"CATALOGO (THEMATICO) [SIC] DELLA MUSICA DI CHIESA (CATHOLICA [SIC] IN DRESDA) COMPOSTA DA DIVERSI AUTORI - SECONDO L'ALFABETTO 1765" : AN INTRODUCTION

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usic catalogues provide valuable microcosms in which taste, transmission, and local traditions are disclosed. The "Catalogo (Thematico) della Musica di Chiesa ... 1765," the focus of this article, reveals the development of Saxon Catholic musical taste in the mid-eighteenth century, in all its breadth and universality, coloured by regional liturgical and musical practices. This "Catalogo" is the earliest known thematic catalogue of the music library of the Dresden Catholic Hofkirche, compiled in three volumes after the Seven Years War when Johann Georg Schürer was <u>Kirchencompositeur</u> to the Dresden court. Within a few years a more detailed catalogue was assembled, of which only volume III is now available.² Thus the "Catalogo" of 1765 is the only complete, currently accessible inventory of a most important collection of Catholic liturgical music assembled in Saxony between ca. 1708 and 1765. From 1908 much of the collection was deposited with the Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek (KÖB)—today, the Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB, formerly SLB).³

The physical organisation of this collection is reflected in the layout of the "Catalogo." Three cupboards (Schränke), each representing one volume of the "Catalogo," were divided into numerous compartments (Fächer), which were ordered into layers (Lagen). Works were stored (and entered) in alphabetical order of composers' names. Each item was listed with position of storage (Fach and Lage), title, performance requirements ("à 4 voci, 2 VVni, Vla e Basso"), and music incipit. Materials available were marked under the headings "Partitura" and "Parti." Many scores were shelved without parts, indicating that not all listed works were performed in Dresden.

This paper—representing work-in-progress—investigates certain aspects of the collection listed in the "Catalogo." Contributors to the collection are explored, as are its liturgical purposes. Reworkings of the repertoire are discussed together with problems inherent in the "Catalogo" such as misattribution and (as yet) unidentified composers. Considerations of transmission and the assembly of the collection close the article.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE COLLECTION

Between 1708, when Dresden's Catholic Hofkirche was established, and 1765, when this "Catalogo" was compiled, hundreds of musical works were written and collected for use in the church. It is probable that some printed editions in the collection came from the Royal Polish and Electoral Saxon court, or purchased by the Jesuits from the Province of Bohemia who supervised the church. An account kept in the Roman Jesuit Archive reveals that a "pretiosam Regiam Liberiam Musicorum" was among items funded from the extraordinary expenses incurred between August 1709 and February 1711.⁴ The "Catalogo" listed certain late-seventeenth-century settings of Latin liturgical texts composed by Dresden Kapellmeisters, Vincenzo Albrici and Carlo Pallavicino.⁵ Printed part-books of the collection must have provided much of the repertoire of the original church (which had storage space for music and instruments), for performance by the *Kapellknaben*.

The Dresden court composers—Johann David Heinichen (d. 1729), Jan Dismas Zelenka (d. 1745), Giovanni Alberto Ristori (d. 1753) and Johann Adolf Hasse (who left Dresden finally in 1763)—built up

¹ *D-B* Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 186.

² "Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa, composta da diversi Autori secondo l'alfabetto [sic]. Armaro III^{ZO}, principiando dalla littera S sino al Z con l'aggiunta degli'Autori senza Nome," Ms. *D-D/*Sign. Bibl. Arch. III H 788, 3.

³ I acknowledge with gratitude the advice and assistance of Dr Karl W. Geck and staff of the Music Department, SLUB.

⁴ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu Fondo Vecchia Compagnia (ARSI), Provinciae Bohemiae (Boh), ARSI Boh. 205/2.

