

RESEARCH REPORT

The Other Side of the Coin: Catholic Liturgical Music in Lutheran Saxony During Bach's Era

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This project, 'The Other Side of the Coin: Catholic Liturgical Music in Lutheran Saxony during Bach's Era,' examines Catholic liturgical music written and collected between 1719 and 1751 by composers of the Dresden royal chapel—Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729), Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745), Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692–1753), Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783), and Johann Michael Breunich (d. after 1756). In addition to their compositional activities, these composers—Zelenka in particular—assembled a significant repertoire of liturgical music to serve Catholic worship within the first post-Reformation Catholic court church. This royal chapel was established in Dresden in 1708 for the devotions of the Polish Kings and Saxon Electors—Friedrich August I and II, both of whom converted to Catholicism (1696 and 1713 respectively), and it was open to the public. Until recent times the music collection of the church was bypassed by musicology, which focussed upon the Lutheran traditions of Saxony within which Bach worked. It is expected that examination of conditions influencing the liturgy and music of the Dresden royal chapel, and analysis of surviving works from its collection, will redress this imbalance, providing a broader view of religious music heard in Saxony during the first half of the eighteenth century.

In 1733, following the death of Friedrich August I, Bach applied to the successor, Friedrich August II, for an honorary court title, which was eventually granted in November 1736. From 1738 the annual calendars of the Dresden court, the *Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calendar* (hereafter *HStCal*), published in Leipzig, publicly listed Bach as the titular 'Kirchen Composit[eur]' of the Dresden court, together with the church composers Zelenka, and the little-known Tobias Butz (c. 1692–1760). With this appointment, and through personal association with both Zelenka and Hasse, Bach must have gained access to the royal chapel's music library, a collection so highly prized that much of it was kept under lock and key. The study has two aims:

1. To present a grid which will incorporate daily information on the activities of the Dresden court church covering the years 1723, the year of Bach's arrival in Leipzig, until 1751,

when the new and much larger Catholic court church of Dresden was dedicated. The following information will be incorporated into this database:

- A daily calendar of events of the court—especially the activities of the members of the ruling family. Much of this information comes from the *HStCal* (from 1728, with no issues in 1730 and 1734). Information concerning births, churching ceremonies, deaths, annual celebrations (particularly birthdays, name-days, and anniversaries, all of which were listed in each *HStCal* as *Galla Tage*), travels of members of the royal and electoral family (especially to Poland, or to the various hunting castles frequented by the court) provide an outline of when the royal musicians (including the castrati, and the royal trumpets and timpani) might have been present in the royal chapel for performances of Solemn music, and when the choristers of the church might have performed the *a cappella* repertoire;

- A calendar of the daily events in the Dresden chapel, with information gleaned from:
 - (a) the Gregorian calendars published in each *HStCal*;
 - (b) the annual letters written to the General of the Society in Rome by Jesuit Superiors of the royal chapel (ARSI);¹
 - (c) the diary (*Diarium*), a daily journal kept by Jesuit Superiors of the Dresden royal chapel;² and
 - (d) dated works by Dresden composers.³

It is noted that many discrepancies appear between the *HStCal* and the Jesuit sources, especially the dates of various events, including the days on which plenary indulgences were granted for attendance in the Catholic court church. The *Diarium* provides a great deal of information concerning the music of the church. Unfortunately, the Jesuit sources do not cover the entire period of the study: the annual letters cease in 1740 (at the outbreak of the Seven Years War), and the *Diarium* ceases in 1738 (the succeeding volume is lost).

- Music composed and collected for the court church. A catalogue was compiled in 1765 by Johann Georg Schürer (*Catalogo* 1765). Its main purpose was to ascertain the state of the music library after the Seven Years War.⁴ This collection, which included part of the musical

¹ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu Fondo Vecchia Compagnia (ARSI); Provinciae Bohemiae (Boh).

