecanique Anglois, nomme Tappé, fameux par les cures tout à fait singulières qu'il a faites des personnes qui ont été estropiées par des accidents ou maltraitées par la nature. Sa grande reputation m'ayant ait penser qu'il pourroit bien etre employé utilement aupres de nôtre Prince Royal [...]”⁵⁴

In this instance, the practitioner provided a two-page English-language description of the proposed treatment and requested precise measurements of the Prince's lower limbs, in order to design the necessary equipment (Fig. 37–38):

“Having examin'd the particulars relating to the case of a person who is depriv'd of the use of his Legs, As the symptoms, contain'd in the first five Articles, which attended his infancy, have disappear'd without any visable return, and that the person had daily acquired a greater strength of constitution, it is needless to make any discertation on that subject
The main point, as I must believe by the 6th. Article, is that there is a contraction of the tendons in the Feet, and a relaxation in the upper Parts-

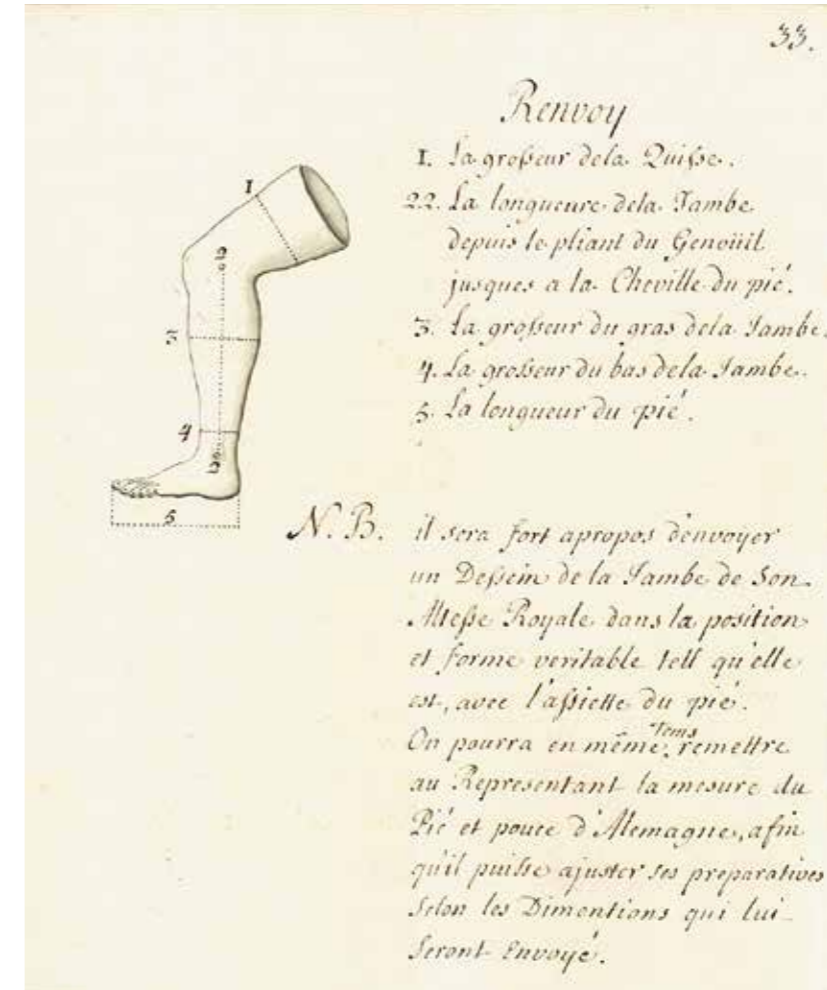


Fig. 37
Request from a physician in London, for measurements, to construct a physical therapy machine, 1738
HStAD, 10026, Geh. Kab.,
Loc. 767/3, fol. 33

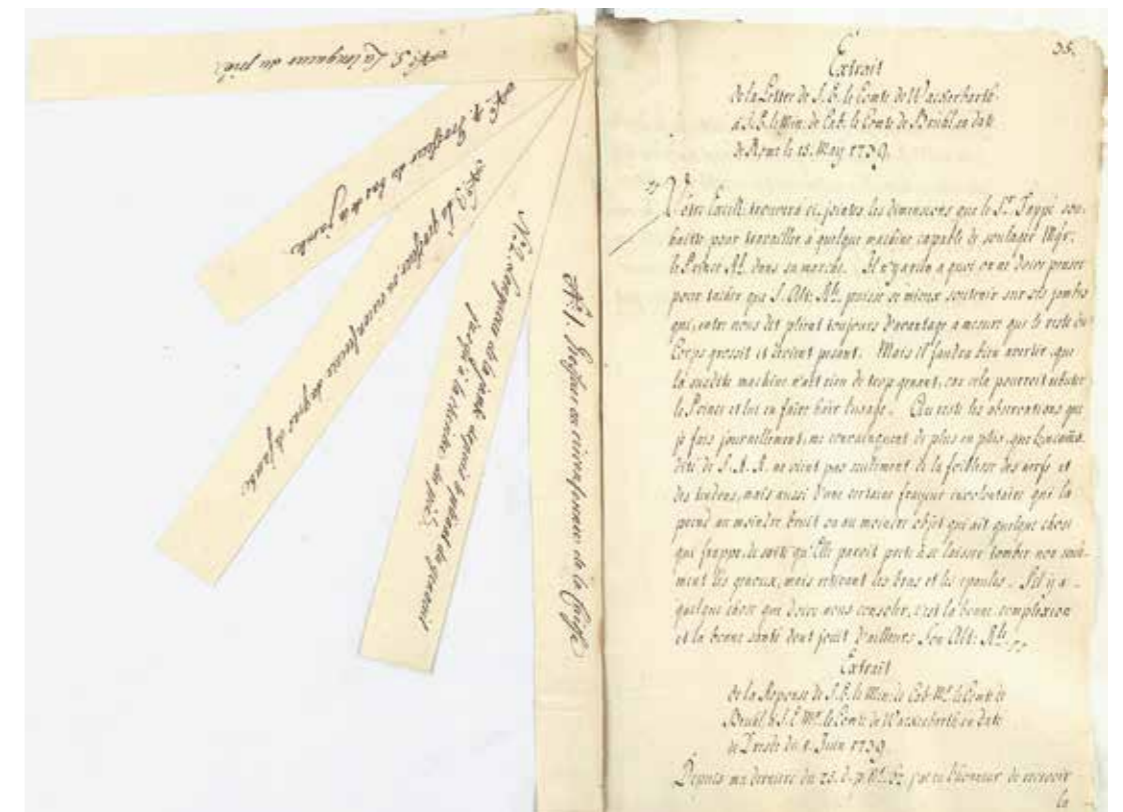


Fig. 38
Request from a physician in London, for measurements, to construct a physical therapy machine, 1738
HStAD, 10026, Geh. Kab.,
Loc. 767/3, fol. 35

As to the first, I don't doubt but I shall be able, not only to give Relief to the person, but even to restore him, in a short time, to the use of his Legs.

And with regards to the second point, concerning which, it is said that the person, when sitting bends his body forwards or sideways as I observe from the just proportion of his Limbs, that there is Little or no Emaciation, and that nature at the age the person is in, being dispos'd to want immediate and proper assistance, I hope, with the Help of God, if not entirely to cure the patient at least to support and strengthen the parts affected.

What I propose, Shall be perform'd without giving the least pain or uneasiness to the patient but will rather enable him during the Operation to take Exercise and Diversions, as perhaps he never had before, and as shall be most beneficial to him, and agreeable to his Constitution.

*J. Dappé
London June 14th, 1739”⁵⁵*

Brühl subsequently asked Saxon envoy Adam Adolph, Count Utterodt (d. 1744), to have George II's physicians weigh in on the recommendation, and they did so, favourably, in a letter signed by Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), George Lewis Tessier (d.1742), Claudius Amyand (also Amiand; 1680–1740), and John Ranby.⁵⁶ A different sort of machine, to help the Prince sit and stand without human assistance, by Milanese craftsman Giuseppe Massone, was proffered in 1741.⁵⁷ A year later, the physician Daniel Gottlieb Idler's name was raised, on the recommendation of a dozen former patients.⁵⁸ Forty-four apothecaries capable of concocting mystical remedies (“arcanum”, “arcano”, “arcani”) were named in 1734⁵⁹ and, ten years later, in 1744, an unnamed person with magical skills was interviewed in Prague on behalf of the King.⁶⁰ Cardinal Albani even weighed in from Rome, advocating continued cochlearia juice, mineral baths, and prayer.⁶¹

The Grand Tour-cum-Cure

The marriage, in May 1738, of the Prince's thirteen-year-old sister, Maria Amalia (1724–60), to Charles VII (1716–88), King of Naples, by proxy, opened the door to a promising new cure for the Prince, in the waters of the legendary Gurgitello springs on Ischia, at the newfound spa opened by royal physician Francesco Buoncore (1689–1768) in 1735.⁶² Just two months before the wedding, the Prince wrote in his journal,

“J'apris le meme soir l'agreable nouvelle que S.M. le Roi m'avoit donné la permission d'aller voyager en Italie et de commencer ce voyage en accompagnant La Reine Epous jusqu'à Naples. De là j'irai dans l'Isle d'Ischia a 4.2 ou 4. Lieux Ital: de Naples, et puis plus outre par Rome etc.”⁶³

Hence, they embarked together, on May 13, 1738, the fifteen-year-old Prince travelling *incognito* as *Comte de Lusace*, a moniker used by his father and grandfather on their respective European Grand Tours, while his sister was *cognito*, as Queen of Naples.⁶⁴ The original map for the overland journey to Naples is bound into the archival documents for the wedding. The Prince was accompanied by an entourage that eventually swelled to around fifty persons, namely his majordomo, chamberlain, confessor, doctor, bookkeeper, and hairdresser, plus various secretaries, chefs, pages, valets, a laundress, and other servants; at times, a hunter, musicians, and a painter are named. (The Queen had an even larger entourage.) The Prince's party alone required up to twenty-four sturdy carriages, for

the passengers and their trunks, plus waggons for extra luggage and for the crates of equipment required for cooking and setting the Prince's table; tablewares included linens, glassware and porcelain manufactured in Saxony, to promote awareness of these products abroad. The family's favoured “Vin d'Hongrie” (Tokay wine) was sent as well and was later provided to the Pope, as a remedy for his gout.

The journey from Dresden to Naples took a month, and was contrived as a Marian pilgrimage across modern-day Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Italy, to allow the pious teenagers to worship at the shrines at Prague, Annaberg, and Mariazell, and to visit their grandmother at St. Pölten. This meant detouring from the main postroads, thereby avoiding the delays of a state visit to Vienna, and they all but bypassed Venice, *en route* to the Papal States and the Santa Casa at Loreto. Accommodations varied widely, from palaces and convents, to roadside inns and palatial tents. State carriages and security were provided as needed, and foodstuffs were proffered at every stop, to supply the chefs and nourish the travellers. The Queen finally met her husband at Gaeta before entering Naples on June 22nd.

On July 4, 1738, the Prince was examined by altogether four royal physicians: Buoncore, Joseph Prisco, Thomas Fontana, and Casimir de Alteris. Their individual opinions and recommendations were collected and summarized by Dr. Violante (Fig. 39; see also Appendix A):

Fig. 39
Matthias Oesterreich
after Pier Leone Ghezzi,
Caricature of Dr. Filippo
Violante Italian, c. 1739–40
(?). Etching.
SKD, Kupferstich-Kabinett,
A 106075



“Sentiment du Conseiller Violante touchant la cure des bains a prendre par S.A.R.

Le 4 de Juillet 1738 les ci-dessous nommée medecins de S.M. Sicilienne visiterent la personne de S.A.R. Monseigneur le Prince Electoral, savoir Mr. François Buoncore, Mr. Joseph Prisco, Mr. Thomas Fontana, aux quels fut adjont Mr. Casimiro de Alterijs l’un des principaux medecins de Naples.

Ils observerant avec moi les genoux, leurs tendons, et l’épine du dos.

Après cela on leur lut la description historique de la maladie dressée à Dresde par Mr. de Heuger elle fut examinée avec soin, et donna lieux aux reflexions convenables.

Le jour suivant la consultation étant entimée par moi en qualité de Medecin ordinaire de S.A.R. je declarai mon sentiment en premier lieu je considerai le mal provenant de naissance 2. Les convulsions de plusieurs especes 3. La lesion de la hanche gauche qui parait encor tres sensiblement 4. L’extreme relachement et faiblesse des vertebres du dos. Pour tacher de mettre tout cela en meilleur état, je dis qu’il fallait que S.A.R. après avoir été purgée legerement se servit des Bains de l’Isle d’Ischia, et sur tout de celui qu’on appelle Gurgitelli : que pour [indistinct] la sueur qui pourroit être plutôt nuisible qu’utile a S.A.R. elle ne le prendrait que tiedes : que pendant les bains on decroit lui preparer une onction propre à ammollir les tendons qui sont au dessous du genoïs, savoir d’huile de chien, de vers de terre, de graisse d’ours et de vipere et d’huile de Lavande destillée : qu’au sortir du bain il faudroit en frotter la partie, et qu’à fin de faire reprendre aux genoux leur extension naturelle, S.A.R. étant couchée, on decroit se servir d’un bandage fait avec grand soin et nullement incommode : qu’au soir apres avoir renouvelé ladite onction au dessous du

genoïs il on appliquerait par dessus des éponges trempées dans l’eau du Bain et cela pendant l’espace d’une heure : en revint à des bouillons nourrissans alterer avec des drogues propres à purifier le sang et la limphe, et ou on auroit fait bouillir une vipere depechée.

Les autres Medecins furent du même avis, et determinerent le nombre des jours, savoir que S.A.R. prendroit le Bain de Gurgitelli tiede pendant quinze jours : qu’après cinq jours de repos, Elle se servirait pendant une autre quinzaine de Bain de ladite Isle d’Ischia dit de La Fontana, lequel répond à peu pres aux Bains d’eau douce. Qu’on pourroit lui faire prendre les bouillons ci-dessus mentionnez après le premier usage des Bains, et conclurent unanimement que ladite methode devrait être repetee au mois de Septembre prochain.

Pour dire sincerement mon opinion je tiens le Bain de Gurgitelli pour tres necessaire et tres propre à faire acquerir a S.A.R. l’extension, l’accroissement, et la vigueur du corps ; mais je doute que d’en faire usage deux fois suffise pour une si grande cure. Il faudroit selon moi s’en servir deux ou trois ans de suite jusq’au ce que l’on apperçut l’effect que l’on souhaite. C’est là mon avis pur et sincere, que je donne par écrit. Fait à Naples le 4. Juillet 1738. Ph. De Violante Medecin du corps et Sonsr. du Roy de Pologne.”⁶⁵

Accordingly, the Prince left for Ischia on July 12th, for a treatment described as two courses of fifteen baths in lukewarm spring waters, warm blanketing, and therapeutic massage, yielding interim reports in the medical records. Ultimately, the boy suffered through forty-two baths on the barren island, over two months, in the height of summer, isolated from his sister

and most of his staff, at the fledgling spa that needed his celebrity to attract an elite clientele.⁶⁶ Sleepless and depressed, once he returned to the mainland on September 23rd, to recuperate with his sister at Portici, the teenager adamantly refused any future treatments on the island, contrary to Dr. Violante’s advice. Wackerbarth-Salmour, unmarried and a kind of surrogate father to the Prince, was himself slightly disabled from a war injury, and doubtless empathised with his young charge. This comes across in his letter to Jesuit Father Ignazio Guarini (1676–1748), confessor to the King and Queen in Dresden, where he debates the merits of further or future treatments on Ischia:

“Ce qui me reste à ajouter par rapport à la pretieuse Santé de ce Prince est J’ai parlé separement au cinq medecins qui ont donné leurs avis par écrit touchant son indisposition avant que d’entreprendre la cure des bains d’Ischia, Je ne me suis pas fort arreté aux avis de Boncore [sic] ni a celui de Violante parce que je les ai cru un peu trop partiaux, le premier ayant une passion de mesurée pour Ischia où il a son bien et ses parens et l’autre parce qu’il est ici parmi des Parens qu’il aime, mais je me suis plus amplement entretenu avec Fontana, Prisco, et Alteris : Fontana m’a dit qu’il étoit d’Opinion que les bains feroient encore plus d’effet le printems prochain, si on les repetoit, mais comme je lui fis remarquer que S.A.R. en avoit déjà pris quarante-deux, et qu’après une si longue cure les forces aux genou n’avoient point encore augmenté il ne put disconvenir avec moi que le plus sain parti seroit de voir auparavant si dans deux ou trois mois d’ici un meilleur effet des bains ne se manifesteroit pas plus sensiblement qu’on ne l’avoit pu remarquer

jusqu’à present, je lui racontai les agitations, inquietudes et insomnies que le Prince avoit souffert après la cure, et apres ces informations il avoua qu’il suspendoit son sentiment.

Prisco plus naturel qu’aucun autre dit, que selon l’avis qu’il avoit donné par écrit il ne croyoit pas que les bains pussent beaucoup operer par les pores, mais bien par la respiration, et qu’après les tentatifs qu’on avoit faits, il croyoit qu’il valoit mieux menager le temperament du Prince que de le fatiguer par trop de remedes se servant uniquement du bon regimen, et autres moyens de cette nature, que la saine raison dicte sans avoir recours aux apoticares.

D’Alterys dit enfin qu’il eseroit encore que dans trois ou quatre mois d’ici le Prince pourroit ressentir un plus grand soulagement mais qu’il n’étoit pas d’avis qu’il recommencat une nouvelle cure, puis que celle qu’il venoit d’essuyer avoit été triplée l’usage étant de prescrire seulement 7. ou 8. bains qu’à la verité ceux que le Prince avoit pris avoient été fort moderes, et proportionne a ses forces, mais que le nombre avoit autre passe de beaucoup l’usage ordinaire. Qu’il falloît, selon lui suspendre presentement tout autres remede c’est à dire les onctions et les bouillons, et qu’à l’égard de ces derniers S.A.R. pourroit les reprendre d’ici a quelque tems mais seulement une fois par jour, pour ne pas trop affoiblir son Estomac. Il a ajouté, qu’on feroit fort bien d’aider S.A.R. dans sa demarche par des machines, et par le secours de la mecanique, et que dans un ou deux ans d’ici on pourroit lui prescrire certains remedes cinabarins, dont il me donneroit la recepte et la methode, en cas que les medecins de notre cour approuvassent son avis.

Par ce que dessus, vous verres mon R. Pere la varieté des sentimens dont ces Messrs. ont donné

Fig. 40
Rocco Pozzi after Filippo Barigioni, Memorial to the Prince's stay in Palazzo Albani
SKD, Kupferstich-Kabinett, A 127724



*n'avant gout dans leurs premieres consultations, Je vous prie d'en faire rapport a LL.MM. afin qu'elles soient informees pleinement de l'Etat de S.A.R. [...].*⁶⁷

Nevertheless, the holistic therapies had worked some magic, such that Friedrich Christian regained the use of his left hand, was able to stand unassisted, feed and dress himself, and walk short distances with two canes. He did a bit of sight-seeing in Portici, even ascending Vesuvius in a *porte-chaise*, before bidding his sister a tearful goodbye and departing for Rome on Nov. 15th, just weeks ahead of the discovery of Herculaneum.⁶⁸

The cardinals Annibale (1682–1751) and Alessandro (1692–1779) Albani, the latter a champion of Mengs, and of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68), were the Prince's hosts and cicerones in Rome.⁶⁹ Naturally, they invited him to occupy Palazzo Albani alle Quattro Fontane for what was meant to be a few weeks, leaving their sister-in-law, the widowed Teresa Borromeo Albani (1699–1772), to act as hostess, while the cardinals and the Prince's staff took rented lodgings in the neighborhood. According to an engraving by Rocco Pozzi (1701–74) after Filippo Barigioni (1672–1753), the cardinals commissioned a marble plaque to commemorate his stay, though the whereabouts of the plaque is unknown today (Fig. 40). The boy's *incognito* complicated his audiences with Pope Clement XII, and may have precluded a meeting with the Stuart Pretender, James III, even when they were at the same events. Protocol likewise prevented him from accepting invitations not issued by his official hosts, so he mostly socialised and

dined at Palazzo Albani, with a coterie of locals and foreigners; unable to dance, he played cards with the ladies and the clergy, and lost to them repeatedly. Medical consultations and therapies continued, while the cardinals oversaw a programme of religious devotions (including novenas dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to St. Francis Xavier⁷⁰); routine sightseeing; privileged seating at local events, such as the *Girandola*; visits to legendary art academies and collections, and to the mosaic manufactory at the Vatican;⁷¹ a meeting with Pompeo Batoni (1708–87); a reception at the Capitoline; and outings to Tivoli and Frascati. Trips to Hadrian's Villa and Nettuno, however, were deemed too strenuous. At one point, Annibale Albani, having heard about August III's plans for the Johanneum picture gallery, suggested to Wackerbarth-Salmour, that the King himself might journey to Rome to witness the grandeur of Palazzo Colonna, or send Prince Xaver in his stead.⁷²

There were also sittings for Pierre Subleyras (1699–1749), Pietro Bracci (1700–73) and Sebastiano Ceccarini (1703–83). According to the diaries, the Prince sat for Subleyras on six occasions, between April and September, 1739, for a three-quarter length portrait; the privy purse records a payment of 100 *scudi* for the original for the King and 60 *scudi* for a copy for the prime minister, on Sept. 30, 1739⁷³ (Fig.10). The artist posed the teenager obliquely, in tournament armour, a blue ermine-lined cloak, and a red sash with the Order of Saint Januarius, bestowed by his brother-in-law, Charles VII of Naples.⁷⁴ The Prince seems a bit uncomfortable or stiff, his head turned to the viewer, capped by a wig, his face round, with fleshy cheeks, such

Fig. 41
Pierre Subleyras (1699–1749), Portrait of Crown Prince Friedrich Christian, 1739. Oil on canvas. SKD, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Ga. Nr. 3841



Fig. 42
Sebastiano Ceccarini (1703–1783), Portrait of Crown Prince Friedrich Christian, 1739. Oil on canvas. Royal Castle, Warsaw



that Wackerbarth alerted the King that the boy was not that substantial in person.⁷⁵ Subleyras would have had props and sketches in the workshop, to allow him to render the prince with all the requisite attire and accessories, though perhaps the Order of Saint Januarius was on hand. Two versions of the portrait are known today, one with the subject posed as if within a grotto (Fig.41), while the other shows St. Peter's and Castel Sant'Angelo in the background (Royal Castle, Warsaw). The latter is probably the so-called second original cited in the Prince's diaries, which was executed for Wackerbarth-Salmour.⁷⁶ The Subleyras portrait was the obvious source, albeit amplified, and reversed, for an engraved impression done in Dresden by Johann Martin Bernigeroth (1713–67) after Anna Maria Werner (1688–1753), demonstrating the way such imagery circulated. Annibale Albani commissioned a bust of the prince from Bracci shortly after the boy arrived in Rome, according to the diaries, which record four sittings during December 1738 and January 1739, for a clay *bozzetto* for a marble bust that has not survived or is otherwise unrecognised.⁷⁷ Friedrich Christian also sat for Ceccarini in January and February 1739, for the cardinals Albani; the artist produced a questionable likeness, albeit the prince is shown with more swagger than in the portrayal by Subleyras (Fig.42).

