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‘IL GROSSO PACCO DELLA MUSICA’:
THE GALUPPIANA CONSIGNMENTS FOR AUGUST III AND
COUNT HEINRICH VON BRÜHL IN WARSAW, 1757–1761*

For Jan

INTRODUCTION

It is not every day that an eighteenth-century musical manuscript makes the news headlines, but when the discovery of a long-lost sacred work by Antonio Vivaldi was announced in 2005, music lovers and other curious-minded people could not help but take notice. While the Australian musicologist Janice B. Stockigt was working on a study on the 1765 music catalogue of the Catholic court church in Dresden,¹ she uncovered a setting of the *Dixit Dominus* (RV 807) by Vivaldi in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), where it had remained unrecognised for nearly 250 years, falsely attributed to Baldassare Galuppi, ‘il Buranello’, by a corrupt and deceitful Venetian priest and music copyist by the name of Iseppo (Giuseppe) Baldan.² Michael Talbot, the doyen of Vivaldi scholars, who confirmed the work to be by the Italian composer, placed further emphasis on Stockigt’s momentous discovery by describing it as the most important Vivaldi find in 75 years.

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1 Janice B. Stockigt has published numerous articles on the contents of this catalogue, most recently ‘Italian Sacred Music Listed in the Catalogue of Dresden’s Catholic Court Church, 1765’, *Musicologica Brunensia* 53 (2018) no. 2, pp. 221–237. Stockigt has an extensive online database on this collection: <http://hofkirchecatalogo1765.mcm.unimelb.edu.au/>, accessed 13 April 2020.

2 For more on Baldan’s activities, see Gaetano Cozzi, ‘Una disavventura di pré Iseppo Baldan, copista del Galuppi’, in: *Galuppiana 1985: Studi e ricerche. Atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia, 28–30 Ottobre 1985)*, eds. Maria Teresa Muraro and Franco Rossi, Florence 1985, pp. 127–131.

This was not the only sacred work of Vivaldi that had been misattributed to Galuppi by Baldan. In the early 1990s Peter Ryom reported finding a setting of the *Beatus vir* (RV 795) in the SLUB,³ and this was followed by two further finds in 2003 and 2005 in the same library: first, an excellent *Nisi Dominus* (RV 803), which was identified by Talbot after Stockigt had asked him for his opinion on the music because of its somewhat unusual scoring;⁴ second, Talbot's discovery of a *Lauda Jerusalem* (RV Anh. 35a), the music of which was closely related to two works in Vivaldi's private collection.⁵

These discoveries drew attention to a group of around 85 liturgical works thought to have been supplied by Baldan's Venetian copying house to the Dresden court some time between the early 1750s and the early 1760s on the basis of dates found on some of the scores and the listing of the same works in the '*Catalogo 1765*'. The vast majority of the works were by Galuppi, whose operas proved hugely popular when staged in Dresden by the Prague-based impresario Giovanni Battista Locatelli and his troupe between 1754 and 1756. In addition to misattributing compositions by Vivaldi to Galuppi, Baldan falsified the authorship of works by some of Galuppi's other contemporaries. For example, a *Miserere* setting that named Giovanni Battista Pergolesi as author was in fact composed by Antonio Lotti, while at least three works attributed to Galuppi have turned out to be compositions by Florian Leopold Gassmann. But of all Baldan's forgeries it was the *Dixit Dominus* that stood out because of its exceptional musical quality. When Stockigt and Talbot were preparing a jointly written report on their findings, the all-important questions they sought to answer were how, when and why the Galuppi–Baldan manuscripts arrived in Dresden and who was responsible for the acquisition of the music.⁶

In June 2005, shortly after the discovery of the *Dixit Dominus* was made public, the present author was asked by Stockigt to take part in an investigation into the holdings of the Sächsisches Staatsarchiv – Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden. During one week in October later that year, we went through some of the administrative sources and diplomatic correspondence from the mid-1750s to the early 1760s, looking for evidence of the transmission of music from Venice, but the search was unsuccessful. Nevertheless, in their article, Stockigt and Talbot presented an outline of how the transfer might have come about, by pointing to the great popularity of Galuppi's operas in Dresden and how it would have been only natural for the court to seek out copies of his sacred music to restock the repertory of the Catholic court church,

3 Peter Ryom, 'Vivaldi ou Galuppi? Un cas de doute surprenant', in: *Vivaldi. Vero e falso. Problemi di attribuzione*, eds. Antonio Fanna and Michael Talbot, Florence 1992, pp. 25–41.

4 Michael Talbot, 'Recovering Vivaldi's Lost Psalm', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 1 (2004) no. 1, pp. 61–77.

5 Janice B. Stockigt and Michael Talbot, 'Two More Vivaldi Finds in Dresden', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 3 (2006) no. 1, pp. 35–61.

6 Ibid.

following the deaths of two important members of the Hofkapelle. In February 1753, the long-serving Vice-Kapellmeister Giovanni Alberto Ristori passed away, and his colleague and church composer Johann Michael Breunich died in October 1755. This left Johann Georg Schürer as the only active church composer. Although Schürer was remarkably industrious, he alone was not able to fulfil the great demands of the position. In short, the situation seemed to call for immediate action.

The scenario presented by Stockigt and Talbot seemed entirely plausible, but evidence for the transmission of the Galuppi–Baldan group of manuscripts to Dresden was missing, and questions remained. Particularly problematic was the fact that five of the Baldan copies were dated September 1758, the *terminus post quem* for the arrival of at least one consignment of music in the Saxon capital. But this was two years after the Prussian army had launched the Seven Years' War by invading Saxony, an event that forced the Polish King August III (as Saxon elector, Friedrich August II) to make a perilous escape to Warsaw. It made little sense that someone in Dresden would be busy ordering music materials in bulk from Venice during the war, especially at a time when the state coffers were completely empty – a grim situation that resulted in the departure of many musicians of the Hofkapelle, who had not been paid since the outbreak of hostilities.

The article by Stockigt and Talbot was followed by Ines Burde's important study of the sacred music of Galuppi, which contained a survey of the sources preserved in the SLUB.⁷ Burde also presented an overview of the many theories put forward on how the music arrived in Dresden, but she was not able to cast new light on the provenance of the collection.

Several years passed without news on this front, but a fresh opportunity to study the Baldan copies in greater detail than before arrived in 2013, when the SLUB embarked on an ambitious project to digitise their holdings from the Hofkirche and royal collections. In 2017 Talbot was able to identify a setting of the *Laetatus sum* (RV 827) as yet another Vivaldi composition among the Galuppi–Baldan manuscripts.⁸ Shortly before he announced his discovery, he sought my advice on his hypothesis that 'the purpose of this mass order [i.e., the Baldan collection] may have been to provide a repertory for Warsaw, not merely to renew the repertory in Dresden'.⁹ I was able to confirm that this was indeed the conclusion I myself had reached on the basis of the following criteria: first, the uniformity of the collection and the watermarks of the covers enclosing the manuscripts; second, the labels seen on many of the covers, which suggested a Warsaw provenance rather than a Dresden one. I also informed Talbot that Nina Eichholz, leader of the digitisation project at the SLUB,

7 Ines Burde, *Die venezianische Kirchenmusik von Baldassare Galuppi*, Frankfurt am Main 2008.

8 Michael Talbot, 'Another Vivaldi Work Falsely Attributed to Galuppi by Iseppo Baldan: A New *Laetatus sum* for Choir and Strings in Dresden', *Studi vivaldiani* 17 (2017), pp. 103–119.

9 An email to the author, 26 March 2017.

had independently reached the same conclusion through her in-depth analyses of the manuscripts.

Inspired by the renewed interest in this fascinating topic, I decided to revisit the archive sources examined back in 2005. During nine study trips to Dresden between October 2017 and October 2019, I systematically went through the extensive ministerial correspondence from the 1750s and the early 1760s. This article presents the wide-ranging results of my research.

ROSSI AND KOENIG: COUNSELLORS AND MUSICIANS

The story told in the next few pages is seen mainly through the eyes of Friedrich August de Rossi, the secretary of Italian affairs at the Dresden court, whose unpublished correspondence is a gold mine of information on the musicians of the Hofkapelle and the music performed in Dresden and Warsaw. Born in the Saxon capital (c.1710) to the Italian cellist Agostino de Rossi and his wife Christina, Rossi was already working for the court in the mid-1730s as a secretary before travelling in that capacity in the Grand-Tour entourage of Crown Prince Friedrich Christian in 1738–40. From the diaries of this prince, we learn that Rossi, who played the cello like his father, took part in chamber music concerts held in Naples by the musicians and servants who had travelled with Friedrich Christian to Italy.¹⁰ While in Venice, Rossi must have heard Galuppi's *Gustavo primo, re di Svezia* when the opera was produced at the S. Samuele theatre in the Ascension season of 1740; the copy purchased by Friedrich Christian two days after the premiere laid the foundations for the Dresden collection of Galuppiana discussed in this article.¹¹ After his return from Italy, Rossi continued to serve as secretary to the prince and also to Count Joseph Anton Gabaleon Wackerbarth-Salmour, Obersthofmeister to Friedrich Christian, but when the Italian cabinet secretary and Hofrat Fr. Giuseppe Raimondo Accoramboni passed away in 1747, Rossi was his ready replacement.

One year after Rossi settled into his new post, the name of Friedrich August von Koenig (König) is first seen in documents connected with the Hofkapelle. Artistic blood flowed through the veins of this remarkable man, who impressed Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart when the famous composer visited Dresden in April 1789.¹² Koenig was born in 1722 to the court poet, master of ceremonies and Hofrat

10 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Federico Cristiano in Italia. Esperienze musicali di un principe reale polacco', *Musica e storia* 4 (1996), pp. 298–299.

11 'Einen Copisten vor übergebene Partitur von der Opera a S. Samuele Gustavo primo Rè di Svezia 6. Dopien | 30 Th[a]l[e]r.'; account entry dated Venice, 27 May 1740. See Jóhannes Ágústsson, 'The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian and Music: The Dresden Diaries and Account Books', *Clavibus Unitis* 9 (2020) no. 1 (forthcoming, available online at <http://www.acecs.cz>, accessed 21 April 2020). This copy is still preserved: D-DI, Mus. 2953-F-1.

12 'auf einmal stupfte mich Naumann und führte mich dem herrn von König auf, welcher Directeur des

Johann Ulrich von Koenig and his then wife, the operatic singer Regina Gertrud Schwarz. Johann Ulrich, whose opera librettos and writings were famous all over Germany, was highly respected at the Dresden court, not only on account of his celebratory poems, but also for his role in securing the services of Johann Adolph Hasse as Kapellmeister in 1731, having been a patron of this composer and former singer since the late 1710s.¹³

In his youth, Friedrich August studied keyboard and other instruments, and also composition – possibly with Hasse, who might well have given him music lessons as a favour to his father. As we will see, there are also signs that Koenig studied with Carl Heinrich Graun, Kapellmeister of Friedrich II, king of Prussia. Like Hasse, Graun had enjoyed the patronage of Johann Ulrich from an early age, and the composer himself stated that he was eternally indebted to the poet. Teaching his son would have been a noble way for Graun to express his gratitude to his patron.¹⁴

Another potential music teacher of Koenig is Gottlob Harrer, who served as Kapellmeister to the prime minister, Count Heinrich von Brühl, until he succeeded Johann Sebastian Bach as cantor of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig in 1750.¹⁵ In the literature, Koenig has been referred to as a ‘creature’ of Brühl, and judging from the existing documentation, this is a fitting description.¹⁶ In 1746 he is listed as one of the prime minister’s secretaries, and in the 1750s he was living rent-free in well-appointed rooms in Brühl’s palace in Dresden.

With this in mind, it will come as no surprise that the prime minister entrusted Koenig with the task of composing the music for the politically important wedding of his daughter Maria Amalia to the Hofmarschall of the Polish crown, Count Jerzy August Mniszech, which took place in Warsaw in July 1750. Brühl was very pleased

plaisirs |: der traurigen Churfürstl: Plaisirs :| ist; – er war außerordentlich artig, und auf die frage ob ich mich nicht wollte beÿ Seiner Durchl: hören lassen, antwortete ich, daß es mir zwar eine Gnade seÿe; letter to Constanze Mozart, Dresden, 16 April 1789, see: *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – Online Edition*, published by the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg (<https://dme.mozarteum.at/briefe-dokumente/online-edition/>, accessed 2 January 2020).

13 Janice B. Stockigt and Jóhannes Ágústsson, ‘Reflections and Recent Findings on the Life and Music of Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745)’, *Clavibus Unitis* 4 (2015), p. 25 (http://www.acecs.cz/media/cu_2015_04.pdf, accessed 10 April 2020).

14 ‘Ich habe schon in dem ersten Stücke dieser *Relation* erwehnet, es stehe dieser *Capellmeister* in der Meinung, daß er mir sein ganzes zeitliche Glücke zu dancken habe, und bezeige demnach, viel vertrauen als erkenntliche Hochaltung gegen mich; D-Dl, Mscr.Dresd.e.63 ‘[3.] *Relation* von dem Gemüths-*Character* des izigen Königl. Preuss. *Favouriten*, *Barons* von *Keiserling*, und von meinen mit demselben gefolgten Geheimen Unterredungen’, Johann Ulrich von Koenig’s report of his visit to the Prussian court [Dresden, 16 July 1740], fol. 14b.

15 Ulrike Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer (1703–1755), Kapellmeister des Grafen Heinrich von Brühl am sächsisch-polnischen Hof und Thomaskantor in Leipzig*, Beeskow 2006 (= *Schriften zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte* 12).

16 Otto Eduard Schmidt, *Minister Graf Brühl und Karl Heinrich von Heinecken. Briefe und Akten, Charakteristiken und Darstellungen zur Sächsischen Geschichte (1733–1763)*, Leipzig 1921, p. 50 n. 25 (1).

with the music of Koenig's 'beautiful serenata',¹⁷ and so was the Polish Queen and Saxon electress Maria Josepha, who described the second performance as 'marvellous':

Le Roy et moy en avons veue une partie incognito, par une fenetre de la maison du C[om]te. [Brühl] et en avons aussi entendu, la Cantata dont Je joins icy les Parôles / avec les tables de nos tirages / elle a eté chantée le jour de sa naissance et de ses fiançailles chéz Mniszech par Venturini, la musique est du Secretaire König, qui a joué aussi le Clavecin, L'Orquestre a eté composée des Cavaliers qui l'ont executé à merveille.¹⁸

The cantata *La nascita di Amalia*,¹⁹ first performed on 10 July 1750, the bride's fourteenth birthday, and again six days later, is the only surviving composition by Koenig. According to Michael Talbot, its music is very accomplished, *galant* and 'pleasantly varied and attractively complex and inventive in places', and its style 'not at all unlike that of Hasse'.²⁰ Clearly, Koenig was a skilled composer and already an experienced hand well capable of directing a group of musicians, who in this case were all *dilettanti* superior to him in rank.