² *Diarium* (1710–38). 2 vols [vol. 1] 'Jhs Diarium seu Protocollum Missionis Societatis Jesu, A Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Poloniarum Rege, et Sac: Rom: Imperij Electore FRIDERICO AUGUSTO, Dresdae, in urbe sua Electorali, institutae. Scribi coeptum anno salutis humanae 1710, die 16 Januarij, quò Missioni huic, Autoritate Admodum Reverendi Patris Nostri Generalis, per Rdum Patrem Provinciale Prov:ae Bohemiae, constitutus est Superior P. Georgius Klein'; [vol. 2] 'Continuatio Diarij seu Protocolli a ... FREDERICO AUGUSTO Dresdae in urbe sua Electorali institutae Societatis JESU Missionis. Ab Anno 1721. usque ad Annum 1738, inclusive.' MS. Dompfarramt, Dresden. Excerpts published by W. Reich in *Zelenka-Studien* II (Sankt Augustin: Academia, 1997), 315–75.

³ An example of clarification of the purpose of certain compositions is offered with Zelenka's *Capriccio*, dated '18 Maji 1729' (ZWV 190). No purpose for this work has been found. In the 'Galla Tage' list published in the *HStCal* of 1729, however, the date given for the celebration of the King's birthday is 21 May, instead of the usual 12 May. Although the *HStCal* for 1731 reports that in 1729 the King celebrated his birthday on 12 May in Poland (11r, col 2), the celebration of this event by the court in Dresden is not mentioned.

⁴ 'Catalogo (Thematico) [sic] della Musica di Chiesa (catholica [sic] in Dresda) composta Da diversi Autori - secondo l'Alfabetto 1765.' In 3 vols. MS. D-B Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 186. Another, more complete catalogue of three vols. was compiled in 1775—'Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa, composta da diversi Autori secondo l'alfabetto [sic]. Armario IIIzo, principiando dalla littera S sino al Z con l'aggiunta degl' Autori senza Nome' (Catalogo, c. 1775). Vols. 1 and 2 missing. Ms. D-Dlb Sign. Bibl. Arch. III H 788, 3. Listings of Zelenka are repr. in *Zelenka-Dokumentation. Quellen und Materialien*, 2 vols, ed. W. Horn, Th. Kohlhasse, O. Landmann, W. Reich (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), vol. 2, 227–76.

estate of the Saxon Electress and Queen of Poland, Maria Josepha,⁵ is presented as a thematic catalogue, which gives the location of the work within the storage system of the church, the vocal scoring and instrumentation of each listing, and, most importantly, indications of whether a score, a set of parts, or both, existed.

2. To ascertain which items from this library of liturgical music survive in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek of Dresden (SLUB [*D-Dlb*]), where the bulk of the collection was placed in 1908.

After a little more than one year of work on this project, progress can be reported as follows:

- Accounts of activities of the court provided in the *HStCal* from 1728 to 1736 have been translated, and a database of the Gregorian calendars published in the *HStCal* for each of those years has been created;
- Work has begun on investigation of entries into the *Diarium* of the Jesuits (now kept at the archive of the Dresden Cathedral) concerning liturgy and feast days;
- A database of each entry into the *Catalogo* (1765) has been created; work has begun in the Music Department of SLUB to identify which of the items and associated performance materials listed in this catalogue survive there.

Table 1 presents an early experiment of how the combined information might be presented. The first column provides the date; the second column provides the feast day specified in the Gregorian calendar, as observed in the court church (the Gregorian calendar was published in each edition of the *HStCal*); the third column reproduces translations of reports provided in

Table 1: Possible Layout for Data Presentation

Oct 1728	Gregorian Calendar	<i>HStCal</i> Reports	<i>Diarium</i> Entries	ARSI	Compositions
10	21. TRINITATIS St Ger[eon], Martyr	Extensive report of Maria Josepha’s churching in the <i>HStCal</i> 1731, 4r-5r, col 2, after which: ‘... High Mass commenced, which <i>Vice-Cantzler</i> Lipsky celebrated with superb music composed by Kapellmeister Heinichen.’	[Festum S. Borgiae] Entry of the Princess [an expansive description is provided]. Music by Heinichen.	After six weeks, when the Most Serene Princess in the ceremonial manner of other years was led into church so as to give thanks for the safe birth of the child, the ... Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland performed the baptismal ceremonies. Accompanied by the King’s virtuoso orchestra in the choir, he also sang a Solemn Mass. ARSI Boh 144, 24-25.	?Heinichen: Missa 5ta abbreviata: ‘Abbreviata Mes. Marzi 1728.’