⁵ Gerhard Poppe, "Kontinuität der Institution oder Kontinuität des Repertoires? Einige Bemerkungen zur Kirchenmusik am Dresdner Hof zwischen 1697 und 1717," in *Miscellaneorum de Musica Concentus: Karl Heller zum 65 Geburtstag*, ed. Walpurga Alexander, Joachim Stange-Elbe, Andreas Waczkat (Rostock: Universität Rostock, 2000), 72.

personal collections for use by the distinguished court musicians who performed on high feast days and state occasions. Possession of a library seems to have been a pre-requisite to—and ongoing responsibility of—musical directorship in the eighteenth century. In addition to works of the above-mentioned composers, the "Catalogo" lists the following (with original spellings):

Albinoni; Aldrovandini; Allegri; Ariosti; Astorga; Aufschneider; Baliani; Bassani; Belizani; Benevoli; Bernabei; Berardi; Biatta; Biffi; Bioni; Bissoni; Bonno; Bononcini; Borri; Bræunich; Brixi [Šimon]; Brunetti; Caldara; Campra; Cantu; Cantoni; Capelli; Caroli; Casselli; Chiesa; Ciampi; Colonna; Conti [Giovanni Contini]; Contini [Francesco Conti]; Corbisiero; Cozzi; Czerwenka; Deslins [de Slins]; Duni; Durante; Eberlein; Einwaldt; Fabri [Annibale Pio]; Fasch [Johann Friedrich]; Feo; Feibig; Finazzoli; Fiorelli; Fischer [Johann Caspar Ferdinand]; Foschi; Fux; Gabrielli [Domenico]; Galuppi; Gasparini; Gerardi [Mattia]; Gerbich [Antonín Görbig]; Gianettini; Gonelli; Graun [Johann Gottlieb]; Grunberger; Harrer; Hendel [George Frideric Handel]; "Ignoti"; Ingenieri; Jomelli; Kolberer; G. K. [Kolberer]; Leo; Lindner; Lorenzani; Lotti; Lully; de Majo; Manzini [Mancini]; Marenzio; Mayer; Monzino; Moro; Muck; Luigi [Antonio] Negri; Nelvi; Noack [Jan Frantiček Novák]; Novari [Jan Frantiček Novák]; Oettel; Orlandini; Palestina [Palestrina]; Palestrino [Palestrina]; Passarino; Pergolesi; Pescetti; Piazzino; Pietragrua [Carlo Luigi Pietro Grua]; Picinetti; Pisani; Pitoni; Philippi [Jan Jiří]; Polaroli [Antonio Pollarolo]; Poppe; Porta; Predieri; Prenestini [Palestrina]; Prentner [Brenntner]; Puppi; Quantz; Rathgeber; Reichenauer; Reinhardt; "de Reitern" [Georg Reutter Sen. and Jun.]; Riepel; Robert; Rore; Sarri; Seppi; Schütze; Schwanenberg; Silvani; Steffani; Tarantino [Nicola Fago]; Ulich [Augustin Uhlig]; Urio; Valle; Vanini [Vannini]; Vignati; Villicus; Vitalli; Vivaldi; Zabradeczky; Zeiler; and finally, "Musica Senza Nome dell'Autore."

Representation of composers is uneven; Predieri, for example, has one listing; Palestrina has fifty-two entries and Galuppi seventy-three. Numbers of entries in themselves, however, do not present an accurate picture of representations: one entry might represent multiple works. Zelenka's thirty-three Vespers psalms, for example, have one entry with one incipit, but were located in four Lagen.

LITURGICAL PURPOSES OF THE COLLECTION

The collection incorporates styles of Catholic liturgical music of the late Renaissance, the Baroque, and early Classicism. The Temporal and Sanctoral cycles, State occasions, and Devotions were served with numerous Masses, Requiems, Offertoria, Motets, Te Deums, Vespers and Compline settings, Marian Antiphons, compositions for Lent, and for Holy Week. Performance requirements range from a-cappella to Solemn settings with trumpets and timpani for performance by the royal musicians on occasions of importance. The great feasts of the Dresden *Sanctorale*—of St Benno, Patron of Saxony, St John of Nepomuk, Patron of Bohemia and the Jesuit mission, and St Francis Xavier, Patron of the Electoral Princess (later Queen) Maria Josepha—were promulgated with festive music. Many florid solo Mottetti and Offertoria came into the collection, especially after 1730, when a group of Italian-trained singers arrived in Dresden for the re-establishment of opera.