In 1751 Rossi and Koenig were granted the status and title of Legationsrat (Counsellor of Legation), and this enabled them to act in an official capacity when organising purchases, payments and transportation of artworks and other luxury items and goods. The two men formed part of a complex network of art dealers, artists and agents who relentlessly hunted for precious paintings, mainly for August III but also for Brühl's private collection. They also played their part when it was decided to strengthen the court orchestra following the death, departure or retirement of several outstanding singers of the Hofkapelle and the dedication of the newly built Hofkirche in 1751. This magnificent church became fully operational in 1755, and the move from the former, smaller Catholic court church necessitated considerable expansion of the forces of the court orchestra, both singers and instrumentalists. For this purpose, the court's extensive network of cardinals, ambassadors, agents and

17 'Le soir M[onseig]g[neu]r la Petit Marechal donna un beau divertissement a toute cette Noblesse qui fut divertie par une belle Serenade, executé par des Cavalliers, ce divertissement fut suivi d'un magnifique Soupé, et Bal'; D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett (hereafter, Geh. Kab.), loc. 743/14 *Korrespondenz des Premierministers Grafen von Brühl aus und nach Italien, 1750–1751*, Brühl to the ambassador of August III in Rome, Count Charles Taparell Lagnasc, Warsaw, 11 July 1750, unfoliated.

18 D-Dla, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian, Kurfürst von Sachsen, Nr. 4c *Schreiben an Kurprinz Friedrich Christian von Sachsen von seiner Mutter Königin Maria Josepha von Polen, 1743–46, 1748–50, 1752, 1754–56*, Maria Josepha to Friedrich Christian, Warsaw, 18 July 1750, unfoliated. See also: Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III: Część I* [Music at the Polish court of Augustus III. Part 1], Lublin 2012, pp. 470–471.

19 D-Dl, Mus. 2-J-2. This is a presentation copy prepared for the private collection of Crown Princess Maria Antonia, consort to Friedrich Christian. The title page, dedication and list of musicians are in the calligraphic hand of Koenig, who also wrote out the underlaid text for the music and provided some performance instructions. It is unclear who the copyist of the notes was. The pages show signs of having been folded and sent to Dresden by post, probably soon after the two performances in Warsaw.

20 An email to the author, 17 September 2019.

envoys in Italy was activated. Experienced singers and promising ones still in training were scouted out, and recommendations put forward to Dresden. As a result, by 1754 the vocal section of the Hofkapelle had been revitalised. A number of Dresden-based instrumentalists were added during the mid-1750s, but an opportunity to hire the child prodigy Luigi Boccherini went amiss in 1754,²¹ the same year that the cellist Giovanni Battista Cirri offered his services to the court.²² In retrospect, the decision not to employ these two musicians proved to be a mistake, since the three senior cellists of the Hofkapelle, who included Rossi's father Agostino, passed away in 1755 and 1756.

The opinion of the Ober-Kapellmeister Hasse was sought for all new recruitments, but the prime minister had a hands-on role and the ultimate say in the final decision and contractual process. Most of the relating correspondence went through the hands of Rossi, and Koenig likewise was directly involved when some of the new singers arrived in Dresden. For example, when the alto castrato Pasquale Bruscolini, 'Pasqualini', was formally employed on 10 May 1753, the signatures of both the *Directeur des Plaisirs*, Carl Heinrich von Dieskau, and Koenig appeared on the contract.²³

21 Roccatani first mentioned 'un Musico ragazzo di buona aspettativa' in a letter from Rome to Rossi on 16 March 1754: D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 660/04 *Originali del Signore agente Roccatani di vari anni, col Consiglio de Rossi, 1753–1756*, fol. 4a. Two weeks later he provided further information which strongly suggests that young Boccherini – who was then in Rome – was the person in question: 'E capitato qui un ragazzo di dodici, o tredici anni suona rispettivam[en]te alla sua età moltissimo bene il violongello, perche il S[igno]re Card[ina]le ha voluto sentirlo, e farlo sperimentare, in sostanza è un ragazzo di aspettativa grande, e però me umilio all'E[ccellenza] V[ostra] la notizia qualora ne avesse bisogno'; loc. cit., Roccatani to Rossi, Rome, 30 March 1754, fol. 168a. Rossi's informative reply gives an insight into the reasoning process whenever musicians were hired for the Hofkapelle: 'Riguardo quel ragazzo, che sona il Violoncello di 12. in 13. anni credo che non ne sarà da far niente, mentre un simile assai bravo di questa virtù si mostrò e si fece sentire una volta a Dresda, mà non riuscì, qui non occorreranno Virtuosi Studenti, mà uomini fatti, come V[ostra] S[ignore] med[esi]mo lo saprà per quanto l'ha veduto qui presso di Noi, l'orecchio delle M.M.LL. [Maestrà Loro] è troppo delicato in questo genere, come è l'occhio loro parim[en]te nel discernimento della pittura; S[ignore] E[ccellenza] il Primo Min[ist]ro non mi disse altro, sù ciò per ora, farà però m[ol]to bene V[ostra] S[ignore] se in materia di Musica vorrà intendersela col Primo Maestro di Capella Sig[no]re Hasse, dall'approvazione a e raccomandazione del quale in questa Materia dipende il tutto'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 751/07 *Minutario per ordine eseguito dal Consigliere de Rossi, 1748–1749, 1754*, Rossi to Roccatani, Leipzig, 15 May 1754, unfoliated.

22 '[...] e l'altro genere per molto distinguersi la medesima nella Musica così da ciò motivo a Giovanni Cirri di Forlì mia Patria, Giovane di ottime qualità, e bravo suonatore di Violoncello, ben cognito a cotesto Sig[no]re Sassone Maestro di Cappella, da cui è stato inteso sonare il detto Istrumento di bramare di essere anch'esso ammesso nell'Orchestra di Sua Maestà'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 656/12 *Vermischte Briefe in italienischer Sprache an den Premierminister Grafen von Brühl und von ihm, größtenteils aus und nach Italien und Dresden, 1754–1755*, Cardinal Camillo Paolucci to Brühl, Rome, 13 July 1754, fol. 63a. Brühl replied: 'Le raccomandazioni gentili di V[ostra] E[ccellenza], in favore d'un assai bravo suonatore di Violoncello Giovanni Cirri di Forlì sarebbero a me ordini precisi, se non già fosse abundantem[en]te provvista la numerosa Orchestra di S[ua] M[ae]stà onde non occorrendo verun bisogno di aumentare la pluralità de Virtuosi al presente'; loc. cit., Brühl to Paolucci, Warsaw, 5 August 1754, fol. 62a.

23 A copy of the contract is reproduced in A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze*, pp. 344–345.

Two days after the singer put pen to paper in Dresden, August III, Maria Josepha, Friedrich Christian and Maria Antonia travelled to Leipzig for the Easter fair, where, as in many previous years, they had the chance to hear the operas on offer. Between 1744 and 1751 the travelling troupe of the Italian brothers Angelo and Pietro Mingotti had presented a rich variety of operas, pasticcios and intermezzi in the city, and these had been popular with members of the visiting royal and electoral family. In the summer of 1746 Angelo took some of his musicians to Dresden, where the Mingottis' newly erected wooden theatre was inaugurated with a setting of Galuppi's *Argenide* (Venice, 1733).²⁴ During the short life of this theatre, it bustled with activity, but in January 1748 it caught fire and burned to the ground. The last appearance of Pietro Mingotti's opera company in Leipzig was in 1751, and his absence during the following year opened up an opportunity for Locatelli and his troupe to take over the stage in May 1753, when they presented Francesco Zoppis's *Il Vologeso* and the pasticcio *Dario*, which included music from Galuppi's opera of the same name (Turin, 1751). It seems that these performances had a great impact on the noble guests, and on his way back to Prague, Locatelli made a stopover in Dresden. He went on to stay there for most of June, and on 1 July met with Friedrich Christian, who made a 100-thaler payment to the impresario from his private purse.²⁵ The copy of *Il Vologeso* listed in the music catalogue of the crown prince and Maria Antonia was almost certainly presented on this occasion.²⁶

On 28 May, two days after the court returned from Leipzig, Koenig was appointed co-director of the opera and comedy, thus further bolstering his authority within the musical establishment in Dresden.²⁷ At the same time, he continued to serve Brühl as his right-hand man and, as can now be revealed, also as the music director of the prime minister's private Kapelle. After Harrer's departure for Leipzig in 1750, the Viennese composer Joseph Umstatt seems to have taken his place, but Umstatt left in September 1752 to take up the Kapellmeister position at the court in Bamberg. Brühl's decision not to officially replace Harrer and Umstatt has baffled scholars,²⁸ but in the light of the above-mentioned circumstances there can be only one explanation for his not doing so: in his secretary, the prime minister already had an able successor who commanded great respect from his musicians. Indeed, for the next

24 A printed advertisement announcing the Easter fair production of *Argenide* in Leipzig stated: 'Die MUSIC aber von dem beruffenen BALDASSARO GALUPPI, nebst andern auserlesenen Arien von den besten Meistern'; D-Dla, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt (hereafter OHMA), I, Nr. 113 *Reise nach Leipzig zum Ostermarkt, 1746*, unfoliated.

25 '[1] July | Discretion dem S.' *Lucatelli* | 100 Thlr.'; J. Ágústsson, 'The Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich Christian and Music'.

26 D-Dl, Mus. 3038-F-1.

27 'Registratur des Legationsrats von König wegen Condirektoriums des Theaters'; D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, K 4, Nr. 6 *Vorstellungen, 1744–1763*, fols. 100a–107a.

28 U. Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer (1703–1755)*, pp. 70–71.

eleven years, Koenig would work closely in Dresden and Warsaw with the violinist Christian Friedrich Horn, concertmaster of both the Brühl and Polish Kapellen.

In 1765, as part of a comprehensive investigation into the vast estates of the late count Brühl, questions were asked about what had happened to his musical instruments in the course of the Seven Years' War and who oversaw their inspection during his lifetime. The reply removes all doubt that Koenig was in charge of the prime minister's Kapelle:

Wer beÿ lebzeiten des verstorbenen H[er]r. *Cabinets* Minister, Grafens von Brühl, über deßen *Musicalische Instrumente* die Inspection gehabt?
[...]
der H[err] *Directeur des plaisirs, von König* aber zweifel die beste Nachricht hiervon würde ertheilen können, dieweiln dieser die ganze *Music dirigiret*.²⁹

Further evidence of Koenig's direct involvement with Brühl's musical affairs is recorded in the prime minister's private account books between 1753 and 1763.³⁰ The following payment from June 1753 is of great importance in the context of the present study:

26 [thaler] | 22 [groschen] | d[em] H[err]n *Legations* Rath v[on] *Koenig*, wegen *Musicalien* so vom Graf *Minelli* aus *Venedig* eingesandt vorden.³¹

This transaction establishes Koenig and Count Giovanni Pietro Minelli, the envoy of the Dresden court to Venice, as the two contact points for the future transmission of music from that city to Warsaw. And might this be the first evidence of Koenig's making a purchase from Baldan's *copisteria*? In January 1754 one of Minelli's sons received 48 thalers for bringing music from Venice to the prime minister, and the timing suggests that he had delivered copies of some of the latest winter and carnival operas.³² Further payments to Minelli for music are recorded in the Brühl accounts between July 1753 and December 1754.

Operas were also being ordered by Koenig from Rome through Fr. Alessandro Roccatani, who, in addition to his duties at the Vatican, served the Dresden court as an agent. On 12 January 1754 Roccatani wrote to Rossi that he was having two of the Roman carnival operas copied, '[...] una delle quali e [è] ottima per la Musica,

29 D-Dla, 10047 Amt Dresden, Nr. 3459 *Zwangsverwaltung der Musikinstrumente aus dem Nachlass des Premierministers Heinrich Graf von Brühl (Separatakte), 1765–1766*, fol. 5a.

30 The Dresden account books for the pre-1753 period are lost. The account books from Warsaw for 1756–63 are likewise missing.

31 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 1402/06 *Gräfllich Brühlsche Rechnungsbücher, Manual von ordinär monatlicher Einnahme und Ausgabe, 1753–1755*, fol. 15a. Excerpts from the account books of Brühl first appeared in U. Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer (1703–1755)*, pp. 77–81.

32 '48. [Thlr.] | 13. [groschen] | vor *Musicalien* aus *Venedig*, dem jungen Gr[af]: *Minelli*; loc. cit., fol. 62b.

mà sceleratissimi i cantanti, l'altra e [è] cattiva, mà siccome vi canta Caffarello si può sentire.³³ The former must be Antonio Gaetano Pampani's *Eurione*, and the latter Antonio Aurisicchio's *Eumene*, where the mezzo-soprano castrato Gajetano Majorano, 'detto Caffarello', sang the title role. Roccatani later arranged for the other two carnival operas to be copied and sent to Koenig: Rinaldo di Capua's *Attalo* and Galuppi's *Il Siroe*.³⁴

By spring 1754 Brühl had acquired copies of many of the recent operas staged in Venice and Rome for his music library,³⁵ and possibly also in preparation for future productions in his newly built theatre. When exactly the prime minister decided to lease his theatre to Locatelli is not clear, but discussions between the two men could have taken place in Dresden in the summer of 1753 or in Leipzig during the Michaelmas fair in October of that year, when the impresario staged three works, including the intermezzo *L'amor mascherato* and the pasticcio *Antigona*, both of which included arias from the operas of 'il Buranello'. Previous studies of the Galuppi–Baldan manuscripts have failed to mention Locatelli's landmark performances in Leipzig in 1753, and especially during the Easter fair in May 1754, when *Il mondo alla roversa* (Venice, 1750) and *La calamita de' cuori* (Venice, 1752), two of the Italian composer's most successful comic operas, were first heard, in the process triggering the Galuppi 'cult' at the Dresden court. But when the impresario inaugurated Brühl's theatre on 25 June with *Il mondo alla roversa*, August III, Maria Josepha and the prime minister were already in Warsaw, where they stayed until December. Both the king and Brühl received regular updates on Locatelli's successful season through Wackerbarth,³⁶ who had remained in Dresden with Friedrich Christian and Maria Antonia. In his letters, Wackerbarth reported in great detail how Locatelli and his musicians were integral to the entertainments enjoyed by the court that summer.³⁷

33 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 660/04, cit., Roccatani to Rossi, Rome, 12 January 1754, fol. 32a.