⁵ Following Zelenka’s death (1745), his complete musical estate was bought by Maria Josepha, who also arranged the purchase of the musical estates of Jean-Baptiste Volumier (d. 1728), Johann Christian Schmidt (d. 1728), Heinichen, Ristori, and Johann Georg Pisendel (d. 1755).

the *HStCal*;⁶ the fourth and fifth columns reproduce reports from Jesuit sources; the final column correlates (wherever possible) the musical work[s] composed for the event. Occasions of importance, such as the purification ceremony of the Electoral Princess following the birth of Princess Maria Anna (b. 29 Aug. 1728), are usually well documented. I hypothesise that the Mass of Heinichen heard on this occasion was his fifth setting composed in 1723 (*D-Dlb* Mus. 2398-D-14), and then abbreviated in March 1728 (possibly in preparation for this event. *D-Dlb* Mus. 2398-D-14a).⁷

Various unexpected problems have arisen during the initial stages of the project. These include:

- Discrepancies in the information provided by the various sources. Especially relevant are the conflicting dates when plenary indulgences were granted in the Catholic court church of Dresden (indicated in the Gregorian calendars of the *HStCal* with a small cross [+]) and the *Diarium*, where it is apparent that the principal days of confession and indulgence were the first Sunday of each month. Another pertinent matter concerns the feast days observed in the Dresden Catholic court church. Table I demonstrates that the *HStCal* listed 10 October as the feast of St Gereon. Jesuit sources, however, observed this day as the feast of a principal saint of the Society—St Francis Borgia;⁸

- The great volume of manuscripts to be sorted through in the Music Department of SLUB. With the possibility of viewing only four manuscripts at one time, examination of the numerous entries into the *Catalogo* (1765) has become unexpectedly time-consuming. Take, for example, the two entries given for the composer Angelo Caroli (see Table 2).

Table 2: Caroli Entires in the *Catalogo*

Composer	Fach	Title	Key	Scoring	Score/Parts	SLUB holdings
CAROLI, Angelo Antonio (1701–78)	8.4	Messe No 1	a	a 4 voci co' VV ⁿⁱ Viola e Basso	score/parts	<i>D-Dlb</i> Mus. 2952-D-1,1-3
	8.5	No 2	G	a 4 voci co' VV ⁿⁱ Viola e Basso	score/parts	Unidentified

Several scores of Mass sections attributed to Caroli survive in Dresden and each must be checked for scoring, tonality, and musical content in order to ascertain which was listed into the *Catalogo* (1765). Only one certainty has emerged. Without doubt, the work listed as 'Messe No. 1' is a manuscript score copy in three volumes, whose title page and numerous alterations throughout the score are in the hand of Heinichen. The card catalogue of the Music Department of SLUB indicates that twenty-one parts once accompanied this manuscript, which was once

⁶ Since contents of each edition of the *HStCal* were prepared in the final quarter of the year preceding publication, reports of events of the latter part of the year appear in subsequent editions.

⁷ Another occasion in 1728 might be considered for the performance of this reworked Mass: Heinichen produced the music on 6 May (Ascension Day). Concerning the abbreviation of Mass settings; the Electoral Prince twice instructed the Jesuit Superior that Masses should not be too long, once specifying that the Sung Mass should not exceed 45 minutes.

⁸ The question of the Sanctoral observed in the Dresden Catholic court church is addressed in my paper 'The Royal Polish and Electoral Saxon Court & State Calendars: 1728–1750,' *Irish Musical Studies* (forthcoming).

kept at the Catholic court church. From the numerous other Masses and Mass sections by Caroli kept in Dresden, I have been unable to identify ‘Messe No. 2’ from the catalogue online. Work yet to be undertaken in this area will be painstakingly slow. An added element of uncertainty is the relocation of the SLUB Music Department, expected to occur late in 2002.