REWORKINGS OF THE REPERTOIRE

With such a rich and varied repertoire, one wonders why so much of the collection underwent revision, especially at the hands of Heinichen and Zelenka. Both composers "stretched" certain Kyrie/Gloria settings into larger Mass settings whereby further parts of the Mass were created from existing material and new composition. Such re-working (termed "gestreckte Messen" by Wolfgang Horn, who described the procedure) is exemplified in Dresden-held scores of Kyrie/Gloria settings by Caroli (Heinichen) and Durante (Zelenka). Then there is the matter of musical style. Each work performed had to be adapted to the ever-developing musical taste of Dresden. Scoring was altered to suit the Dresden requirement of four-(sometimes five-) part vocal scoring, four-part instrumental scoring (two violins, viola, continuo), with flutes, oboes, and bassoon added as soloists or orchestral ripienists. Works in C major might have trumpets omitted, or transposed into D to suit the tuning of Saxon trumpets (certainly in Heinichen's time). Horns—especially favoured in Dresden—sometimes replaced trumpets, or were incorporated into the brass choir. Instruments were given colle-parte roles in the a-cappella repertoire. Solo vocal passages were rewritten to accommodate the techniques (and vanities) of the celebrated Dresden singers. Instrumental and vocal performance practices were introduced to heighten rhetorical aspects of liturgical texts.

⁶ Wolfgang Horn, Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720–1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), (Hkm), passim.

The Electoral Prince twice ordered the church music to be shortened. On 28 October, 1725 the Jesuits reported that "the Gloria and Credo will always need to be brief," leading Heinichen to abbreviate his first five Masses. A significant cause for changes to this liturgical repertoire occurred in 1751, when the then-new Hofkirche was first used for music. Gerhard Poppe discusses alterations to existing music because of "the famous-infamous [berühmt-berüchtigt] acoustic of the new church, with its nine-second echo, terrifying to both composers and performers alike." Two of Heinichen's Masses were reworked by Joseph Schuster Junior to accommodate the new conditions. Whilst I acknowledge dangers inherent in this observation, information from the old SLB card catalogue suggests that numbers of parts accompanying scores increased throughout the century.

PROBLEMS

The "Catalogo" contains minor errors of listing. For example, the incipits of the first entries, Albinoni's Sonate à 3 (Fach 1, Lage 1) and Sinfonia e Concerti à 5 (Fach 1, Lage 2), are back-to-front. Definite verification of the following composers has not been made: Biatta; Cantu or Cantù [Giovanni Antonio Canuti?]; Cantoni [Seraphino Cantone?]; Czerwenka [family name of distinguished Bohemian oboists/bassoonists who flourished in the late-eighteenth century]; Finazzoli [titled "Mo di Cappa di Pesaro" on the cover of *D-Dl* Mus.2870-D-1]; Gerardi [Mattia]; Grunberger; Mayer [Rupertus Ignatius Mayr?]; Monzino [Giocomo?]; Muck; Piazzino; Schütze; Pietro Valle [Della Valle?]; Vitalli [Giovanni Battista Vitali?]; Zabradeczky.

There are curious, doubtful and incorrect attributions. One example is Zelenka's naming of Jan Frantiček Novák, whom he probably knew, as "Novari" on manuscript copies. Did Zelenka seek to elevate the young Bohemian's status with false italianisation of his name? The "Catalogo" listing "Luigi Negri," too, is suspicious: did the singer-composer Antonio Negri (father of the singers Maria Anna and Maria Rosa), who had been threatened with arrest in Prague in 1726, seek to hide his identity? A Beatus vir setting by Negri in Zelenka's collection is also held in Prague where it is attributed to Carlo Cozzi. On the other hand, incipits of a Kyrie/Gloria, also kept in Prague and attributed to Ristori, 11 correspond with those movements of Zelenka's Missa Dei Patris (ZWV 19). Were these scribal errors? Or was deception being practised? Questions arise concerning the numerous works listed in the "Catalogo" under "Baldass. Galuppi"; a Beatus vir setting attributed to Galuppi is unquestionably by Vivaldi (RV 795)!12

TRANSMISSION

The most important collector of liturgical music for Dresden, and certainly the best documented, was Zelenka, whose earliest sources were copied in Vienna ca. 1717–1719. Sections from Zelenka's "Collectaneorum Musicorum Libri Quatuor" were reworked for Dresden, including parts of Frescobaldi's Fiori Musicali, Masses of Palestrina, and an Alma Redemptoris Mater setting by Bernabei. ¹³ Following return to Dresden (1719), the development of Zelenka's collection seems to have relied upon a system of barter with musicians of Prague (especially those attached to the church of St Francis Serafin [the Kreuzherren Order], and Josef Antonín Sehling), and the Cistercian monastery at Ossek. Certain Bohemian churches held works by Zelenka. Exchanges must have been made on a regular basis, and it is

⁷ See Wolfgang Reich, "Exzerpte aus dem Diarium Missionis S.J. Dresdae", *Zelenka-Studien II: Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka, (Dresden und Prague 1995)*, ed. Wolfgang Reich, Günter Gatterman, Deutsche Musik im Osten, Bd. 12 (Academia Verlag: Sankt Augustin, 1997), 344.