34 'Tengo in ord[in]:e tutta la Musica delle opere che qui si fano fatte in quest'anni, e in questa settimana ne spedisco la Cassa a Venezia all'E[ccellenza] V[ostre] con qualche altra cosa'; loc. cit., Roccatani to Rossi, Rome, 16 March 1754, fol. 3a-b. The cost of copying the four operas was 40 scudi: 'Le Quattro opere in musica da me trasmese all'E[ccellenza] S[ua] costano quaranta scudi romani in tutto, che vale a due 10 scudi l'una per sola copiatura, perche l'altra spesa non vi e sonta'; loc. cit., Roccatani to Rossi, Rome, 31 May 1754, fol. 22a.

35 It is possible that Brühl also received operas from Naples during this period.

36 'L'operetta buffa intitulée la *Calamita de cori*, a infiniment mieux reussi à Dresden qu'à Leipzig, aussi l'orquestre de V[otre] M[ajesté] a-t-elle donné un grand relief a la musique du Compositeur'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 3424/11 *Briefwechsel des Grafen Joseph Anton Gabaleon von Wackerbarth-Salmour, 1744–1760*, Wackerbarth to August III, Dresden, 21 July 1754, unfoliated.

37 When Maria Antonia's thirtieth birthday was celebrated, on 18 July, Locatelli and Schürer had prepared a special *licenza* at the end of Galuppi's opera: 'Les Dames de la ville firent leur cour à Madame la Princesse vers les 4. heures, et vers les 5. heures du soir la plû part se rendirent au Theatre de Votre Excellence, où toute la famille Roiale fût récue au bruit des timbales et des trompetes. On y représenta *La calamita de cori* avec tant de succès, que cette piece ne paroisoit plus la même qu'on avoit joué à Leipzig. Il y eut de nouveaux ballets, et le spectacle se termina con una licenza, dont je prends la liberté de joindre ici un exemplaire. Les paroles sont du S[igno]:' Loccatelli, qui, à ce qu'il me semble, est encor

‘LA M[AES]TÀ DEL N[OST]RO RÈ DI POL[ONI]A INTENDE PRENDERLO
AL SUO SERVIZIO’

In 1755 and 1756 Locatelli and his troupe continued to perform for the members of the royal-electoral court and the Saxon public at the Leipzig fairs and in Dresden during the summer. As before, the repertory consisted mainly of Galuppi’s *drammi giocosi*. Thanks to an unexpected series of letters written early in 1756 between Rome and Dresden, we know how highly Brühl thought of the composer. On 10 January the Roman cardinal protector of Poland, Gian Francesco Albani di San Cesareo, wrote with excitement to the prime minister, informing him that Galuppi – who was then in Rome directing the premiere of his *Idomeneo* – had visited his offices inquiring if he had any information about an employment offer for the composer from the king of Poland. According to the cardinal, Galuppi had received news from his wife in Venice that Minelli had told her that August III wished to hire the composer for his service with an annual salary of 4,000 silver ducats.³⁸ No doubt mightily impressed by the honour and especially the salary, Galuppi was ready to accept the offer on the spot. But he may have been wary because of the exorbitant sum – the equivalent of 5,160 ducats current or 14,190 thalers at the exchange rate of the day – which would have made the composer the highest-paid employee at the Dresden court, second only to the prime minister. To put things into perspective, Hasse and his wife Faustina received a combined annual salary of 6,000 thalers. Although Galuppi would have enjoyed taking prime position over his rival Hasse, the offer was probably too good to believe, and for this reason he sought the advice of the cardinal, who in turn wrote to Brühl asking whether it was true that August III had made this offer. Albani did add, however, that he thought the king would be highly satisfied

meilleur Poëte qu’ëconome; et la Musique est du S[igno]r Schirer’; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 3058/07 *Das Kabinetministers Grafen von Brühl mit dem Kabinetminister und Obristhofmeister des Königlichen Kurprinzen, Grafen von Wackerbarth-Salmour, geführte Korrespondenz, 1753–1754*, Wackerbarth to Brühl, Dresden, 21 July 1754, unfoliated.

- 38 ‘Si trova qui appunto per servizio di uno questi Teatri il bravo M[aest]ro di Cappella Baldassare Galuppi detto Buranello, al quale scrive la moglie da Venezia, che ’l Regio n[ost]ro Ag[en]t:^{1c} Minelli è stato a fargli la proposizione per parte di cotesta Real Corte, che Sua M[aes]tà intende di prenderlo al suo Servizio coll’annuo assegnam[en]:¹⁰ di quattro mila Ducati d’Argento. Dopo questo breve, e succinto avviso, ch’Egli ha tenuto semplicemente dalla moglie, è corso subito da me, per sentire s’io aveva verun altra più distinta, e circostanziata notizia del fatto, di cui si tratta; ed avendo inteso, ch’io non ho alcun lume, e commissione sù di ciò, mi ha pregato a procurarne qualche informazione per di lui miglior istruzione e regola; non essendo per altro Egli punto lontano dall’abbracciar subito il Servizio della M[ae]sta S[ua], qualora sussista, che la Medesima lo richieda. Ricorro io pertanto all’E[ccellenza] V[ost]ra, supplicandola di qualche lume sù di ciò delle vere idee ed intenzioni di Sua M[aes]tà, per poterne accettare quest’ homo, del quale ardisco dire, che la M[aes]tà Sua ne resterà certam[en]:^{1c} ben soddisfatta, e servita, perche a mio debile giudizio non ha Egli a nostri tempi chi lo Superi nella sua professione’; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 649/06 *Corrispondenza con Sua Eminenza il Signore Cardinale di San Cesareo, 1756*, Albani to Brühl, Rome, 10 January 1756, fols. 3b–4b.

with Galuppi's service, since he considered the Italian composer to surpass all others in his profession.

On the same day that the cardinal sent his letter to Brühl, he also wrote to Minelli, seeking further clarification from the Venetian envoy.³⁹ But Minelli strongly denied having made the offer in question to the composer's wife or having received any instructions from his court regarding Galuppi. On 21 February the bewildered cardinal wrote again to the prime minister, admitting that he scarcely knew what to believe about the matter.⁴⁰

Albani's first letter was read in Dresden with wonder and astonishment. Brühl's reply made it clear that no offer was on the table, and that the king and queen were perfectly happy with the services of Hasse:

La compiacenza, colla quale V[ostra] E[ccellenza] mi onora de' Suoi Stimatiss[i]^{mi} caratteri in data de' 10. del decorso Genn[ai]^o mi rende attestati graziosi dell'affettuoso Suo zelo per il Servizio di S[ua] M[aestà] riguardo quel m[ol]^{to} bravo Maestro di Cappella S[igno]^{re} Baldassarre Galuppi detto Buranello, che meritevolm[en]^{te} gode la protezz[ion]^e di V[ostra] E[ccellenza] per il di lui rinomato talento, mà benchè la M[aestà] S[ua] le ne resti interam[en]^{te} tenuta, le è giunto affatto Nuovo quel che l'E[ccellenza] V[ostra] mi favorisce dire, mentre non si è pensato per ora ne al med[esi]^{mo} ne ad altro simil soggetto, non essendo verun bisogno nella Cappella di S[ua] M[aestà], ove la med[esi]^{ma} vien presentem[en]^{te} servita dall'eccellente Sig[no]^{re} Hasse, con ogni sodisfazz[ion]^e delle MM.LL. onde resto sorpreso del fatto, che anche di più con particolarità vien circostanziato senza veruna Mia cognizione, ne chiedo in quest'oggi riscontro dal Conte di Minelli per saperne il preciso, e per scoprirne il vero, del quale sono assolutam[en]^{te} nell'oscuro.⁴¹

Perhaps the most important conclusion that can be drawn from this fascinating letter is that the court in Dresden had at that point clearly not considered ordering

39 'P.S. Questo M[aest]^{ro} di Cappella S[igno]:^r Baldassarre Galuppi, detto Buranello, mi dice avere Ella esposto costì in Venezia alla moglie, qualmente la M[aes]^{tà} del N[ost]^{ro} Re di Pol[oni]:^a intende prenderlo al Suo servizio p[er] l'anno assegnam[en]^{te}:^{te} di quattro mila ducati di argento; E siccome desidera esser meglio informato di questo fatto, così mi ha pregato di richiederne a Lei qualche notizia. La prego adunque a volermi comunicare tutto quanto può in questo particolare servire a di Lui istruzione, partecipandomi il tenore degli ordini ch'Ella hà dalla Corte'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 2814/10 *Korrespondenz mit dem Grafen Minelli, chargé d'affaires* [Geschäftsträger] zu Venedig, 1765–1768, unsigned letter of Albani to Minelli, Rome, 10 January 1756, unfoliated.

40 'Questo che V[ostra] E[ccellenza] favorisce replicarmi rispetto al M[aest]^{ro} di Cappella detto Buranello, mi era già stato ancora assicurato dall'Agente Minelli, che richiesto da me del fatto mi replicò, che nè Egli aveva avuto, la cotesto Corte alcun ordine rispetto al Buranello, ne aveva mai fatta veruna proposiz[ion]:^e alla di lui moglie: Cosicchè io non ho saputo mai capire, come quella Donna scrivesse da Venezia quà al marito in questa forma ch'io accennai all'E[ccellenza] V[ostra], E direi, che mi fosse stata supposta una cosa per l'altra, s'io stesso non avessi avuta sotto l'occhio la lettera della donna med[esim]:^a Sia però com'esser si voglia, V[ostra] E[ccellenza] mi ha messo al vero e chiaro lume della faccenda, ne vado più cercando altro'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 649/06, cit., Albani to Brühl, Rome, 21 February 1756, fol. 14^o-b.

41 Loc. cit., Brühl to Albani, Dresden, 2 February 1756, fol. 107a. The draft is in Rossi's hand.

any sacred music from Galuppi for use at the new Hofkirche. But this surprising indirect contact with the composer may have later given birth to the idea that he would be ready and willing to supply August III and Brühl with his music after their arrival in Warsaw.

‘UNA BELLA SERENATA’: BIRTHDAY MUSIC FOR BRÜHL

The outbreak of the Seven Years’ War had a devastating effect on Saxony and its people. Early in September 1756, shortly before the Prussian army entered Dresden, August III, princes Xavier and Charles plus Brühl – who travelled in a waggon with Koenig – took flight in chaotic circumstances before arriving in Warsaw late in October. Maria Josepha remained in Dresden with Friedrich Christian, Maria Antonia and the Saxon princesses.

The musicians of the Polish Kapelle and Brühl’s private orchestra soon followed their superiors to Warsaw, where they would remain until the end of hostilities. Despite their presence in the Polish capital, the court diaries maintained by the Oberhofmarschallamt are silent on their secular musical activities for the rest of that year and also for 1757. Private musical performances for the king in his palace seem to have been non-existent, but if there were any, they went unreported.⁴²

We likewise know little about the music played in the Brühl apartments in the royal palace in Warsaw during that same period. But, as can now be revealed for the first time, for his fifty-seventh birthday on 13 August 1757, a great evening feast was specially organised by the count’s daughter Maria Amalia in the garden palace of the prime minister in Wola, close to Warsaw. The court diary described the lavish celebrations that were attended in force by the Polish nobility, while the king was noticeably absent. In his letter to cardinal Albani, Rossi provided an important additional detail about a banquet held earlier that day in honour of the prime minister at the residence of Bishop Kajetan Sołtyk,⁴³ where Maria Amalia had arranged for a serenata to be performed, most likely as a surprise for her father:

Oggi festa della Nascita di S[ignore] E[ccellenza] il P[rimo] M[inistero] il C[on]te Vescovo di Kamienieck Soltik diede gran pranzo, e vi fece fare la Contessa Marescialla di Mnisezek Sua figlia una bella serenata. Q[ue]sta sera tutta la Nobilta si rende à vola [Wola] un ora distante terra appartenente à S[ignore] E[ccellenza] sud[ett]’^a del P[rimo] M[inistro] lu-

42 In January 1757 Xavier asked for his transverse flute and copies of sinfonias and sonatas in his possession to be sent from Dresden to Warsaw: Les Archives de l’Aube, Le fonds du Prince Xavier de Saxe, EE 1658 *Correspondance de Bussy (Dominique), camérier privé du Prince Électoral, trésorier du prince Xavier à Dresde, adressée à M. Maurisseau, homme de chambre du prince Xavier, 1756–1763*, Bussy to Morisseau, Warsaw, 19 and 22 January 1757, unfoliated.

43 At the time, this bishop was one of Brühl’s, and his son-in-law Jerzy August Mnisezech’s, staunchest supporters, although their relationship later turned sour.

go assai delizioso p[er] ivi restar servita d'una cena, e d'un fuoco d'artificio fatto preparare della d[ett]^a Sig[nor]^a Maressialla.⁴⁴

There are two obvious questions here. Which serenata was performed on this occasion? Who was its composer? If we look at manuscripts from the royal music collection now held in the SLUB, only one work with a Warsaw provenance emerges as a candidate for the music heard on Brühl's birthday. This is the enigmatic 'Endimione',⁴⁵ as the work is known today, which survives in an anonymous set of parts prepared in the Polish capital by the copyist Carl Gottlob Uhle, who had been supplying copies of music to Brühl since 1755 before becoming formally employed by the court in October 1758.⁴⁶ The text is based on Metastasio's 1721 libretto, albeit in reduced form and with new additions: the text of the aria 'Vedrai con tuo periglio' (Nice) stems from Metastasio's libretto *Alessandro nell'Indie* (1729), while the aria 'Lungi da te ben mio' (Amore) is taken from Francesco Silvani's and Antonio Papi's libretto for *Attalo*. But the most important addition is seen in the text of the final recitative, 'Eh non è tempo o miei fidi' (Amore), which makes a clear reference to prime minister Heinrich von Brühl and his day of birth:

Dalla sua stella oggi / Scese il grand'Enrico
(From his star today / Descended great Heinrich)

RISM currently lists this work as a pasticcio with music by Hasse and Galuppi. But, as I will argue later in this article, the previously unpublished source evidence presented here strongly points to the music's being written exclusively by the second composer and especially for this occasion, since the last recitative in any serenata is

44 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 659/03 *Minutario di Corrispondenza italiana per ordine, del Consigliere de Rossi eseguito, 1755–1759*, Rossi to Albani, Warsaw, 13 August 1757, fol. 109a.

