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Italian Sacred Music Listed in the Catalogue of Dresden's Catholic Court Church, 1765

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Abstract

Analysis of more than 800 items of sacred music listed in the thematic catalogue ("Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa composta Da diversi Autori – secondo l'Alfabetto 1765") of Dresden's Catholic court church (the *Hofkirche*) demonstrates the dependence of this church upon compositions by Italian composers. Apart from existing repertoire, important transmissions of Italian music into Saxony came through the personal collections of the church composers Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) and Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1699–1754), composers whose musical estates came to be acquired by the Dresden court. Valuable additions came from members of the electoral and royal family, while an important corpus of Italian sacred works came into the collection of the *Hofkirche* to be entered into the *Catalogo* by Schürer. This late repertoire came from the Venetian copying house of Iseppo Baldan and it contained more than seventy sacred items attributed to Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785).

An overview of the main contributors to the Dresden collection as it was catalogued in 1765 is presented. The principal Italian composers of Dresden's sacred Catholic repertoire of music are named and the collectors are identified. A possible purpose is proposed for the acquisition of the many items from Iseppo Baldan. Finally, the transmission of the Italian repertoire from Dresden demonstrates the ongoing movement of Italian sacred music to German centres such as Leipzig and Berlin.

Keywords

Dresden, Italian sacred music, Jan Dismas Zelenka, Giovanni Alberti Ristori, Baldassarre Galuppi, Iseppo Baldan, Johann George Schürer, music catalogues

In March 1765, the Bohemian-born church composer of the Dresden court Johann Georg Schürer (1720–1786) finalized a thematic catalogue of the sacred music collection that then was kept in the recently built Catholic court church. This *Hofkirche* (dedicated in 1751) was established by the hereditary elector of Saxony Frederick Augustus II who, as elective king of Poland, was titled August III. The *Hofkirche* replaced the original smaller royal chapel established in 1708 by his father, Saxon Elector Friedrich August I who, as King of Poland, was titled August II (“the Strong”).¹ The thematic inventory of 1765 titled “Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa composta Da diversi Autori - secondo l’Alfabetto 1765” is in three volumes. Today it is kept in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung (D-B).² Sacred works entered into the *Catalogo* either were written for or acquired to serve the musical requirements of Dresden’s two post-Reformation Catholic court churches. Given the taste of August III for the arts of Italy it is not surprising that many works by Italian composers are found among the more than 800 listed items. Concordances found today in Czechian archives and eighteenth-century inventories reveal the great importance of Bohemian institutions in the transmission of Italian sacred works to Saxony.

Of approximately 134 composers Schürer listed in the *Catalogo* at least ninety have Italian names. Nevertheless, among the genuine Italian composers mis-attributions are found. This overview itemizes the Italian composers whose sacred works entered the repertoire of Dresden’s *Hofkirche*, contributions made from collections of musicians of the Dresden court are given, and works wrongly attributed to Italians are identified.

Development of the Collection

The most important contributors to Italian sacred music in Dresden’s collection as catalogued in 1765 were the court church composers Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) and Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1699–1753). To a lesser extent *Kapellmeister* Johann David Heinichen (1663–1729) added sacred items from Italy to the repertoire, while members of the ruling Saxon family also contributed. The Jesuits who served Dresden’s royal Catholic church probably were responsible for the early acquisition of published music by Italians to be used by the Bohemian ensemble of young musicians (*Kapellknaben*) of the original church. Queen Maria Josepha (1699–1757), wife of August III, came to take responsibility for the music of both royal chapels, a duty inherited by her daughter-in-law, Maria Antonia.³ Maria Josepha also ensured the purchase of sacred music once held

1 The preparation of this article was greatly assisted by Jóhannes Ágústsson, Susanne Haring, and Shelley Hogan. Their help is gratefully acknowledged.

The conversion in 1696 to Catholicism of Friedrich August I enabled him to become an eligible candidate for the throne of Poland. In 1712 his son and successor, Friedrich August II (1697–1763), also converted to Catholicism. In 1733, he was elected King of Poland.

2 D-B, Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 186.

3 This responsibility undertaken by these two successive Saxon electresses is known from an invoice submitted to the court dated 27. 3. 1765: “Ich habe von denen neuerl. [ich] gefertigten 2. *Catalogis* des Churfl.

by her court composers.⁴ It was she who acquired the musical estates and collections of Zelenka and Ristori, music that by 1765 formed the backbone of the *Hofkirche* collection. In addition, the large collection of sacred music from the Venetian copying house of Iseppo Baldan added new stylistic dimensions to the repertoire: approximately seventy-three works delivered by Baldan were attributed to Baldassare Galuppi “Il Buranello” (1706–1785), a Venetian whose music represented the new *galant* style of the mid-1700s.