That the prince may have overstayed his welcome in Rome was only communicated in the private letters from Wackerbarth-Salmour to father Guarini, who noted that Teresa Albani's daughter was unable to stay with her mother, due to a shortage of space in Palazzo Albani, and needed to seek lodgings elsewhere.⁷⁸ On the

surface, at least, the Albani family remained generous to a fault, in their attentions to the Prince, while preparing elaborate farewell gifts for his eventual departure. These included a marble tabletop inset with a mosaic panel from Hadrian's villa and a life-size antique figure of a gladiator or boxer from the Antonio Borioni collection, that was excavated in Rome before 1736.⁷⁹ Annibale Albani evidently found himself in a position to ask for a litany of gifts and favours, in return for his family's hospitality ("*en échange des services importants qu'il a rendus, et rend encore, comme aussi des soins et politesses et même des petits présents qu'il continue de faire de tems en tems à S.A.R.*"); besides reminding the King of his promise of two canons with the Polish arms, for outside the palace in Soriano, he asked for tapestries for the casino he intended to purchase; "*tous les Portraits de la famille Royale;*" any of the Queen's gowns which could be repurposed as altar frontals and religious vestments; works of art in amber and porcelain, for which he sent designs to Dresden; a Saxon glassworker to jumpstart an industry in Rome; medals struck in Dresden, to add to his collection; a pension; and the Order of the White Eagle for his nephew, Orazio Albani.⁸⁰ He also wondered about salvaging Saxon goods from a shipwreck in Roman waters, or having them replaced, since the items were destined for the Albani family, to repay some of the gifts and favours extended to the Prince by others.

On Oct. 14, 1739, the Prince finally left Rome for a monthlong junket to Venice via Tuscany, Lombardy, and the Veneto, while most of his staff went ahead to quarantine. In Florence, he witnessed "*la Chambre des portraits*

des peintres Il y en manque quelqu'une comme par exemple Poussin, Tadeo Zucchari et Ludovici Zucchari. Le nombre qui s'y trouve montée à 240."⁸¹ And in Pisa, he was carried to the top of the Leaning Tower by *porte-chaise*, the leitmotif of his journey abroad, due to his disability; in other words, he was not carried from place to place merely due to his rank. His visit to the Academy of Science in Bologna, on November 19, 1739, was duly recorded in a watercolour still held by the school; the artist, Antonio Alessandro (1684–1773), shows the diminutive guest of honour seated in a red armchair, surrounded by professors and others, with the anatomy studios and students in the background, and globes, instruments, and other instructional materials to one side (Fig. 43).

His entry into Venice a month later, on December 21st, was captured by Pietro Longhi (1701–85), who portrayed the seventeen-year-old standing on *terra firma*, a state carriage in the background, with two men holding him upright as he bows to the welcoming party, thereby highlighting his disability, instead of hiding it (Fig. 44). As in Rome, the envisioned sojourn in *La Serenissima* was much longer than expected, extending well beyond Carnival and Lent, and the Prince was altogether six months in Ca' Foscari, on the Grand Canal, opposite his official hosts, Alvise Giovanni Mocenigo and his wife, Pisana Cornaro Mocenigo. Lessons and devotions not only continued, but were accelerated, in the penetrating cold of winter and the late spring that followed, yet there were new entertainments and distractions, namely outings by gondola, a range of theatrical and musical performances, and *Il Ridotto*, not to mention the bull chase and the regatta mounted in his honour. According to

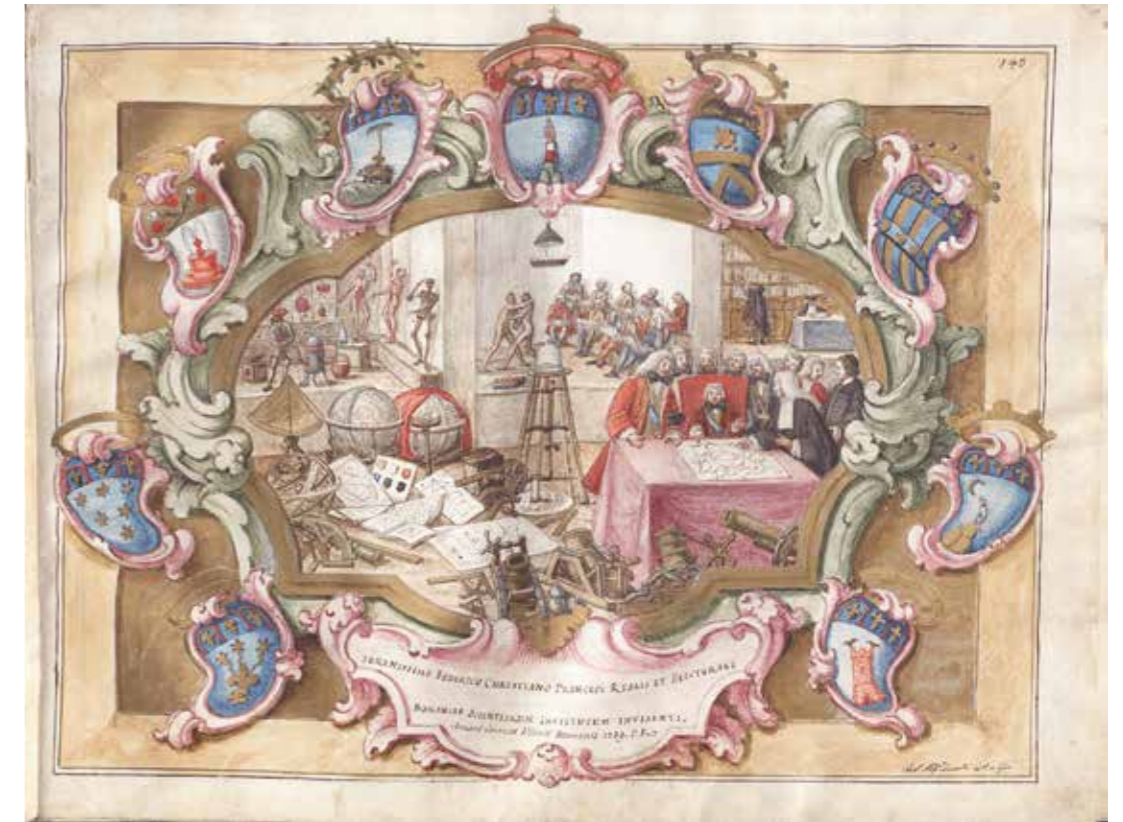


Fig. 43
Antonio Alessandro (1684–1773), Crown Prince Friedrich Christian in the Academy of Science in Bologna, November 1739. Watercolour. Museo Palazzo Poggi, Biblioteca Istituto delle Scienze, ASBo, Anziani Consoli, Insignia, volume XIII, c. 140



Fig. 44
Pietro Longhi (c. 1701–1785), Reception of Crown Prince Friedrich Christian at the border of the Republic of Venice, 1739. Oil on canvas. Royal Castle, Warsaw, Inv. Nr. ZKW-dep. FC/80/ab.

surviving correspondence, the King and Queen admonished their son for clinging to his old-fashioned wig, seen in the Roman portraits; in unison, they urged him to let his natural hair grow, and to adopt a toupée, as was the trend. At the same time, his mother and grandmother lobbied for more fish in his diet, since it was so fresh in Venice, and the Church required it on Fasting Days.⁸²

Although his taste for meat prevailed, Friedrich Christian apparently gave up the suffocating and insect-ridden wig by the time he sat for the famous Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), who knew his mother and grandmother, and was paid 100 *zequins* for her portrait of the Prince (Fig. 45).⁸³ According to his diaries, she came to him at Ca'Foscari in April 1740 and thereafter, he went to her home, also on the Grand Canal, known today as Ca'Biondetti.⁸⁴ Giovanni Battista Cimaroli's (1687–1771) sweeping view of the running of the bulls in Piazza San Marco, held on Feb. 16, 1740, shows the oversized awning mounted on the Procuratie Vecchie, which acknowledged the guest of honour while shielding him from the sun and public scrutiny (Fig. 46). There has been debate about whether Canaletto's (1697–1768) view of the Rialto Bridge of ca. 1740 portrays the Prince and his retinue preparing to board the ceremonial gondolas at the base of the steps; none of the young men is obviously disabled, however, prompting a rethinking of the subject by Peter Kerber in his 2017 catalogue, *Eyewitness Views*, who suggested it was instead the official entry of an ambassador to Venice, either the Charles François de Froulay (1673–1744) of France, or Pio di Savoia, of Vienna.⁸⁵ More recently,

Charles Beddington has suggested the subject is George Garnier (1703–63) of Rookesbury Park, Hampshire, who commissioned several paintings from Canaletto in 1744. Likewise, it has been suggested by some, that the young Bernardo Bellotto's view of the Grand Canal with Palazzo Foscari captures the Prince in the shadows of the doorway, held upright by the men at his sides (Fig. 47). Certainly, he would have been on one of the balconies in Michele Marieschi's view (and subsequent print) of the regatta held in his honour on May 4, 1740 (Fig. 48).⁸⁶ In fact, the Prince paid 15 *Ducats* (41.6 *Thalers*) to Antonio Joli for renderings of five of the festival barges in the regatta (Fig. 49). The frontispiece to *L'Adria Festosa* (Venice, 1740), a published account of the events staged for the Prince, is engraved with his likeness, after an otherwise unknown portrait (Fig. 50).⁸⁷ Likewise, his portrait appears in the dedication to Roncalli Parolino's *Francesco Historiae morborum* (1741), where it is attributed to Felicita Sartori (c.1714–60) after Rosalba Carriera (Fig. 51).

With the likelihood of a stop in Vienna on the return to Dresden, it was suggested that the Prince, who was by then fluent in Italian and French, revive his German language skills.⁸⁸ Ultimately, he spent two months at his mother's and grandmother's court at Vienna, from June 23 – August 31, 1740, before returning to Dresden on September 7th, two days after his 18th birthday.⁸⁹ Thereafter, his diaries and letters reflect a certain buoyancy, vitality, and authority, clear evidence of the benefits of his two years abroad. And he acknowledged, with evident pride, that he was allowed to visit his parents, in their private apartments, unannounced.



Fig. 45
Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757),
Portrait of Crown Prince
Friedrich Christian, 1740.
Pastel on paper.
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte
Meister, Gal. Nr. P2



Right, top to bottom:
Fig. 46
Giovanni Battista Cimaroli
(1687–1771), The Running of
the Bulls in honor of the visit
of Crown Prince Friedrich
Christian to Venice, 1740
Private collection

Fig. 47
Bernardo Bellotto,
View of the Grand Canal
with Palazzo Foscari and
Moro Lin, c.1738.
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm,
NM 49

Fig. 48
Michele Marieschi
(1710–1744), The regatta
held in honor of Crown
Prince Friedrich Christian,
1740, whence he observed
the event from his residence,
Ca'Foscari. Oil on canvas.
Private collection

Fig. 49
Antonio Joli,
Il valor coronato,
festival barge of Giulio
Contarini, 1740
Dresden, Kupferstich-
Kabinett, C 1979-7

Fig. 50
Portrait of Crown Prince
Friedrich Christian of
Saxony, frontispiece from
L'Adria Festosa, published
in Venice, 1740



Portrait of a Marriage and a Destiny Unfulfilled

Largely unstudied is the *Doppelhochzeit* (double wedding) of the summer of 1747, when the bonds between the electoral families of Saxony and Bavaria were strengthened by the marriages of Friedrich Christian to his cousin, Maria Antonia of Bavaria, and of Maria Anna of Saxony to her cousin, Maximilian III of Bavaria (see family tree). This may be explained by the comparative lack of archival documentation for the event, when compared to that generated by the proxy wedding of his sister, known as Marie-Joséphé, to Louis, Dauphin of France, in January of that same year.⁹⁰ Friedrich Christian and his consort evidently enjoyed a rare chemistry, intellectually and otherwise, and raised seven children, one of whom was disabled.⁹¹ As Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly has written, the young couple were “the enlightened rulers Saxony never had”.⁹² At precisely the time that he was sitting for Mengs, perhaps inspired by the birth of a healthy male heir, the Prince was beginning to formulate an idea of his political future, confiding his thoughts to a journal that he kept secret, from 1751 to 1757, the year his mother died.⁹³ The Queen was Maria Antonia’s aunt, as well as her mother-in-law, and, according to the covert accounts, she treated her niece harshly, besides actively preventing the young couple from travelling to Poland, to meet the King’s subjects. Yet the Prince could not quarrel with Maria Josepha, who was not only his mother, but also

Fig. 51
Felicità Sartori and Carlo
Orsolini after Rosalba
Carriera, to the dedication to
Roncalli Parolino, Francesco
Historiae morborum (1741)
(Rijksprintkabinet;
RP-P-1937-73)



Fig. 52
Lorenzo Zucchi after
Julius Heinrich Schwarze,
*Iconographia ... Tumuli
Honorarij [...]*, after 1764,
Catafalque for Friedrich
Christian, 1763



his Queen. With the Prussian invasion in 1756, the King fled to Warsaw, while the Prince and his family were forced to remain behind in the occupied capital, where their presence initially took on the appearance of a form of passive resistance. Eventually, however, the decision was taken to exile at Maria Antonia’s home court at Munich, from 1759–62, journeying there via Prague.⁹⁴ Remarkably, Friedrich

Christian and his family returned to Dresden before the end of the war, to ready themselves for the eventual peace and make plans for the restoration of their devastated homeland. Following the Treaty of Hubertusburg in February 1763, August III returned to Dresden, where he died on October 5th. Ten weeks later, his son and successor succumbed to smallpox (Fig. 52).⁹⁵

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Acknowledgements: I must begin by thanking Dresden curator Alexander Röstel, for bringing this remarkable portrait to my attention and introducing me to Nikolaus Karlson at Thos. Agnew & Sons, London; it has been a pleasure to prepare this essay for the gallery and its director, Anthony Crichton-Stuart. Many colleagues in Dresden were helpful with inquiries large and small: Claudia Brink, Margitta Hensel, Wilhelm Hollstein, Gernot Klatte, Tobias Knobelsdorf, Marcus Köhler, Michael Korey, Christine Nagel, Claudia Schnitzer, Holger Schuckelt, Martin Schuster, Yvonne Wagner, Dirk Weber, Tristan Weddigen, Yvonne Brandt. I thank as well Peter Kerber, Christine and Lippold von Klencke, Thomas Liebsch, Ewa Manikowska, Domenico Pino, Lukasz Przybylak, Steffi Röttgen, Wiebke Fastenrath Vinattieri, Susan Walker, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly; and last, but not least, Jóhannes Ágústsson, who knows the Prince better than I do.

Abbreviations: SKD = Staatliches Kunstsammlungen Dresden GAM = Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister HStAD = Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden SLUB = Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats – und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden LfD = Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

- ↑ See Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Predestined for conflict: The consort and her mother-in-law* in Almut Bues (ed.), Frictions and Failures: Cultural Encounters in Crisis (Wiesbaden, 2017), pp. 25–35. For general background, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, The Grand Cure: A disabled Saxon Prince and his tour of Italy / Die Grande Kur: Prinz Friedrich Christian von Sachsen auf der Suche nach Heilung und Kultur in Italien (Dresden, 2018).
- ↑ Hanbury Williams observations of the royal family are excerpted in Appendix D, from Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Second*, vol. 2 (Gutenberg eBook, orig. publ. 1847; note that the year of Charles Hanbury Williams letter from Dresden was mistakenly transcribed (in 1847) as August 27, 1745, when it must be August 27, 1747, since it mentions the marriage of the Prince, which took place in the summer of 1747.
- ↑ See Appendix B.
- ↑ For some archival reports of the birth of Friedrich August (III): HStAD, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, A, Nr. 28, *Geburt, Taufe und Einsegnung der Prinzen Friedrich August* [...]; Nr. O 01, Nr. 18, *Dresdner Hofstagebücher* (Serie A), 1750; Nr. O 4, Nr. 235, *Dresdener Hofstagebücher* (Serie B), 1750.
- ↑ Yet to explore, in the HStAD are the Taschenberg Palais inventories: Hausmarschallamt R 225-229, for example; also Oberhofmarschallamt 10006, T 11, Nr. 8 (*Kurprinzliches Kücheninventar*); T 11, Nr. 25 (*Inventar der kurprinzlichen Kellerei*); T 01, Nr. 12A, *Projet d’augmentation*, 1736. A conference about the Prince’s life and legacy was convened in 2021 by the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig in cooperation with the Institut für Kunst- und Musikwissenschaft at the TU Dresden; the conference papers will be published in 2023, in a volume edited by Susanne Müller-Bechtel.
- ↑ For further background, see Werner Schmidt (ed.), *Unter Eine Krone: Kunst und Kultur der sächsisch-polnischen Union* (1997); see as well Eugene Kisluk, *In the Realm of Meissen Porcelain. “Golden Liberty” and Diplomacy: Saxony and Poland-Lithuania*, in Cassidy-Geiger (ed.), *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain* for European Courts, c. 1710–63 (BGC/YUP, 2007), pp. 24–41.
- ↑ See Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, *Aspects of the diplomatic correspondence between Counts Brühl and Wackerbarth-Salmour during Crown Prince Friedrich Christian’s Grand Tour-cum-Cure in Italy, 1738–40* in Ute

- Koch and Cristina Ruggero (eds.), Heinrich Graf von Brühl (1700–1763) Ein sächsischer Mäzen in Europa (Dresden, 2017), pp. 300–16 The handwritten journals of the Prince’s activities are found in the HStAD, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, T 1, Nr. 11D-11G, *Hofjournal des Prinzen Friedrich* (1735–1738). For the years 1738–40, see note 8.
- ↑ The correspondence is found in HStAD 12527: *Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian* (1722–1763). The journals in this section are as follows: Nr. 261 (1732–38), Nr. 262 (1740–42), Nr. 263 (1743–45). The journals kept by the Prince on the Grand Tour in 1738–40 are found in 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 355/3-355/5. Wackerbarth-Salmour’s journals from this two-year journey are bound into 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 768/2 – 769/1; see as well Loc. 362/1-362/5. The journals for the Grand Tour are transcribed and published online, with related documentation and images, at comtedelusace.wordpress.com
 - ↑ HStAD 12527: *Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian* (1722–1763), nr. 1, fol. 2r.-2v.: *“Sire, Je supplie très humbl^t. Votre majesté mon très cher Grand Papa, de me faire donner des Calottes d’or, parce que je suis bien sage, et avec un tres profond respect, Sire De V^{re}. Majst ce 1^r. Juin 1727 Le [indistinct] petit [indistinct] et petit fils Frideric.”*
 - ↑ See Julius Richter, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vol. LII (Berlin, 1913), pp. 289–424, especially pp. 318-onward, for the education of the children of August III and Maria Josepha.
 - ↑ HStAD 12527: May 16, 1736: *“Mr. Longlune [sic] vint me donne la premier lecon de l’Architecture Civile il me montre divers beaux desseins qu’il avoit fait par ordre du Roy defunt.”* July 19, 1736: *“Longuelune vint aupres de moy a l’heure ordinaire de faire l’exercice auquel il voulois assister [...]. Il m’apporta une feuille qui a de la perspective de la peinture et de une Etude melie d’Architecture de dessein et peinture.”* Aug. 30, 1736: *“Longuelune m’apporta pour lecon l’Entablement Dorique en plus Grand, et un dessein d’un rocher avec une Cascade.”* Oct. 4, 1736: *“Longuelune m’apporta pour lecons une piece d’Architecture, et un pont.”* Oct. 18, 1740: *“Je signnai avec Longuelune un plan d’un autel.”* Oct. 6, 1740: *“Longuelune vint ici apres le manage et nous continuames le dessein de perspective que nous avions commencé il y a quelque tems.”* Nov. 10, 1740: *“Je montai le matin à cheval au manege apres quoi Longuelune vint chez moi et je finish l’elevation de l’Autel en pyramide.”* Dec. 1740: *“Gl. De Bodt s’étant trouvé a l’heure du dessein il me fit voir le dessein de l’Eglise des Invalides de Paris and le projet qu’il avoit fait pour batir un nouveau Dome à Berlin que le Roi Pere du dernier defend vouloit faire construire. D’ailleurs je la vois et continuaï le dessein des pyramides avec Longuelune.”*
 - ↑ HStAD 12527, Sept. 19, 1740: *“J’allais l’apres midi chez le Sculpteur Matthieli pour voir son ouvrage des deux Statuës de S. Pierre et St. Jean Evangeliste qui sont tres bien travaillé. Il est ce que Gaetano et Matthieli sont deux excellens hommes dans leur genre car l’Eglise comme j’ai dit ci dessus quelque chose de magnifique.”*
 - ↑ For more, see Susanne Müller-Bechtel, *Friedrich Christian von Sachsen lernt Zeichnen*, in Annette C. Cremer et al, (eds), Fürst und Fürstin al Künstler: Herrschaftliches Künstlertum zwischen Habitus, Norm und Heigung (Berlin, 2018), pp. 199–218.
 - ↑ HStAD 12527, Nr. 3, fols. 10–11. The sketchbooks were left to her daughter, Electress Maria Amalia of Bavaria, so they are found today in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. Icon. 407–409.
 - ↑ HStAD, 12527, Nr. 4, fol. 84, Nov. 30, 1735: *“Madame, La saison où nous sommes et la grand distance qui nous separe ne me permettant pas ma chere Mere, de presenter à Votre Majesté un bouquet de fleurs naturelles pour le glorieux jour de Votre naissance j’ai pris le parti*

de supplier à ce default par la Collection de quelques fleurs dessinées de ma propre main, que je mets très humblement aux pieds de Votre Majesté.”