45 D-Dl, Mus. 2477-L-5; Mus. 2477-L-5a. Michael Talbot advises me that 'L-5 is not a score in the ordinary sense but a harpsichord continuo part in which, *selectively*, the copyist has written out in score the instrumental parts for the player's better guidance. So L-5 "belongs" fully to the set L-5a.' An email to the author, 6 May 2018. Uhle prepared personally all but two of the seventeen parts.

46 Newly discovered biographical information on this important copyist reveals his place of birth and age. First, Uhle's wedding registry from 30 October 1766 reads: 'Herr Carl Gottlob Uhle, *Copiste* bey der Churfürstl[iche] Hof-Capelle in Dreßden, H[er]r. M[agister] Johann Uhlens, Pfarrers zu Tautenhayn hinter[assenen] Sohn; ist mit seiner Verlobten, Fr[au] Johann Friederiken, H[er]r. Joh[ann] George Funkens, *Porcellain*-Mahlers zu Meißen hinter[assenen] Wittwe auf Verordnung des H[er]r. *Superint[endant]* u[nd] *Ephori D[omini]* am Ende d. 30. Oct[ober] in der Kirche zu Plauen *copulirt* worden'; Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evang.-Luth. Landeskirche, Dresden, Plauen (b. Dresden), *Traubuch, 1647–1799*, fol. 262b. Second, Uhle's death registry shows that he was born c.1722. He died on 5 March 1784 and was buried in St Johannis cemetery in Dresden three days later: '8 | *Martius Anno* 1784 | H[er]r. Karl Gottlob Uhle, Churfürstl[iche] Hof-Notist, ein Ehemann, 62. Jahre alt, an Mattigkeit, Pfarrgaße, in M[ei]st[er] Richters-Hauße, früh nach *St. Johannis*, entrichtet 2. Th[a]l[e]r. 8 gr[oschen] 6. d[reyer]'; Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evang.-Luth. Landeskirche, Dresden, Dresden-Kreuzkirche, *Bestattungsbuch, 1784–1790*, fol. 11a.

where one is customarily most likely to find information about the person and event specifically celebrated. The work must be the one listed as a *Serenada* composed by Galuppi in a catalogue of operas and oratorios – many of which had been performed in Warsaw – handed over personally by Koenig to the royal music collection in the early 1780s.

As part of her extensive planning for her father's birthday, Maria Amalia must have commissioned the music directly from Galuppi, with assistance from Koenig and his already established contacts in Venice. The work calls for three sopranos, tenor and orchestra. Unfortunately, the names of the singers are not given in the parts, but Maria Amalia must have been one of the sopranos: as Amore, she would have delivered the final recitative to her father. It is not known who might have sung the roles of Diana and Nice, but it was almost certainly members of the nobility discussed in this article. As for the fourth singer, the evidence presented below points to the Italian tenor Michele Caselli in the role of Endimione.

This non-staged presentation of Galuppi's birthday serenata for Brühl in August 1757 marks the beginning of repeated performances of his secular and sacred music in Warsaw. While Hasse was, and would remain, August III's favourite composer, by 1758 Galuppi had emerged as the king's unofficial 'Kirchen-Compositeur von Haus aus'. At the same time, it was the operatic music of 'il Buranello' that was frequently heard and performed in the chambers of the prime minister, who must have had a special liking for this composer, the writer of both a specially commissioned serenata in his honour and the inaugural opera for his theatre.

'HERRN GALOPPI' AND THE *REQUIEM*

On 17 November 1757 Maria Josepha passed away in Dresden. The exequies for the Polish Queen and Saxon electress were held in the royal chapel in Warsaw on 14 January 1758, the funeral music being composed by Galuppi. The court secretary who wrote the detailed report of the ceremony referred to the composer in such familiar terms that one could be forgiven for thinking that the Venetian was there in person to direct the music:

Eine von Herrn *Galoppi* wohl gesezte *Vocal- und Instrumental Musique*, welche von zeit zu zeit sich hören ließ, hat nicht wenig zu dieser Trauer *Solennitaet* beygetragen, besonders aber der anwesenden Gemüther noch mehr zu rücken.⁴⁷

At that time Galuppi was far away from Warsaw: on that very day he was in Milan, directing the premiere of his *Ipermestra*. But the fact that a *Requiem* by him

⁴⁷ D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, C, Nr. 45 *Tod und Begräbnis der Königin von Polen und Kurfürstin von Sachsen Maria Josepha, geb. Erzherzogin von Österreich, 1757–1758*, fol. 14a–b.

was performed on this important occasion at court is remarkable, considering that in Dresden this was a task customarily entrusted to the Kapellmeister (or to the Kirchen-Compositeur, if he was not available).⁴⁸ In this instance Hasse was in Venice preparing for the carnival production of his *Nitteti* and had no possibility of composing and delivering the music in time, but the court could easily have called for the music Schürer had composed for the parallel funeral services in Dresden. So it seems likely that a copy of Galuppi's *Requiem* was already on hand in Warsaw when Maria Josepha passed away; unless, of course, the composer sent an existing composition via Baldan as a spontaneous act of commiseration on learning of the queen's death.

Three *Requiem* settings by Galuppi are preserved in the SLUB, but which one was heard in January 1758? On first impressions, it is tempting to exclude the *Messa | Concertata | Con Strumenti*,⁴⁹ since Baldan's title page seems to have been prepared at exactly the same time as those for a motet by Giuseppe Chiesa dated 18 July 1758 and a Mass by Giuseppe Battista Pescetti from the same year: the excessively exuberant calligraphic decorations in these three copies are almost identical, and it is likely that they were a part of the same batch sent to Warsaw at a later date. The title page of the Galuppi score reveals the factory-like, therefore fallible, production system at the Baldan *copisteria*, for the proprietor has completely forgotten to state in writing that the work in question is a *Requiem (Messa da Morto)*!

As for the *Messa | Da morto Concertata a 4^o Voci | Con Strumenti*,⁵⁰ we can state with some confidence at least that this work was performed some time in the second half of 1759, when the five singers whose names are written in pencil in the Baldan score first came together in Warsaw.⁵¹ The occasion must have been the exequies for Maria Josepha, when the music performed in the royal chapel on 17 November was described as being exceptionally beautiful:

Zu denen in der König[liche] Palais-Capelle gehaltenen *Exequien*, bey welchen das Hohe Amt von dem Herrn Bischoff von *Kyow Zaluski* unter einer ausnehmend schönen *Vocal- und Instrumental Musique* gehalten wurde [...]⁵²

48 For example, when the exequies were held for August II in April 1733, the acting Kapellmeister (and later Kirchen-Compositeur) Jan Dismas Zelenka composed and directed the music, since Hasse was in Italy and unavailable.

49 D-DI, Mus. 2973-D-2I. 14 parts are missing.

50 D-DI, Mus. 2973-D-23,I. 12 parts are missing.

51 In addition to the previously mentioned Pasqualini and Caselli, the three other singers are listed: 'Sig[nor]^c Perellino' is the soprano castrato Antonio Francia, 'detto Perellino'; 'Sig[nore] Puttini' is the soprano castrato Bartolomeo Puttini, who was hired by August III in 1752; finally, 'Sig[nore] Antonelli' is possibly the singer employed by the governor of Kiev, Franciszek Salezy Potocki, as suggested in A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze*, p. 353.

52 D-DIa, 10006 OHMA, O, 2, Nr. 4 *Warschauer Hofstagebücher, 1754–1763*, diary entry for 17 November 1759, unfoliated.

Multiple nineteenth-century performance dates in a revised Dresden copy of the Baldan score demonstrate how much this setting was admired.⁵³ On the flyleaf a copyist has written ‘Koenigl[iche] Familie’, confirming that this was the music performed annually during the memorial services for all deceased members of the royal-cum-electoral family, which were held at the beginning of November each year between 1764 and 1864. The pages of the score have become black around the edges from heavy use.

That leaves the third setting, the *Messa | Da morto Concertata con | Strumenti*,⁵⁴ as a possible candidate for the work performed in January 1758. Unlike in the two other copies, the lettering of Baldan’s title page is unusually devoid of his normally ornate curlicues, which could point to an earlier transmission to Poland. On the other hand, the copyist here is the same as for the setting performed in 1759, so caution is needed. The recovery of the missing parts for each of these three settings may one day provide the answer to the question posed above.

‘TUTT’UN OPERA INTIERA CON ARIE RECITATIVI E SINFONIA DEL CALOPPI’

Three weeks after the exequies for Maria Josepha were held in 1758 the joyless carnival in Warsaw was brought to an end. Similarly, the mood was sombre in Dresden. The remaining members of the royal-electoral family, effectively prisoners in their own city, found solace in music making. On 1 March Wackerbarth reported to the prime minister that the court was occupied with the ‘repetition de quelques Oratoires en Musique’.⁵⁵ Upon learning of this news Brühl wrote a revealing letter to Maria Antonia:

Si Vôtre Altesse Royale fait repeter les Oratoires dans Sa chambre, nous en aurons celui de Pellegrini le vendredi saint ches les Capucins; Je ne connois que Pasqualini et Casselli des chanteurs et ignore, qui seront les autres. Nous connoissans depuis long tems aucune autre Musique que celle de l’eglise et le Miserere, qui nous vient de la pauvre Saxe [Saxony]⁵⁶

Brühl’s complaints that the court had heard little other than ‘the music of the church’ up to that point suggests that performances of secular art music in Warsaw were at the time few and far between. Attempts to lure Locatelli’s troupe to the Polish

53 D-DI, Mus. 2973-D-23.2. 14 parts exist of this setting, shelf-marked Mus. 2973-D-23a and D-23b. Cf. I. Burde, *Die venezianische Kirchenmusik*, p. 53.

54 D-DI, Mus. 2973-D-22. 26 parts are missing.

55 D-DIa, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 3260/01 *Correspondance entre le Comte de Wackerbarth à Custrin [Küstrin], à Varsovie [Warschau] et à Fraustadt et le ministre Comte de Brühl, 1758*, Wackerbarth to Brühl, Dresden, 1 March 1758, fols. 29b–30a.

56 D-DIa, 12528 Fürstennachlass Maria Antonia, Kurfürstin von Sachsen, Nr. 70e *Briefe des Minister Brühl, 1755, 1757, 1758*, Brühl to Maria Antonia, Warsaw, 11 March 1758, fol. 53a–b.

capital seem to have failed when the impresario visited the city in September 1757. Instead, he set his course for St Petersburg – a decision ridiculed by Rossi.⁵⁷

Four days later Brühl informed Maria Antonia that Hasse had sent the king the arias from his *Nitteti*, which was the carnival opera at the S. Benedetto theatre in Venice that year. The prime minister asked whether she already possessed copies of the arias, for if not, he would be pleased to send them to her.⁵⁸ This passage is important for being the earliest indication of the exchange of music between Brühl and Maria Antonia that we witness from this period onwards. It is also the first evidence that Hasse was sending copies of his secular music to his king after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War.

More music was heading to Warsaw. At exactly the same time that Brühl penned his letter to Maria Antonia, a large consignment of music was being prepared in Venice by Galuppi and Baldan, doubtless following an order placed by Koenig that can be interpreted only as a direct result of the king's favourable reception of the *Requiem*, which led to requests for more of the composer's sacred music to be heard. On 25 March 1758 Minelli notified Brühl that the music was on its way:

Rassegnando all' E[ccellenza] V[ostra] le qui compiegate oltre il grosso pacco della Musica dirretto al Sig[no]^{re} Consig[lio]^{re} de Koenig;⁵⁹

By 2 April the package had arrived in Vienna, and on that day it was forwarded to Warsaw by a French courier heading for Poland. Minelli's insistence on using this means of express delivery instead of the regular postal service led Johann Sigismund von Pezold, Legationsrat and Saxon envoy in the imperial capital, to complain to Brühl about the additional costs involved. The package was supposed to contain only 'Spiel-Charthen' according to Pezold, and he did not understand either the urgency or the need to use a special means of transportation.⁶⁰ Already in September 1756 there had been questions raised over the costs of 'alcuni grossi pacchi [...] specialmente per la musica voluminosa' that Minelli was frequently forwarding to Dresden.⁶¹ The Italian

57 '[L'impresario Locatelli], che altri tempi si trovò à Dresda colla truppa dell'Operetta Buffa, impegnato alla Corte di Moscovia passo di quà, e doppo essersi trattenuto otto giorni, è ripartito p[er] Petersburgo con un seguito, che assomigliava ad una ben ridicola emigrazione'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 659/03, cit., Rossi to Albani, Warsaw, 7 September 1757, fol. 116. Since Rossi crossed out Locatelli's name, it is unlikely that he sent the drafted passage.

58 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'I drammi per musica di Johann Adolf Hasse rappresentati a Varsavia negli anni 1754–63', in: *Johann Adolf Hasse und Polen*, eds. Irena Poniatowska and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, Warsaw 1995, p. 130 n. 25.

59 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 2814/07 *Des Agenten Minelli aus Venedig eingeschickte Novellen, 1756–1763*, Minelli to Brühl, Venice, 25 March 1758, unfoliated.

60 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 2918/01 *Von Pezold in Wien, mit Register und Minuten, 1758*, Pezold to Brühl, Vienna, 4 April 1758, fols. 151a–153b.

61 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 2814/07, cit., Minelli to Wackerbarth, Venice, 10 September 1756, unfoliated.

must be referring here to some of the music sent to Brühl as discussed above. But in March 1758 there seems to have been a rush to get the parcel to Warsaw as soon as possible. An undated letter written by the prime minister to Maria Antonia on 8 or 9 April confirms that the music had indeed reached Warsaw and that it included a copy of Galuppi's *Sesostri* (Venice, autumn 1757):

Je viens à recevoir la Musique de l'Opera de Sesostri, mis en musique par Borinello, je ne scais si V[otre] A[ltesse] R[oya]le l'ordonne.⁶²

Some of the newly arrived music might have been heard couple of days later during the banquet the prime minister hosted in honour of the visiting Turkish envoy, whose three-week-long sojourn in Warsaw was coming to a close. On 11 April the court diary reported that 'während der Tafel eine sehr schöne *Instrumental-Musique*, nach der Tafel aber eine *Vocal- und Instrumental-Musique* sich hören lassen'.⁶³ Because of the generic language used in this entry, it is difficult to determine exactly what kind of vocal music was being sung, but the ever-reliable Rossi described it as 'una bellissima serenata'.⁶⁴ Might this have been another work by Galuppi composed especially for Brühl? Or is it possible that this was a repeat performance of the birthday music from the previous year, albeit perhaps without the final recitative?