Late in 1764, soon after the end of the Third Silesian War (1756–1763), Schürer began to oversee the systematic cataloguing and storage of Dresden's collection of sacred music. An invoice he presented to the court gave the cost of repairs to cupboards and their removal from the late Queen's apartments into the *Hofkirche*. Schürer also itemized materials needed for the preparation of the *Catalogo* of music which was to be stored in three cupboards (*Schränke*). A label for each score and/or set of parts was attached to each item.⁵ By 9 March 1765 the task was finalized, as a statement at the conclusion of the *Catalogo* confirmed: “*Daß ich Endes benenter angemerckte Musicalien dieses Catalogi in meinem Beschluß habe, wird hiermit bescheiniget. Dreßden den 9. Martii 1765. Ioannes Georgius Schürer.*”

Composers listed in the *Catalogo* whose names suggest Italian origins are seen in the accompanying Appendix. Among them is a handful of Italians who had been employed in Dresden's Lutheran court church during the reign of Elector Johann Georg IV, August II's predecessor. Among those whose compositions suited Catholic worship are Vincenzo Albrici who served the Lutheran court church between 1656 and 1681; Carlo Fiorelli, a violinist of the same church who became a member of Dresden's *Hofkapelle* in 1709; Carlo Pallavicino; Carlo Luigi Pietrigruga (Pietro Gruga); Carlo Franco Pollarolo; “Paolo Seppi” (almost certainly an altist from the first choir of this Lutheran court chapel named Paolo Seppi,⁶ and Paul Sepp.⁷) The RISM entry for the manuscript parts of a “Beatus vir” setting by Giovanni Battista Vitali suggests that this work also might

Kirchen Music-Vorraths eine sauber geschriebene Copÿ Ihrer Königl.[ichen] Hoheit der Churfürstin übergeben, weil Höchstdieselben alle übrige Music, welche sonst bey Ihro Maiest. [Majestät] der Höchstseeligen Königin gestanden, in höchst dero selbsteigenen Beschluß haben.” (I have presented a cleanly written copy of the recently compiled 2 *Catalogis* of the Elector's holdings of church music to Her Royal Highness, the Elector's wife, because Her Highness has at her very own disposal all remaining music that until now had been in the possession of Her Majesty, the late Queen). Sächsisches Staatsarchiv – Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (D-Dla), 10026 Geheimes Kabinett (Geh. Kab.), Loc. 910/1, ‘Acta. Das Churfürstl. *Orchestre* und deßen Unterhaltung ingleichen. Das große *Opern*-Haus und andere zum *Departement* des *Directeur des Plaisirs* gehörige. Angelegenheiten betr. Anno [1711, 1717], 1764 [...] 68', ff. 82b–83a. (NB: this archive replaces r-v with a-b).

4 Maria Josepha acquired the musical estates of Dresden's concertmasters Jean-Baptiste Volumier and Johann Georg Pisendel, *Kapellmeisters* Johann Christoph Schmidt and Johann David Heinichen, and church composers Zelenka and Ristori. After her death, part of her library went to the church, part to Maria Antonia. FÜRSTENAU, Moritz. *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden* (2 vols.) Dresden: Kuntze, 1861–1862. Repr. with commentary and indices by Wolfgang Reich, Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1971, vol. 1, p. 181.

5 Schürer's invoice is located in D-Dla, Geh. Kab., Loc. 910/1, 59a. Reproduced as Plate 1 in STOCKIGT, Janice B. *Musica senza nome dell'autore: Anonymous works listed in the Music Catalogue of the Dresden Hofkirche, 1675. Studi Vivaldiani* 2007, vol. 7, p. 25.

6 Fürstenau names this composer “Paolo Seppi” in FÜRSTENAU, op. cit., p. 157 and 254.

7 Eitner names this musician as “Sepp (Seppi), Paul, Altist an der Hofkapelle in Dresden ...” EITNER, Robert. *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung*

have come from Dresden's Lutheran court church.⁸

Sacred music collected during 1739–1740 when Saxon Prince Friedrich Christian (1722–1763) went on his Grand Tour, along with works dedicated to members of Saxony's ruling family, also came into the collection. The movement of music to the *Hofkirche* from Dresden's royal collection is demonstrated, for example, by entries into the incomplete catalogue of Maria Josepha of c.1743.⁹ There, Masses for five vocal parts (SSATB) by the Neapolitan composers Francesco Feo, Francesco Nicola Fago (“detto Tarantino”), and Domenico Sarri, as well as a Requiem Mass by the Venetian composer Antonio Lotti are seen—works that by 1765 were listed in the *Catalogo*. Nevertheless, the principal contributions to the *Hofkirche* collection came from the musical estates of Zelenka, Ristori, and from the Venetian copying house of Baldan.

Heinichen's contributions

The great loss from Heinichen's music collection was explained in the 1849 by Moritz Fürstenau who reported that Heinichen's *Nachlass*, kept in a cupboard in Maria Josepha's apartments, was sold after her death in 1757 by a court *Bettmeister* (overseer of the court's household linen).¹⁰ Although funds later were made available to buy back missing items, and even though many Italian works from Heinichen's collection came to be retrieved, two Masses only by the Italian Angelo Antonio Caroli (1701–1778) were known to Schürer in 1765.¹¹

Ristori's contributions

Several Italian works seen in the *Catalogo* of 1765 came from the collection of the Italian-born Dresden composer Ristori who seems to have acquired sacred music in Naples when he travelled there after the marriage of Saxon Princess Maria Amalia to Charles, King of Naples and Sicily (1738).¹² In fact, two streams of Neapolitan music are evident

bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (10 vols.). Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900–1904; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck, 1959, vol. 9, p. 142.