⁸ Gerhard Poppe, "Über historisches Gedächtnis in der Kirchenmusik—zur Bearbeitung zweier Messen von Johann David Heinichen durch Joseph Schuster," *Händel-Jahrbuch*, Bd. 47 (2001), 139.

⁹ Daniel Freeman, *The Opera Theater of Count Franz Anton von Sporck in Prague*, Studies in Czech Music, No. 2 (New York: Pendragon, 1992), 341–42.

¹⁰ Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis Catalogus Collectionis Operum Artis Musicae, 2 vols., Catalogus Artis Musicae in Bohemia et Moravia Cultae. Artis Musicae Antiquioris Catalogorum Series, Vol. IV, ed. Jiří Štefan (Prague: Supraphon, 1992), I, 270 ([309] Sign. 296), provenance [Joseph Antonín Sehling.

¹¹ Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis, II, 153 ([1152] Sign. 1101), "partim Sg" [=Sehling].

¹² Michael Talbot, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi*, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Instituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi (Florence: Olschki, 1995), 23.

¹³ On Zelenka's "Collectaneorum" (*D-Dl* Mus. 1-B-98), see *Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien*, eds. Wolfgang Horn, Thomas Kohlhase, Ortrun Landmann, Wolfgang Reich, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Bärenreiter, 1989), 69–86.

likely that in addition to works by Bohemian composers, various Italian works in Zelenka's collection came to Dresden via Prague, especially between the mid-1720s and 1730s, when Zelenka amassed a huge collection of liturgical music (and an enormous debt) in the hope of raising his position from violone player to musical director/court composer. Students of Zelenka represented in the "Catalogo" include Riepel, Harrer, ¹⁴ and possibly the Dresden cellist Felice Maria Picinetti. By contrast, little is known of Heinichen's personal collection. Whilst Zelenka's "Inventarium" provides an invaluable tool, ¹⁵ no inventory from Heinichen is available. Yet his revisions are evident in various Dresden scores (Bononcini, Caldara, Caroli, Conti, Fasch, Mancini). ¹⁶

Inclusion of two Masses by Caroli in the "Catalogo" (although nine further liturgical works are held by SLUB) provides one example of a strong link between Dresden and Bologna, especially with members of the Accademia Filarmonica (Adrovandini, Bassani, Caroli, Fabri, Predieri). Connections with Venetian musicians were strengthened by visits of the Royal Polish and Saxon Electoral house. In 1715 Dresden's future concert-master, Johann Georg Pisendel, was in the entourage of the Electoral Saxon Prince. There, Pisendel became a student of Vivaldi; German-born Heinichen was appointed Kapellmeister to Dresden (arriving in 1717); Antonio Lotti and a troupe were recruited and contracted for operatic performances in Dresden (the "Catalogo" lists eight works by Lotti). Another stream of Venetian music arrived when the Venetian impresario Antonio Denzio visited Bohemia for the operatic venture of Count Franz Anton von Sporck (1724–38). Liturgical works of several composers represented in the operatic repertoire of the Sporck theatre (Caldara, Feo, Galuppi, Santo Lapis, Leo, Pergolesi, Pollarolo, Porta, Sarri, Vivaldi) came into the repertoire of the Dresden Hofkirche. Hasse almost certainly brought liturgical works to Dresden, accumulated from visits to Italian centres, especially Venice and Naples.

The "Catalogo" names several Neapolitan composers. Although certain Neapolitan works came into the Dresden collection via Zelenka (a Mass [B flat] by Durante, also held by the Prague Cathedral¹⁸), several compositions from Nicola Fago ("Il Tarantino") and his students at the Pietà dei Turchini (Feo, de Majo, Leo, Jommelli, Antonio Corbisiero) also came to Dresden. Did Hasse establish this connection? Perhaps Ristori forged links with Neapolitan composers in 1738, when Saxon Princess Maria Amalia married Charles, King of the Two Sicilies.¹⁹ Or maybe Antonio Duni (who probably studied with Fago) provided this association: four dated autograph manuscripts of Duni kept in Dresden hint at a visit in the mid-1740s.