- ↑ SLUB, Mscr. Dresd.P.73, Introduction à la Geographie (1738).
- ↑ SLUB Mscr.Dresd.P.88: Le jeu Royal du Voyageur [...] (1738) and Mscr.Dresd.P.210: Descriptio Romae Novae et Antiquae (1738), both by Joseph Wilczynsky.
- ↑ HStAD, 10076, Rechnungen der Hof- und Staatsbehörden (Rechnungsarchiv), Bd. 1-7 (1733–1766). See Jóhannes Ágústsson, *The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian and music: The Dresden diaries and account books*, in Clavibus unitis 9/1 (2020), pp. 1–70.
- ↑ For some background, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, *Luxury Markets and Marketing Luxuries: The Leipzig Fair and the Dresden Merceries under Augustus the Strong* in Mark Häberlein and Christof Jeggle (eds.), *Materielle Grundlagen der Diplomatie. Schenken, Sammeln und Verhandeln in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Irseer Schriften N.F.; Konstanz UVK, 2015), pp. 441–58.
- ↑ For background, see Jóhannes Ágústsson, *The Musical Entries in the Dresden Account Books of Saxon Electress and Polish Queen Maria Josepha, 1720–1757*, in Musicology Australia, vol. 41, No. 2 (2019), pp. 236–248. The account books are found in the HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 364/2 (for 1720) – 364/31 (for 1749) and Loc. 365/1 (for 1750) – 365/6 (for 1757).
- ↑ For the nature of these experiments, see *Sparks in the dark: the attraction of electricity in the eighteenth century* in Endeavor vol. 31, no. 3, 2007, pp. 88–93.
- ↑ See Sven Pabstmann, *Rembrandt, Rubens, Permoser – Ruhm und Glanz barocker Kunstsammlungen in Leipzig* in Ute Koch and Cristina Ruggero (eds.), Heinrich Graf von Brühl (1700–1763) Ein sächsischer Mäzen in Europa (Dresden, 2017), pp. 221–37.
- ↑ See Tristan Weddigen, *Mary Magdalene in the desert: the Dresden picture gallery, a crypto-Catholic collection?* in Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Ebert-Schiffener (eds.), Sacred possessions: collecting Italian religious art, 1500–1900 (Los Angeles, 2010), pp. 189–206. Also, HStAD, Loc. 895, Acta Chinesische und japanische Porcellaine, auch andere im japanischen Palais aufbewahrte Kunst-Sachen betr., fol. 5–20: *Specifitation Dererjenigen Meubeln so auf Ihro Königl. Hoheit des Chur=Printzens allergnädigsten hohen Mündlichen Befehl aus dem Königl. Japansch. Palais auf das Königl. Schloß von 9ten bis den 14. Augs. 1759 sind gebracht worden.*
- ↑ See Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, *In der und ausser der Clausur: Kaiserinwitwe Wilhelmina Amalias Appartement im Kloster am Rennweg in Helga Penz* (ed.), 300 Jahre Kloster der Heimsuchung Mariens in Wien 1717–2017 (Petersberg, 2017), pp. 42–51; Cassidy-Geiger, The Grand Cure, op. cit.
- ↑ HStAD, 12527, Nr. 2A, June 22, 1735: “I would like to be [with you] in person in place of my portrait.”
- ↑ A framed pastel of the Prince in his so-called “*Cadets-Montur*” appears in Wackerbarth-Salmour’s Testament, HStAD, 10047 Amt Dresden, Nr. 3270, *Versiegelung und Inventur des Nachlasses des in München verstorbenen Kabinettsministers Anton Gabaleon Graf von Wackerbarth-Salmour in Dresden* (1760–1762), fol. 114v.
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 2643/05 *Des Geheimen Rats Freiherr von Gersdorf Abschickung an den kurbayerischen Hof und dessen daselbst geführte Negotiation*, 1746, vol. 2 (unfoliated), in a letter from Wackerbarth-Salmour to Nikolaus, Count von Gersdorff, dated 24 August 1746: *“Je profite du depart du portrait pour vous envoyer Mr dans la même caisse les airs du 3me Acte d’Artaxerxes.”*
- ↑ See HStAD, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, A, Nr. 28, *Geburt, Taufe und Einsegnung der Prinzen Friedrich August* [...]
- ↑ I am grateful to Holger Schuckelt, the curator in

- the Rüstkammer who cares for the Peffenhauser armor, for his input and clarification, in emails exchanged in late 2022. The historical inventories belonging to the various Dresden State Museums were inventoried by Elfriede Lieber *vor der Wende* and her typescript was published in 1979, as *Verzeichnis der Inventare der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden 1568–1945*. In the 18th century, the property belonging to the modern-day Rüstkammer fell into 34 different categories, according to type or function; the earliest *Paillenkammer* inventory (nr. 117) dates to 1720, with additions through 1766, and subsequent inventories were taken in 1784 (nr. 118) and 1821 (nr. 119). Dr. Schuckelt kindly provided the relevant transcription and marginalia from the 1720 inventory. A margin notation in the inventory of the *Paillenkammer*, the room where the tournament armor was stored, indicates the pieces were never returned and so they are lost today: *“Zwey blanck eiserne aufzierrath geezt und vergoldete etwas schwarz eingelaßene Curasse, als Rück- und Brust-Stücken, Ringkrägen, Schlaghauben, Armzüge, gefingerte Handschue, ganze Beintaschen mit Kniebockeln, Worbey Zwey dergleichen geezte geschloßene Helme Vorherbeschriebene 2. Curasse sind Ao. 1594. den 10. Augt. der damahligen Jungen Herrschafft als Hertzog Christianen und Johann Georgen zu Sachßen, von Dero Administratore, Herzog Friedrich Wilhelmn zu Sachßen, allerseits Hochseel. Gedächtnuß praesentiret worden.”* [margin notation] *“1. Brust stück und 1. Helm an Mahler Menckin [ie. Mengs] auf hohen Befehl verabfolget worden und nicht wieder zu erlangen gewesen.”* This entry was repeated in an 1821 inventory, where “*Mahler Menckin*” is updated to read “*Hofmaler Mengs.*”
- ↑ Although the portrait is inscribed “*Peint par Godefr. Boy. Peintre du Roy 1751*”, little is known of the artist, who may have worked at the court of Hanover, and by extension for George II.
 - ↑ For more, see Martin Schuster, *Remarks on the Development of the Recueil d’Estampes d’après les plus célèbres Tableaux de la Galerie Royale de Dresde by Carl Heinrich von Heineken 1753 and 1757* in À l’origine du livre d’art: Les recueils d’estampes comme entreprise éditoriale en Europe (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles (Milan, 2010), pp. 153–168, and his many subsequent articles on the subject, listed on the website https://www.carl-heinrich-von-heineken.de/textarchiv/
 - ↑ HStAD, 10047 Amt Dresden, Nr. 3270, op. cit note 30, fol. 112v and 114v.
 - ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 866/3, *Protokoll über die Inventur des Nachlasses von Ihrer, der höchstseligen Frau Kurfürstin zu Sachsen Maria Antonia Königlicher Hoheit*, 1780, fol. 17; there are, however, further inventories to be explored.
 - ↑ Wilhelm Hollstein, Acting Director of the Münzkabinett, communicated by email, that there is no information on the production of the medals with the profiles of the Prince, so the sources for the likenesses are currently unknown.
 - ↑ For more on the architect, see Tobias Knobelsdorf’s 2012 dissertation, Julius Heinrich Schwarze (1706–1775) – Sächsischer Architekt und Baubeamter am Ende der Augusteischen Epoche. See as well Thomas Liebsch, Stefano Torelli, Hofmaler in Dresden: sein Werk in Sachsen, Bayreuth, Lübeck und Sankt Petersburg (Berlin, 2007).
 - ↑ See Thomas Liebsch, *Vier Wittelsbacher Bildnisse aus der Werkstatt des Georg Desmarées in der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie und ihr verlorener Kontext: Zum Bayerischen Familienzimmer im Dresdner Taschenbergpalais*, in Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, 3. F., Bd. 56 (2005), pp. 193–211. Also Henning Prinz, *Die Raumgestaltung des Taschenbergpalais zur Zeit Friedrich Christians und Maria Antonia* (Part 1), Jahrbuch der Staatlichen

- Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Bd. 18, 1986, pp. 141–163 and Prinz (Part 2), Bd. 19, 1987, pp. 83–118.
- ↑ Alexander Röstel made this observation at the conference devoted to the Prince’s life, held remotely in 2022.
 - ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6: *Die Krankheiten des Kurprinzen Friedrich Christian*; also 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 767/3: *Die wegen des Königlichen Kurprinzens, Herrn Friedrich [Christian], Hoheit, Gesundheitszustand von einigen königlichen an auswärtigen Höfen subsistierenden Ministern und anderen Personen getane Vorschläge.*
 - ↑ A recipe for viper soup is provided by Richard Bradley, The Country Housewife and Lady’s Director (1728).
 - ↑ Dr. Astruch, for example, seemed to be referring to a Pro Memoria when he wrote in 1738: *“Monseigneur le Prince Frédéric a eu en naissant une disposition à une hemiplegie du coté gauche, c’est à dire à une paralysie de cete moitié du corps. De là vient que l’œil, le bras, & la main, la jambe & le pied de ce coté là n’ont pas leur mouvement naturel, & que le corps du Prince penche ordinairement de ce coté. [...] Le principal mal, qui reste en à la jambe gauche, que le Prince ne peut point étendre tout à fait. Quelque effort qu’il fasse le genou il reste toujours un peu crochu, & le pied ne saurait se plier en dedans comme il faudrait. Le premier vice vient du racourissement ou de la restriction des muscles flechissent de la jambe, & des tendons qu’ils forment sous le jarret ; Et le second d’un racourissement pareil des muscles tenseurs du pied & du gros tendon d’achille que ces muscles forment vers le talon par leur reunion. Ce double default dans le mouvement de la jambe fatigue le Prince, quand il marche, n’apprise le pied gauche que par la pointe, & qu’il tient toujours le genou crochu. [...]”*. HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 767/3, fols. 1–6.
 - ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fols. 6–7: *“À la fin de l’an 1731 on acheva la Cure qu’une certaine personne avoit entrepris, de froter tout le Corps du Prince, surtout les hanches, les genoux, et les pieds, avec certaines graisses. Mais on n’en retira pas grand profit, et S.A.R. ne pouvoit point encore se soutenir seule avec le secours de la canne, ni se tenir assise droite, sans le secours du dossier et des bras de la chaise, Elle ne pouvoit non plus monter au lit, ni en descendre, ni s’y asseoir ni s’y touer sans secours. La faiblesse de la main gauche etoit aussi si grande, que S.A.R. ne pouvoit pas meme empoinner le chapeau sans le laisser tomber. Vers la fin de fevrier de 1732 on commença une cure qui avoit trois objets differens. L’un etoit, de purifier la masse du sang. L’autre, de rendre les nerfs plus etendus, plus souples, et plus sorts et Le troisieme etoit, de Luy fixer l’esprit et l’attention pour apprendre a marcher et de luy procurer du moins trois heures par jour de l’exercice, a la faveur de differens jeux, qui exigeaient du mouvement.”*
 - ↑ HStAD, 12527, Nr. 2, Fol. 7: “My dear son, it is with much pleasure that I have learned from your letters, that you are in perfect health, and that after having a couple of days of rest, you will begin the baths, and I wish with all my heart, that by the grace and blessing of God, you will achieve the desired outcome.”
 - ↑ HStAD, 12527, Nr. 2A, fol. 14, dated July 20, 1732. The messaging continued, as evidenced by a letter from the Queen dated April 1, 1739, HStAD, 12527, Nr. 2B, fol.85, where she referenced the healing of the paralytic at Capernaum, from the Bible: *“le Paralitique a la Piscine de Jerusalem a attend pendant 38 ans quelqu’un le mit dedans quand l’ange donneroit le mouvement a l’eau et ce ne fût après 38 de desir d’etre gueri que Jesus Christ lui rendit la santé miraculeusement il faut donc preserveres dans la devotion, le desir, et la confiance.”*
 - ↑ HStAD, 12527, nr. 1.
 - ↑ HStAD, 12527, Nr. 2A, fol. 94, in a letter to the king dated June 14, 1737.
 - ↑ HStAD, 12527, Nr. 261, May 8, 1732: “I walked in

such a way, that everyone was surprised.”

- ↑ HStAD, 12527, Nr. 261, May 9, 1733: “As I proposed to do something marvelous today, so I started it with a solid exercise of my feet; at 7 o’clock in the morning, I came into the entrance hall with Mr. Kramersbach, the pages, my valet de chambre, and the jester (?), I had mimicked the grenadiers by marching with my feet well planted and accompanied by music, sometimes I ordered my troops [to line up] in front, to the side and behind me, in a very fine arrangement.”
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fol. 7r.-v: “Around the month of June, H.R.H. went for the third time to the baths at Töplitz, and with these treatments, he acquired such strength, that he could walk alone with only a cane, and hold himself upright, without help, on a chair or on horseback.”
- ↑ The baths at Aix are cited in HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fol. 7v; also Loc. 356/4, fols. 390–95. Aix la Chapelle is modern-day Aachen, Germany, though perhaps Aix les Bains was meant.
- ↑ The baths at Weisbaden are cited in HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fol. 20v.
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fols. 58–64.
- ↑ Thomas Liebsch has published a Who’s Who in Harald Marx, Sehnsucht und Wirklichkeit: Malerei für Dresden im 18. Jahrhundert (Dresden, 2009), pp. 292–97.
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 767/3, fol. 13–28: “a machine, which he will have made, to send to the Prince. It must be designed in a way, that he can walk without help. The plan is to accustom him, little by little, to put weight on his knees.”
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 767/3, fol. 30r.-v: “A few years ago, I met a very accomplished English therapist, named Tappé, who is famous for the individual treatments he designed for persons who were crippled by accidents or naturally (from birth.) His great reputation made me think, he could be of use to our royal prince.” Surgeon John Dappe, Pall Mall, London, is named in The National Archives, London, 63M84/388, in reference to a document held by Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, concerning a letter dated July 24, 1742, from Dappe to Lady Betty Heathcote concerning treatment of her son’s back problems.
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 767/3, fol. 46r.-v.
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 767/3, fols. 52r. & v.
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fol. 152–54.
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fols. 174–175v.
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fols. 44–51.
- ↑ HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fols. 187–190.
- ↑ HStAD, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 666/8, *Correpondance du Comte de Wackerbarth* [...], 1737–39, fol. 239.
- ↑ The primary archival documentation for the wedding is found in HStAD, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 783/1-783/13.
- ↑ HStAD, 12527, Nr. 261, fol. 450: “I learned this same evening, the happy news that his majesty the king has given me permission to travel to Italy and to begin this journey by accompanying the Queen consort to Naples. From there I will go to the island of Ischia, 4.2 or 4 posts from Naples, and then onward to Rome, etc.”
- ↑ For his father’s and grandfather’s Grand Tours, see *Maureen Cassidy Geiger, Versailles and Dresden: Myths and Models* (Versailles, forthcoming, 2023); also

Katrin Keller, “*Mein Herr befindet sich gottlob wohl!*”: *Sächsische Prinzen auf Reisen*. Deutsch-Französische Kulturbibliothek, vol. 3. (Leipzig: Universität Leipzig, 1994).

65 HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, fols. 74–94, in particular, fols. 91–92:

“The Sentiment of Dr. Violante concerning the cure to be taken by H.R.H.

On July 4, 1738, the royal Neapolitan physicians named below visited H.R.H. the crown prince, namely Mr. François Buoncore, Mr. Joseph Prisco, Mr. Thomas Fontana, together with Mr. Casimiro de Alteris, one of the leading doctors in Naples.

Together we observed his knees, tendons, and spine. After that, the medical history provided by Mr. de Heuger in Dresden was read by everyone and carefully considered. The following day, I presented my opinion, that the illness was, in the first place, from birth. 2. There were different convulsive regions. 3. A problem with the left hip is very pronounced. 4. The vertebrae are extremely loose and weak. To try to correct this condition, I recommend that it is necessary for H.R.H., after having been lightly submerged in the mineral waters on Ischia, notably the one called Gurgitelli, as the heat could do more harm than good and the water should be lukewarm; that during the baths, ointments suitable to releasing his tendons, should be prepared, whether of dog’s oil, earthworms, bear fat or snake oil and distilled lavender oil; that could be rubbed into the muscles, to relax the knees, H.R.H. should be lying down, and carefully wrapped in cloth bandages, and later sponges soaked in the mineral waters should be applied over the bandages, for an hour; returning to the nourishing bouillons, and drugs suitable for purifying the blood, and lymph nodes [...].

The other doctors were of the same opinion, and it was determined that H.R.H. should take lukewarm baths in Gurgitelli water for fifteen days, followed by five days of rest, then another fifteen days of baths on the island, in the waters of La Fontana, which are similar to fresh water baths. And that one could make him take the bouillons already mentioned after the first series of baths,

and the cure should be repeated next September. It is my opinion that the cure in the Gurgitelli waters is essential and appropriate for allowing H.R.H. to recover movement and strength; but I doubt that two cures are sufficient. In my opinion, that the treatments should extend to two or three years in a row, for the desired effect. This is my sincere opinion, delivered in writing, composed in Naples on July 4, 1738. Dr. Violante, the king’s physician.” On Ischia, the Prince was treated by Dr. Gian Andrea D’Aloisio, who discussed the Prince in his publication *L’inferno Istruito* (Naples, 1757, pp. 124–5).

66 Dr. Buonocore was so proud of his princely patient, that he had a marble plaque celebrating his cure installed at the entrance to the villa, where it can be seen still today.

67 In a letter to the Jesuit Father Guarini in Dresden, dated Nov. 11, 1738, HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 666/8, fols. 58–63:

“What rests with me to add to my report on the health of this prince, is that I have spoken separately to the five doctors who gave their opinions in writing, concerning his condition before beginning the cure in the mineral waters on Ischia, and I was not persuaded by the advice of Buoncore, nor that of Violante, because I believed them to be a bit too partial, the first having an obvious passion for Ischia, where he has his property, also his parents, and the other because he is with his parents, whom he loves, but I am more fully persuaded by Fontana, Prisco, and Alteris. Fontana told me that he was of the opinion

that the baths would have even greater effect next spring, if they were repeated, but as I pointed out to him that H.R.H. had already taken forty-two, and that after such a long cure, the strength of his legs (knees) has not improved, it may be that the best course would be to wait two or three months, for the benefits of the cure to manifest itself more fully than is presently clear; I told him about the agitation, the worries, and insomnia that the prince had suffered after the cure, and with this feedback, he changed his mind.

Prisco said more readily than the others, that according to the advice he had provided in writing, he did not believe that the baths were effective through the skin, but rather with inhaling, and that after the efforts that had been made, he believed it was better to spare the prince’s mental health, than to exhaust him with further remedies serving only the treatment, and other criteria, when reason dictates, without resorting to apothecaries.

Finally, Alteris said that he still hoped that in three or four months, the prince would experience even greater benefits, but he was not of the opinion that he should begin a new cure, when the one he had just completed was triple the customary seven or eight baths, even if the prince’s baths were moderated and correct for his condition, but that the number went well beyond what was normal. According to him, it was time to suspend all other remedies, that is to say, the ointments and bouillons, and in this regard, H.R.H. could resume them while here, but only once a day, so his stomach will not be affected. He added, that it would be good to help H.R.H. in his use of the machines, and mechanical assistance, and that in one or two years, one might prescribe Cinabarin remedies, for which he gave me the recipe and the instructions, in case the doctors at our court agree with his opinion.

From the above, you will see, my Father, the various sentiments that these men have given, in their initial consultations; I ask you to please report this to their majesties, so they are fully informed about the state of H.R.H.”

68 The discovery is noted by Wackerbarth in a letter to Father Guarini dated Jan. 7, 1739, HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 666/8, fol. 97. For more on the discovery and its aftermath, see Pablo Vázquez-Gestal, *From Court Painting to King’s Books: Displaying Art in Eighteenth-century Naples* (1734–1746) in Susan Bracken, et al (eds.), *Collecting and Dynastic Ambition* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2006), pp. 85–107.