8 Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (D-DI), Mus.1875-D-1. RÉPERTOIRE INTERNATIONAL DES SOURCES MUSICALES. *International Inventory of Musical Sources (RISM)*. [online]. URL: <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=212007280>

9 Incomplete catalogue of Maria Josepha's music collection. D-DI, Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787^c.

10 FÜRSTENAU, Moritz. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der königlich-sächsischen musikalischen Kapelle*. Dresden: Meser, 1849, p. 144.

11 D-DI, Mus. 2952-D-1,1-3; D-DI, Mus. 2952-D-2.

12 Ristori's daughter Cecilia was in the entourage of the Maria Amalia, the new Queen of the Two Sicilies.

in the Dresden collection: works that arrived via Bohemia between 1708 and 1738,¹³ and those that appear to have been acquired between 1738 and 1740.¹⁴ Unfortunately no personal catalogue of Ristori's collection is known today, but many works that apparently come from his collection are in the hands of Neapolitan copyists. Moreover, his visit to Naples coincided with that of Prince Friedrich Christian who also was collecting music. Several items have a numbering system not found in known catalogues of Dresden: round paper stickers with numbers written in red ink glued to frontispieces of certain Italian manuscripts. These relate to an inventory of items the prince shipped from Rome to Dresden.¹⁵ This Neapolitan collection includes sacred works by Giovan Gualberto Brunetti, Emanuele Rincón de Astorga, Feo, Giuseppe Gonelli, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Luca Antonio Predieri, and Sarri. Today, two versions of these works sometimes exist in Dresden: the original Italian manuscript copy and a revised version to suit the Dresden *Hofkapelle*. The importance of Ristori in the Dresden reception of Neapolitan music has been clarified by Claudio Bacciagaluppi.¹⁶ Yet Ristori's collection also included works written on Venetian paper, or else by composers known to have come from Venice. These include Mass settings by Agostino Tinazzoli (named Finazolli by Schürer), Lotti, Giovanni Porta, and a "Beatus vir" by Pietragrua, a copy identified by Jóhannes Ágústsson to be in the hand of Antonio Vivaldi's father, Giovanni Battista.¹⁷ When Italian works from the collection of Ristori are considered together with his own numerous sacred compositions (sadly, most of his sacred works are missing), it is clear that he was a major contributor of music to the collection of Dresden's *Hofkirche*.

Zelenka's contributions

The other principal contributor to Dresden's sacred music collection was Zelenka who either composed or collected more than 200 of the 800 plus works seen in the *Catalogo*. Fortunately, his personal *Inventarium* of church music collection exists today.¹⁸ I have proposed that Zelenka used at least two codes in the *Inventarium* to identify the source of Masses and Vespers music he possessed, works that almost certainly were acquired in exchange for his own compositions. The codes are seen only with Mass and Vespers

13 BACCIAGALUPPI, Claudio – STOCKIGT, Janice B. Italian Manuscripts of Sacred Music in Dresden: The Neapolitan Collection of 1738–1740. *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 2010, vol. 15, Table 4, p. 161–162.

14 Ibid., Table 7, p. 164–166.

15 Scores of sacred music numbered in red ink on round stickers are identified in BACCIAGALUPPI – STOCKIGT, op. cit., p. 152; Table 5, p. 163.

16 BACCIAGALUPPI, Claudio, *Rom, Prag, Dresden: Pergolesi und die Neapolitanische Messe in Europa*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010, p. 171–75. Also, ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes. Giovanni Alberto Ristori at the Court of Naples 1738–1740 in *Studi pergolesiani – Pergolesi studies*, vol. 8. Editors C. Bacciagaluppi – H.-G. Ottenberg – L. Zoppelli (eds.). Bern: Peter Lang, 2012, p. 53–100.

17 TALBOT, Michael. Miscellany. *Studi Vivaldiani*, 2015, vol. 15, p. 183–184.

18 *Inventarium rerum Musicarum Ecclesiae servientium*. MS. D-DI, Bibl. -Arch. III H b 787d. <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id425379515>

psalm listings, and they were used only between 1726 and 1730 or 1731, those years during which Zelenka amassed the greater part of his collection.¹⁹ It is known that he exchanged compositions with Florian Burian, the *regens chori* of the Cistercian monastery at Osek (*Ossegg*) in Northern Bohemia.²⁰ These exchanges are indicated with the underlined letters “Oss”,²¹ sometimes by the letter “O”, as seen with the *Inventarium* entry of a “Magnificat” by Vivaldi (RV 610) now held in Prague.²² While its cover states that the work belonged to Florian Burian, the title and Vivaldi’s name are in Zelenka’s hand.²³ Italian composers whose compositions Zelenka marked with the letters “Oss” or “O” include Giuseppe Antonio Vincenzo Aldrovandini, Antonio Bioni, Giovanni Battista Borri, Antonio Caldara, Domenico Gabrielli, Antonio Negri (assigned to Luigi Negri by Schürer), and Vivaldi.