In mid-May 1758 the prime minister sent the *Nitteti* arias to Maria Antonia in Dresden. After having a fair copy made for his private collection,⁶⁵ he forwarded *Sesostri* as well.⁶⁶ The latter is the now incomplete Baldan score (the third act is missing),⁶⁷ as evidenced by the inclusion of the anonymously listed volume in the catalogue of Maria Antonia's music collection.⁶⁸ No names of singers are present in this copy, but it seems likely that the music was studied and performed by Maria Amalia, her noble friends and the court singers available at the time: Pasqualini and Caselli. And the young countess wanted more. In July she asked Rossi to acquire from Rome an opera by Galuppi. The counsellor forwarded her request to Roccatani:

62 Cited in Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Endimione. Eine Warschauer Serenata von Hasse?', in: *Johann Adolf Hasse. Tradition, Rezeption, Gegenwart. Bericht über das Symposium vom 23. bis 25. April 2010 in der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg*, ed. Wolfgang Hochstein, Stuttgart 2013 (= Hasse-Studien, Sonderreihe 3), p. 30 n. 30.

63 D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, O, 2, Nr. 4, cit., diary entry for 11 April 1758.

64 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 659/03, cit., Rossi to Albani, Warsaw, 15 April 1758, fol. 138b.

65 This is almost certainly the copy that is today held by the National Museum of Music in Moscow; see below.

66 A. Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Endimione', p. 30 n. 30.

67 D-LEu, N.I. 10278.

68 'S[chränk] 4. | F[ach] 5. | 1. Paquetto Arie sciolte. 47. e 2. Atti dell'Opera Sesostri in Partit[ura]: picc[ola]: manca l'Atto III'; D-Dl, Bibl.Arch.III.Hb, Vol.787.g.3, *CATALOGO della MUSICA, e de' Libretti di S.A.R. MARIA ANTONIA*, p. 134.

Via più desidera S[ua] E[ccellenza] tutt'un Opera intiera con arie recitativi e sinfonia del Caloppi, ò se vi fosse una che fosse più recente e bella, basterebbe ancora.⁶⁹

This was only the first of many assignments Roccatani received from Maria Amalia, but by then the agent was already a regular customer of the copying houses in Rome. The unspecified opera he selected was approved beforehand by the countess, and the copy was sent to Warsaw in December. During the next three years Roccatani frequently sent music by Galuppi and other composers to the prime minister's daughter, for example in January 1759:

Dica a S[igno]^{ra} Contessa Marescialla che l'aria che gli mando questa sera deve esser meglio di quella del Galluppi; che a una delle arie che l'Opera che si fa presentem[en]^{te} in Aliberti, la di cui Musica è un spavento e che egli manderà lò spartito anche di questa, e fìa tanto si diverta in quello, che gli hò mandato.⁷⁰

Maria Amalia must have responded favourably, because two months later Roccatani informed Rossi that he was in the process of having Galuppi's *Melite riconosciuto* copied, along with Giovanni Francesco de Majo's *Ricimero, re dei Goti*, which had received much applause when premiered in February as the second carnival opera at the Teatro delle Dame (Teatro Aliberti):

Eccoti la piccola Nota di quello hò speso p[er] Sua Ecc[ellenza] la Sig[no]^{ra} Contessa Mniscek a cui dica, che attualm[en]^{te} si stà copiando i spartiti dell'ultima opera del Galuppi, e l'altra del Maestro de Maio, che è riuscita qui graditissima a tutti i dilettranti di Musica.⁷¹

The Roman copy of de Majo's opera, once part of Maria Antonia's collection and today held in the SLUB,⁷² is almost certainly the one sent by Roccatani. As with *Sesostri*, a fair copy of *Ricimero* must have been prepared in Warsaw for Maria Amalia's private collection before the Roman copy was sent to Maria Antonia. The same applies to *Melite riconosciuto*. Indeed, the two copies are listed next to each other in the music inventory taken after Maria Antonia's death in 1780.⁷³

On Low Sunday 22 April 1759 it was announced that Alois Friedrich, Brühl's oldest son and starosta of Warsaw, was to marry Maria Klementyna Potocka, daughter of Franciszek Salezy Potocki, governor of Kiev and a member of one of the most

69 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 659/03, cit., Rossi to Roccatani, Warsaw, 15 July 1758, fol. 147^b-b.

70 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 659/04 *Briefe des Agenten Roccatani zu Rom an den Rat de Rossi und den Grafen von Brühl, 1758-1759*, Roccatani to Rossi, Rome, January 1759, fol. 12b.

71 Loc. cit., Roccatani to Rossi, Rome, 17 March 1759, fol. 62b.

72 D-Dl, Mus. 3448-F-1.

73 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 869/04 *Inventar über Ihrer Königlichen Hobeit der weiland durchlauchtigsten Fürstin und Frau, Frau Maria Antonia, verwitweter Kurfürstin zu Sachsen, geborener römisch kaiserlichen Prinzessin, in Ober- und Niederbayern, auch der Oberpfalz Herzogin, Nachlass, 1780-1781*, fols. 145b-146a. The copy of *Melite riconosciuto* is now held in the National Museum of Music in Moscow; see below.

powerful families in Poland. The event was celebrated in the apartments of the prime minister, but neither the court diary nor Rossi mentioned the performance of music. Thanks, however, to Wackerbarth, who had travelled to Warsaw after being banished from the Saxon capital on the orders of Friedrich II, we have a fine description of the music heard on this occasion:

Après diner j'ai assisté au Concert de Musique, où le S[igno]^r Pasqualini, qui m'a prié de le recommander à la protection de Vos Altesses Royales, cantó di gran gusto. M[adam]^e la C[ontess]^e de Minischeck chanta un duetto avec lui fort joliment et le S[igno]^r Caselli ne laissa pas d'être aplaudi: M[onseigneu]^r le Staroste C[onte] de Bruhl accompagna du Clavecin.⁷⁴

Alina Żórowska-Witkowska has suggested that Wackerbarth was referring to the performance of 'Endimione', and that the music had been commissioned from Hasse when he was in Naples especially for this occasion.⁷⁵ However, the sources do not support this claim.⁷⁶ Moreover, less than a month before the marriage was announced, it was still far from being a fait accompli. On 24 March the Danish ambassador, Count Gregers Christian Haxthausen, informed his king that 'L'alliance des deux Maisons de Potocki et de Bruhl paroît être plus incertaine que jamais'.⁷⁷

Since there is no duet or part for the alto Pasqualini in 'Endimione', which duet could Wackerbarth have been referring to in his letter? The one duet possibly sung by Pasqualini and Maria Amalia that can be corroborated by the existing Warsaw sources is located in yet another Galuppi work, the Latin oratorio *Jabel*, which he composed for Easter 1747 while *maestro del coro* at the Ospedale dei Mendicanti in Venice.

74 D-Dla, 12527 Fürstennachlass Friedrich Christian, Kurfürst von Sachsen, Nr. 240 *Schreiben an Kurprinz Friedr. Christian v. Sachsen von Joseph Anton Gabaleon Graf v. Wackerbarth-Salmour geh. Cabinetsminister und Oberst-Hofmeister des Kurprinzen (Cüstrin, Warschau), 1757–1759*, Wackerbarth to Friedrich Christian, Warsaw, 25 April 1759, fol. 115b. An excerpt from this passage is cited in A. Żórowska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze*, p. 346 n. 156.

75 A. Żórowska-Witkowska, 'Endimione', pp. 26, 29–30.

76 After Wackerbarth left Warsaw for Munich, he made a stopover in Prague, where he met up with Friedrich Christian and Maria Antonia. While there, they attended a concert performed by the nobility, where an unknown setting of *Endimione* was heard: 'S[ieur] E[xcellence] M[onseigneu]^r le Grand-Prieur donna hier au soir un magnifique et délicieux souper à toute la Famille Roïale à un table d'environ 50 couverts, et cela à suite d'une Opéra, ou pour mieux dire Pastorale de Methastasio intitulée l'Indimione. M[onseigneu]^r le Comte de Sternberg avoit donné à la plûpart de nos Dames et Cavaliers de notre Cour, et avoit invité le même soir la Famille Roïale à cet galant spectacle qui se donna chez lui après les 6 heures du soir. Il avoit fait construire un joli théâtre dans sa maison, et les Acteurs et les Actrices ont tous été des Dames et des Cavaliers. Savoir Mad[a]^{me} la Comtesse de Wratislaw, Mad[a]^{me} de Marbis née de Lambertin, M[onseigneu]^r le Comte Czeyka, et M[onseigneu]^r le Gentil-homme de la chambre de Rechenberg'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 3260/02 *Correspondance entre le Comte de Wackerbarth à Varsovie [Warschau] et à Prague [Prag] et le ministre Comte de Brühl, 1759*, Wackerbarth to Brühl, Prague, 4 December 1759, fols. 123b–124a.

77 DK-Kra, Tyske Kancelli, Udenrigske Afdeling: Polen: Gesandtskabsrelationer (1645–1770), B. 40 *Gregers Christian v. Haxthausen, 1759*, Haxthausen to Frederick V, Warsaw, 24 March 1759, unfoliated.

The Baldan copy of *Jahel* preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin shows clear signs of having been prepared for performance in Warsaw in 1758 or 1759.⁷⁸ The names of Mniszech, 'Berregard', Pasqualini and Caselli are found written in pencil at the head of some of the arias in the score, but not all. According to the somewhat confusing distribution of the roles, Pasqualini sang Barak, while Maria Amalia sang at least one aria of Deborah. These two characters come together in a virtuosic final duet, 'Fugato jam maerore', which could be the one Wackerbarth described in his letter to Friedrich Christian. The final aria for the character Haber, 'In valle, in monte', sung by countess Henriette Friederike Berregaard (née von Büнау), widow of the Danish ambassador Frederik Berregaard, who passed away in Warsaw in October 1757, contains a delightful keyboard solo part that Wackerbarth may have had in mind when he singled out the accompaniment of Alois Friedrich.

If, indeed, it was *Jahel* that was performed on the first Sunday after Easter 1759, the question remains as to why Wackerbarth did not refer to Berregaard in his letter. Perhaps he simply did not warm to her singing. But this was not the only role Berregaard sang in Warsaw. She is listed also as one of the singers in the Baldan copy of Galuppi's *Attalo* (Padua, 1755),⁷⁹ along with Maria Amalia, Pasqualini, Caselli and 'Princesse Miecznik (sword-bearer)', which refers to either princess Anna Zofia Lubomirska (died March 1759), consort of Antoni Benedykt Lubomirski, sword-bearer of the Polish crown, or princess Maria Karolina Radziwiłłowa, consort of Karol Radziwiłł, sword-bearer of the Lithuanian crown. The performance of *Attalo* must have taken place in Warsaw at some point prior to 26 May 1759. On that day Berregaard entered into a new marriage: to the ambassador of the United Kingdom to Poland and Saxony, David Murray, 2nd earl of Mansfield and viscount of Stormont.

The picture that emerges from these sources suggests that Maria Amalia was the driving force behind the private music-making at her father's residence, where all the latest music from Italy was performed by the countess and other *dilettanti*, plus Pasqualini and Caselli. Indeed, following her departure for Italy in June 1759, reports of concerts held in the chambers of Brühl cease until her return to Warsaw exactly one year later.

'UN PACQUET DE MUSIQUE POUR M[ONSEIGNEUR]^R
DE KOENIG POUR LE SERVICE DU ROI'

Two years after arriving in his kingdom, August III was finally able to enjoy a new work by Hasse, when the serenata *Il sogno di Scipione* was performed on the king's birthday, 7 October 1758. No opera was produced during carnival the follow-

78 D-B, Mus.ms. 6950. It is not clear when or how this copy arrived in Berlin, for it was never registered in any of the historic catalogues of the royal collection in Dresden. A Baldan copy of a Mass by Vincenzo Ciampi, once part of the collection of the Dresden court church, is held in the same library: D-B, Mus.ms. 3609.

79 D-LEu, N.I. 10266.

ing year, but the performance of Hasse's *Nitteti* on the king's name-day, 3 August 1759, launched what would become regular operatic productions in Warsaw for the remainder of the court's stay in the city. With the presentation of Hasse's *Demofonte* on the birthday of August III in October, normal service was resumed. Meanwhile, Baldan was busy preparing another consignment, following another large order placed by Koenig. This was forwarded by Minelli to Warsaw on 10 October, but when the package failed to arrive with other letters sent on the same day, Rossi wrote to Pezold in Vienna, fearing that it had been left behind:

[...] M[onseigneur]^r le C[on]te de Minelli y avoit joint un paquet de Musique pour M[onseigneur]^r de Koenig pour le service du Roi, je crois que cette expedition se trouve peut être arrêtée à Vienne dans la soupçon qu'il y ait autre chose que tout ce dont je viens de vous faire le detail [...]⁸⁰

Rossi's enquiry to Minelli on the same day refers to the 'grandezza del pacchetto, che l'avranno reso grosso le Musiche per il Sig[no]^{re} de Kenig [...]'.⁸¹ We can only speculate what was included in this large parcel – which arrived safely one week later – but it must have contained yet another batch of liturgical works and some, if not all, of the five Baldan copies dated 1758, in addition to a complete opera – perhaps Galuppi's *Demofonte* (Padua, 1758), another copy of secure Warsaw provenance.⁸² Is it possible that the *Requiem* performed on 17 November 1759 arrived together with this package?

No direct payments to either Baldan or Galuppi can be traced in the sources, and the accounts for the years 1758–61 are missing. For the entire duration of the Seven Years' War, Minelli received no salary from the Saxon coffers: he merely received seven payments from the Polish Reise-Hoff-Cassa to cover his expenses in Venice during the whole of that period. But when it comes to the two large consignments in 1758 and 1759, it is noteworthy that the payments were made in close proximity to the dates when the music was delivered: first, a total of 1,486 thalers was paid to Minelli in two instalments on 29 March and 3 June 1758; second, he received 1,500 thalers on 5 December 1759.⁸³ In the absence of itemised payment slips, these seem to be, in part, reimbursements to Minelli for the music prepared by Baldan. But already by then Minelli would have settled the invoices from the copyist by drawing on his seemingly endless credit with the Venetian bankers.