69 Among the first to study the Prince’s Roman sojourn was Wiebke Fastenrath Vinattieri, *Die Katholische Hofkirche in Dresden. Der Bau, die Ausstattung und die Reise des Kurprinzen Friedrich Christian von Sachsen nach Rome* (1738–40), in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. 54/55 (Berlin, 2000–2001), pp. 238–309; also Vinattieri, *Sulle trace de primo Neoclassicismo. Il viaggio del principe ereditario Friedrich Christian di Sassonia in Italia* (1738–1740), *Zeitenblicke* 2, no. 3 (2003; www.zeitenblicke.de/2003/03/fastenrath) Her forthcoming article, “... *auf der Suche nach Kuriositäten*”: *Joseph Anton Gabaleon Graf Wackerbarth-Salmour / Ein prädestinierter Oberhofmeister für Friedrich Christian von Sachse*, is forthcoming, in an as-yet untitled volume of conference papers to be published in 2023 or 2024. That conference, where I provided the keynote, was devoted to the Prince and convened by Susanne Müller-Bechtel in Leipzig in June 2021; my own contribution to that publication is titled: *A Princely Muse: Friedrich Christian of Saxony and our adventures in the archives and on the road.*

70 The novenas to St. Francis Xavier are noted in

HStAD, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian (1722–1763), Nr. 264, *Papiers qui regardent mes Devotions de S. Francois Xavier l’année 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746.*

71 See Veronika M. Seifert, “*Spionaggio industriale?*” *La Fabbrica die Mosaici in Vaticano e in Sassonia*, in Ute Koch and Cristina Ruggero (eds.), Heinrich Graf von Brühl (1700–1763) Ein sächsischer Mäzen in Europa (Dresden, 2017), pp. 317–31.

72 HStAD, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 666/8, fol. 131v.: “*Ayant appris par V.R. que le Roi notre Maitre souhaitoit pouvoir venir à Rome, il a d’abord fait faire un Plan pour aggrandir Sa Maison, et l’orner d’une Galerie qu reussiroit aussi spacieuse que celle du Connetable Colonna sous laquelle il feroit construire des Offices Remises de Carosses. Il m’a dit qu’à bon compte si S.M. ne pouvoit pas faire ce voyage et jouir de ce batiment, Monsgr. Le Prince Xavier et ses autres freres pourront au moins en profiter lorsqu’ils viendrent a Rome.*”

73 From Wackerbarth-Salmour’s journal, HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 768/2 – 769/1:

April 6, 1739: “*Le jeune Prince Santobuono dina avec S.A.R^{te}, la quelle S’assit ensuïte devant un fameux peintre françois nommé Sublayras.*”

April 14, 1739: “*Le 14. S.A.R^{te}. entendit la messe chez Elle, et S’assit tant l’après diner, que le matin devant le Peintre Subleyras.*”

June 1, 1739: “*Le 1^r. Juin. Monseigneur le Prince Royal ne sortit point le matin mais il assit devant le Peintre Sublairs* [sic] *pour faire travailler à Son Portrait.*”

June 8, 1739: “*Le 8. S.A.R^{te}. entendit la Messe au logis, et S’assit devant le Peintre Subleras* [sic], *qui a mis la derniere main à Son Portrait. Il a beaucoup de ressemblance, et le tableau est parfaitement bien peint de l’aveu de tous les Connoisseurs.*”

Sept. 1, 1739: “*Le Pr^r. Septembre. S.A.R^{te}. passa la matinée au logis attendu le mauvais tems, qu’il faisoit; Elle S’assit devant le peintre Subleras pour lui faire retoucher la copie du tableau, dont l’original a été envoyé à V. M^{te} par l’estaffette precedente.*”

From the Prince’s diaries, HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 355/3-355/5 (the entire entries are here provided, to demonstrate the Prince’s style of reporting):

April 6, 1739: “*le 6^{me}. Avril je fus le matin au College Romain ou j’entendis la Messe dans une petite Chappelle de la S^{te}. Vierge en laquelle il y a une Image de N.D. dont le R.P. Guarini fit est fort devot. Je pris ensuite les Chocolat dans la Chambre du Susmentionné Pere Guarini ou le P. Recteur du College mes presenta la description de tout le musée du P. Kircher et une autre livre ou il y a tout les habillemens de differents Religions d’ordres qui soient par tout le monde et ou le P. Timoni me presenta 28. Reliques tres belles. En sortant de la je passai au musée qui est une tres belle Chose à voir et qui a beaucoup de ressemblance avec le Zwinger de Dresde. Apres avoir vu tout le Musée qu’ faudroit trop long de tems pour decrire je me contente de dire d’avoir ete voir les aux Chambres de S^t. Louis Gonzague dans les quelles le S. demeurrit et qui sont a present autant de Chappelles excepté une espece de Sale ou l’on voit toute la vie en autant de tableaux. Le jeune S^{ant} Don Gregorio Caracuolo fils du Prince Santabuono dina avec nous et Le S^t. Subleras [Subleyras] peintre François commença la meme apres diné mon portrait.* [margin: * Je fus apres cela voir le Sanctuaire de Msg^r. Crispi Vicaire de S^t. Jean de Laterent.]”*

April 14, 1739: “*le 14^e. Avril. Subleras* [Subleyras] *ayant demandé une journée entiere pour continuer mon portrait qu’il a commença il y a quelques jours je me fis peindre aujourdhui tant le matin que l’apres diné et fus à l’heure ordinaire à la Minerva.*”

May 3, 1739: “*M^r. le Grand Maitre me fit voir un tableau fait par un certain Vernier* [ie. Vernet] *que Subleras* [Subleyras] *a envoyé qui est tres beau mais dont les Couleurs sont mauvaises quoique le peintre de ce tableau dise qu’il n’en a pas pu trouver de meilleur a la hate.*”

June 1, 1739: “*le 1^r. Juin. Je me levai à huit heures du matin et entendis la messe vers les dix heures et demi au logis. Subleras* [Subleyras] *continua ensuite mon portrait jusqu’à ce que la Princesse Albani descendiße fut descendue pour le diné. Le C. de Porta dina aussi chez moi. Je reposai l’apres midi pendant une heure et Subleras ne pouvant continuer le portrait à cause d’un colique qui lui est survenuë je fis appeler Pañaf Palavicini pour qu’il me lise quelque chose de la description des antiquitées qu’il avoit deja commencé le jour precedent.en effet. Je fus ensuite à l’Anima aux 40. heures et reçus aux retour le monde comme de Coutume. Je retournai par monte Cavallo vers les neuf heures du Soir.*”

74 Consideration was given to sending Subleyras to Naples, to supply the King with portraits of his son-in-law, Charles VII, and daughter, Queen Maria Amalia.

75 HStAD, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian (1722–1763), Nr. 2., fol. 170, from a letter dated Oct. 1, 1739:

“*Votre portrait Mon cher fils m’a fait bien de plaisir, il faut que vous ayies beaucoup grandi, et prie de l’embonpoin, et si il vous ressemble les voyages vous en en tout fort changer, c’est de qu’oy j’espere en quelque tems d’icy, j’uger moimeme, quand saurois le plaisir de vous embrasser en personne, [...].*”

76 HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 355/3, fols. 321v–322.

77 For further details, see the 2015 dissertation by Iris Haist, *Opere Fatte di Scultura da Pietro Bracci: Skulptur im Kontext des Römischen Settecento* (Universität Bern).

78 These remarks are contained HStAD, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 666/8, *Correspondance du Comte de Wackerbarth* [...], 1737–39.

79 See Sascha Kansteiner, *Der “Graue Athlet” aus Rome* in *Dresdener Kunstblätter*, 2020, pp. 51–57; also Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, *Bringing Rome Home: Gifts and souvenirs acquired by crown prince Friedrich Christian of Saxony/Poland during his sojourn in the Eternal City, 1738–39* (forthcoming, Madrid, 2023).

80 These remarks are contained HStAD, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 666/8, *Correpondance du Comte de Wackerbarth* [...], 1737–39.

81 HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 355/4, fol. 45v, for Nov. 3, 1739.

82 The Queen’s opinions and arguments extended to four pages, in a letter dated Jan. 23, 1740, HStAD, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian (1722–1763), Nr. 4B: “*le Roi et moj souhaiterions fort, qu’avant que d’y aler vous vous accoutumassies a ne plus manger gràs les jours maigres, les poisons etant si bons en Italie et particulièrement a venise il vous sera toujours plus aise de le commencer la qu’à Vienne, ou il pourroit causer du scandale de vous voir manger gràs avec une santé aussi parfait que tout le monde nous assure a notre grand consolation que vous jouisses et ce que le de Wakerbarth meme me confirme dans toutes ses lettres la foiblesse de vos jambes [...]. n’est pas une raison suffisante pour vous dispenser des precepts de l’Eglise, et je trouve meme ridicule qu’une personne qui se porte a merveille demande la permission des medecins pour les observer, connoissant votre piete, j’espere que nonobstant ce que les medecins pourroient peuteetre objecter, vous vous soumettes volontiers a ce que Votre Pere et mere et qui plus est votre conscience meme demandoit, ce qui est plaisant est que nous etions toujours dans l’opinion que depuis que vous ne prenes plus des remedes vous avies toujours mange maigre les jours que l’eglise l’ordonne jusqu’a ce que nous appris par des lettres particulieres d’Italies, que vous en aves demande la dispense a Rome pour toute votre suite ce que nous avons fort desapprouves, surtout dans un pais Catholique ou il n’est pas difficile a trouver du poison ne croyes pas mon cher Fils que ce soit par mauvaise humeur que vous tiens ce longue discour, mais vous bien persuade que c’est la tendresse seule qui me fait parler de la sorte come je la suit [...].”*

83 The Queen’s harangue about the wig began while he was in Rome, as in a letter from April 27, 1739: “*je crois qu’il sera bientôt possible que vous porties vos propres cheveux au moins si vous les aves laissé étroitre aussitot après les bains come le Roi avoit ordonne a votre depart de Dresde, il y a je crois 3 mois tout au plus qu’on les à coupes a votre frère Charles et il peut deja aler sans perique, vous saves combien peu le R. et moj aimons les periques pour les jeunes personnes ainsï vous ne sauries les quite assez tot, si vous voules nous faire plaisir [...].*”

She continued, in a letter from May 20, 1739: “*c’est de vous faire croire les cheveux ce que le Roi votre Pere souhaite fort, et d’oter la Peruque aussitôt qu’il sera seulement possible car il veut absolument vous revoir avec vos cheveux et le prendroit tres mal s’il vou revoyoitamment [...].*”

On July 26, she acknowledged the welcome news, that he had finally forsaken his wig, notwithstanding the likelihood of his wearing it in his portraits:

“*je suis charmee de voir par votre lettre du 9. que vous aves prevenu du 15 leurs les ordres du R. votre Pere en portant vos cheveux sans l’aide d’un tout ou d’une Perugue, je suis sur que cela vous ira beaucoup mieux et serois fachee, si on avoit fait vos Portrais en Perque, ce que je crains pourtant sans arrive puisque c’est seulement depuis peu que vous l’aves quitte la chaleur qu’il fait Presque tout le tems que nous somme icy [...].*”

Wackerbarth-Salmour also communicated this news to Father Guarini in Dresden, on May 15, 1739 (HStAD, Geheimes Kabinett 10026, Loc. 666/8, *Correpondance du Comte de Wackerbarth* [...], 1737–39), fol. 224:

“*Vous trouveres dans mon Journal que Monsgr. Le Prince Royal a quitté la Perruque. Cela va confirmer le bruit qui court à Rome qu’il doit prendre le petit collet. On auroit obei plutost aux ordres de la Reine qui lui a commandé de laisser croire ses cheveux mais la chaleur excessive qu’il faisoit à Portici et qui obligea S.A.R. à se faire saigner ne le permit pas. Ensuite Violanti qui etoit d’opinion qu’elle dut reprendre les bains trouva a propos de lui faire couper les cheveux.*”

By the time he arrived in Venice, his hair had grown in enough to be styled.

84 The entries in the Prince’s diaries (HStDA, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 355/05) are as follows:

April 5, 1740: “*le 5^e. Avril. Le R.P. Confesseur vint ce matin là chez moi mais il ne fit qu’ecouter mes leçons parce que la Rosalba feum fameuse en l’art de peindre fut ce meme jour pour la premiere fois chez moi afin de faire mon portrait.*”

April 9, 1740: “*le 9^e. Avril. Il y eut ce jour là un orrage terrible qui ne cessa que l’apres midi vers les quatre heures. Ce Mauvais tems empecha la Rosalba de venir afin de continuer mon portrait, et nous fumes avertir le R.P. Confesseur de ne pas s’hasarder à venir de peur que sa gondole ne fut renversé par le vent ainsi que l’on été trois autres.*”

April 11, 1740: “*le 11^e. Avril. La Rosalba vint ce matin et continua mon portrait. Le P. Giraldi m’ayant invité d’intertenin du panegyrique qu’il fit sur les Epines de N.S.J.C. j’y allai ce matin là et l’entendis. Il etoit doctement et bien composé.*”

May 30, 1740: “*Je fus apres la partie de billard chez la Rosalba qui travailla à mon portrait. Ensuite je fus à S. Maria Nova, ou apres avoir faites mes prieres accoutumées je reçus la Benediction du Venerable.*”

June 2, 1740: “*Je fus le meme jour chez la Rosalba.*”

June 8, 1740: “*Je fus chez la Rosalba pour faire retoucher mon portrait et ensuite à la Salute. La Sig^{ra}. Pisana qui se rendit chez la Rosalba vint avec la Princesse de Campoflorido et ses deux fils ne rendre visite de meme que la Sig^{ra}. M^{te}. Lucrezia sa fille.*”

Wackerbarth-Salmour only mentions the sittings of April 5th and June 8th.

85 Peter Kerber, *Eyewitness Views: Making History in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Los Angeles, 2007), pp. 46–50.

86 Marieschi’s print was the source for Francesco Guardi’s c.1760–70 view of the Regatta in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA cat. 307). The Prince of Wolfenbüttel was in Venice for the Regatta, and mingled with the Prince; some letters and accounts of his Grand Tour are found in the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, STAWO1.

87 The first 20 pages actually record his sister’s passage through the Venetian Republic in 1738, en route to Naples.

88 HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 666/8, fol. 207v.:

“*Si Le Roi ordonne que Monseigneur le Prince Royal en s’en retournant en Saxe s’approche de Vienne de maniere qu’Il puisse y voir non seulement l’Imperatrice Douairiere Sa grande Mere mais aussi l’Empereur, cela ne pourra que causer une veritable joye à S.A.R. je regrette seulement qu’attendu la foiblesse de ses jambes. Elle ne pourra pas s’y distinguer par les qualites du Corps comme je suis persuadé qu’Elle se distinguera par celles du cœur par ses Talens et Ses belles manieres. Je Lui recommanderai de s’exercer en attendant dans la langue Allemande. Depuis que nous sommes en Italie S.A.R. a presque toujours parle Italien.*”

Years earlier, in 1736, his mother praised him for learning French, the “*langues etrangeres,*” but urged him not to neglect his mother tongue, German.

89 For an impression of his time in Vienna, see Cassidy-Geiger, op. cit., *In der und ausser der Clausur.*

90 The primary documentation in the HStAD is incomplete, perhaps due to wartime losses; what survives falls within the Oberhofmarschallamt 10006, B, Nr. 30a-b. Some further reports are found in the same section, in the Hoftagebücher, O, series A. Relevant material in Munich is also lacking. For insights, see Daniela Antonini’s 2014 dissertation, *Das Weisse Gold der Wittelsbacher – Zum Sammlungsbesitz des Meissener Porzellans der Bayerischen Kurfürsten* im 18. Jahrhundert (Bonn.)

91 Charles Burney reported, in *The Present State of Music in Germany*, vol. 2 (1775), that their son, Charles (1752–81), was “so lame, that he is obliged to wheel himself about in a chair, having not only lost the use, but almost the appearance of his legs.”

92 Watanabe-O’Kelly, op. cit. The contribution to this volume by Jóhannes Ágústsson will doubtless reference the articles by Niman Eichholz »Cataloghi, numeri, Schräncke und Fächer.« Zur Musikaliensammlung und den historischen Noteninventaren der sächsischen Kurfürstin Maria Antonia Walpurgis, and his own.

93 See Horst Schlechte, *Das geheime politische Tagebuch des Kurprinzen Friedrich Christian: 1751 bis 1757* (Weimar, 1992).

94 The documentation for their odyssey via Prague and existence in Munich is limited to some travel documentation in the HStAD, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, Nr. 171a-171f, *Reisen des Hofes nach Teplitz* [Teplice], Pirna, Prag und München während der Kriegsunruhen in Sachsen; also T 01, Nr. 015H, *Reisen nach Prague*, 1760, which together demonstrate that the family traveled with their staff as well as equipment to run a household and entertain in Prague and Munich.

95 For the literature, see Berit Kreisig, *Das Leben und Wirken des Kurprinzen und späteren Kurfürsten Friedrich Christian von Sachsen und das Retablisement in der Zeit von 1722 bis 1763* (MA thesis, Dresden, 1992), 4.7: *Die Krankheit des Kurfürsten Friedrich Christian, sein überraschender Tod und der Versuch einer Charakteristik*, pp. 77–80 and 103–105. I thank Marcus Köhler for his assistance in accessing this chapter in the unpublished typescript deposited in the SLUB.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, *Die Krankheiten des Kurprinzen Friedrich Christian*, fols. 108–111: Dr. Francesco Buoncore’s medical opinion, dated July 14, 1738, [translated from the Italian by Dr. Ornella Piazza, Naples, 2009]:

“The Crown Prince, first son of the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, accompanied Her Majesty the Queen in her happy journey, with the aim, among the others, to try our Springs [Bagni] qualities. He arrived in Naples the 22nd of June and I was among those who had to express their opinion about His Royal Highness’ illness and about its proper care.

The medical consultation was organized for the 2nd of July: the Count of Wackerbarth told us any information which could be useful to fix a first idea of the problem which was explained by Dr Filippo Violante, physician of the Royal Family of Saxony.

I could read a medical report [consultation] of the very erudite Mr Heucher and I could hear the whole pathological anamnesis thanks to Mr Violante [who accompanied the prince to Naples]: I prefer not to repeat the narration but I think it is sufficient to report briefly what was possible to conclude from the medical inspection of the Prince’s body and from the other doctors’ trustful account.

When I learned all the Prince’s anamnesis details, we passed to observe his body. His bones appeared normal in size, shape and symmetry. The lumbar vertebrae were far from normal position because of an easily discernable and evident preternatural, muscular and tendon contractions. Nutrition and hydration state were normal.

The main alterations were in the muscle apparatus, with contraction of gluteus and popliteus and shortening of tendons such as His Royal Highness could not physiologically stretch his legs. This evident tendon shortening, the stiffness of it (at physical inspection) and a sort of associated dryness prevented the Prince from standing or walking, since it is clear that lumbar muscles and the other muscles devoted to these activities (standing and walking) are immune from lesion. The left part of the body is the most affected while on the right side there is a more severe involvement of the upper extremity than of the leg. The left arm and in particular the hand cannot move quickly or harmoniously and naturally.

These were the results of the clinical inspection of the Prince’s body and our

conclusion is that the illness of the Prince is among the convulsive diseases. For convulsive disease we mean a nervous disease as it is originated in the nervous system even if it affects the muscles and the tendons. About the origin we are uncertain. I learned that the Queen, Mother of His Royal Highness, while pregnant suffered a shock observing an injured animal dying and hearing the beast crying, she was moving in an uncontrolled, generalized, way. Nobody ignores the effects that the maternal mental status exercises on the foetus; about this topic, as well as the daily common observation we have the expert opinion of the erudite philosophers Ludovico de la Forge and Mallebranche: that is to say a strict correlation exists between the mother and the embryo and an exchange of “emotions” pleasant and unpleasant may intercourse. The fetus “fantasies” rarely affect the mother while the emotional alterations starting in the mother body, which are harmless for her, when reach the susceptible fetus can impress upon it relevant consequences. The strange and unusual sight could cause confusion and agitation in the mother’s brain and shake the baby’s nervous system, causing an epileptic or convulsive attack in the fetus. Since an insult applied to the nervous system, once established, can be intrinsically repetitive (even in absence of new external stimulations) it is possible that during the intrauterine life, the epileptic attack manifested itself more times, causing the increase and stabilisation of the muscle and nerves disease.

Once born, the Prince showed rolling eyes, twisted hands and arms and almost paralytic legs. The child grew up and all the parts become bigger but did not develop happily; years passing by, few things improved while many other defects became clear: the inferior limbs paralysis, the general weakness, the nose bleeding, a long slight consuming fever followed by the recovery, a nasty cough, the sweat. The Prince was followed and helped by very good doctors who achieved some successes, which it is evident since his health improved in comparison with the past.

With these premises, what is the prognosis of His Royal Highness? Considering the nature of the nervous tissue and the length of the illness and the scarce results of the therapies implies complete recovery is impossible, I have to admit this, in spite of my wishes

and for the love of the truth. On the other hand, it is true that growing up His Royal Highness’ health has improved and this was obtained by the exercise (I admired the attention and the care of the Count of Wackerbarth in attending the Prince): the legs are more and more fluid every day. With the aim of obtaining strength and confidence in movements, in agreement with all the physicians, I proposed the use of the very famous Bagni of Ischia and mainly the very appreciated Gurgitello sources, which are suggested by our doctors in similar cases and which qualities are certified by the every day experience. This source has the proper concentration of minerals which are believed able to solve, reduce and eliminate (ie. the toxic agents) and their richness is suitable to cure nervous illnesses originated from convulsions.

The Bagni must be taken for a long period but with interruption of some days between two following applications to reduce collateral effects. Moreover, since His Royal Highness suffered in other times from bleeding and fever, it is important to avoid the excess of heat, measuring the water temperature by a thermometer and using it only at very moderate temperature to minimize his sweating. I prescribed the application of mud from the Gurgitello spring to the most suffering parts: the knees and the left arm. To relax the tendons under the knees I prescribed dog-oil or earthworm-oil. If the thermal waters prescribed were somehow deleterious, I suggested the Bagni of Fontana, to alleviate and dilute the effects of the minerals, considering the sweetness and placidity of this spring Fontana.

This is what my weak intelligence was able to suggest for the advantage of the Royal Prince; I do not say anything about his life style since His Royal Highness has as teachers and intendants the very clever doctor Violante, physician of the Saxon Royal Family, and the excellent Count Wackerbarth, a very careful man, and I pray God they are able to assist and help His Royal Highness.