Zelenka also used the letter “P” to indicate the source of certain items. This letter might indicate a place (Prague?), an institution, or a person. A great many entries accompanied by this letter have concordances either in the collections of Prague’s Metropolitan Cathedral,²⁴ or the Kreuzherren Order.²⁵ It is possible that “P” indicates Franz Poppe (d.1730), the *regens chori* of St Francis Serafin (the Kreuzherren’s church in Prague), or it might indicate someone from the Metropolitan Cathedral, Music Director Carl Christoph Gayer, for example. Zelenka’s dependence upon sources identified by this letter is especially notable in his collection of Vespers psalms. Italian composers accompanied by the letter “P” in the *Inventarium* include Aldrovandini, Caldara, Carlo Cozzi, Francesco Durante, Carlo Foschi, Tommaso Antonio Ingegneri, Lotti, Francesco Mancini, “Novari” (Jan František Novák), Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, Sarri, and Padre Urlo.

False attributions exist among Zelenka’s collection. These include the naming of Bioni as composer of a mass now identified as a work by Johann Melchior Pichler;²⁶ Cozzi

19 STOCKIGT, Janice B. Transmission of sacred music between Bohemia and Dresden as seen in the collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745). *Sammeln – Musizieren – Forschen. Zur Dresdner höfischen Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Music Department of the Saxon State and University Library Dresden (SLUB): January 21–23, 2016. Forthcoming.

20 VOJTĚŠKOVÁ, Jana. Die Zelenka-Überlieferung in Böhmen und in der Tschechoslowakei. In *Zelenka-Studien I: Referate der Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745)*, Marburg, J.-G.-Herder-Institut, 16.–20. November 1991. Thomas Kohlhase (ed.). Musik des Ostens 14. Kassel & New York: Bärenreiter, 1993, p. 95.

21 Most masses in the *Inventarium* with the letters ‘Oss’ also are found both in Florian Burian’s non-thematic catalogue and Osek’s thematic catalogue which began to be compiled in 1753/4.

22 *Catalogus Musicaliorum*. Anno 1720, in *Ordinem digestus ab eodem à quo et Anno 1733 est renovatus*. CZ-Pnm, XXXIII-B-55.

23 STOCKIGT, Janice B. *Musica senza nome dell'autore: Anonymous Works listed in the Music Catalogue of the Dresden Hofkirche, 1675. Studi Vivaldiani* 2007, vol. 7, p. 10–11.

24 ŠTEFAN, Jiří. *Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis Catalogus Collectionis Operum Artis Musicae*, (2 vols.). *Catalogus Artis Musicae in Bohemia et Moravia Cultae: Artis Musicae Antiquioris Catalogorum Series 4*. Prague: Supraphon, 1992.

25 FUKAČ, Jiří. *Křížovnický hudební inventář: Příspěvek k poznání křížovnické hudební kultury a jejího místa v hudebním životě barokní Prahy* (2 vols.). Ph. D. thesis, Brno, 1959.

26 D-DI, Mus. 2498-D-1. ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes. Joseph Johann Adam of Liechtenstein – Patron of Vivaldi, *Studi vivaldiani*, vol. 17, 2017, p. 3–78.

as composer of a “Beatus vir” setting;²⁷ Annibale Pio Fabri as composer of a *Vesperae de Confessore* (without Magnificat)—works attributed to at least five different composers in numerous locations;²⁸ Foschi as composer of a “Laetatus sum” setting by Pietragrua;²⁹ Luigi Negri as composer of works probably by Antonio Negri.³⁰ The many compositions Zelenka attributed to “Novari” hide the identity of Jan František Novák, a musician from Prague’s Metropolitan Cathedral.³¹

Perhaps these deceptions are related to a condition of the well-known 1717 purchase by Prague’s Metropolitan Cathedral of part of Baltazar Knapp’s extensive collection of sacred music from Rome and Naples. The Provost of the Cathedral, Daniel Joseph Mayer, insisted that the Cathedral’s music director Gayer would ensure no losses to the collection, nor should the music make its way into other hands by being copied.³² When items from Zelenka’s sacred music collection are counted together with his own compositions, his contributions to the repertoire of sacred Catholic music of Dresden place him alongside Ristori.

The Collection from the copying house of Iseppo Baldan

Listed into the *Catalogo* of 1765 is a large suite of sacred music supplied by the Venetian copying house of Iseppo Baldan whose florid hand is seen on many title pages. Most items are attributed to Baldassare Galuppi “detto Buranello”. Today, several works are missing from this collection that originally comprised about 85 compositions, mostly as scores in octavo format or as sets of parts.³³ It is not clear if all works were sent at the same time, or whether they came in batches. The *Catalogo* of 1765 shows that performance materials often accompanied the scores, but these now are missing. The collection includes Masses (usually comprising Kyrie, Gloria, Credo), Requiems, Ambrosian

27 D-DI, Mus. 1487-E-1. This setting probably was composed by Antonio Negri.

28 D-DI, Mus. 2720-E-1,1-5. Information kindly communicated by Michael Driscoll.

29 POPPE, Gerhard. *Kontinuität des Repertoires? Einige Bemerkungen zur Kirchenmusik am Dresdner Hof zwischen 1697 und 1717*. In *Miscellaneorum de Musica Concertus: Karl Heller zum 65. Geburtstag am 10. Dezember 2000*. Walpurga Alexander – Joachim Stange-Elbe – Andreas Waczkat (eds.). Rostock: Universität Rostock, 2000, p. 78.