80 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 659/03, cit., Rossi to Pezold, Warsaw, 24 October 1759, fol. 249b.

81 Loc. cit., Rossi to Minelli, Warsaw, 24 October 1759, fols. 249b–250a.

82 D-Dl, Mus. 2973-F-8.

83 'Aus der Königl[iche]: Reise-Hoff-Cassa sind in Warschau vor auswärtige Hr: Gesanden *Legations*-Räthe und *Secretarien* bezahlet worden, als: [...] Hr: Graf Minelli allda [...]; D-Dla, 10036 Finanzarchiv, loc. 41654, Rep. 58, Vol. 3, Sect. 4, Lit. C, Nr. 0009a *Gesandtschaftsspesen, 1754–1765*, undated, mid-1763, unfoliated.

One day after Rossi wrote the two letters, Koenig was appointed Vice-Directeur des plaisirs in appreciation of his services. It was no coincidence that he was handed the certificate on the same day that the Baldan shipment arrived in Warsaw: the two were explicitly linked. In effect, Koenig had managed to rebuild from scratch the repertory of music for the regular church services of the king through the Galuppi purchases from Baldan, and he must have played an important role while Brühl was ambitiously striving to get the Warsaw opera up and running. Moreover, Koenig's new mandate makes it clear that one of his responsibilities was direction of the music:

[...] die, auf unsern befehl, aufzuführenden *theatralischen Repräsentationes* von *Opera*, und *Comedies*, Kirchen-Cammer-Taffel und andere *Concerts* mit zu *dirigiren* [...] ⁸⁴

This important document seems to answer speculation about who directed opera performances in Warsaw during this period. No evidence has been found in the sources examined for this study that Hasse travelled to Warsaw to personally oversee and direct productions of his operas between 1759 and 1761 (as has long been believed), and Rossi never refers to his presence in the city during this period. Planning for any journey made by the Ober-Kapellmeister to Poland was a logistic operation that would have left a clear trace in the multiple layers of the ministerial correspondence, as it did when Hasse finally travelled to Warsaw, in August 1762, at the specific command of the king.

Another composer whose name has been put forward as a possible director of the royal opera in Warsaw is the Italian Mattia Gerardi, a hypothesis based on what Ortrun Landmann believed was his handwriting in the Warsaw score of Hasse's *Nitteti*.⁸⁵ However, her identification has recently been refuted: the hand is clearly not his.⁸⁶ Gerardi did, however, compose the opera *Il vero omaggio* when the marriage of Alois Friedrich and Maria Klementyna finally took place in Krystynopol in January 1760, but it was only natural that the commission fell to this man, since he was Kapellmeister to the bride's father.⁸⁷ Suggestions that Gerardi was the music

84 'Decret vor den Legation-Rath von König, vermittelt das Ihre König[liche] Maj[estät] demselben zu dero Vice-Directeur des plaisirs, mit dem Rang eines Geheimen Legation-Rath allergnädigst erneuen'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 909/09 *Bestellung der Directeur des Plaisirs, 1733–1759*, decree signed by August III and Brühl, Warsaw, 25 October 1759, fols. 11a–12a; 'am 30. ejusd[em] dem H[er]rn Vice-Directeur von König zugestellt'; loc. cit., fol. 11a. Like Hasse in Dresden, Koenig was allocated a box at the opera house, which could be used for family, friends or servants.

85 A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze*, p. 193 n. 118.

86 See the RISM entry for Hasse's *Nitteti*, D-Dl, Mus. 2477-F-87: '[Anmerkung 2016:] Ortrun Landmann bestimmt neben Uhle zwei weitere Schreiberhände, die eine davon als die Hand Mattia Gerardis. Neben Uhle konnte bei erneuter Untersuchung der Quelle nur eine weitere Hand eruiert werden, die nicht mit der Schrift Gerardis übereinstimmt (siehe das als Autograph geführte Manuskript D-Dl, Mus. 2060-D-1)'.
87 On his return to Poland from Italy in 1759, Alois Friedrich arrived in Vienna with his sister Maria Amalia on 15 December 1759. While she stayed behind and left the Habsburg capital only in May 1760, Alois wasted no time, travelling via Kraków to Warsaw, where he arrived on 22 December. Four days later, he went to Krystynopol for his wedding.

director of Brühl's Kapelle are unfounded, and his name is not found in any archive sources connected with the prime minister.⁸⁸

So whose hand was it that made small alterations to recitatives in the Warsaw scores of Hasse's *L'Olimpiade* and *Semiramide*,⁸⁹ wrote out the text to some of the arias in *Nitteti* and supplied *both* music *and* text of the 'Doppo il Coro | Licenza | S[igno]^{re} Pascqualino' recitative at the end of that score?⁹⁰ This Italian hand is also seen in the Galuppi *Attalo* score, where it is responsible for adding the names of two of the 'Endimione' characters, Amore and Nice (the second name partly erased), to the opening aria, 'Lungi da te ben mio'. The scribe has obviously noticed that this was the same aria sung by Amore in the serenata. The link to 'Endimione' is further revealed by a closer look at the soprano part for Nice in the serenata, where the same hand has added a missing text ('umore in aria accolto') in the aria 'Benché copra al sole'.

From this we can assume that the person in question was closely involved with the preparation of the performances of Galuppi's 'Endimione' and *Attalo* and Hasse's *Nitteti*, *L'Olimpiade* and *Semiramide*, and/or participated as a musician in these works. This points directly to Pasqualini and Caselli, but the former can be excluded, since the known examples of his handwriting do not match the hand in question. That leaves the second man as the prime suspect: this suspicion is reinforced by what appears to be an autograph copy of the motet *Sit avernus in furore*, the heading for which reads: 'Caselli, pour Monsieur Pascqualino'.⁹¹

All the indications are that Caselli was much admired as a singer in Warsaw, and he might also have provided music lessons to members of the nobility. But late in 1759 he seems to have returned to Lucca, the city of his birth, where at the end of that year he is listed as a member of the Cappella Palatina.⁹² However, after the intervention of August III and the receipt of two letters written by 'Contessa di Brill' on behalf of the king, the authorities in Lucca gave Caselli permission in April 1760 to return to Warsaw for the remainder of that year. This concession was renewed annually after repeated requests by Brühl and Maria Amalia,⁹³ and the singer went on to reside in the Polish capital until April 1763, when he travelled to Dresden. Shortly thereafter, he returned to Lucca, where he died in 1792.

Caselli's eye for detail would have been helpful for the music director Koenig, whose hand is seen in only one of the Warsaw Hasse scores, *L'Olimpiade*, which,

88 A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze*, p. 243. See also U. Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer*, pp. 72, 356.

89 D-DI, Mus. 2477-F-84 – vol. 2, at p. 147; Mus. 2477-F-45 – vol. 2, at p. 3.

90 D-DI, Mus. 2477-F-87.

91 D-DI, Mus. 2366-E-1. A copy in the hand of an unknown scribe is held as Mus. 2366-E-1a.

92 Luigi Nerici, *Storia della musica in Lucca*, Lucca 1880 (= Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca 12), pp. 274, 365.

93 Almachilde Pellegrini, *Spettacoli lucchesi nei secoli 17.–19.*, Lucca 1914 (= Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca 14), pp. 418, 562. 'Contessa di Brill' is Brühl's consort, Maria Anna Franziska, who died in Warsaw in May 1762.

according to the RISM entry, is the *Dirigierpartitur* for the carnival production in 1761. This is perhaps the most intriguing of all the non-Baldan manuscripts with a Warsaw provenance, because it unlocks the mysterious identity of the Dresden copyist designated 'x6' by Ortrun Landmann.⁹⁴ He can be none other than Koenig, since this is the same scribe responsible for the text of the presentation copy of his *Nascita di Amalia* of 1750. Suddenly, a clear timeline appears for the existing copies he prepared, with Carl Heinrich Graun's *Cesare e Cleopatra* (Berlin, 1742) being the earliest known example of Koenig's hand in the Dresden collection,⁹⁵ while the last dated one is an anonymous bass aria inserted into Tommaso Traetta's opera *Buovo d'Antona* (Venice, 1759), performed in the Saxon capital in 1772.⁹⁶ The teacher-pupil connection suggested earlier in this article is further supported by the Koenig copies of Graun's 'Clavicembalo Solo' (Cv: XVIII:4)⁹⁷ and the unique source for that composer's keyboard concerto in D major (Cv: XIII:100), which is a set of five parts prepared for performance in Warsaw.⁹⁸ Nice little details connect the three sources notwithstanding the possible time-span of two or more decades: not only are they all in Koenig's hand, with use of the idiosyncratic spelling 'Graunn', but also the calligraphic 'C' seen on all three title pages is embellished in exactly the same way.

Koenig's hand matches that of some of the copies attributed to the scribe known in the literature as 'Copyist J.A. Hasse I'. I have not been able to examine all of these, but, judging from some of the examples available, these attributions need to be reassessed.⁹⁹ However, Koenig is clearly the copyist of the viola and bass parts of the partly autograph keyboard concerto in C major (Wq 20) by Carl Philipp Ema-

94 Ortrun Landmann, *Über das Musikerbe der Sächsischen Staatskapelle. Drei Studien zur Geschichte der Dresdner Hofkapelle und Hofoper anhand ihrer Quellenüberlieferung in der SLUB Dresden*, 2nd edn., Dresden 2010, pp. 178–179, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:14-qucosa-38515>, accessed 11 January 2020.

95 D-Dl, Mus. 2953-F-2. Koenig is the copyist for Act I and much of Acts II and III, alongside the scribe known as 'Copyist L. Leo I' (designated by the SLUB 'Copyist S-Dl-224'), whose hand shares certain features with that of Koenig. The opera must have been copied in Berlin, since the paper used is the same as for the sinfonia to *Rodelinda, regina de' Langobardi* (Berlin, 1741): D-Dl, Mus. 2953-F-22 – a copy in the hand of J.G. Sieber, a professional scribe active in the Prussian capital. The leather-bound volume of Graun's opera is identical in appearance to items in Maria Josepha's private collection, except for its unusual portrait format. At some point, the score ended up in Maria Antonia's collection.

96 D-Dl, Mus. 3262-F-1. The aria is 'Da una parte il cor mi dice'.

97 D-Dl, Mus. 2953-T-1.

98 D-Dl, Mus. 2953-O-8. I am grateful to Claudia Lubkoll, who advises me that the watermark is 'BRESLAV | CAMMERPAPPIER | 1752', a slight variation on the same paper common in the Warsaw sources, where the watermark is dated 1751. The concerto was first identified as being in the hand of 'Copyist J.A. Hasse I' in Annegret Rosenmüller, *Die Überlieferung der Clavierkonzerte in der Königlichen Privatmusikaliensammlung zu Dresden im letzten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Eisenach 2002 (= *Schriften zur Mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte* 5), pp. 105, 110, 298.

99 For example, a *Sinfonia* (A:XII:6) attributed to Johann Gottlieb Graun and today held in Stockholm (S-Skma, Od-R) is listed in RISM as being in the hand of 'Copyist J.A. Hasse I', but is in fact the work of 'Copyist L. Leo I'. The hands of these two scribes have been mistaken for being the same; see Eva Renate Wutta (née Blechschmidt), *Quellen der Bach-Tradition in der Berliner Amalien-Bibliothek*, Tutzing 1989, pp. 229–230.

nuel Bach,¹⁰⁰ which places him in the Prussian capital in the early 1740s. He is also responsible for a copy of Hasse's *L'eroe cinese* (Hubertusburg, 1753), once part of the important music collection of Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia,¹⁰¹ and for a reduced (two-stave) score of this composer's *L'Olimpiade* today held in Berlin.¹⁰² Might the last-mentioned source have been the copy he used during rehearsals in Warsaw?

Finally, it is now possible to identify Christian Friedrich Horn as the important scribe referred to by RISM as 'S-DI-056', who copied numerous scores and parts in Warsaw, in addition to preparing the labels affixed to the blue-grey covers enclosing the Galuppi–Baldan manuscripts. Of special interest in this connection are three overtures by Antonio Lotti (to *Polidoro*, *Teofane* and *Giove in Argo*)¹⁰³ and a symphony in G major by Joseph Haydn (H 1,18) copied by this scribe in Warsaw,¹⁰⁴ which afford us a rare glimpse of the instrumental music performed in that city during the Seven Years' War.¹⁰⁵ Sadly, only one composition by Horn seems to have been preserved,¹⁰⁶ but Brühl's account books show that the concertmaster was often paid for his copying services. The identification of his hand was made possible through a setting of *Salve Regina* by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, which was copied on a Roman paper by a Dresden scribe during Friedrich Christian's sojourn in the Eternal City in 1739. The only professional musician in the retinue of the prince was the young Christian Friedrich Horn, and this led Claudio Bacciagaluppi to pose the question if it was the violinist who was the copyist of the Pergolesi score.¹⁰⁷ In addition to the

100 D-B, Mus.ms. Bach St 493. Koenig also prepared a set of parts for Johann Christian Bach's keyboard concerto in E major (WArb C Inc 6; Ty 300/4): D-DI, Mus. 3374-O-3.

101 D-B, Am.B 313.

102 D-B, Mus.ms. 10003.

103 D-DI, Mus. 2159-N-1; Mus. 2159-N-2; Mus. 2159-F-4a. The watermark in the *Polidoro* and *Giove in Argo* copies is the 'BRESLAV | CAMMERPAPPIER | 1751' type, while the *Teofane* set of parts employs the 'Madonna mit Jesuskind' type also used in Warsaw.

104 D-DI, Mus. 3356-F-18. The watermark is the 'BRESLAV | CAMMERPAPPIER | 1751' type. For further discussion on the Lotti and Haydn sources see Steffen Voss, 'Erinnerungen an glückliche Tage: Instrumentalmusik der Warschauer Hofkapelle im Bestand der "Schank II"-Sammlung der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden', *Barok* 41 (2014) no. 1, pp. 245–249.

105 Another work copied and performed in Warsaw is the *Sinfonia* for two violins, viola and bass (OttNe G5) by the Hofkapelle composer and violinist Johann Baptist Georg Neruda, today preserved in Berlin as part of the Sing-Akademie collection: D-Bsa, SA 3883. The watermark is the 'BRESLAV | CAMMERPAPPIER | 1751' type.