ASSEMBLY OF THE COLLECTION

After the deaths of Heinichen, Zelenka, Ristori and Pisendel, Maria Josepha purchased their music collections. Some time after her demise (†1757), Heinichen's collection became disorganised. According to Fürstenau, the *Bettmeister* Renner began to sell music from Heinichen's collection, then kept in the apartments of the late Queen. Scattered items were rescued later by Joseph Schuster Senior (1722–84).²⁰ Fürstenau's anecdote would certainly explain the omission from the "Catalogo" of many of Heinichen's compositions and works from his collection (including Fasch's Vespers compositions).

Evidently Zelenka's music library was placed into the Dresden Catholic court church in its entirety, which accounts for secular items being catalogued in 1765. His instrumental music, secular arias of Orlandini, and prints of Lully's 189 Trios (acquired in 1716 by Zelenka in Vienna, when French taste reigned in Dresden), are among the unlikely works of a church music library. Of Ristori's great liturgicomusical output, little is kept in SLUB. In 1916 Mengelberg reported that although a large number of Ristori's compositions entered the KÖB from the Hofkirche (including almost all liturgical works) they

18 Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis, I, 281–82 ([331] Sign. 319a), provenance A. Görbig; J. F. Novák.

¹⁴ Gerhard Poppe, "Die Schüler des Jan Dismas Zelenkas," in Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Halle (Saale) 1998, Bd. II, ed. Kathrin Eberl and Wolfgang Ruf (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 2000), 290–300.

¹⁵ "Inventarium rerum Musicarum Ecclesiae servientium," MS. *D-Dl* Bibl. -Arch. III H b 787d. Reproduced in *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, 169–218.

¹⁶ Wolfgang Horn, Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720–1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 122–28.

¹⁷ Freeman, Opera Theater of Count Sporck, passim.

¹⁹ In 1738–39 two of Ristori's operas were performed in Naples, where three scores are held (Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Maiella).

²⁰ Moritz Fürstenau, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Königlich Sächsischen musikalischen Kapelle (Dresden, 1849), 144. Cited by Poppe, "Über historisches Gedächtnis in der Kirchenmusik," 139.

remained uncatalogued. Mengelberg was unable to find all Ristori listings in volume I of the later, now-missing "Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa."²¹

It seems that between 1765 and the assembly of the second catalogue, liturgical works of Hasse held in the Dresden Hofkirche were catalogued separately.²² Their positions within an unnumbered Schrank began with Fach 1, Lage 1, ending with Fach 15, Lage 15. These numbers were then crossed through and replaced with "VI" (probably representing "Armaro VI," written on the cover of this catalogue). Clearly, between compilation of the 1765 "Catalogo" and the late-eighteenth century, many alterations to the music storage system of the church occurred. How else is the quantity of instrumental music once kept in Schrank II (Fach 5, Lage 1—Fach 33, Lage 117), described by Manfred Fechner, explained?²³

Various items listed in the "Catalogo" are missing from Dresden (including the "Catalogo" itself, kept in Berlin). Some compositions seem not to have reached the KÖB or SLUB. Much of the performance material that once accompanied many scores is missing.24 Nevertheless, enough survives in Dresden to illuminate a splendid era of Catholic music in Lutheran Saxony during the eighteenth century.

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²³ Manfred Fechner, Studien zur Dresdner Überlieferung von Instrumentalkonzerten Deutscher Komponisten des 18. Jahrhunderts, Dresdner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Bd. 2 (Laaber: Laaber, 1999.)

²¹ Curt Rudolph Mengelberg," Giovanni Alberto Ristori: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Italienischer Kunstherrschaft in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1916), introduction to "Verzeichnis der Werke," Giovanni Alberto Ristori, n.p.

²² "Catalogo della Music di Chiesa composta di Giov. Adolfo Hasse. Amaro VI," D-Dl Bibl. Arch. III H 790.

²⁴ Dr Geck advises that these materials are believed to be in Russia. They belonged to the 220,000 SLB items confiscated and taken to the Soviet Union in the aftermath of World War II.