30 Zelenka’s cover title to a “Laudate pueri” setting attributed by Schürer to Luigi Negri reads: *Laudate pueri Domini[m] a 3 | C: A: B: | VViolin 2 | Viola | e | Basso Conti | del | S: Antonio Negri*. D-DI Mus. 2883-D-1. Zelenka’s copy of a “Beatus vir” setting attributed to Luigi Negri (D-DI, Mus. 2883-D-2) probably was composed by Antonio Negri.

31 The Bohemian composer Jan František Novák (1706–1771) was listed by Zelenka as anonymous (“Anonymi”; “N. N.”), or “Novari”. Novák succeeded Antonín Görbig in 1737 as choral director of St Vitus, Prague’s Metropolitan Cathedral, a position he retained until 1758. The *Catalogo* also names ‘Noack’ as composer of three works by Novák. KOSTÍLKOVÁ, Marie. *An Outline of the History of the St. Vitus’ Music Choir*. In ŠTEFAN, Jiří, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 95.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

33 This collection was investigated by BURDE, Ines. *Die venezianische Kirchenmusik von Baldassare Galuppi*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008.

hymns, sacred motets, Marian antiphons, and music for Holy Week, Vespers, and Compline. Three styles of sacred music—*a cappella*, “Ordinary”, Solemn³⁴—are used throughout this collection, which, except for Litanies, would meet all musical needs of a royal Catholic chapel. Apart from works ascribed to Galuppi, composers whose music also was supplied by Baldan include items attributed to Giuseppe Chiesa, Vincenzo Ciampi, Johann Adolf Hasse, Niccolò Jommelli, Giovanni Battista Pescetti, Antonio Puppi (a student of Galuppi), and Johann Gottfried Schwanenberg.

Most scores are protected with a blue-grey cover (*Umschlag*) to which between one and three labels are attached, the originals being of varying shapes, as seen in Exx. 1 and 2. These labels are not associated with those prepared for the *Catalogo* of 1765,³⁵ nor for a later catalogue of *circa* 1784.³⁶ Covers and labels such as these also are seen in secular items supplied by Baldan.

Above certain original labels of Baldan's consignment Schürer wrote storage information (see Ex. 2). An incipit sometimes is given. Numbers to agree *Catalogo* entries of 1765 are in the hand of the Dresden court copyist Carl Gottlob Uhle. Many original labels are obliterated by another that was prepared in 1765 to agree with the *Catalogo* listing made under Schürer's direction (see Ex. 3). Most, however, were covered with label prepared in c.1784 (see Ex. 4).

The last dated works of the collection from Baldan are two compositions by Ciampi: “Messe solenne”, a source Schürer catalogued in 1765 now kept in Berlin,³⁷ and a “Te Deum laudamus” held in Dresden.³⁸ The title page of each includes the date: “21 7bre [September] 1758:”

Who was the patron to instigate this body of music? The date “21 7bre 1758” provides a *terminus ante quem* for this supply. Perhaps it also hints as to how and why this corpus of music came into the court's possession during a chaotic period of Dresden's history. Two years earlier, in 1756 at the outset of the Third Silesian War, August III was banished to Warsaw by Frederick II following the defeat by Prussian forces of Saxon troops. Saxony then became a battleground. On 17 November 1757, Maria Josepha died in Dresden. Among such turmoil it is unlikely that a quantity of music would have been ordered for Dresden's *Hofkirche*. Besides which, on 19 September 1759, all younger members of the Saxon electoral family left for Munich in anticipation of battles to be fought in Dresden between Prussia and Austria.

A hint concerning the patron's identity is seen on original labels of a “Kyrie e Gloria” by Pescetti,³⁹ and on each label of a “Kyrie, Gloria e Credo” in three volumes by

34 RIEDEL, Friedrich W. *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI: (1711–1740)*. Munich & Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1977, p. 67.

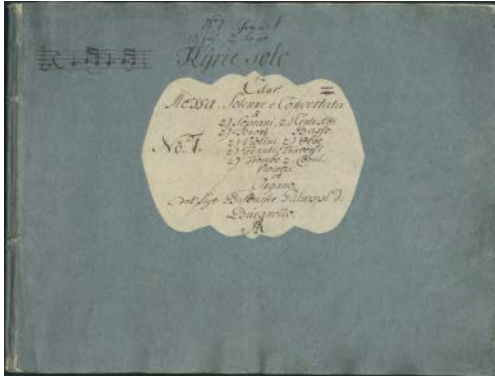
35 RISM entries identify the copyists of labels shown in Exx. 1–2 as S-DI-056.