106 D-DI, Mus. 2726-O-1. Today, RISM tentatively attributes this violin concerto to the Dresden Jagd-Pfeiffer Johann Ludwig Horn (c.1718–45), but the music is almost certainly composed by his brother Christian Friedrich. This concerto is listed in the Breitkopf sale catalogue of 1762: *Concerti a Violino* | IV. Concerti di HORN. | [number] I. a Viol. Conc. 2 Viol. V. B.; *Catalogo dei Soli, Duetti, Trii e Concerti per il Violino*, Parte II, [Leipzig] 1762, p. 34. The music of Christian Friedrich was regularly advertised by the Breitkopf firm during this period. See also Manfred Fechner, *Studien zur Dresdner Überlieferung von Instrumentalkonzerten Deutscher Komponisten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Laaber 1998 (= *Dresdner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 2), pp. 213–214.

107 D-DI, Mus. 3005-D-12a. See: Claudio Bacciagaluppi, *Rom, Prag, Dresden: Pergolesi und die Neapolitanische Messe in Europa*, Kassel 2010 (= *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 14), pp. 169–171. Harrer, who travelled to Italy in 1739, first arrived in Rome in July or August that year; the Pergolesi score is not in his hand.

identical lettering of 'V', 'S' and 'P', the formation of the G clefs and the numbers, the most obvious similarities between this copy and the manuscripts copied in Dresden and Warsaw is the distinctive final flourish; this feature is remarkably consistent throughout the years.¹⁰⁸

‘OVE DENTRO V’ERA UNA ARIA DEL BURANELLO’

The musical references in Rossi's diplomatic correspondence between 1760 and 1762 centre around the reception of the operas, the arrival of new singers, acknowledgments for the receipt of music from Roccattani for Maria Amalia and arrangements for the relevant payment. The countess had returned to Warsaw late in May 1760 after a journey that had taken her and Alois Friedrich to Rome. While there, she picked up copies of music but left Roccattani to pay the bill. He later had difficulties getting reimbursed but continued to send arias to the countess.¹⁰⁹ The last recorded delivery of music from Roccattani occurred in August 1761. He died in Rome in November 1762.

No information can be found in Rossi's letters about the sending of further parcels of music from Venice to Warsaw, but some time after Galuppi's second version of *Adriano in Siria* was premiered at the Teatro S. Luca in Venice during the Ascension season of 1760, Minelli forwarded a copy of this opera to Poland.¹¹⁰ Musical manu-

108 The manuscripts prepared by Horn (as S-DI-056) in Dresden in the years before the Seven Years' War include the first Act of Ferdinando Bertoni's *Sesostri*, performed at Brühl's theatre in Dresden on the birthday of Friedrich Christian, 5 September 1754 (D-DI, Mus. 3125-F-7 14), and the title page and overture to Antonio Gaetano Pampani's *Astianatte* (D-DI, Mus. 2777-F-1). When this copy was bound in leather some time in the late eighteenth century, it was mistakenly labelled on the spine as being the work of Galuppi; as a result, it was listed among his compositions in the royal catalogues in Dresden and later in Robert Eitner, *Biographisches-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Urzeit bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 4, Leipzig 1901, p. 139. This mistake was later rectified by replacing the name of Galuppi on the spine with that of Pampani.

109 'La compiegata per S[ignora] E[ccellenza]: la Sig[no]ra Contessa Mniszeck contiene un'Aria posta in Musica da Buranello o sia Galuppi, e che qui si crede una cosa ottima'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 659/06 *Briefe von Alessandro Roccattani zu Rom an den Rat de Rossi, 1761*, Roccattani to Rossi, Rome, 10 January 1761, fol. 182. One month later the aria was received in Warsaw: 'Gli ho accusato la ricevuta della lett[er]a p[er] la Sig[no]ra Contessa di Mniszek, ove dentro v'era una aria del Buranello'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 749/10 *Minutario, per ordine del Consigliere de Rossi eseguito, 1760–1762*, Rossi to Roccattani, Warsaw, 7 February 1761, unfoliated. It is not clear to which composer Roccattani referred when he sent an aria in July: 'Eccogli una Musica per S[ignora] E[ccellenza] la Sig[no]ra Contessa Mniszeck glie la Umilij in mio Nome, e si facci dire quando l'avrà fatta copiare in carta grande se gli pare buona perche posso averne delle altre cioè del Med[esim]o Autore'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 659/06, cit., Roccattani to Rossi, Rome, 10 July 1761, fol. 75b; 'l'altro per la Sig[no]ra Contessa Mniszeck non contiene che un Aria'; loc. cit., Roccattani to Rossi, Rome, 29 August 1761, fol. 65a. The agent sent not only music but also violin strings: 'Parmi avergli scritto nell'Ord[inari]o scorso d'aver consegnato al Sig[no]re Conte Krasicki due diversi pachetti di Corde di Violino dentro una scatolina'; loc. cit., Roccattani to Rossi, Rome, 15 August 1761, fol. 59b.

110 D-DI, Mus. 2973-F-7. Interleaved between the pages of the score are three little slips of paper in the composer's hand that convey instructions regarding transposition to Baldan and his copyist.

scripts kept on arriving in Warsaw that summer. In August, Koenig arranged for the Hofkapelle composer and viola player Johann Adam to send copies from Dresden.¹¹¹ The bill was paid out of Brühl's Dresden account, so the music may have been intended for the personal use of the prime minister or his daughter. Minelli continued to forward music from Venice, and in June 1760 he sent a parcel on behalf of Hasse to Maria Antonia, then in Munich with Friedrich Christian, that possibly contained arias from the Naples setting of his *Artaserse*.¹¹² The exchange of letters between Minelli and Wackerbarth shows that the composer was still in Venice late in June, but by early July he had arrived in Vienna. While there, he sent music, possibly the *Artaserse* arias, to Warsaw via Pezold, as confirmed by Brühl's receipt of the 'beyde letztere *Depechen* vom 9. u[nd] 12. *huj[us]* so wohl als den richtigen Empfang der *Hassischen Musicalien*'.¹¹³ The fact that Hasse was in Venice in June and was later sending music from Vienna to Warsaw so close to the premiere of *Artaserse* on 3 August excludes the possibility that he visited Warsaw during that period or directed the opera, as was earlier speculated.¹¹⁴ Moreover, no arrangements were made in Vienna for Hasse's travel to Poland by either Pezold or the Saxon ambassador to Austria, Count Karl Georg Friedrich von Flemming, and the two men made no references to the composer or any planned journey of his to Warsaw in their letters to Brühl at that time.¹¹⁵

One of the singers in *Artaserse* was the soprano castrato Antonio Mariottini, who came highly recommended by Cardinal Albani despite his young age. Shortly after

- 111 '14. [thaler] | 4. [groschen] | den Königliche *Ballet Composit[eur] Adam*, vor verschiedentlich an d[er] H[err]en Legat[ions] Rath v[on] Koenig noch im Aug[ust] 1760. gelieferte *Musicalien*'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 1402/11 *Gräflich Brühlsche Rechnungsbücher, Manual Einnahme und Ausgabe, 1758–1761*, fol. 197a.
- 112 'Questo Sig[nor]^c Mae[s]^{to} Hasse mi fa tennere l'Unito pacho de Musica per servizio della Nostra Adorabile P[ri]ncipessa'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 2814/07, cit., Minelli to Wackerbarth, Venice, 6 June 1760, unfoliated. One week later Wackerbarth acknowledged receipt of the music: 'Le paquet de M[onsieur]^r Hasse contenant quelques pieces de sa composition pour Mad[ame] la P[ri]ncesse. E[lle]t[or]a^{le} à fait beaucoup de plaisir à S[ua] A[lt]ezza R[egale]'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 3239/04 *An die königlich kurfürstlichen Gesandten erlassenen Circularia, 1759–1760*, Wackerbarth to Minelli, Munich, 14 June 1760, unfoliated. Minelli's reply shows that Wackerbarth had forwarded a letter, probably from Maria Antonia, to Hasse: 'All'umanissimo foglio di Vostra Eccellenza 14. cor[en]^{te} che hò l'onore di ricevere in quest'oggi con la annessavi, per questo Sig[no]^{re} Maestro Hasse, al quale tosto gle la hò fattò tennere in proprie mani'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 2814/07, cit., Minelli to Wackerbarth, Venice, 20 June 1760, unfoliated.
- 113 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 3342/08 *Ministerialdepeschen an den Residenten zu Wien, von Petzold, 1760*, Brühl to Pezold, Warsaw, 19 July 1760, fol. 138a.
- 114 A. Żórawska-Witkowska, 'I drammi', p. 137.
- 115 No archive sources or records place Hasse in Warsaw during this time. A letter written by Giammaria Ortes, dated Venice, 26 July 1760, is addressed to the composer in Vienna, and would have arrived by post in the Habsburg capital about one week later, around the time *Artaserse* was being premiered in Warsaw. It is well documented in the literature that Ortes was one of the closest friends of the Hasse family, and he would have known if the composer had planned to travel to Poland. In addition, Ortes specifically asks Hasse about certain Viennese affairs in his letter. See Livia Pancini (ed.), *Johann Adolf Hasse e Giammaria Ortes. Lettere (1760–1783)*, Turnhout 1998, pp. 67–69. Earlier that year, Hasse had received a commission from the imperial court to write the music for the wedding of Archduke Joseph to Princess Isabella of Parma. The opera, *Alcide al bivio*, was premiered in Vienna on 7 October 1760.

his arrival in Warsaw, this singer performed for the Brühl family and later for the king, as so vividly described by Rossi:

Essendo il Sig[no]^{re} Can[oni]^{co} Doddi giunto felicem[en]^{te} qui à Vars[avi]^a la D[o]m[en]ica mezzo dì col S[igno]^{re} Mariottini, li ho fatto smontare alla Casa mia, ove si sono contentati di restar serviti con due pranzi quel giorno, e il susseguente, fin che jeri abbia potuto esser regolato il loro vitto; non mancherò di farli assistere di tutt'il bisognovole, per attestar in essi la servitù che à V[ostra] E[ccellenza] professo, nel presentar poi l'istessa D[ome]n[i]ca doppo pranzo il Sig[no]^{re} Mariottini alle LL[loro] E[ccellenze] il Sig[no]^{re} C[on]^{te} P[rimo] M[inistro], S[igno]^{ra} Contessa sua sposa, e S[ignor]^a Contessa di Mniszeck, fù graziosam[en]^{te} accolto, e subito diede saggio quel giorno della sua capacità e talento, come pure fù messo alla prova jeri il giorno, ove all'improvviso cantò francam[en]^{te} la parte destinatagli per l'artaserse, e si raccomandò m[ol]^{to} bene, venardi canterà egli in Chiesa de' P[ad]ri Reformati, ove la M[aestà] S[ua] assistendo alla festività di S. Ant[oni]^o sentirà il di lui Mottetto [...] ¹¹⁶

The premiere of Hasse's third version of *Artaserse* took place in the shadow of the Prussian bombardment of Dresden. Despite the devastating reports from Saxony, the king put on a brave face and attended the opera, where Mariottini's brilliant performance in the role of Semira was praised by both Brühl and Rossi.¹¹⁷ This singer, who had been accompanied to Warsaw by his vocal coach, Fr. Domenico Doddi of Cortona, was only sixteen years old when he arrived in Poland. Mariottini went on to have a distinguished career as a singer and teacher in Dresden, where he died in January 1801.

Another singer whose arrival in Warsaw was reported in some detail was the soprano castrato Luca Fabri, whom Brühl intended to hire as a singer for his private Kapelle. In April 1762 the prime minister gave orders to Pezold in Vienna to advance funds for the singer 'qui est à mon service' so that he could continue his journey to Warsaw.¹¹⁸ This must be the 'Lucchini' described by Rossi as a 'virtuoso of his majesty', who was presented to Brühl and recommended to the 'Direttore della Musica' Koenig before meeting with the king.¹¹⁹ In September 1762 Fabri was once again described by Rossi as a musician in the service of August III:

¹¹⁶ D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 749/10, cit., Rossi to Albani, Warsaw, 11 June 1760, unfoliated.

¹¹⁷ 'S[ua] M[aestà] gode d'un ottima salute e si va svariando tanto coll'opera di Artaserse, ove briglia [brilla] il Sig[no]^{re} Mariottini da Semira, quanto col tiro, per sollevarsi dalle angustie correnti'; loc. cit., Rossi to Albani, Warsaw, 7 August 1760, unfoliated.

¹¹⁸ 'Ayant appris, que Vous avez eù la politesse d'avancer 35. Ducats au Chanteur Fabri, qui est à mon service, et qui sans ce secours n'auroit pas pù continuer sa route'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 3342/10 *Ministerialdepeschen an den Residenten zu Wien, von Petzold, 1762*, Brühl to Pezold, Warsaw, 24 April 1762, fol. 85a.

¹¹⁹ 'È arrivato felicem[en]^{te} il Sig[no]^{re} Lucchini, Virtuoso di S[ua] M[aestà] che mi presento il grazioso [presentò il grazioso] foglio di V[ostra] E[ccellenza], io non mancai di offrirmi gli prontam[en]^{te} à tutto che poteva dipender da me per servirlo, avendolo presentato à S[ua] E[ccellenza] il Sig[no]^{re} C[on]^{te} Primo Ministro, e raccomandato al Direttore della Musica, i quali glie ne avranno tutta la cura, anche la M[aestà] S[ua] si è degnata d'accoglierlo M[ol]^{to} benignam[en]^{te}'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 749/10, cit., Rossi to Albani, Warsaw, 5 May 1762, unfoliated.