Naples, 14 July 1738
Francesco Buoncore
Physician of the King and
First Doctor of the Kingdom”

Appendix B

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu observes the Prince, Venice, 1739–40

“The Prince of Saxony is expected here in a few days, and has taken a palace exactly over against my house. As I had the honour to be particularly well acquainted (if one may use that phrase) with his mother when I was at Vienna, I believe I cannot be dispensed with from appearing at the conversations which I hear he intends to hold: which is some mortification to me, who am wrap up among my books with antiquarians and virtuosi.” *Letter to the Countess of Pomfret dated Venice, Nov. or Dec. 1739, published in The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, vol. II (1887), p. 55.*

“I went to see the ceremony of high mass celebrated by the Doge, on Christmas-eve. He appointed a gallery for me and the Prince of Wolfenbittel, where no other person was admitted but those of our company. A greater compliment could not have been paid me if I had been a sovereign princess. [...] The Electoral Prince of Saxony is here in public, and makes a prodigious expense. His governor is Count Wackerbarth, son to that Madame Wackerbart with whom I was so intimate at Vienna; on which account he shows me particular civilities, and obliges his pupil to do the same. I was last night at an entertainment made for him by the Signora Pisani Mocenigo, which was one of the finest I ever saw, and he desired me to sit next to him in a great chair: [...] *Letter to Mr. Wortley Montagu dated Dec. 25, 1739, op. cit., p. 57.*

“He [the Spanish ambassador to Naples, Campoflorido] gives a great entertainment at night, where all the noble Venetians of both sexes will be in masque. I am engaged to go with Signora Justiniani Gradinego, who is one of the first ladies here. The Prince of Saxony has invited me to come into his box at the opera; but I have not yet accepted of it, he having always four ladies with him that are the wives to the four senators deputed to do the honours of Venice; and I am afraid they should think I interfere with them in the honour of his conversation, which they are very fond of, and have behave very coldly to some other noble Venetian ladies that have taken the liberty of his box.” *Letter to Mr. Wortley Montagu dated Jan. 25, 1740, op. cit., pp. 58–9.*

“We are now in the midst of carnival amusements, which are more than usual, for the entertainment of the Electoral Prince of Saxony, and I am obliged to live in a hurry very inconsistent with philosophy, and extreme different from the life I projected to lead.” *Letter to the Countess of Pomfret dated Feb. 17, 1740, op. cit., p. 59.*

“[...] the Prince of Saxony stays till the second of May; in the meantime there are entertainments given him almost every day of one sort or other, and a regatta preparing, which is expected by all strangers with great impatience. He went to see the arsenal three days ago, waited on by a numerous nobility of both sexes; the Bucentaur was adorned and launched, a magnificent collation given, and we sailed a little way in it: I was in company with the Signora Justiniani Gradinego, and Signora Marina Crizzo. As you have been at Venice, there is no occasion of describing those things to you. There were two cannons founded in his presence, and a galley built and launched in an hour’s time. Last night there was a concert of voices and instruments at the Hospital of the Incurabili, where there were two girls that, in the opinion of all people, excel either Faustina or Cuzzoni, but you know they are never permitted to sing on any theatre.

Lord Fitzwilliam is expected in this town tonight, on his return to England, as I am told. The prince’s behavior is very obliging to all, and in no part of it liable to censure, though I think there is nothing to be said in praise of his genius; I suppose you know he has been lame from his birth, and is carried about in a chair, though a beautiful person from the waist upwards: it is said his family design him a Church, he having four brothers who are fine children.” *Letter to Mr. Wortley Montagu dated March 29, 1740, op. cit., pp. 62–3.*

“[...] while the Prince of Saxony stays here I am engaged not to move: not upon his account, as you may very well imagine, but here are many entertainments given, and to be given him by the public, which it would be disobliging to my friends here to run away from; [...] *Letter to the Countess of Pomfret dated April 1740, op. cit., p. 64.*

“In the meantime I am tied here as long as the Prince of Saxony, which is an uncertain term, but I think will not be long after the Ascension; [...] *Letter to the Countess of Pomfret dated May 17, 1740, op. cit., p. 67.*

“Lord Scarborough’s terrible history is publicly known. Count Wackerbart talked to me of it last night at the Assembly, which is three times a week for the entertainment of the Prince of Saxony, at the expense of the Senate, who gave him the most magnificent ball I ever saw, in the great Theatre on Shrove Tuesday. I could not avoid going there with a set of noble ladies. I was led in by the Procurator G. [Grimani] and placed next the prince by his own direction. I was told since that the Princess of Holstein took it ill, and as she is married into a Sovereign House, I think she had reason, but he affects giving her some mortification in return for many that the present King and Queen [of Poland] have received from her, when she was all-powerful in the reign of the late King of Poland. I was but once at the Ridotto during the whole Carnival. A Regatta is intended after Easter for the Prince, which is said to be one of the fines shows in the world, and never given since the King of Denmark was here, which is thirty years ago. Many English and others of all nations are expected to come to see it. [...]” *Undated letter published in George Paston [Emily Morse Symonds], Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her Times (1907), p. 378.*

About the regatta held in the prince’s honour on May 4, 1740:

“It is a race of Boats: they are accompany’d by vessels which they call Piotes and Bichones, that are built at the Expence of the nobles and strangers that have a mind to display their magnificence. They are a sort of Machines [sic] adorn’d with all that sculpture and gilding can do to make a shineing [sic] appearance. Several of them cost £1000 sterling and I believe none less than 500. They are row’d by Gondoliers dress’d in rich Habits suitable to what they represent. There was enough of them to look like a little Fleet, and I own I never saw a finer sight.

Signor Alvisio Mocenigo’s was the Garden of Hesperides. The whole fable was represented by different Statues ... Signor Paul Dona had the chariot of Diana, who appear’d Hunting in a large wood, the trees, hounds, Stag, and Nymphs all done naturally, the Gondoliers dress’d like peasants attending the chase, and Endimion lying under a large Tree gazing on the Goddess. Signor Angelo Labbia represented Poland crowning of Saxony, waited on by the Virtues and subject provinces.” *Letter to Mr. Wortley Montagu, dated June 1, 1740, transcribed in Robert Halsband (ed.), The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, vol. 2 (1965–67), pp. 190–91.*

Appendix C

HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 357/6, *Die Krankheiten des Kurprinzen Friedrich Christian*, fols. 164–165:

“*Histoire de la Maladie de N.A. faite le 4 May 1742*

Désque le jeune homme en question vint au monde on remarqua que ses petits membres etoient assés bien formés et flexibles, mais qu’ils n’etoient pas asses couvert de chair; Tout son corps etoit extremement foible, ses yeux souffroient un espece de tremblement, et louchement dont il fut gueri dans la suite. Etant agé de six semaines on trouva a propos de lui donner une autre Nourice dont le lait etant meilleur, l’enfant des forces et de l’embonpoint ; Vers le 6. ou 7. Mois lorsqu’il commençoit fair les dents, il fut saisi d’une petite fièvre avec des convulsions si fortes, qu’on a pu les comparer a une semiparalisis qui s’est jetéee principalement sur tout le coté gauche. On s’est service des Remedes convenables, et cela avec asses de succes, de sort, qu’avec l’aide de Dieu, la fièvre, les convulsions, cesserent l’appetit revint, il prit des forces, et ses yeux s’affer mirent, mais pour ce qui est du mouvement du Corps la chose ne réussit pas de meme. Il ne pouvoit pas se tenir assi sans appui sur sa chaise, ni se soutenir seul debout, et encore moins marcher; Son Corps et sa tete panchoient vers le coté gauche, et la main gauche avoit de la peine a empoigner la moindre chose. Les deux pieds ne posoient point du Talon, Lorsqu’il vouloit marcher il plioit les genoux, et quoiqu’on le soutint, il trainoit les pieces apres so; il ne pouvoit point se tourner de soi meme dans le lit, ni etendre Jambes, et lorsqu’il etoit surpris par quelque objet ou bruit imprevu il en etoit effrayé. Dans sa 6.e 8.e et 9.e année on s’est servi de bains Mineraux de differentes especes,

moÿennat quoi il prit asses de force pour se tenir un peu plus droit, et pour se soutenir un peu mieux sur ses jambes avec le secours de la Canne d’un coté, et d’un Aide de l’autre. On s’est aussi servi d’onguents, et d’autres bains emulgens, soit d’herbes, soit de trippes, pieds, graissés d’animaux. On a emmailloté son Corps et ses jambes pour les accoutumer pendant la nuit à s’etendre mais tout cela n’a pas beaucoup aidé. À l’âge de 10. ans on a pris tout le soin possible de lui donner du mouvement et de l’exercice ; On lui à fait différentes machines pour l’accoutumer petit a petit à etendre les jambes et les pieds aussi bien lorsqu’il etoit assi qu’en se tenant debout, On lui a donné des bouillons rafraichissans et corroborans aux quels on a fait succeder d’autres bouillons de Vipere deux printems de suite. On a repeté les onctions huileuses et balsamiques, et on a continué a lui donner du mouvement par toute sorte d’exercices proportionnes à son âge et à ses forces; Aussi a l’on eu la satisfaction de le voir se tenir debout posant les deux talons appuyé seulement à sa canne, il marchoit en s’y appuyant sans autre secours, mais il avoit encore les genoux un peu pliés, et un surveillant devoit se tenir à ses cotes pour le soutenir en cas de besoin. Pendant ces différentes cures, il n’a point essujé de maladies si no de gros rhumes en hÿver accompagnes d’une toux seche.

À l’age d’environ 15. ans il a eu quelques Obstructions et quelques hemorragies lesquelles etant suivies d’une petite fièvre reveillerent l’attention des medecins: Etant gueri de cette Indisposition, ils lui donnerent le lait d’Anesse coupé avec des eaux minerales, et il se servit des bains de lait melé avec de l’eau de riviere; Il prit aussi des bains de Malt, c’est à dire de l’Exume

de biere rechaussée. Dans la 17^e. Année de son âge il eut une attaque de Jaunisse tres forte, et peu de mois apres il essuÿa une forte rougeole dont il guerit heureusement, mais comme ces deux maladies interrompirent sa promenade et l’exercice, il parut fort affoibli surtout sur ses jambes; Il prit de nouveau une longue cure de bains mineraux, et en sortant du bain on lui fit des onctions le long de l’épine du Dos aux hanches aux Genoux et à la plante du pied de meme qu’au bras gauche. Celui-ci a repris des forces de meme que la main, de maniere qu’il peut s’en de la pesanteur du Corps qui a pris de l’embonpoint n’on plus la force de la soutenir sans l’aide de baton, et d’un Assistant.

À l’âge de 18. Ans on lui fit prendre des bains de riviere meles avec des Craÿes minerales, il prit aussi pendant 3. ou 4. Mois tous les matins une certaine portion de Juc de Cochleaire qui servit beaucoup à purifier la masse du sang de maniere que depuis ce tems là, jusqu’à l’âge où il est de 20. Ans accomplis, il n’a pas eu la moindre incommodité, il est engraissé, et il n’a plus pris aucun remede.

Comme il ne peut point se donner beaucoup de mouvement en promenant à pied, il ÿ supplée par la promenade à cheval, et il peut la soutenir pendant une ou deux heures sans incommodité tenant le Corps asses droit, mais les jambes et les pieds un peu accroupis; D’ailleurs il dort bien et mange avec appetit.

C’est la en substance l’etat du patient, avec le detail des Secours qu’on lui a procurés jusqu’à present pour son entiere Guerison. Il reste à souhaiter qu’il puisse prendre des forces aux hanches, aux genaux, et aux pieds, et d’en avoir la flexibilité, la Direction, et le mouvement necessaire.”

Appendix D

Excerpts from British ambassador in Dresden Sir Charles Hanbury Williams observations of the court of Dresden, 1747, sent to Horace Walpole, from the Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Second, vol. 2. (1847; from the Gutenberg ebook, 2018):

“The King’s absolute and avowed hatred to all business, and his known love for idleness and low pleasures, such as operas, plays, masquerades, tilts and tournaments, balls, hunting, and shooting, prevent both him and his country from making that figure in Europe which this noble Electorate ought to do, and often has done. As to the King himself, he is very polite and well-bred, and his natural abilities far from bad ones. I have very often (much oftener than any Minister here) the honour of conversing with him, and I must say, that he talks better, and makes juster judgments on affairs than any other person I have met with in this Court: but he wont dwell long upon politics. ’Tis visible that he soon grows uneasy, and then you must change the discourse to the last stag that he hunted, the last opera that was acted, or the last picture that he has bought. Immediately, you perceive that his countenance clears up, and he talks on with pleasure. From these subjects ’tis easy to lead him back to any other you please, always taking care to observe his countenance, which is a very speaking one. He is seldom seen, when at Dresden, but at dinner. He always dines with company, and his buffoons make a great noise, and fight with one another during the whole repast, which is quite over by two o’clock; and then his Majesty retires to his own apartments, undresses totally, and then puts on his night-gown, in which he sits the rest of the day.

Her Majesty the Queen is very devout, but not a bit the better for her devotions: she does nothing but commit small sins, and beg forgiveness for them. She is ugly beyond painting, and malicious beyond expression. […] She meddles much in the lowest things, such as disgracing or restoring a buffoon to favour; disposing the parts of an opera, and giving the preference to such and such a dancer; and even this she never does by merit, but he or she that comes oftenest to mass has the best parts and the first rank. The Italians are much favoured here. They are divided into two parties, one of which is

headed by Father Guerini, who first placed the colony here; the other, which is the most powerful, has the Faustina for its leader; and the two chiefs have by turns vented their complaints against each other to me, till I could hardly keep my countenance. But to return to her Majesty: I look upon her to be thoroughly in the French interests. She is not at all beloved, nor does she deserve it, for she does no good to anybody but converts, and very little to them.

I am next to speak of the Electoral Prince. You know, Sir, his person is bad, and his backbone so disjointed, that he cannot stand without two people to support him. The weakness of his body has hurt his mind. His parts, if he ever had any, are much decayed; but he is civil, good, and well-tempered. His education has been extremely bad; he knows nothing. He asked ’tother day at table, whether, though England were an island, one could not go there by land? Judge of the rest by this. When he walks, supported or rather dragged along by two people, his knees almost touch his stomach; and the Duchess of Courland (who is our good friend at this Court) told me that she saw him in bed on his wedding-night, and that he lay in the same posture there; so that she did not comprehend how matters could be accomplished. The Court, however, swear that (the marriage was then consummated). He is at present wholly devoted to his new bride, about whom I must say a little, having the happiness, by her permission, to see her very often.

She is far from being handsome or well made; but then she is infinitely agreeable in her manner, and very well-bred. She talks much, and is very entertaining. When she first came, she had flattered herself with hopes of succeeding the Electress, and attacked the King the first night, but without success. He seemed rather disgusted with her advances, and since that time she has not recovered the ground she then lost. All this I have also from the Duchess of Courland. Before she came here she was reckoned to meddle much in politics, and to be in the French interests. She denies all this herself, and declares against women’s meddling in state affairs; but I will venture to prophesy, that if ever the Prince Electoral should outlive his father, she will govern this country most absolutely. Hitherto she is

much liked and admired by all who come near her, for her address is very engaging, and not at all like the Queen’s.

The King has four younger sons, and three unmarried daughters. As to the Princesses I can say nothing of them, but that they are very young and very plain.

Prince Xavier is next to the Prince Royal, and has always been the Queen’s favourite, and she tried every way to persuade the Prince Electoral to go into orders that this Prince might succeed his father. His person is good, and I believe his natural parts are so too, but his education has been very unfortunate. He is sixteen years of age, and has hitherto been taught nothing but bodily exercises; and they do not seem to think in this country that a Prince wants any accomplishments who can dance, fence, ride at the ring, and shoot at the mark. This Prince has not yet learned common good manners, and is almost a stranger to common decency. The French Ambassador and I dined with him the other day, and the whole time we were at table he talked to the Pages behind him, and what he said to them was in German. Monsieur des Issarts was quite out of humour at the treatment he met with: I was only sorry for the Prince. But to end his character, those who are best acquainted with him tell me he is very proud and very malicious. ’Tis publicly known that he hates his elder brother; but his pride is much abated, and his spirits much sunk since the Electoral Prince’s marriage, which was a thing that he had been taught to believe never would happen. Still he flatters himself with the hope that if the King his father should die, he should succeed him in the Throne of Poland.

Prince Charles is next; he is a fine youth about thirteen; his person is good, and he has great quickness of parts; but as he labours under the misfortune of having the same wretched education as his brothers have had, ’tis impossible to say how he will turn out; and here I must observe, that the scarcity of men of ability is so great in this country, that out of four governors employed in the education of these Princes, there is not one who is a Saxon.

The two other Princes, Albert and Clement, are both so young, that I can say nothing about them.”

Anton Raphael Mengs

Friedrich Christian von Sachsen-Wettin
as Electoral Prince

STEFFI ROETTGEN

This portrait of the Saxon Electoral Prince and pretender to the Polish throne was painted in Dresden in 1751 and can be considered one of the most important courtly portraits of its time in the German-speaking lands. It fulfils in an exemplary manner the criteria to which the official portrait of the ruler had to conform in the age of absolutism, but at the same time presents a modern and enlightened image of a prince, as illustrated by the personality of the sitter. Friedrich Christian (1722–1763), who became heir to the throne after the premature deaths of his older brothers, and despite his congenital weakness in walking and movement, had received an education in which, unlike the norm for royal offspring, the intellectual and artistic disciplines predominated.¹

Due to the political turmoil Saxony had to endure during the Seven Years' War (1755–1763) and as a result of Friedrich Christian's sudden demise after a reign lasting only ten weeks, the significance and scope of his work for cultural and Enlightenment issues, which took place behind the scenes of the official politics of the Saxon court, remained largely unnoticed. Only in recent years has scholarly and historical interest in this protagonist of the *Aufklärung von oben* ('Enlightenment from above') increased. For Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the Prince was "the most similar image of the kindest creature"² hence, the death of "of the adorable

Prince [...], chosen by God for the salvation of his people"³ was a great loss for him personally and professionally, because it deprived him of the prospect of returning to Dresden. Gian Ludovico Bianconi, who provided medical care for the Prince from 1750 until his death in 1763, was inconsolable over the loss, writing "who loved me more as a friend than as a master, whom in 13 years I have seen every day without fail and who until the last moment of his life gave me signs of the most emphatic clemency."⁴

In an interior setting defined only by a few props, the Prince stands before a balustrade that opens onto a peaceful landscape under a cloudy sky. Despite his disability, which must have made it very difficult for him to don the heavy apparel he is wearing, Friedrich Christian is portrayed in a shining suit of armour, with an artfully draped and tied pink sash around his waist, and a royal blue cloak lined with ermine covering his armoured form. The oak tree on the left edge of the picture symbolises strength and longevity and may be interpreted as an allusion to dynastic promise, while the insignia of the Order of the Polish White Eagle documents the Prince's status as heir to the Polish throne. He rests his fine-fingered left hand on a tournament helmet, beside which lies a richly decorated iron glove. His friendly and youthfully radiant face expresses serene confidence and affable kindness. In essence, this type of portrait goes back to that painted by Nicolas de Largillière,

of the Prince's father, Friedrich August II, in Paris in 1714 (Fig. 53) and is in the tradition of the French *portrait d'apparat*, which also found its way into Dresden through the appointment of the French painter Louis de Silvestre to the Saxon-Polish court of August the Strong in 1715. However, the juxtaposition of Mengs's portrayal with its iconographic model reveals the modernity of his vision, in which Largillière's assured commander's pose, in front of a thundery landscape, has been replaced by a calm and serene *contrapposto*. This, together with the Arcadian landscape, results in an atmospheric impression of absolute tranquillity, which is appropriately suited to the gentle nature of the sitter, as known to us through contemporary sources.

A portrait of the Prince's father, Friedrich August II, which the young Mengs had copied from Louis de Silvestre (Fig. 54) in 1745, illustrates how great a distance there was from the portrait style that had prevailed in Dresden until then. In the same year, however, Mengs also painted a pastel portrait of the King that is surprising for its immediacy (Fig. 55). Although it is also based on a Silvestre model, the forced close-up of the portrait provides an unusually intimate view of the ruler.

This development cannot be fully explained without considering the models Mengs had become acquainted with during his first stay in Rome (1741–1744), but also in Dresden. Besides

the pastel portraits of Rosalba Carriera (1673–1757), these included above all the portrait of the Electoral Prince painted by Pierre Subleyras (1699–1749) for Dresden during Friedrich Christian's stay in Rome in 1739 (Fig. 41).⁵ The academic style and the luminous and intense colouring, which had propelled the artist to become one of the most sought-after painters in Rome, also became decisive for Mengs' portrait style. Subleyras' influence is particularly clear when one compares the two portraits of the Electoral Prince. In both, the conspicuous appearance of the props has an almost still-life quality. There are also strikingly similar conceits, such as the inclusion of a flamboyant armour, with a red lining, the gold-trimmed and ruffled thrust of which can be seen on the greaves and on the breastplate. Whether Subleyras had such a suit of armour or a drawing available in Rome as a model is not known. On the other hand, it is clear that Mengs was able to borrow the corresponding models from the well-equipped Electoral Saxon Armoury. There is documentary evidence of such practices for a portrait of Augustus the Strong by Louis de Silvestre,⁶ and surely it was universal. Mengs, for example, received a suit of armour from the Armeria Real in 1765 for his full-length portrait of the Spanish King Charles III (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst),⁷ and his father Ismael, who had worked as a court painter in Dresden since 1714, was known to have had a Burgundy helmet from



Left: Fig. 53
Nicolas de Largillière,
Friedrich August II of Saxony
as Electoral Prince, 1714.
Melbourne/ Australia, National
Museum



Right: Fig. 54
Anton Raphael Mengs, Prince-
Elector Friedrich August II of
Saxony, 1745, Bayreuth, Neues
Schloss Bayerische Verwaltung
der Staatlichen Schlösser,
Gärten und Seen



Fig. 55
Anton Raphael Mengs,
Prince-Elector Friedrich
August II of Saxony, 1745.
Dresden
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen,
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



Opposite: Fig.56
Detail of Anton Raphael
Mengs, Friedrich Christian
of Saxony as Electoral
Prince, 1751, showing
Burgundian helmet

Right: Fig.57
Louis de Silvestre,
Prince-Elector Friedrich
August I of Saxony and
Christiane Eberhardine of
Brandenburg-Bayreuth as
Electress of Saxony, c.1728,
illus. Sponzel 1906, plate 56



the armoury at his disposal in 1720.⁸ That helmet, which no longer exists in the collection today, may have remained in his custody well beyond 1714. A Burgundian helmet of the same type belongs to a boy's armour of the 16th century⁹ and so closely resembles the helmet reproduced in Mengs' portrait of the Prince (Figs. 2, 56) that it is reasonable to assume that the lost twin served him as a model. During the period when Mengs created the portrait of Friedrich Christian, he and his young family lived together with his father in an attic dwelling in the Große Kirchgasse near the Kreuzkirche.