36 *Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa, composta da diversi Autori secondo l'alfabetto [sic]*. Armaro IIIzo, principiando dalla littera S sino al Z con l'aggiunta degl'Autori senza Nome, 3 vols. Vols. 1 and 2 missing. D-DI, Sign. Bibl. Arch. III H 788, 3. <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id425373169>

37 D-B, Mus. ms. 3609.

38 D-DI, Mus. 3059-E-1.

39 D-DI, Mus. 2967-D-1,1-2.



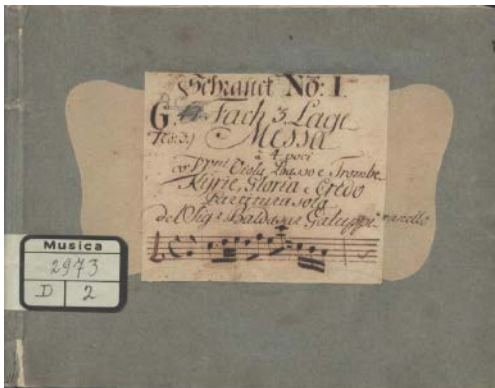
Ex. 1 Baldassare Galuppi. Messe: No. 1. Kyrie, Gloria e Credo. Storage in hand of Schürer; Incipit in hand of Uhle; Cover label (vol. 1): copyist S-DL-056 (RISM); "No: 1" hand of Uhle; D-DI, Mus. 2973-D-3. Original and reproduction:

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Ex. 2 Baldassare Galuppi. Messe: No. 4. Kyrie, Gloria e Credo. Storage (and incipit?) in hand of Schürer; Cover label: copyist S-DL-056 (RISM); "No: 4" hand of Uhle; D-DI, Mus. 2973-D-7. Original and reproduction:

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Ex. 3 Baldassare Galuppi. Messe, Partiture sole: No. 3. Kyrie, Gloria e Credo. Cover label (1765) hand of Carl Gottlob Uhle; D-DI, Mus. 2973-D-2. Original and reproduction:

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Ex. 4 Baldassare Galuppi. Motetti, Partiture sole: "Sub coelo sereno". Cover label (c.1784) hand of Carl Gottlob Uhle; D-DI, Mus. 2973-E-18. Original and reproduction:

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Galuppi where the monogram "AR"—Augustus Rex—is written as seen in Ex. 1. Despite initial suppositions that Baldan's collection of sacred music was intended for Dresden, the possibility exists that it was ordered for August III in Warsaw where the augmented

Polish *Kapelle* served the music-loving monarch during exile.⁴⁰ By 1762 this small traveling orchestra established by August II had grown to twenty-nine musicians, including four singers, plus additional vocalists from Dresden and the copyist Uhle, assisted by two “Schreibschüler” (copyists in training).⁴¹ During this time of exile members of Count Brühl's ensemble also could be called upon to join with the Polish *Kapelle*. After the Peace of Hubertusburg (15 February 1763) and the return of August III to Saxony, music must have been among royal possessions brought back to Dresden and integrated into collections of the court. Thus, by 1765 sacred works by the Italians Antonio Duni (one-time *Kapellmeister* of the Polish *Kapelle*), and Mattia Gerardi (who assisted the music of August III's Polish court) came into the repertoire of Dresden's *Hofkirche*.

The many false attributions in Baldan's collection now in Dresden reveal the deceit of the Venetian supplier. Among works attributed to Galuppi are compositions identified as being written by Ferdinando Bertoni, Gioacchino Cocchi, Florian Gassmann, Hasse, Jommelli, and Lotti.⁴² Moreover, five psalm settings by Vivaldi have been recognized within the collection,⁴³ the most recent being Michael Talbot's discovery of a setting of “Laetatus sum”.⁴⁴ It is notable that at least one of Baldan's copyists was Vivaldi's nephews, Carlo.⁴⁵

From Dresden, much of the Italian sacred music collected by Zelenka, Heinichen, and Ristori then spread further afield. Bach, for example, had copies of Dresden sources of music by Palestrina,⁴⁶ Pergolesi,⁴⁷ and Caldara.⁴⁸ Although unlisted by Schürer, a “Magnificat” setting by Caldara that once belonged to Heinichen was copied by Bach in the

40 Research on this possibility now is being undertaken by Jóhannes Ágústsson.

41 ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, Alina. The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland. In *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*. Samantha Owens –Barbara M. Reul – Janice B. Stockigt (eds.). Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011, p. 51–77 at p. 70–71.

42 BURDE, op. cit., and RISM entries.

43 The psalms are “Dixit Dominus” (RV 807); “Beatus vir” (RV 597); “Nisi Dominus” (RV 803); “Lauda Jerusalem” (anonymous setting revised by Vivaldi: RV Anh. 35a). These are discussed in TALBOT, Michael. Recovering Vivaldi's Lost Psalm. *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 2004, vol. 1, p. 61–77. Also, STOCKIGT, Janice B. – TALBOT, Michael. Two More Vivaldi Finds in Dresden. *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 2006, vol. 3, p. 35–61.

44 TALBOT, Michael. Another Vivaldi work falsely attributed to Galuppi by Iseppo Baldan: A new Laetatus sum for choir and strings in Dresden. *Studi Vivaldiani*, 2017, vol. 17, p. 103–119.

45 TALBOT, Michael. *The Vivaldi Compendium*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011, p. 30.

46 Palestrina's *Missa sine nomine* was copied by J. S. Bach, c.1742. BEIBWENGER, Kirsten. *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*. Kassel & New York: Barenreiter, 1992. I/P/2, p. 305–306. RÉPERTOIRE INTERNATIONAL DES SOURCES MUSICALES. *International Inventory of Musical Sources (RISM)*. [online]. URL: <<https://opac.rism.info/search?id=212009443>> BEISSWENGER, op. cit., I/P/2, p. 305–306.