Heinichen’s involvement with works of Caroli points to the third problem: the unavailability of the inventories kept by the Dresden composers of this period. Because Zelenka’s personal inventory survives, research into his works and his extensive music collection has been relatively straightforward.⁹ Heinichen’s music collection must have been extensive, but knowledge of its scope and content, as well as a reliable index of Heinichen’s own compositions, has been hampered by the unavailability of such a tool. Added to this are the complications resulting from a bizarre act in the eighteenth century by a servant of the Royal Bedchamber. Gerhard Poppe recently drew attention to the following passage in Moritz Fürstenau’s publication *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Königlich Sächsischen musikalischen Kapelle. Großentheils archivalischen Quellen* (Dresden, 1849):¹⁰

Heinichen’s church music was soon lost from the chapel archives. This was because Queen Maria Josepha kept it locked away. After her death in 1757 [the collection] became disordered; how this came about has been determined. The *Bettmeister* Renner, who did not understand it [this collection] began to sell these things. The old chamber musician and bass singer [Joseph] Schuster accidentally heard of this. He was the father of the future Kapellmeister of the same name, and reported to the appropriate place, and received the task of buying [the music] from Renner. For twenty *ducaten* he brought [the collection] together, and handed it over to the church archives.¹¹

In the meantime, however, Joseph Schuster (Jnr) reworked certain of Heinichen’s Masses to suit the acoustic conditions of the new Catholic court church—a building much larger in size than the original chapel for which Heinichen and Zelenka composed, and in which reverberations continue for up to eleven or so seconds. This anecdote would explain the incompleteness of the Heinichen entries in the *Catalogo* (1765). The works of other composers collected by Heinichen, however, remain to be identified.¹²

Finally, although the skeleton of the music collection of the Catholic court church appears to be more intact than I had anticipated, most of the sets of parts which once accompanied the scores have been missing since World War II. This came about when, contrary to international law, relocation of many items of music occurred in 1946 to an unknown site outside the borders

⁹ Zelenka, Jan Dismas. ‘Inventarium rerum Musicarum Ecclesiae servientium.’ MS. D-Dl Bibl. -Arch. III H b 787d. Repr. in *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, vol. 2, 169–218.

¹⁰ Gerhard Poppe, ‘Über historisches Gedächtnis in der Kirchenmusik—zur Bearbeitung zweier Messen von Johann David Heinichen durch Joseph Schuster,’ *Händel-Jahrbuch* 47, 137–56.

¹¹ Fürstenau, ‘Beiträgen ...’ 144. This information is not repeated in Fürstenau’s second major publication (which nowadays is used almost exclusively as the important secondary reference), *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*, 2 vols. (Dresden, 1861; facs. rpt. in 1 vol. ed. Wolfgang Reich. Leipzig: Peters, 1971).

¹² I have recently investigated two Mass settings and eight Vespers works in the Dresden collection composed by Johann Friedrich Fasch. Each autograph MS has been reworked by Heinichen. See ‘Fasch Visits Dresden 1726–1727: His Liturgical Works for the Catholic Court Church of Dresden’ in *Das Wirken des Anhalt-Zerbster Hofkapellmeisters Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758) für auswärtige Hofkapellen* (Fasch-Studien 7, 2001).

of the former East Germany.¹³ Stung by the experience in 1994 of news arriving on the eve of submission of my thesis advising me that the *Diarium* of the Dresden Jesuits had just been recovered, I sense a Damoclean sword hanging over this current research. On the other hand, if (and when) the performance materials of this collection are located, the sorting out and evaluation of these sources will present a fascinating challenge to another generation of musicologists whose interest lies in the Catholic liturgical music and its performance in Dresden during Bach's lifetime.

¹³ Information on the now-missing Dresden sources is published in an article by Karl Wilhelm Geck, 'Die SLUB als Archiv für die Musik der Dresdner Hofkapelle,' *SLUB-Kurier*, 12/3 (Dresden, 1998), 12–14.