Mengs executed a pendant of the Electoral Prince's consort, the Bavarian Princess Maria Antonia, in nearly identical size, also in 1751 (Fig. 17). She had given birth to the future heir to the throne, Friedrich August (1750–1827), on 23 December 1750, whom Mengs also portrayed in 1751 (Fig. 20). In accordance with the tradition of the absolutist princely portrait, the portraits of Friedrich Christian and his wife established the model for their future representation, which on the one hand was guided by the examples of their ancestors (Fig. 57), but on the other hand also had to incorporate contemporary adaptations. Maria Antonia poses in an interior with a column and a red curtain, and demonstratively places her hand on the electoral crown lying on a cushion. In fact, fate had reserved for her the role of ruler, as she exercised regency over her underage son Friedrich August

from 1764 to 1768, in tandem with one of her brothers-in-law.

Gian Ludovico Bianconi, who had been personal physician to King August III (1696–1763) since 1750, reports in his *Elogio storico* (1779) devoted to Mengs that the portraits of the Electoral Prince and Princess were created at a time when there were tensions between Mengs, who had only returned from Rome in December 1749, and his father and teacher Ismael Mengs, which, however, are not apparent in the paintings.¹⁰ Since Bianconi was in charge of the medical care of the Prince and was in personal contact with both him and Mengs, his statement is absolutely credible. With the three portraits of the Friedrich Christian's family, for which Mengs received 825 *Thalers* from the Prince's private purse on 18 October 1751 (Cassidy Geiger, here p.22), he predestined himself for the next stage of his career in Polish-Saxon service, which had begun in 1745 with his appointment as cabinet painter. At the same time, this improved his financial situation, which had been considerably burdened by the payment of 994 *Thalers* to his father Ismael in compensation for his expenses for his education.¹¹ On 23 March 1751, Anton Raphael Mengs was made *Oberhofmaler* (principal court painter), and his annual pension rose from 600 to 1500 *Ducats*. When he went back to Rome in the autumn of 1751 to paint full-length portraits of August III and his consort, Maria Josepha, in addition to the large canvas for

the high altar in the Dresden Court Church, no one could have known that Dresden would never see him again and that these portraits would not be completed. The surviving *bozzetto* for the portrait of the King (Fig. 58), and the intimate oil study for the portrait of Maria Josepha (Fig. 59) show iconographic motifs and formal elements that can also be observed in the portraits of the Electoral Prince and Princess. It is particularly noticeable that the faces of the two women are less idealised than those of the men. The King, depicted from a much lower angle, accompanied by a black page, poses in armour with an ermine-lined cloak and command staff, in a landscape dominated by a mighty oak tree. Maria Josepha, Archduchess of Habsburg by birth, is portrayed almost frontally and close-up and should probably, following the Saxon portrait tradition (see Fig. 57), be shown in an enclosed interior and, in analogy to her earlier portraits, with the common motifs of curtain, column and table.

Comparable *bozzetti* have not survived for Mengs's portraits of the Electoral Prince and Princess and are not documented elsewhere. It can therefore be assumed that this practice, common to studio workshop process, was taken over by the two bust-length portraits in pastel chalk (Figs. 18; 19); these have belonged to the Dresden Pastel Cabinet since at least 1826 and differ from Mengs' other pastels in this collection in their slightly less careful execution. Smaller stylistic deviations from the oil paintings

support this assumption. In contrast, Friedrich Christian's bust-length portrait in oil (Fig. 60), which is identical in detail and has only been known since 1990,¹² is a reduction of the three-quarter length by Mengs' own hand, to which it is completely equal in painterly quality.

The original canvases remained in Dresden and were available to local copyists, such as the painter Johann Christian Bessler (1717–1786), who was a friend of Ismael Mengs. In March 1754 he received 14 *Ducats* for a copy after Mengs' portrait (see Cassidy Geiger, p.25). Most of the copies after his portrait of the Electoral Prince that were reduced to bust or half-length were probably made in Dresden after 1751, since they are no longer directly connected with the Mengs workshop but evidently had access to the original. The situation is different with a tracing traditionally attributed to Mengs in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett (Fig. 21). Its high quality of reproduction and careful execution suggest that it was created in his immediate environment. Presumably, the drawing was intended to serve as a model for a copperplate engraving that was to serve as the frontispiece of the planned third volume of the Dresden Gallery Works,¹³ whose completion was thwarted by the Seven Years' War.¹⁴

However, it seems Mengs had also taken studio-replicas of the oils of the Electoral Prince and Princess with him to Rome, as the Roman inventory compiled in 1779 after his



Fig.58
Anton Raphael Mengs,
Prince-Elector Friedrich
August II of Saxony, 1751,
Madrid, the heirs of Azara

Fig.59
Anton Raphael Mengs,
Maria Josepha von
Habsburg as Electress
of Saxony, 1751, Dresden
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen,
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



Fig.60
Anton Raphael Mengs,
Friedrich Christian of
Saxony as Electoral Prince,
Pastel, 1750, Dresden
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen,
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

Figs.61/62
Anton Raphael Mengs
and Workshop, Friedrich
Christian of Saxony as
Electoral Prince; and Maria
Antonia of Bavaria as
Electoral Princess of Saxony
Aste di Antiquariato Boetto,
Genoa, 5–6 December 2016,
lot 303.



death indicates there were two three-quarter length portraits of the Electoral couple, valued together at only 12 scudi.¹⁵ Presumably they were workshop replicas with the artist's own small involvement, and he could fall back on them whenever the Dresden court requested further versions from him, that were required as diplomatic gifts or otherwise. That he fulfilled this obligation is demonstrated by the versions in the Palazzo Reale in Naples, which must be considered workshop copies, although due to their inferior state of preservation, a more precise assessment is not yet possible.¹⁶ The history and the whereabouts of the two copies that were in Mengs' Roman studio in 1779 is not known. There are indications that the portrait of Friedrich Christian in Warsaw, which appeared on the Roman art market in the 1960s, comes from this source.¹⁷ Its former counterpart might be identified with a version of the portrait of Maria Antonia, also only partly by Mengs's own hand, whose current whereabouts is unknown (Sotheby's, London, 9 December 2021, lot 249).¹⁸

Two other versions largely autograph, which had remained united until their sale in 2016, belonged to Count Carlo Roberto Taparelli di Lagnasco, who was accredited to the Holy See as *ministro plenipotenziario* (envoy) of the Polish-Saxon court from 1733 to 1764 (Figs. 61/62). His will of 1779 lists the pictures as 'del Cavalier Mengs' and shows that they were placed on the side of a fireplace in the reception room of his

Roman residence opposite S. Carlo ai Catinari.¹⁹ Therefore these versions were obviously painted in Rome where Taparelli resided during the time when Mengs lived there and of course on the base of the "models" brought with him from Dresden.

The original and first versions of the portraits – including the present picture – were presumably first placed in the official residence of the Electoral Prince and Princess in the Taschenberg Palais in Dresden. After the war began in August 1756, but at the latest before the young family fled to Munich in 1759, the portraits were probably moved to a safe place. The portrait of Maria Antonia was assigned to the Gemäldegalerie in 1765, while the portrait of her husband remained in her possession until her death.²⁰ Probably for dynastic reasons, the picture later remained in the private possession of the House of Wettin. In 1887, it was in Weesenstein Palace,²¹ then owned by Johann Georg von Sachsen, in the so-called "Badezimmer" (bathing room).²² According to Sponzel, who in 1906 first put photographs of the two portraits next to each other (Fig. 63), one of them reversed, the portrait was by that time in Johann Georg's Dresden palace.

In the 1908 exhibition *Kunst und Kultur unter den sächsischen Kurfürsten*²³ the portrait of Friedrich Christian (indicated as property of S.K.H Prince Johann Georg) was shown together with its counterpart, while in the



Figs.63
Louis Sponzel,
Fürstenbildnisse aus dem
Haus Wettin, Dresden 1906,
p. 68, no. P 30, plate 61

ground-breaking exhibition *Deutsches Barock und Rokoko* in Darmstadt (1914), only the portrait of the Electoral Prince was exhibited, whose owner was stated to be the Royal House of Saxony, again with Weesenstein Castle as its location.²⁴ Subsequently, the portrait found its way into the art historical literature of the early 20th century.²⁵ Thanks to its photographic documentation, the picture was also included in the catalogue raisonné, although it was unclear for a long time whether the painting had survived the Second World War²⁶ and, if so, where it was located.

In the meantime, further aspects of its history have come to light. After the death of Johann Georg (1938), the portrait passed into the possession of Friedrich Christian of Saxony (1893–1968), who had been head of the House of Wettin since 1932 and inherited Sybillenort

Castle in Silesia, which was the residence of his father since 1918, but who himself lived in Wachwitz Castle near Dresden from 1937 to 1945. In the Christie's auction catalogue of 2022,²⁷ Sybillenort Castle, whose contents were auctioned off after the death of King Friedrich August III (1865–1932), who had abdicated in 1918, is given as the former location of the portrait. According to the same unverifiable source, the portrait was later bought back by one of the members of the House of Wettin. In the last decades of the 20th century, it was in the possession of Albrecht Joseph Maria Franz-Xaver of Saxony (1934–2012) and was temporarily kept in Nymphenburg Palace, Munich, as part of the 'Sachsen-Stiftung' where it was occasionally accessible to a limited public.

Translated from German by the editor

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- 1 <https://www.saw-leipzig.de/de/aktuelles/internationale-tagung-friedrich-christian-von-sachsen-172220131763-thronfolger-und-foerderer-der-kuenste>
- 2 'das ähnlichste Bild von dem güthigsten Wesen' letter of 10 February 1764 to Muzel Stosch, quoted from Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Briefe*, ed. by Hans Diepolder and Walter Rehm, vol. III, Berlin 1956, p. 16.
- 3 'des anbetenswürdigen Prinzen [...], der zum Heil seines Volkes von Gott erkohren war' letter of 10 February 1764 to Volkmann *ibid.* p. 19.
- 4 'che mi amava più da amico che da padrone, che in 13 anni ho veduto ogni giorno immancabilmente e che fino all'ultimo momento di sua vita m'ha dato segni della più decisa clemenza' letter to Filippo Hercolani, 27 January 1764 (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale, ms B 177, lettera no. 49), quoted from: Giovanni Ludovico Bianconi, *Scritti tedeschi*, ed. by Giovanna Perini, Bologna 1998, p. 420.
- 5 Wiebke Fastenrath Vinattieri, *sulle tracce del primo neoclassicismo. Il viaggio del principe ereditario Friedrich Christian di Sassonia in Italia (1738-1740)*, in *Zeitenblicke* 2002: <https://www.zeitenblicke.de/2003/03/pdf/Fastenrath.pdf>
- 6 Harald Marx, *Louis de Silvestre. Die Gemälde in der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie*, Dresden 1975, p. 36: Silvestre's receipt of 22 September 1733 (Dresden, SKD, Archive, File 34, Rüstammer, Verzeichnisse und Belege 1615-1851) lists the following components of the ceremonial armour: "blanck eiserner weise geezter und etwas vergoldeter Frey Tourmier Curass, als Rück- und Brust-Stücke, Ringkragen, Armzeuge, gefingerte Handschuhe, ganze Beintaschen und Schienen (...) eine blancke auf Zierrath geezte und vergoldete Ungarische Haube."
- 7 Javier Jordan de Urries y de la Colina, José Luis Sancho, *Carlos IV Mecenas y coleccionista* (exh. Madrid, Palacio Real 2009), Madrid 2016, p. 122.
- 8 Holger Schuckelt, *Harnische, Helme & Schilde in den Dauerausstellungen der Dresdner Rüstammer*, Cologne 2019, p. 170.
- 9 *Ibid.* cat. no. II.21, pp. 170-71.
- 10 'Elogio Storico di Anton Raffaele Mengs (1779)', in Giovanni Ludovico Bianconi, *Scritti tedeschi*, ed. by Giovanna Perini, Bologna 1998, p. 259. The portraits are listed in the following lists of works: G. L. Bianconi, *Elogio Storico di Anton Raffaele Mengs*, Milan 1780, p. 87; Christian Friedrich Prange, *Des Ritters Anton Raphael Mengs (...) hinterlassne Werke*, Halle 1786, I, p. 106; José Nicolas de Azara/ Carlo Fea, *Opere di Antonio Raffaello Mengs Primo Pittore del Re cattolico Carlo III*, Rome 1787, p. XLI.
- 11 Steffi Roettgen, *Anton Raphael Mengs 1728-1779, vol. 2: Leben und Wirken*, Munich 2003, p. 468.
- 12 Steffi Roettgen, *Anton Raphael Mengs 1728-1779 vol. 1: Das malerische und zeichnerische Werk*, Munich 1999, cat. no. 155; exh. cat. *Mengs. Die Erfindung des Klassizismus*, ed. by Steffi Roettgen, Padua-Dresden 2001, cat. no. 20, pp. 134-35.
- 13 *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus célèbres tableaux de la Galerie Royale de Dresde*, vol. 1, Dresden 1753, vol. 2, Dresden 1757.
- 14 https://sempub.uni-heidelberg.de/wv_mengs/en/wisski/navigate/27159/view?wisski_bundle=b19fe15486898af2e4043eb61314f79f
- 15 Roettgen I, 1999, p. 566, n. 52: "Il defunto Elettore ed Elettrice Vedova in tela fino al ginocchio".
- 16 Roettgen I, 1999, cat. no. 153, WK 6 and cat. no. 164 WK 2.
- 17 Exh. cat. *Anton Raphael Mengs and his British Patrons*, Kenwood House 1993, London 1993, cat. no. 13, pp. 72-73; Roettgen I, 1999, cat. no. 153 WK 7.
- 18 https://sempub.uni-heidelberg.de/wv_mengs/en/wisski/navigate/27611/view?wisski_bundle=b19fe15486898af2e4043eb61314f79f
- 19 https://sempub.uni-heidelberg.de/wv_mengs/en/wisski/navigate/22256/view
- 20 In the inventory of the Electress Dowager's estate from 1780 (HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 866/3, fol. 17), a portrait of Friedrich Christian in a gilded and carved frame is listed among the few portraits. However, the names of the painters are missing from this list.
- 21 Karl Woermann, *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden*, large edition, Dresden 1887, p. 69.
- 22 Louis Sponcel, *Fürstenbildnisse aus dem Haus Wettin*, Dresden 1906, p. 68, no. P30, plate 61.
- 23 Exh. cat. *Große Kunstausstellung Kunst und Kultur unter den sächsischen Kurfürsten*, Dresden 1908, pp. 64-65
- 24 Georg Biermann, exh. cat. *Deutsches Barock und Rokoko*, Darmstadt 1914, II, p. XV, 471.
- 25 Adolf Feulner, *Skulptur und Malerei des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, Handbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XX, Potsdam 1929, p. 24; Siegfried Pückler-Limburg, *Der Klassizismus in der deutschen Kunst*, Munich 1929, p. 33.
- 26 Dieter Honisch, *Anton Raphael Mengs und die Bildform des Frühklassizismus*, Recklinghausen 1965, cat. no. 213, p. 117; Roettgen I, 1999, cat. no. 153, pp. 224-25.
- 27 Auction catalogue Old Master Paintings, Christie's, London, 7 July 2022, lot 31, p. 128

“La Musique même inspire de la dévotion”

The Importance of Music in the Life
of Friedrich Christian, Crown Prince
of Saxony

JÓHANNES ÁGÚSTSSON

Introduction

It has only recently become clear that Crown Prince Friedrich Christian (1722–1763) played an important role as a patron and collector when the rich musical treasures of the Polish-Saxon royal-electoral family in Dresden were assembled in the eighteenth-century. Long overshadowed in the literature in this regard by his parents Polish King August III (1696–1763; as Saxon Elector Friedrich August II) and Queen and Electress Maria Josepha (1699–1757), as well as Friedrich Christian’s consort and Crown Princess Maria Antonia, who all left a record of their music collections in the form of contemporary inventories, the Prince has now finally taken a well-deserved seat alongside his close family, following a newly published study reconstructing his private music library and confirming his musical patronage.¹ Based on

entries in Friedrich Christian’s well preserved diaries and account books, court records and already available studies in the literature,² it was possible to piece together a detailed picture of the music the Crown Prince experienced and acquired throughout most of his life. Moreover, the study demonstrated that, already by c.1753, Friedrich Christian’s music library had merged with the one of his consort, as seen in a catalogue bearing Maria Antonia’s name and long thought to only list her music collection. As a result, knowledge about the provenance of the music Friedrich Christian collected faded into oblivion. This includes some of the most precious eighteenth-century manuscripts in the music collection of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB).

Early Musical Experiences and Tributes to a Young Prince

Friedrich Christian's diaries between 1732 and 1746 reveal a young person who was extremely passionate about music. It is easy, from a modern perspective, to understand why: the Prince grew up listening to music that was written by some of the finest composers of the era and performed by the virtuoso musicians of the famous Dresden *Hofkapelle* – a musical powerhouse whose disposition closely resembled the structure of the Classical orchestra already in the early 1730s. The multi-national composers and instrumentalists of the highly influential orchestra all contributed to and experimented with forward-looking musical ideas and the fusion of different national styles; this would result in the *vermischter Geschmack* (mixed taste) and the general progression of the music towards the Classical idioms. We need only to mention Francesco Maria Veracini, Jean Baptiste Volumier, Johann Georg Pisendel, Pierre Gabriel Buffardin, Johann Joachim Quantz, Johann Christian Richter, Christian Pezold, Silvius Leopold Weiss, Anton Joseph Hampel and Pantaleon Hebestreit, to name only a few from an illustrious list of instrumental virtuosi employed in Dresden in the Augustan Age.

Cooperating closely with the *Hofkapelle* were many side-ensembles who performed constantly to satisfy the voracious musical appetite of the Dresden court. Most prominent of these was the Polish *Kapelle*, which accompanied the kings on their travels to their kingdom. Other notable ensembles were the *Jagd-* and *Cadet-Pfeiffer*, the *Bockpfeiffer* (from 1755, the *Hofpfeiffer*), the musicians of the Swiss guards and the infantry life guards. In addition to the specific duties of these groups, who included some excellent

musicians, they were also required to play for dances, dinners, and public and private events in the royal-electoral palaces and castles in Dresden and its surroundings.

It was into this extraordinary musical environment that Friedrich Christian was born in 1722. At an early age, he was already accompanying his religiously devout parents to services in the Catholic court church, where he grew accustomed to hearing the music of the *Kapellmeister* Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729), and his fellow court composers Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) and Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692–1753), who also directed and performed a diverse repertoire of other composers from their private collections. Because of the lack of regular operatic performances in Dresden in the 1720s this decade has been referred to as “the great flowering (*Blütezeit*) of Catholic liturgical music in Dresden”, when the three composers wrote a succession of exceptionally fine works. The beautiful sacred music played an integral part of the church services when, as a young boy, Friedrich Christian began to practise his Catholic faith. In time and as he grew older, music would play a more important part in his church-going experience.

Heinichen was the first composer to pay homage to Friedrich Christian with a secular work. This is the cantata *Di giubilo tutto abbondo* (Cantata | XXVI^a | Con Strom.^{ti} | nel Giorno Di | Christiano).³ [Figs. 64/65] A thorough analysis of the text and music suggests that the cantata was almost certainly performed on Friedrich Christian's birthday on 5 September 1728,⁴ after it had become apparent that he was the future heir of the Wettins, following the passing of his



Fig. 64
Johann David Heinichen,
Di giubilo tutto abbondo
(1728): D-Dl, Mus. 2398-
J-1 <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/30398/284> (Public Domain Mark 1.0), p. 280.



Fig. 65
Detail of Fig. 1

older brother, Joseph (1721–1728), in March that same year. The author of the libretto is unknown, but it is typical of allegorical texts of the baroque. Here, the illustrious Prince Christian is addressed directly and his many virtues recited. He is described as a kind, strong and noble Saxon hero who, like his forefathers, protects his subjects with a fatherly zeal in his peaceful lands while the outside world is at war. The textual imagery is familiar from the many contemporary panegyrics dedicated to Friedrich Christian's father, and to his grandfather, August II (1670–1733), and closely resembles the effect Anton Raphael Mengs sought to portray in his 1751 painting of Friedrich Christian, where the Prince poses in an armour similar to the ones once worn by his ancestors.

An interesting aspect of the text sees a reference to Friedrich Christian's recent sickness from which he had recovered to the universal joy of all. We know that the Prince was frail from his birth and his condition was most likely not discussed openly at court at the time. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise to find no information in the archival sources about the specific illness Friedrich Christian seems to have suffered and recovered from before the text was penned. In fact, this could possibly be one of the earliest allusions to his weak physical state, and what we now know was cerebral palsy.