47 Ibid., II/P/3, p. 367–68. Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* was reworked c.1745/1747 by Bach as *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*, Cantata BWV 1083.

48 I am very grateful to Bruno Musumeci who communicated that he has identified J. S. Bach's apocryphal Sanctus setting (BWV 239) as being based upon the opening of the Gloria of Zelenka's reworking of Caldara's Mass, *Missa Providentiae* (D-DI, Mus. 2170-D-7). WOLLNY, Peter. Zur Identifizierung einiger anonym überlieferter liturgischer Werke aus Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek. *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 2017, p. 43–87.

early 1740s,⁴⁹ a copy now kept in Berlin.⁵⁰ After the death in 1756 of Gottlob Harrer (Zelenka's student and Bach's successor) his extensive music collection became available through the firm of Breitkopf. In the nineteenth century Berlin collectors such as Georg Poelchau acquired from Dresden examples of music, including the *Catalogo* of 1765. Tracing the spread from Italy to Dresden of music, often via Bohemian religious institutions, is nowhere yet complete. This movement northwards to German centres such as Leipzig and Berlin will be a task for those with an interest in the dispersal of a rich and varied repertoire of sacred music by Italian composers.

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49 D-Dl, Mus. 2170-D-2,3. BEIBWENGER, op. cit., I/C/1, p. 277–278.

50 D-B, Mus.ms. 2755 (1).

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Appendix

Italian composers listed in the *Catalogo* compiled by Johann Georg Schürer (1765)

Name	Dates	Source	D-DI Mus.
Albinoni , Tomaso Giovanni	1671-1751	Unknown	2199-
Albrici , Vincenzo	1631-1696	Lutheran court chapel (Dresden)	1821-
Aldrovandini , Giuseppe Antonio Vincenzo	1671-1707	Zelenka	2204-
Allegri , Gregorio	1582-1652	Zelenka	2-
Ariosti , Attilio	1666-1729	Zelenka	2156-
Baliani , Carlo	c.1680-1747	Zelenka	2243-
* Bassani , Giovanni Battista ⁵¹	c.1650-1715	Catholic court church (Dresden)?	2114-
* Bel[l]inzani , Paolo Benedetto	c.1690-1757	Catholic court church (Dresden)?	2431-
Benevoli , Orazio	1605-1672	Zelenka	1705-
Bioni , Antonio (incorrect attribution) ⁵²	c.1669-post 1739	Zelenka	2498-
Borri , Giovanni Battista	fl. 1665-1688	Zelenka	2059-
Brunetti , Giovan Gualberto	1706-1787	Ristori?	4387-
Caldara , Antonio	c.1671-1736	Zelenka	2170-
Canta [=Giovanni Giuseppe Cantù]	c.1688-1739	Ristori?	4975-
* Cantoni (See Vanini , Elia)		Catholic court church (Dresden)?	
Capelli , Giovanni Maria	c.1648-1726	Italian scores	2244-
Caroli , Angelo Antonio	1701-1778	Heinichen	2952-
Casselli , Vincenzo	fl. mid 18 th c.	Italian scores	2366-
Chiesa , Melchiorre	1716-1782	Italian score	3283-
Chiesa , Giuseppe ⁵³	?	Iseppo Baldan	3283-
Ciampi , Vincenzo	1719-1762	Iseppo Baldan	3059 ⁵⁴
* Colonna , Giovanni Paolo	1637-1695	Catholic court church (Dresden)?	1807-
Conti , Francesco Bartolomeo	1681/2-1732	Zelenka	2190-
Contini [=Francesco Conti]			
Corbisieri , Francesco (c1733-post 1802)? Or Antonio (1720-1790)	c.1733-post 1802	Unknown	2869-
Cozzi , Carlo (incorrect attribution) ⁵⁵	† c.1658	Zelenka	1487-

51 Asterisks indicate publications.

52 Jóhannes Ágústsson has identified this Mass as being composed by Johann Melchior Pichler. See ÁGÚSTSSON, Jóhannes. Joseph Johann Adam – Patron of Vivaldi. *Studi vivaldiani*, 2017, vol. 17, p. 3-78.

53 Named Giuseppe Chiesa by Iseppo Baldan.

54 The Dresden source of Baldan's copy of Ciampi's *Messe Solenne* today is held in Berlin: D-B, Mus. ms. 3609.

55 Perhaps composed by Antonio Negri.

Italian Sacred Music listed in the Catalogue of Dresden's Catholic Court Church, 1765

Name	Dates	Source	D-DI Mus.
de Astorga Emanuele Rincón	1680-1757?	Royal collection Revised by Ristori	2360-
Duni , Antonio	1700-post 1766	Warsaw court?	3154-
Durante , Francesco	1684-1755	Zelenka	2397-
Fabri , Annibale Pio (incorrect attribution) ⁵⁶	1697-1760	Zelenka	2720-
Feo , Francesco	1691-1761	Maria Josepha's collection	2409-
Finazolli [= Agostino Tinazolli]	fl. early 1700s	Ristori	2870
Fiorelli , [Carlo?]	d.1711?	Lutheran court chapel (Dresden)	2370
Foschi , Carlo (incorrect attribution) ⁵⁷	c.1665-1726	Zelenka	1900-
Gabrielli , Domenico	1659-1690	Zelenka	2120-
Galuppi , Baldassare ["Buranello"] ⁵⁸	1706-1785	Baldan	
Gasparini , Francesco	1661-1727	Pisendel Ristori	2163-
Gerardi , Mattia	fl. mid 1700s	Warsaw and Dresden courts	2060-
* Gianettini , Antonio	1648-1721	Jesuits?	1860-
Gonelli , Giuseppe	c.1685-1745	Royal collection Zelenka	2735-
Ingegneri , Tommaso Antonio	c.1671-1726	Zelenka	1131-
Jommelli , Niccolò	1714-1774	Baldan	3032-
Leo , Leonardo	1694-1744	Royal collection Ristori	2460-
* Lorenzani , Paolo	1640-1713	Catholic court church (Dresden)?	2021-
Lotti , Antonio		Royal collection Zelenka Ristori?	
Majo , Giuseppe de	1697-1771	Ristori?	2475-
Manzini [=Francesco Mancini]	1672-1737	Zelenka	2203-

56 Michael Driscoll advises that the psalms attributed to Fabri in Zelenka's collection are unique attributions found nowhere else. RISM listings attribute the setting to a variety of composers, mainly to one named 'Schmidt'.

57 This work is also listed in the *Catalogo* (1765) under the name 'Pietragrua', who almost certainly was the composer.

58 At the time of writing works of several composers supplied by Baldan are identified as being listed falsely under Galuppi's name.

Italian Sacred Music listed in the Catalogue of Dresden's Catholic Court Church, 1765

Name	Dates	Source	D-DI Mus.
* Marenzio , Luca	1553/4-1599	Royal collection Zelenka	1160-
" Monzino " [Carlo Monza? Franc ^o Montini?] ⁵⁹			2768-
Moro , Giulio	fl.1607	Missing from D-DI	
Negri , Luigi	b.1718	Ristori	3846-
Nelvi , Giuseppe Maria	1698-1756	?	2499-
Orlandini , Giuseppe Maria	1676-1760	Zelenka Ristori	2443-
Palestrina , Giovanni Pierluigi da [listed under the names Palestina; Palestrino; Prenestini]	1525-1594	Zelenka Ristori Heinichen?	997- 2-
Pallavicino , Carlo	c.1630-1688	Lutheran court chapel (Dresden)	1813-
Passarino , Francesco Camillo	d. 1698	Missing	
Pergolesi , Giovanni Battista	1710-1736	Royal collection Ristori Baldan	3005-
Pescetti , Giovanni Battista	c.1704-1766	Baldan	2967-
Piazzino [=Leandro Piazza : RISM]		Unknown	2875-
Pietragrua [Pietro Grua], Carlo Luigi	c.1665-1726	Lutheran court chapel (Dresden) Ristori	2221
Picinetti , Felice Maria	c.1684-1754	Zelenka	3161-
Pisani , Giovanni	fl. 1720-38	Zelenka	2500-
Pitoni , Giuseppe Ottavio	1657-1743	Zelenka	2117
Pollarolo , Carlo Franc ^o	1676-1746	Lutheran court chapel (Dresden)	2107-
Pollarolo , Antonio	c.1653-1723	Ristori	2380-
Porta , Giovanni	c.1675-1755	Zelenka	2444-
Predieri , Luca Antonio	1688-1767	Royal collection	2425-
Puppi , Antonio	fl. mid-18 th century	Baldan	3157-
Ristori , Giovanni Alberto	1692-1753	Ristori	2455-
Sarri [Sarro] , Domenico Natale	1679-1744	Royal Music Collection Zelenka	2356-

59 Information on this composer has not been found. The following works held in D-DI have the same provenance: *Canta* (Giovanni Cantù): *Kyrie e Gloria* (Mus. 4975-D-1,2); *Chiesa*, Melchiorre: *Cielo tonanti* [Motetti] No. 2 (Mus. 3284-E-1); *Chiesa* (Melchiorre?): *Gloria from Gloria e Credo* (Mus. 3284-E-1); *Monzino* (Monza, Carlo Ignazio?): *Kyrie e Gloria* (Mus. 2768-D-1); *Piazzino*: (*Messe*) No. 2 *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo* (Mus. 2875-D-1; Mus. 2875-D-2).

Italian Sacred Music listed in the Catalogue of Dresden's Catholic Court Church, 1765

Name	Dates	Source	D-DI Mus.
Seppi , Paolo (= Sepp, Paul)	fl. Dresden 1666-1689	Lutheran court chapel (Dresden)	1901
* Silvani , Giuseppe Antonio	1672-1727/8	Catholic court church (Dresden)?	2198-
Steffani , Agostino	1654-1728	Ristori Zelenka	2110-
Tarantino [=Nicola Fago]	1677-1745	Royal collection Ristori	2200-
Urio , Francesco Antonio	c.1631-c1719	Zelenka	2141-
Valle , Pietro	Not known	Unknown	2878-
* Vannini , Elia	c.1660-c1699	Catholic court church (Dresden)?	2036-
Vignati , Giuseppe	d.1768	Zelenka	2246-
Vitali Giovanni Battista	1632-1692	Lutheran court chapel (Dresden)	1875-
Vivaldi , Antonio	1768-1741	Zelenka	2389-