Two cantatas were dedicated to Friedrich Christian on his birthdays in 1732 and 1733. The text to the former, *È ver al tuo natale* (Cantata nel giorno di nascita di Cristiano Federico) was written by Giovanni Domenico Bonlini, a noble Venetian librettist in the service of the Austrian nobleman Count Johann Adam Questenberg, but the composer is unknown.⁵ This is most likely the “beautiful music” Friedrich Christian described hearing during a concert in the rooms of his sister, Princess Maria Amalia (1724–1760), on 5 September 1732.⁶ Exactly one year later, Johann Sebastian Bach dedicated in Leipzig a cantata to the new Crown Prince. The music, *Laßt uns sorgen, laßt uns wachen* (BWV 213), is one of the finest secular cantatas of the St Thomas Church cantor, but Friedrich Christian, who first visited Leipzig in 1741, was not present; he was in Dresden at the time and did not hear the music. It is unlikely that the Crown Prince even knew about this homage, and he never referred to the German composer in his diaries.

Hasse, Faustina and Annibali

Heinichen's birthday cantata of 1728 might have been Friedrich Christian's first experience of the regular chamber concerts held at the Dresden court. He was probably too young to have attended Ristori's two operas of 1726 (*Calandro*) and 1727 (*Un pazzo ne fa cento*), but when the opera *Cleofide* by the new Saxon *Kapellmeister* Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783) was premiered in Dresden on 13 September 1731, the Prince was in attendance with his parents and sister, Maria Amalia, and witnessed a landmark moment in European musical life. The opera was an overwhelming success with the nobility and public, who took to Hasse's fresh and exciting Neapolitan style with which he had conquered the Italian stage prior to his arrival in Saxony in July 1731. Thanks to a recently surfaced volume of letters written by the Governor of Dresden and *Generalfeldmarschall*, Count August Christoph Wackerbarth (1662–1734), to his stepson, Count Joseph Anton Gabaleon Wackerbarth-Salmour (1685–1761), future Grand Master (*Oberhofmeister*) of Friedrich Christian, we now know that the young tenor and aspiring composer first visited Dresden in December 1721 while on his way to Naples.⁷ During his stay in the Saxon capital Hasse no doubt met and got to know some of the musicians of the *Hofkapelle* who later played under his direction, and this might have played a part in his decision to take up the position of *Kapellmeister* in Dresden ten years later.

Hasse's famous wife, mezzo-soprano Faustina Bordoni, took the title role in *Cleofide* and dazzled the audience with her beauty and

supreme vocal abilities, as she had previously done on the stage in Italy, Vienna and London. The decision of August II to hire the couple proved to be a masterstroke, and was a real statement of intent and ambition. With it came the prestige of employing these two musicians whose services were in constant demand from abroad. This was a fact not lost on August III, who would later score many valuable political points by sending not only Hasse and Faustina but other musicians as well, as musical ambassadors to courts all over Europe.

One of these was the alto castrato Domenico Annibali (c.1708–1779),⁸ who had arrived in Dresden in April 1730 in the company of four other young Italian singers, each one specially trained in their native country at the expense of August II; this was part of a long-term effort to relaunch opera in Dresden.⁹ Four of these five singers went on to have a long and distinguished careers with the *Hofkapelle*: Annibali, the soprano Maria Rosa Negri, the soprano castrati Giovanni Bindi and Ventura Rocchetti (Venturini). Annbali was very much admired in the Saxon capital for his beautiful singing and pleasant personality, a trait which Mengs so perfectly illustrated in his bust portrait from 1744, which, as legend has it, launched the career of the young painter. [Fig. 66] During his decades-long tenure as a singer with the *Hofkapelle*, Annibali made guest appearances in Italy, Vienna and Berlin, and he sang in London in the operas of Georg Friedrich Handel. He was a frequent visitor to Rome, where he enjoyed a special relationship of friendship and trust with



Fig. 66
Anton Raphael Mengs,
Domenico Annibali (pastel
on paper; Dresden, 1744)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen,
Gemäldegalerie
Alte Meister

cardinal Alessandro Albani, who used the singer as a courier in 1749, when sending August III a painting by Correggio as a present.¹⁰

Friedrich Christian thought highly of Annibali and considered him a wonderful singer. When the latter returned to Saxony from Rome in March 1733, he travelled to Moritzburg to entertain members of the Dresden court, who had assembled at the castle following the death of August II in Warsaw on 1 February. While there, Annibali sang opera arias with the ten-year-old Friedrich Christian, who wrote an entertaining account of this event in his diary.¹¹ This is the only reference to his music-making in the sources. Because of his physical disability, he was not able to play an instrument like his brothers, who all were skilled musicians, while their sisters all played the keyboard and were fine singers as well.

After Friedrich Christian's father became Elector of Saxony in April 1733, and King of Poland in October of that year, a marked change can be seen in the reports of chamber music performances at the court in the mid-1730s and onwards. A special music room was prepared for Maria Josepha in the royal palace in Dresden where concerts with the *Hofkapelle* and visiting virtuosi now took place with increased frequency. The young Saxon Princes and Princesses who attended these concerts went on to study music with some of the premier musicians of the court orchestra, who now became a part of the everyday life of the royal-electoral family and the fabric of the palace. For example, the court organist Ristori was

ever-present in the royal chambers since one of his main roles was to instruct Maria Amalia and her sister Maria Anna (1728–1797), who were both accomplished musicians. Indeed, some of the most pleasing entries of Friedrich Christian's diary center on his beloved sister Maria Amalia and her playing and singing.

To make up for his disadvantage, Friedrich Christian became more perceptive and observant as he learned to listen more attentively to the music in these chamber concerts, at the opera and church; over time, he became an experienced listener who could judge the quality of individual works and performances of musicians, appreciate nuances of different musical styles, and the relationship between text versus music. The diary entries of the Crown Prince abound with delightful and penetrating observations in this regard. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Hasse is the main subject of Friedrich Christian's praise (and criticism) in the mid- to late 1730s, for the composer was especially prolific during a sixteen-month period between February 1737 and May 1738, when six operas of his were performed on the Dresden stage. The Crown Prince also was an admirer of Ristori's two operas of 1736 (*Le Fate and Arianna*) and of Zelenka's sacred music, writing that his two Easter oratorios of 1735 and 1736 (*Gesù al Calvario* and *I penitenti al sepolcri del redentore*) were very beautiful. He also noted the importance of the texts written for all three composers by the Italian court poet Stephano Benedetto Pallavicini.

Naples

When Friedrich Christian accompanied his younger sister, Maria Amalia, Queen of Naples and the Two Sicilies, to Italy in 1738, he was already a proficient listener, but as is apparent from his diaries, he was surprised by the music he heard on arrival in Naples. The serenata performed to celebrate the marriage of Maria Amalia to King Charles VII (1716–1788), *Le nozze di Psiche con Amore* by Leonardo Leo, he deemed poor, the libretto dismal, and the singers average, but he was impressed with the newly built theatre of San Carlo and the magnificent stage sets.¹² Even worse was the pasticcio *Demetrio*, which was presented in the same theatre one week later, even though the work included arias by some of the finest Italian composers of the day.¹³ Musically, things did change for the better when Friedrich Christian took the baths on Ischia and where a part of his cure consisted of a healthy dose of music, as ordered by Wackerbarth-Salmour. A constant stream of visiting musicians and noblemen performed for the Crown Prince in an intimate setting and this proved to be a welcome relief from the somewhat stressful and depressing physical treatment he suffered at the hands of the doctors responsible for his cure. In these concerts he heard the tenor Angelo Amorevoli,¹⁴ and the

oboist Antonio Besozzi, who both performed so well that Wackerbarth immediately made arrangements to have them hired for the Dresden court orchestra. But even though Friedrich Christian did write that Besozzi played very well, he also noted for comparison that the musician did not have a sound as sweet as the first oboist of the *Hofkapelle*, Johann Christian Richter.¹⁵

On Ischia, we see the emergence of Friedrich Christian's private music *Kapelle*, when some of his long-term servants and other members of his retinue grouped together to perform for the Crown Prince and his guests. The music must have been on a fairly high level, with the violinist Christian Horn, future concertmaster of the *Kapelle* of Saxon prime minister Count Heinrich Brühl (1700–63), participating in these chamber concerts. Horn also copied music for the Crown Prince in Rome,¹⁶ where Gottlob Harrer, Brühl's music director and Bach's successor in Leipzig in 1750, also took part in these performances, while on his way to Naples. Friedrich Christian's little *Kapelle* was complete in 1747 when two seasoned horn players joined his household staff as lackeys.

Back in Naples, Friedrich Christian again went to the San Carlo and this time it was for the premiere of Hasse's *Clemenza di Tito*, a work he knew well after it had been performed in Dresden

earlier that the year. While he enjoyed the music, he also added that the Dresden performance was much better.¹⁷ In mid-November, the Crown Prince said goodbye to his sister Maria Amalia and left for Rome, where he stayed until September 1739. Sometime prior to his departure, the Crown Prince was presented with copies of some of Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's sacred works from the composer's noble patrons, including his legendary *Stabat Mater*, which later became the most frequently printed music in the eighteenth-century. Friedrich Christian's Neapolitan copy is one of the earliest known manuscripts of the work.¹⁸

Another important development took place in Naples at this time which would later touch the life of Friedrich Christian, as we will see. In late October, Ristori arrived in the city, having been hired to write an opera for the San Carlo (*Temistocle*) for the name-day of Charles's father, King of Spain Philip V, which fell on 19 December. During his extended stay in Naples, Ristori continued to teach Maria Amalia and, while doing so, he also operated as a secret informer who reported to Wackerbarth-Salmour on what took place in the life of the young Queen at the Neapolitan court. Wackerbarth-Salmour in turn relayed Ristori's secret reports

to his superiors in Dresden and Warsaw. In the end, the composer overstayed and, while doing so, he managed to incur the wrath and fury of August III. When Ristori finally returned to Dresden in the summer of 1740, however, Wackerbarth effectively shielded him from further criticism and he was able to rejoin the *Hofkapelle* without repercussions.¹⁹ I suspect Friedrich Christian also played his part here and he eventually became a strong supporter and patron of the composer and his family.

The sources can easily be interpreted in such a way that Ristori had no intention to return to Saxony, since at least eight members of his nine-strong family had all followed him to Italy in 1738. If true, it would have opened a vacant position at the Dresden court. Perhaps this is what the composer Nicola Porpora had in mind when, in February 1739, he sent from Naples a copy of his latest opera *Semiramide*²⁰ and a set of printed *6 Sinfonie da camera* (op. 2)²¹ to Friedrich Christian in Rome. The Crown Prince was grateful for this offering and in return sent Porpora an expensive golden watch with an English chain.²² In the end, Ristori did return but the seeds were planted for Porpora's arrival in Dresden eight years later.

The Eternal City

During his sojourn in Rome, the Crown Prince experienced a wide range of sacred and secular music, and heard numerous virtuosi in public and private performances, both singers and instrumentalists. Annibali and his colleague Bindi had travelled from Dresden to sing in the carnival operas and they often appeared in the chamber concerts held in the Crown Prince's residence. Friedrich Christian and Wackerbarth-Salmour both reported on Annibali's fine singing and success in *Astarto* by Domingo Terradellas,²³ but the operas generally received a mixed reception by the Crown Prince and his grand master. The two were not always in agreement on what they witnessed and this fact is a good example of how the sixteen-year-old had by then formed his own opinions, independent from his mentor.

Throughout his stay, music was composed and performed in Friedrich Christian's honour, sometimes by the musicians of the Pope, cardinals or other members of the clergy which

the Crown Prince actively associated with, and in the academies and at the noble households he frequented. One of the many musical highlights was the visit to the Sistine Chapel, where the Crown Prince heard the famous *Miserere* by Allegri in its original setting,²⁴ but he was no stranger to the music, which had already been performed in a new arrangement by Zelenka at the Catholic court church in Dresden in the early 1730s. Another memorable and enjoyable musical experience for Friedrich Christian was hearing the *Salmi* of Benedetto Marcello's at the palace of cardinal Ottoboni,²⁵ and he later purchased a copy of the printed music: *Estro poetico-armonico* (1724).²⁶ These beautiful devotional psalms, so inspired by the practices of antiquity, have long been considered to be models of contrapuntal writing – a musical form, again, well familiar to the Crown Prince from Dresden, where the music of Palestrina was a regular part of the liturgical repertoire sung by the young choristers in the Catholic court church.

Venice

Friedrich Christian left Rome in mid-October and continued towards Venice with stops in all the major cities, and everywhere he went he came into contact with new sounds and interesting musicians. In Florence he met Veracini,²⁷ the composer and violinist hired by his father in Italy in 1716. The Crown Prince was only two years old when this great virtuoso left the service of August II in 1724, after having jumped out of a window in Dresden and broken his limbs in a moment of madness. Pergolesi's famous intermezzo *La serva padrona* was performed for Friedrich Christian in Bologna,²⁸ and he acquired a copy of the score afterwards.²⁹ On 11 December in Milan, he heard the castrato Felice Salimbeni,³⁰ who sang in Dresden for a few months before his premature death in 1751. Earlier that same day, the Crown Prince had been most impressed by the two Agnesi prodigies, Maria Gaetana and Maria Teresa.³¹ The former became a well-known mathematician while the latter was a gifted musician and a fine composer. Ten years later, the sisters sent a parcel to the crown-princely pair in Dresden, which included Maria Gaetana's mathematical treatise *Instituzioni Analitiche* (1748) for Friedrich Christian (a copy now sadly lost),³² and Maria Teresa's set of twelve *Arie con istromenti* dedicated to Maria Antonia, in a beautifully bound volume which still is preserved in Dresden.³³

The Crown Prince and his entourage arrived in the Lagoon City on 21 December 1739. Here he encountered yet another different and much more jovial musical environment, and one not as ecclesiastical as he had become accustomed to in Rome. Five days later, the first of the carnival operas was presented. This was Gennaro d'Alessandro's *Adelaide* [*Ottone*], the music of which Friedrich Christian found good, but the singers were rather bad. The stage sets and the ballets, however, were excellent.³⁴ He was particularly fond of the dancer Caterina S. Giorgio André, who only few months later had been hired by the Dresden court. Overall, during his six-month stay, the Crown Prince enjoyed his countless visits to the Venetian opera houses, and although the music was not always to his liking, he reveled in the social and relaxed format of the theatre as a meeting place, and where he entertained the nobility in his rented and well-stocked boxes. He also played cards, enjoyed refreshments, and even took his dinners while there – things that would have been considered disrespectful in Dresden. No doubt the most important opera Friedrich Christian heard was Baldassarre Galuppi's *Gustavo primo, re di Svezia* which premiered on 25 May 1740.³⁵ He later purchased a copy of the score,³⁶ which became the foundation for his family's impressive collection of *Galuppiana* now held by the SLUB,

consisting of more than 200 manuscripts.³⁷

For the large musical community in Venice the visit of Friedrich Christian and the musicians in his retinue proved to be a welcome source of revenue. The copying workshops supplied manuscripts of the music the Saxons heard in the city and were also able to sell items from their stocks, such as the two volumes of opera arias from Pergolesi's opera *L'Olimpiade*.³⁸ Composers were paid for copies of their operas and other occasional and celebratory works, and singers and instrumentalists received a gratuity for their performances for the Crown Prince. For example, Giuseppe Tartini, one of the greatest violinists of the eighteenth-century, was paid 15 *Ducats* [41 *Thaler*] from the private purse of Friedrich Christian,³⁹ who lavished praise on the Italian master for his two recitals.⁴⁰

Antonio Vivaldi, another great violinist of the same stature, also received a gift of 5 *doppio* [25 *Thaler*],⁴¹ not for his playing but for a calligraphic set of three violin concertos and one *sinfonia* the famous composer presented to the Crown Prince on 29 March 1740.⁴² [Fig. 67] Eight days earlier, the music had been performed as a part of d'Alessandro's cantata *Il coro delle muse* by the foundlings and orphaned girls of the Ospedale della Pietà, during a concert

which greatly pleased the dedicatee, Friedrich Christian. Further works were performed by the other Ospedali in Venice, in homage to the Crown Prince, who was a frequent guest in these important musical institutions, where admirable skill and virtuosity were on regular display for the many tourists who flocked to witness the magic of these concerts.

On his way home to Saxony, Friedrich Christian made a stopover in Vienna, where he visited his grandmother, Dowager Empress Wilhelmina Amalie, and other members of the Habsburg court. The imperial court orchestra was an impressive instrument and, like the Dresden *Hofkapelle*, had some excellent musicians in its ranks. The Crown Prince was very impressed with some of the singers he heard, for example the soprano castrato Angelo Monticelli, who later ended up in Dresden.⁴³ Friedrich Christian does not single out any instrumentalist of the *Hofmusikkapelle* for praise in his diary but, from a separate Viennese journal maintained by a member of his retinue, we know that he was visited on 31 July by the imperial court composer and organist Gottlieb Muffat.⁴⁴ A copy of his recent publication, *Componimenti Musicali*, was most likely presented to the Crown Prince on that occasion.⁴⁵



Fig.67
Antonio Vivaldi, *Concerti con molti Istrumenti* (Title page with dedication to Friedrich Christian, 1740): D-Dl, Mus. 2389-O-4 <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/df/102652/4> (Public Domain Mark 1.0), p. 1.

Memories in Music and the *I Pellegrini*

After an eventful journey lasting for nearly two years, Friedrich Christian arrived back home on 7 September and was welcomed by his parents and siblings and greeted with much fanfare on his entry into Dresden. Then it was time to reflect and unpack the bags, coffers and crates full of objects collected after his departure from Rome; everything acquired before that time had already been sent to Saxony in October 1739, either by land or sea.⁴⁶ Among the great many items gathered in Naples and Rome were dozens of musical manuscripts which were marked by a round sticker when the shipment was prepared and packed. Some of these stickers have fallen off or can no longer be made out, but the highest number seen is 53.⁴⁷ The music acquired in Venice does not show traces of being marked in this way, since the manuscripts travelled safely in the luggage back to Saxony.

A survey of the music accumulated by Friedrich Christian, and by members of his retinue on his behalf, demonstrates an intentional and systematic pattern of purchases made for posterity: in effect, it lays out a 'diary in music' of his Grand Tour. This magnificent collection of musical memories has been preserved well to this day, but there are some unfortunate losses and there might be some manuscripts out there which we still have not

been able to match to this journey. Practically all genres, sacred and secular, both vocal and instrumental, are included: Masses, vesper settings, oratorios, motets, operas, serenatas, cantatas, arias, sinfonias, concertos, overtures and keyboard music. Some of the music is already discussed above, but there is simply so much here to be admired. Naturally, on his return, the Crown Prince wished to hear again some of this music and also to share it with his court. It fell on Ristori to prepare the music for performance, and some of his markings can still be seen in the scores, especially those heard in the Catholic court church. Ristori also brought back a selection of important manuscripts copied during his time in Naples, including works by Pergolesi, Leo and Feo.⁴⁸ Here, it should also be added that during the Grand Tour music was also being sent by an unknown member of Friedrich Christian's entourage to Maria Josepha, for example the three Masses of the Neapolitan composers Francesco Feo, Nicola Fago and Domenico Sarri, as seen in the inventory of her music collection.⁴⁹

Two days after Friedrich Christian's return to Dresden, normalcy was restored when a revised setting of Hasse's opera *Artaserse* was presented in the royal theatre and was praised by the Crown Prince for its music and



Fig. 68
Johann Adolf Hasse,
*I Pellegrini al sepolcro di
Nostro Signore* ("Pellegrino è
l'uomo in terra"; final chorus
in the 2nd part, 1742); D-LEu,
N.I. 10312 <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/df/174402/169> (Public Domain Mark 1.0), p. 81r.

wonderful singing.⁵⁰ For the next few years the *Kapellmeister* again dominated the music-related entries in Friedrich Christian's diaries or at least until c.1744, when his journaling became sporadic and ceased altogether in the first week of 1746. Fortunately, the Crown Prince maintained a separate prayer journal of his novena worship of Saint Francis Xavier,⁵¹ and in it he recorded his thoughts and reflections in the period leading up to and during Holy Week. The first entries date from 1739, but music is first mentioned in 1741 and as late as 1746. Some of the entries in this journal are a revelation. They provide a unique insight into the true power and importance of the liturgical music performed in the Catholic court church in Dresden. Not only does Friedrich Christian describe in great detail the oratorios of Hasse heard during this period, but also exactly how the music deeply affected him and assisted his prayers and contemplation. This applies

especially to the Hasse's masterpiece, *I Pellegrini al sepolcro di Nostro Signore*, which in 1742 began a long and unbroken performance tradition in Dresden.⁵² On 30 March 1744 the Crown Prince wrote in his novena diary:⁵³

Following the Miserere I visited my very dear mother to be present at the rehearsal of the Oratorio of the I Pellegrini written by the late Signor Pallavicini, which is to be sung on Holy Friday. It is so full of unction that I can say that I was moved there to devotion, and in fact meditated on the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. The music itself inspires devotion.

After this religious experience, Friedrich Christian always compared Hasse's other oratorios to this work, for example in 1745, when the composer's *La Caduta di Gerico* was first performed, but had neither the beauty nor the devotional spirit of *I Pellegrini*. [Fig. 68]

Musical Manuscripts as Flower Bouquets

We next become aware of Friedrich Christian's thoughts on music in the active correspondence he entered into in mid-1746 with his future consort and first cousin, Princess Maria Antonia of Bavaria. At the same time, Wackerbarth-Salmour also began exchanging letters with the Saxon ambassador to the Munich court, Count Nikolaus Willibald Gersdorff. When the multiple letters resulting from all of these communications is combined with entries in the Prince's account books, a fascinating picture emerges of yet another aspect of the importance music played in Friedrich Christian's life. Between September 1746 and April 1747, he sent Maria Antonia at least ten opera scores from Dresden, including some Hasse works she did not have in her private collection, plus a copy of Leonardo Vinci's famous *Artaserse*, so she could compare it with the setting of Hasse. He also sent a volume of 16 arias from Ristori's *Le Fate*, after it had transpired that Maria Antonia had been singing a popular aria from the opera without knowing the name of the composer. Friedrich Christian also sent the four operas of the *Schulmeister* of the *Kapellknaben* ensemble of Dresden's Catholic court church, Johann Georg

Schürer (1720–1786), which had enjoyed great success when performed in the Mingotti theatre inside the Zwinger in Dresden.

The brilliant idea of this exchange was conceived and orchestrated by Wackerbarth-Salmour, who arranged for the music to be copied on behalf of Friedrich Christian and dispatched to Munich.⁵⁵ And since these were all presents in the name of the Crown Prince, they made a great impression on the Princess. Upon receiving the music, she immediately began transcribing some of the arias in order to be able sing them at the harpsichord. When Friedrich Christian asked Maria Antonia what she thought of Schürer's music, he received a long and detailed reply, where she praised the young composer after having studied his arias, and she especially liked his handling of the texts.⁵⁶ The excitement felt in Maria Antonia's wonderful letters to Friedrich Christian at this point is so palpable, that the words literally jump off the page, while the Crown Prince is more guarded and restrained in his replies. It would be a worthwhile project to transcribe and publish this remarkable correspondence leading up to their marriage in June 1747.

At the time of her arrival in Saxony, Maria Antonia was already a respectable poet, and she later corresponded with Pietro Metastasio and took advice from the imperial court poet and famous librettist. She was also an experienced musician who played the keyboard and the lute, in addition to being a gifted composer who had already written several impressive works. In Munich, she had been taught by the court composers Francesco Peli, Giovanni Domenico Ferrandini, and the *Kapellmeister* Giovanni Porta, but once in Dresden, it was felt that her musical studies should continue to allow the young consort to reach perfection in her art. For this purpose, the Dresden court lined up a formidable quartet of music teachers, each one being at the top of their profession. The men responsible for this important task were: Hasse for composition; Silvius Leopold Weiss for the lute – Europe's greatest player of the instrument; Ristori for the keyboard, and Porpora for the singing lessons. The last mentioned now finally reaped what he had sown by sending Friedrich Christian copies of his music in 1739. Porpora was one of the great vocal coaches of the eighteenth-century and he taught the famous

castrati Farinelli and Caffarelli. Likewise, the *Hofkapelle* singers Annibali, Bindi, Rocchetti and Maria Rosa Negri were all coached by Porpora in Italy in the mid- to late 1720s. He later taught young Joseph Haydn, who also served as the composer's valet and accompanist.

The progress made by Maria Antonia in these studies has recently been discussed by Nastasja Gandolfo, in her extensive study of the Crown Princess's activities as a singer and collector in Dresden.⁵⁷ With the absence of any diary entries and correspondence from the pen of Friedrich Christian, Gandolfo turned to the letters of Wackerbarth-Salmour, who meticulously described the vibrant musical life at the home of the Crown Princely pair in the Taschenberg Palais, where regular concerts took place with Friedrich Christian's siblings, members of the *Hofkapelle*, and visiting virtuosi.⁵⁸ Soon after the wedding in 1747, Ristori even moved into this palace and became the *de facto* music director for Friedrich Christian and Maria Antonia, and was responsible for organising and directing the music performed in the chamber concerts. At the same time, he was Maria Antonia's musical companion and their cooperation bore great



Fig. 69
Giovanni Alberto Ristori,
I Lamenti d'Orfeo (1749);
D-Dl, Mus. 2455-L-3
<https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/df/27356/1>
(Public Domain Mark 1.0).

fruits in the elegant and graceful cantatas *Didone abbandonata* and *Lavinia a Turno* (1748), and *Nice a Tirsi* (1749) for which the Crown Princess wrote the text and Ristori the music.⁵⁹ Five years later, her first opera, *Il trionfo della fedeltà*, was staged in Dresden, where she composed both the music and text and sang the leading role, and nine years later she repeated this Herculean feat with her second opera, *Talestri, Regina delle Amazzoni*, which premiered in Dresden on 24 August 1763.

Friedrich Christian must have been proud and pleased with his bright and brilliant consort, who brought his family and other noble members of the court so much joy with her boundless creativity and playing and singing. And even though the Crown Prince did not participate in the chamber concerts as a musician, he contributed in other ways, for example by paying gratuities to those who performed or for copies of the music that was

heard. One of the entries in his account books that stands out in this regard is the double payment of 68 *Thaler* to Ristori and the court poet *abbé* Claudio Pasquini on New Year's Day 1749;⁶⁰ this must be for the score and parts of the cantata *I Lamenti d'Orfeo* which was performed one day later.⁶¹ [Fig. 69] In one of Wackerbarth-Salmour's great anecdotes, he describes vividly, the moment the music was presented to Maria Antonia:⁶²

The day before yesterday the Abbé Pasquini gave a new year's gift after his own manner, to all the royal family in the form of a very ingenious cantata, for which he had written the verse. Ristori composed the music for it, with success and applause on all sides. The poet presented this bouquet to Madam the Electoral Princess Royal as a surprise for her, when she approached the harpsichord to begin the concert; and after the cantata Madam the Princess Royal sang several arias.

Prince Friedrich August

In the beginning of 1750 Maria Antonia spent a good deal of time working with Hasse on the Easter oratorio, *La conversione di Sant'Agostino*, for which she wrote the text. Following the birth of Friedrich Christian's and Maria Antonia's first son, Prince Friedrich August (1750–1827) on 23 December, family life slowly took over at the Taschenberg Palais but music was performed in their chambers at every opportunity. Ristori had already left his quarters in the Taschenberg Palais to

make room for the arrival of the firstborn and his servants, as preparations were already in place for more offspring. The composer died in February 1753, but his student Peter August effortlessly took over the position previously held by his teacher. A prolific composer and fine keyboard player, he began by making an inventory of the joint music library of the Crown Princely pair,⁶³ which lists many of the works collected by Friedrich Christian on his Grand Tour. [Fig. 70]

Num.	Autori	Titoli dei	Libri
XX.	Giov. de Ferrandini.	Ariette a Voce sola. <i>Manuscritti a Monaco</i>	1.
XVI.	Giov. de Ferrandini.	Cantata da Camera a Voce sola, e Basso. <i>Suppl. a Monaco</i>	1.
XVII.	Giov. de Ferrandini.	Cantata à Voce sola e stromenti.	1.
XIII.	Nicolo Porpora.	Statina. 9.	1.
XIV.	Nicolo Porpora.	La Semiramide. 11.	3.
XV.	Nicolo Porpora.	La Camilla. 12.	3.
XVI.	Nicolo Porpora.	Filandro. 8.	1.
XVII.	Nicolo Porpora.	Oronte e Climene non legata.	
XVIII.	Giov. Alberto Ristori.	Semiramide	3.
XIX.	Giov. Alberto Ristori.	I Lamenti d'Orfeo con strom. cav. 38	1.
XX.	Giov. Alberto Ristori.	Didone abbandonata Cantata con strom. cav. 27	1.
XII.	Giov. Alberto Ristori.	Lavinia a Turno con strom. cav. 28	1.
XIII.	Giov. Alberto Ristori.	Nice a Tirsi con strom. cav. 29	1.
XIV.	Leonardo Leo.	Sant Elena. 50	1.
XV.	Leonardo Leo.	La Morte d'Abelle. 51	1.
XVI.	Giov. Batt. Pergolesi.	La Serva Padrona. 33	1.
XVII.	Giov. Batt. Pergolesi.	IV. Cantate. 34	1.
XVIII.	Giov. Batt. Pergolesi.	XI. Arie. 35	1.
XIX.	Giov. Batt. Pergolesi.	XI. Arie. 36	1.

Fig. 70
Catalogo Libri di Musica con
i numeri negri (c.1753); D-Dl,
Bibl. Arch. III. Hb. Vol. 787.e
<https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/df/103786/133> (Public Domain Mark 1.0), p. 129.

Peter August was the first and most important music teacher of the young heir, Friedrich August. On 7 November 1757, ten days before the passing of Queen Maria Josepha in Dresden, the Crown Prince paid 28 *Thaler* for “*Ein Clavisen*”,⁶⁴ which might refer to a small keyboard and possibly the first instrument used by his six-year-old son. When Friedrich Christian, Maria Antonia, and their young children took flight to Prague in 1759, during the Seven Years’ War, Peter August was a part of their entourage. Ristori’s *Esercizi per l’Accompagnamento* was almost certainly in his luggage, as an instructional tool for the young Prince. These short musical examples, in the calligraphic hand of Peter August, are carefully graded exercises in the realisation of figured basses and form a unique set of Dresden teaching materials;⁶⁵ they might have been

Jóhannes Ágústsson is an independent scholar and antiquarian from Reykjavík, Iceland. His long-standing research in European archives and libraries has produced numerous important studies, where new information and insights on Antonio Vivaldi, Jan Dismas Zelenka, Giovanni Alberto Ristori and the Dresden *Hofkapelle* has been presented.

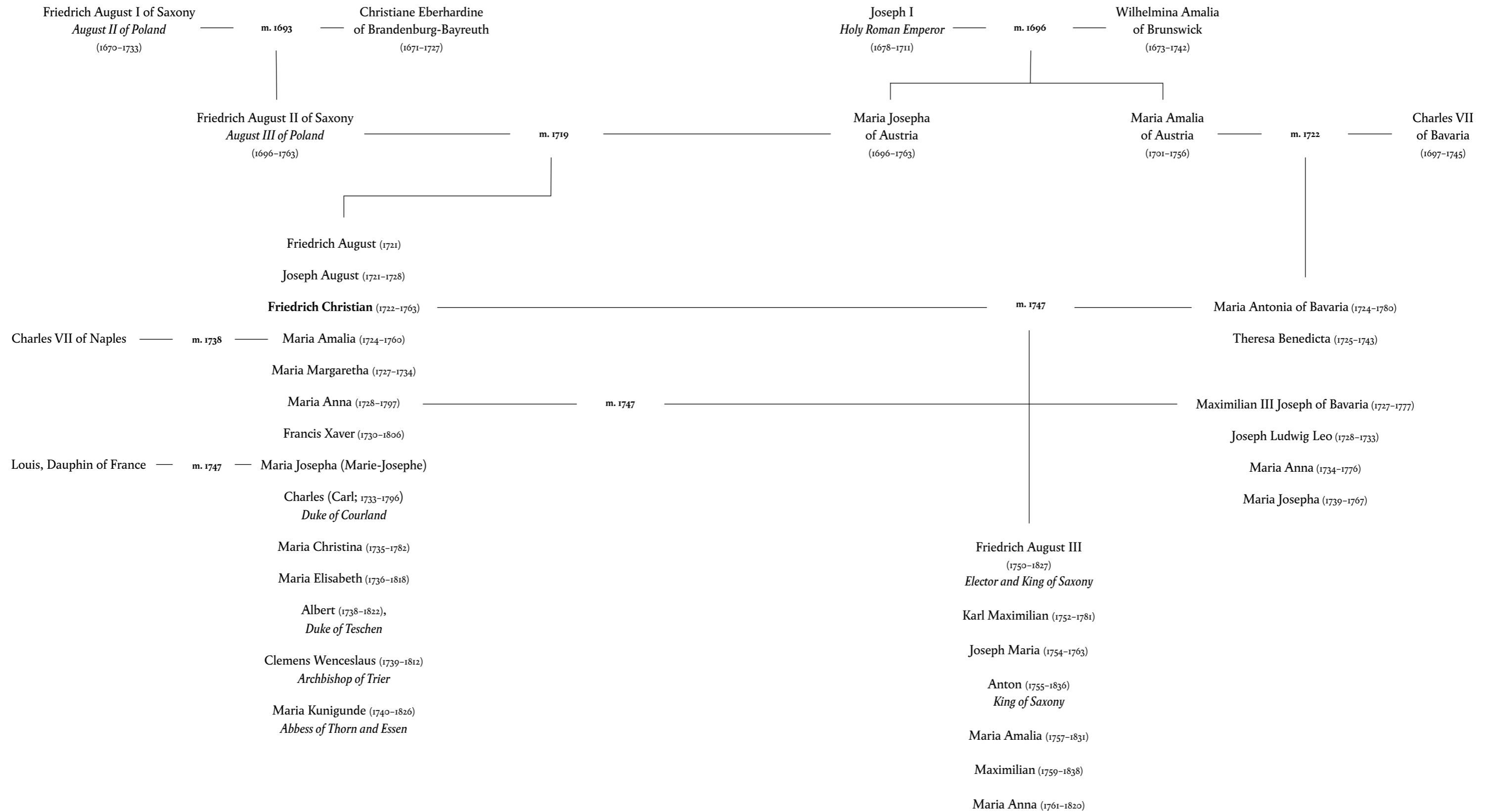
used to instruct generations of Saxon Princes and Princesses beginning with Maria Amalia in the early 1730s.

Friedrich August went on to become an excellent keyboard player and, in his free time, enjoyed duetting with his mentor. When his mother passed away in 1780, he inherited the music libraries of his parents and grandparents, and took great care to safeguard the manuscripts by building new cupboards to store the sacred and secular works collected during their lifetimes. Before his death as Saxon king Friedrich August I in 1827, he collected systematically all works performed in Dresden during his reign as elector and king, as seen in the catalogue of his music library, last updated c.1820.⁶⁶ He leaves behind a lasting legacy as a patron and guardian of the musical memory of his family.

- 1 See Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian: The Dresden Diaries and Account Books”, in *Clavibus Unitis* 9 (1/2020), pp. 1–70
- 2 See for example Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, “Federico Cristiano in Italia. Esperienze musicali di un principe reale polacco”, in *Musica e storia* 4 (1996), pp. 277–323; Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Janice B. Stockigt, “Italian Manuscripts of Sacred Music in Dresden: The Neapolitan Collection of 1738–1740”, in *Fonti Musicali Italiane* 15 (2010), pp.141–179.
- 3 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2398-J-1, pp. 280–320. D-DI is the RISM sigla for the SLUB.
- 4 Richard Lorber, *Die Italienischen Kantaten von Johann David Heinichen* (1683–1729). *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik am Dresdner Hof in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, (Regensburg, 1991), pp.199–203.
- 5 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2686-1-1.
- 6 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p.12.
- 7 “Le porteur de celle-ci Jean Adolff Hasse Compositeur de S.A. Msgr. le Duc de Brounswic-Lunembourg etant sur son depart d’ici pour Vienne, m’a prié de le pourvoir d’une lettre de recommandation”; D-DI (SLUB), Mscr.Dresd.App. 3387 *Lettres de son Excellence Monseigneur Le General Comte De Wackerbart [1662–1734] à Monsieur Joseph Comte de Wackerbart son fils* [1685–1761]. *Tome III*, letter Nr. 84, Dresden, 30 December 1721, f. 203r.
- 8 Annibali’s year of birth is often given incorrectly in the literature as 1705, but he was born ca. 1708. See Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Reconstruction”, in *Studi vivaldiani* 13 (2013), p.12, note 38.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp.10–13.
- 10 “In congiuntura che ritorna à Piedi di V[ost]ra Sac[ra]. Real Maestà Domenico Annibali, ho pigliato la libertà di consegnare al medesimo una Pittura del Coreggio, che egli averà l’onore d’umilare, e presentare in mio nome alla M[aes]tà V[ost]ra”; Letter from Albani to August III, Rome, 13 July 1749. HStAD, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 657/27 *Briefe an Ihre Majestäten den König [August III.] und die Königin [Maria Josepha] von Polen, größtenteils aus Rom, 1746–50*, f. 23r-v.
- 11 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 2.
- 12 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, “Federico Cristiano in Italia”, p. 298.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 299–300.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, *Salve Regina in F minor*; D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 3005-D-12a.
- 17 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, “Federico Cristiano in Italia”, p. 300.
- 18 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 3005-D-1b. See Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 11, note 43.
- 19 See Jóhannes Ágústsson, “Giovanni Alberto Ristori at the Court of Naples 1738–1740”, in *Studi pergolesiani – Pergolesi studies* 8, eds C. Bacciagaluppi, H.-G. Ottenberg and L. Zoppelli, (Bern, Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 53–100, here pp. 63–92.
- 20 D-D (SLUB)I, Mus. 2417-F-2.
- 21 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2417-Q-1.
- 22 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “Giovanni Alberto Ristori at the Court of Naples 1738–1740”, pp. 79–80.
- 23 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, “Federico Cristiano in Italia”, p. 301–302.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 304.
- 25 *Ibid.*, pp. 305–306.
- 26 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2416-D-3.
- 27 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, “Federico Cristiano in Italia”, p. 307–308.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 308.
- 29 D-DI (SLUB) Mus. 3005-F-3.
- 30 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, “Federico Cristiano in Italia”, p. 310.
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 Maria Gaetana’s letter to Friedrich Christian is dated 18 July 1749. He replied on 4 August. The two letters are held: HStAD, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian, Kurfürst von Sachsen. Nr. 60 *Maria Gaetana Agnesi, 1749*, not foliated.
- 33 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 3275-J-1. Maria Teresa’s letter to Maria Antonia is dated 18 July 1749. She replied on 4 August. The two letters are held: HStAD, 12528 Nachlass Maria Antonia, Kurfürstin von Sachsen, Nr. 151 *Korrespondenz der Kurprinzessin, ab 1763 Kurfürstin Maria Antonia mit Marie Theresa Agnesi, Komponistin Mailand, Theresa Alberi, und der Gräfin Sophia Katharina Baldini, Tochter des Grafen Baldini und der Johanna Sophie Richter aus Sangershausen, 1749 und 1772*, unfoliated.
- 34 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, “Federico Cristiano in Italia”, p. 311.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 316.
- 36 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2973-F-1.
- 37 See Jóhannes Ágústsson, “*Il grosso pacco della musica*”: *The Galuppiana* Consignments for August III and Count Heinrich von Brühl in Warsaw, 1757–1761”, in *Muzyka* 65 (2/2020),
- 38 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 3005-F-14; Mus. 3005-F-15.
- 39 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 44.
- 40 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, “Federico Cristiano in Italia”, pp. 315–316.
- 41 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 44.
- 42 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2389-O-4.
- 43 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, “Federico Cristiano in Italia”, pp. 317.
- 44 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 12.
- 45 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2442-T-2.
- 46 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 10, note 37.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 48 Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Janice B. Stockigt, “Italian Manuscripts of Sacred Music in Dresden: The Neapolitan Collection of 1738–1740”, cit. 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 31.
- 51 HStAD, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian,

- Kurfürst von Sachsen. Nr. 264 *Journal des Neuaines à l’honneur de Saint François Xavier* [1739–1746].
- 52 The oratorio was not performed during the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763).
- 53 “Après le Miserere je me rendit chez ma très chere Mere, pour assister à la Repetition de l’Oratoire des tre Pellegrini de feu le S.r Pallavicini que l’on doit chanter le Vendredi St. Il est si remplis d’Onxion, que je puis dire d’y avoir concu de la Devotion, et medité effectivement sur la Passion de N.S.J.C. La Musique meme inspire de la devotion”; HStAD, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian, Kurfürst von Sachsen. Nr. 264, loc. cit., entry dated 30 March 1744. See also Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, pp. 5, 40.
- 54 *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.
- 55 *Ibid.*, pp. 52–56.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 57 Nastasja Gandolfo, “The importance of the Italian chamber cantata for Maria Antonia Walpurgis of Bavaria as a performer and music collector from 1747 to 1763”, in *Clavibus Unitis* 9 (1/2020), pp. 195–209.
- 58 See also Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, pp. 5–6.
- 59 *Didone abbandonata*: D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2455-J-2 (score), Mus. 2455-J-2a (parts); *Lavinia a Turno*: Mus. 2455-J-1 (score), Mus. 2455-J-1a (parts); *Nice a Tirsi*: Mus. 2455-J-3 (score), Mus. 2455-J-3a (parts).
- 60 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 47.
- 61 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2455-L-3 (score), Mus. 2455-L-3a (parts).
- 62 “L’Abbé Pasquini donna avant hier des étrennes de sa façon à toute la famille Roiale par une Cantata fort ingenieuse, dont il a composé les vers. Ristori en a composé la Musique avec un succès et applaudissement universel. Le Poète a présenté ce bouquet à Madame la Princesse Roiale Elect[ora] le à son insu, lorsqu’Elle approchoit du Clavecin pour commencer le Concert. Messeigneurs les Princes Xavier et Charles, le Nonce, les deux Envoyés d’Angleterre, quantité de Dames d’Entrée, et plusieurs Ministres et Cavaliers de la Cour s’y trouverent; et après la Cantata Madame la Princesse R[o]yale chanta plusieurs Airs”; D-DIa, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 3058/06 *Das Kabinetministern Grafen von Brühl mit dem Kabinetminister und Obristhofmeister des Königlichen Kurprinzens, Grafen von Wackerbarth-Salmour, geführte Korrespondenz, 1749–1750*, vol. 3, Wackerbarth to Brühl, Dresden, 4 January 1749, unfoliated. See also Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 8.
- 63 *Catalogo Libri di Musica con i numeri negri*. D-DI (SLUB), Bibl.-Arch. III Hb 787e, pp. 127–134.
- 64 Jóhannes Ágústsson, “The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian”, p. 47.
- 65 D-DI (SLUB), Mus. 2455-T-500.
- 66 *CATALOGO della MUSICA di S.A.S. FEDERICO AUGUSTO Elettore di Sassonia*. D-DI (SLUB), Bibl.Arch. III.Hb.Vol.787.g.1. This catalogue was begun by Peter August in 1786 but after his death in February 1787 the catalogue was continued by others scribes.

FAMILY TREE



Published by
Thos. Agnews & Sons
6 St. James's Place
London SW1A 1NP
+44 (0)20 7491 9219

Director
Anthony Crichton-Stuart

Editor
Nikolaus Karlson
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Designed by
Richard Ardagh Studio

Pre-press
DawkinsColour

Printed by
Park Communications

ISBN 978-1-3999-4772-5

Front cover and pages 7, 8 & 11, details of
Portrait of Friedrich Christian, Prince of Saxony
(1722–1763), three-quarter-length, in armour, with
an ermine lined mantle and the sash and star of
the Order of the White Eagle by Anton Raphael
Mengs, courtesy of Agnews.