Occorendomi di far piacere à questo musico di S[ua] M[aestà] il Sig[no]^{re} Luca Fabri col far rimettere al più presto cento scudi à cotesto Sig[no]^{re} D[on] Antonio Aurisichio Maestro di Capella della Regia Chiesa di S. Giacomo de Spagnoli, supplico V[ost]ra R[iverenza] d'aver la bontà à levar i sopradetti cento scudi dai mille, ch'ella ritiene ancora essendo, che qui mi fù sborzato l'equivalente.¹²⁰

This passage is interesting for the connection suggested between Fabri and Aurisichio, the former possibly being the pupil of the latter. But the large sum paid, 100 scudi, raises questions: this could hardly have been for copies of music, considering that this amount would have bought 10 Roman operas in manuscript. Perhaps the composer assisted the singer with travelling costs and sent music from his operas as well. According to Robert Eitner, the royal Dresden library once held 88 partbooks containing arias by Aurisichio, but these are now missing.¹²¹

In August 1762 Hasse finally received orders from August III to travel to Warsaw. This is documented in a letter from Brühl to Pezold where detailed instructions are given for the planning of Hasse's departure, reimbursement for expenses he had incurred and payments to Faustina, who was to remain in Vienna:

M[onsieu]^r Hasse ayant reçu ordre de venir à Varsovie, je Vous prie, Monsieur, de lui faire payer d'abord la somme de deux cent Ducats pour son voyage, et comme sa famille reste à Vienne, le Roi à ordonné qu'il soit payé chaque mois à commencer du mois prochaine, deux cent florins d'Allemagne, à Mad[a]^{me} Hasse. Vous m'obligerez, Monsieur, en arrangeant tout ce ci, soit avec M[onsieu]^r le Baron Riesch, soit avec le Marchand Kummer, parceque ou l'un ou l'autre doit avoir de l'argent en Main pour le compte de la Cour. Il est necessaire aussi, que Vous fassiez rembourser à M[onsieu]^r Hasse, par le même Canal, la somme de 157. florins de'Allemagne qu'il a déboursé pour le service de la Cour.¹²²

On 18 September the composer and his eldest daughter Maria Gioseffa (Peppina) left Vienna for the Polish capital, where they arrived around one week later.¹²³ This would have allowed Hasse to take charge of the two remaining performances, on 28 September and 1 October, of his opera *Il trionfo di Clelia*, which had initially been presented on 3 August before going on a record-breaking run of seventeen perfor-

120 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 749/10, cit., Rossi to Fr. Comolli, Warsaw, 25 September 1762, unfoliated.

121 Unfortunately, these arias were not catalogued by the Dresden library before 1945 and their present whereabouts are unknown. I am grateful to Karl W. Geck and Sylvie Reinelt for their detailed replies to my enquiries. Four copies of arias from Aurisichio's *Andromaca* (Rome, 1753) are held by the SLUB.

122 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 3342/10, cit., Brühl to Pezold, Warsaw, 14 August 1762, fol. 170a–b.

123 'PS Der Capell Director Hasse ist heute Mittag in Begleitung von seiner ältesten Tochter von hie abgereiset; Es ist ihm sich auf den Weg zu machen nicht mögl[ich] gewesen, dagegen aber wird er nunmehr seine dortige ankunft so viel es nur immer seine Gesundheits Umständ gestatten, zu beschleunigen sich bestreben'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 3341/04 *Von der Gesandtschaft zu Wien Schreiben an des Grafen von Brühl Exzellenz, 1762*, Pezold to Brühl, Vienna, 18 September 1762, fol. 212a. The rest of Pezold's letter discusses payments to Faustina and other outlays. I am very grateful to Herbert Seifert for transcribing this scarcely legible letter.

mances. And after less than two weeks of rehearsals Hasse directed a revised version of his opera *Il re pastore* on August III's birthday, 7 October. The presence of the world-famous composer almost certainly played a part in the opera's great success, as did the superb cast of singers and a first-rate group of ballet dancers assembled by Brühl for the king.¹²⁴ At that moment in time, the royal opera in Warsaw reached its apogee and could rival in excellence most theatres in Europe.

THE DRESDEN GALUPPIANA

The signing of the Treaty of Hubertusburg in February 1763 signalled the end of the fateful Seven Years' War. In Warsaw preparations for the return to Dresden began. Extensive passenger lists show that most of the musicians returned to Saxony, but some decided to stay behind. Detailed packing lists document the careful planning for the departure, each box, coffer or trunk being tagged with a number and/or the initials of the owner, the person responsible for the content or the respective department. With the assistance of his aides, Koenig prepared for transport the numerous volumes of music that had been collected, copied and composed in Warsaw: the scores and parts of the operas and oratorios by Hasse, Baldan's copies of the sacred and secular works by Galuppi and his contemporaries, plus many other works, arias and chamber music for which we possess no record. Most of the manuscripts were enclosed in blue-grey covers to which labels of different shapes and sizes were affixed, listing the title of the work, composer and setting and/or key: the inventory numbers written by Uhle on the covers of the liturgical works may have been added around this time. The manuscripts were then collected in bundles of convenient sizes and tied together with string, following which the score at the top of the pile was marked with the initials of the king: 'AR'.¹²⁵ These bundles were then placed in five solid chests marked up for transport, the freight waggons departing from Warsaw on 15 April: '5. *emb*[allage] *Kisten* *gez*[eichnet] *A*[ugustus]*R*[ex] *F*[riedrich]*A*[ugust] *v*[on] *K*[oenig] *von* *N*[umer]o. 2. bis 6. an den Hr. *Vice Directeur des plaisirs v*[on]

124 When Hasse's *Arminio* was premiered on 3 August 1761, Rossi was especially pleased with the dancers: 'la quale [opera dell'Arminio] fù divisa nei loro atti con due Balli assai belli eseguiti dal famoso Ballerino Reale Pitro, e dalla Prima Ballarina André con altri 10. anche rinomati Ballerini, che p[er] quest'occasione sono venuti à Vars[avi]a, il divertimento piacque sommam[en]te à S[ua] M[aestà] e durò fin à un ora doppio mezza notte, e ogniuno fù del tutto contento'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 749/10, cit., Rossi to Albani, Warsaw, 5 August 1761, unfoliated. By spring 1762 Antoine Pitrot had left Warsaw, but Caterina André remained.

125 A good example is the cover to Galuppi's *Messa G-dur a 4. Voce*, D-Dl, Mus. 2973-D-6, where the string has left a clear mark on the cover and the writing on the affixed label. 'AR' is the customary mark used by the Oberhofmarschallamt when transporting items belonging to the court. This mark confirms that the blue-grey covers were prepared in Warsaw – and not in Dresden, as has been suggested by some scholars.

Koenig.¹²⁶ The harpsichord belonging to the king was tagged in similar fashion,¹²⁷ while the three instruments owned by Koenig, a harpsichord, violoncello and violin, were marked with his initials alone.¹²⁸ In this way, the officers of the Oberhofmarschallamt kept track of every item shipped.

On 30 April August III arrived back in Dresden to find more than half of his beloved city in ruins, hundreds of houses, churches, official buildings and palaces having been destroyed or damaged. The instrument collection and musical archive of the court had perished, so that future generations were robbed of its untold riches. According to Koenig, most of the musical manuscripts of Brühl's library had gone up in flames,¹²⁹ and the prime minister's palace had been ransacked after being used as a military hospital by the Prussians. In the process Koenig lost all of his possessions that had not been sent to Warsaw. His library, which had been placed in storage elsewhere, was destroyed. Brühl, whose palaces and estates were systematically plundered or destroyed on the orders of Friedrich II, may have felt partly responsible for Koenig's disaster, and when the prime minister prepared his last will and testament in 1762, he bequeathed 9000 thalers to his faithful secretary and music director.¹³⁰

Almost immediately after the return to Saxony, the first steps were taken to restock the prime minister's music library. Payments recorded in his account books between May and August show Koenig and concertmaster Horn arranging for operas and arias to be copied and bought, while new instruments were purchased and others repaired. The new music was probably put to use in July when August III and Brühl, both sickly and frail, travelled to Teplitz (Teplice) in Bohemia to take the baths at the famous spa.¹³¹ During their sojourn, musical entertainments were provided by some

126 D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, I, Nr. 162a *Königliche Reisen nach Polen, 1756–1757 (April 1763)*, fols. 224a–225a. One of the freight waggons that left on 4 April carried '1. Coffre gez[eichnet] *Musicalien* | 1. Kästgen gez[eichnet] H[err] H[orn] } an den *Concert Meister Horn*', fol. 217b.

127 Loc. cit., fol. 221a.

128 Loc. cit., fol. 226b, fol. 229b. When the Hofkapelle double-bass player Georg Friedrich Kästner passed away in Dresden at the end of December 1758, Brühl suggested in jest to Maria Antonia that he be replaced by a certain 'le Roy', which is a play on Koenig's name: 'Votre Altesse Royale excusera pour un moment, si je suis glorieux d'avoir devine sa haute intention par rapport du Contre-Basse, puis que j'ay pris la liberté par la dernier ordinaire, de lui proposer le meme *le Roy*, qui est certainement un trouvail et peut être un de meilleurs en Europe'; D-Dla, 12528 Fürstennachlass Maria Antonia, Kurfürstin von Sachsen, Nr. 70f *Briefe des Minister Brühl, 1759*, Brühl to Maria Antonia, Warsaw, 31 January 1759, fol. 18b.

129 U. Kollmar, *Gottlob Harter (1703–1755)*, pp. 82–83. The remnants of Brühl's music collection were purchased, together with his vast library, by the Saxon electoral court in 1768.

130 '2.) Dem *Directeur des Plaisirs* von König von denen zur Gräff[ich] Brühl[sche] Verlaßenschafts-*Massa salvo jure cujuscumque extradirten Accis-Scheinen* so viel als zur Summe von Neun-Tausend Th[a]ll[e]r. erforderlich welche, dem Anführen nach ihm von dem verstorbenen *Cabinets-Ministre*, Herrn Grafen von Brühl, geschencket, verabfolget werden möchten'; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 950/10 *Die nach Ableben des Kabinettsministers Grafens von Brühl geschebene Obsignation und Taxation dessen Nachlasses, auch die daher sowohl dessen Erben als andern Personen von Zeit zu Zeit verabfolgten Barschaften und Effekten, 1763–1764*, 'Ordre', 23 January 1764, fol. 15b.

131 Documentation on this journey is consultable in D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, I, Nr. 156 *Königliche Reise nach Teplitz [Teplice], 1763*.

of the same musicians from the prime minister's Kapelle who had served in Warsaw. Countess Maria Amalia Mnischek was there, too, playing the keyboard and doubtless singing from her collection of Galuppi arias, while Koenig travelled back and forth in connection with planning for the upcoming production of Hasse's *Siroe*, having been promoted to the position of Directeur des plaisirs on 14 June 1763.¹³² All was not well, though. When *Siroe* was premiered on 3 August with the cast members who had returned from Warsaw, Brühl took ill and had to leave after the first act. He never recovered fully and breathed his last on 28 October, only three weeks after August III suffered the stroke that led to his death on 5 October. Sadly, Friedrich Christian, who succeeded his father as Saxon elector, died only weeks later, on 17 December. His brother Xavier became administrator and co-regent with Maria Antonia until her eldest son came of age in 1768, as Elector Friedrich August III.

One of the first tasks of the new administration in Saxony was to call for a restructuring of the Hofkapelle, which had been severely depleted because of the departures and deaths of many of its members. On 9 January 1764 Xavier issued a decree to this effect whereby Koenig received unprecedented control over the affairs of the music and theatre and its personnel. This fascinating document lists in great detail his many responsibilities, one of which was to oversee personally the compiling of inventories of the church and instrumental music:

[...] daß die Kirchen *Musicalien* von denen *partien*, *Concerten*, *Symfonien* und dergleichen, *separiret*, jede *Classe* besonders zur *Inventur* gebracht, und erstere dem jedesmahligen Kirchen *Compositeur*, die andern aber dem *Concert-Meister*, nach denen *Inventariis*, davon ein *Exemplar* in seinen des *Directeur des Plaisirs*, das andere hingegen in des *resp[ectif]*: Kirchen-*Compositeurs* und *Concert-Meisters*, händen verbleibt, übergeben, und anvertrauet, so wohl-beÿden ein bequemer Plaz zum Aufbewalt, weshalb Wir seinen des *v[on] Koenig* ohnmaßgeb[lich] Vorschläge erwarten, eingeräumet werde.¹³³

Years would pass until the inventory of the instrumental music was undertaken,¹³⁴ but in November 1764 Schürer began compiling the catalogue of the sacred music. By 9 March 1765 two copies of the catalogue had already been assembled: one for Koenig and the other for Schürer – as clearly stipulated in the extract above – and a third fair copy was presented also to Maria Antonia.¹³⁵ Today the 'Catalogo 1765'

132 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 15132/01 *Die Bestellung des Directeur des Plaisirs, 1763*, fols. 1a–7b.

133 Loc. cit., fols. 8a–17b.

134 This is the now missing *Catalogo derer Musicalien in dem Schranke No II, worin Solo, Trio, Concerten, Ouverturen u. Pieçen sowohl vor die Cammer als Teatre sich befinden 1774*, olim D-Dl, Bibl.Arch.III.Hb, Vol. 791.

135 'Extract aus des *Directeur des Plaisirs*, König, unterthänigsten Vortrage, d.d. Dresden, den 26. Mart[ius]: 1765 [...] Ich habe von denen neuerl[ich] gefertigen 2. *Catalogis* des Churfürstliche] Kirchen-Music-Vorraths eine sauber geschriebene Copeÿ S[eine] Königl[iche] Hoheit der Churfürstin übergeben [...]; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 910/01 *Das kurfürstliche Orchester und dessen Unterhaltung, ingleichen das Große Opernhaus und andere zum Departement des Direktors des Plaisiers gehörige Angelegenheiten, 1711–1768*, fol. 82a–b. Extensive documentation on the assembling of the catalogue is given in Janice

remains the most important source of information on the sacred music composed and collected for use in the Catholic court church in Dresden during the reigns of August II and August III.¹³⁶ And, as we now know, this included around 85 liturgical works sent from Baldan's *copisteria* to Warsaw, among them 73 compositions attributed to Galuppi, some of which have turned out to be works by Vivaldi and others.

Because of the severe losses suffered by the Dresden State Library in 1945, when nearly all the parts listed in the 'Catalogo 1765' were removed to Russia, it is currently not possible to establish a full overview of the Baldan collection and its use in Warsaw and Dresden. While scores did indeed exist for most of the works, there were exceptions: for example, five alto motets attributed to Galuppi were listed only as a set of parts in 1765. The catalogue cards prepared by the library for these motets before 1945 show that the parts missing today numbered only eight or nine per work,¹³⁷ which, incidentally, gives us a welcome insight into the size of ensemble on occasions when the motets were performed in Warsaw churches in the presence of the king. Gaining access to the materials in Russia would answer many unresolved questions, but the current whereabouts of most of the manuscripts taken from the SLUB in 1945 are unknown.¹³⁸ However, the Russian National Museum of Music (formerly Glinka Museum of Musical Culture) in Moscow holds an important selection of currently missing Galuppi works originating from Dresden:¹³⁹ first, a set of parts from one of the *Requiem* settings; second, a Mass (score);¹⁴⁰ third, a Gloria in G major (score);¹⁴¹ fourth, an unspecified soprano aria; fifth, all the missing operas, 19 in total, including many that I believe to have a Warsaw–Brühl–Maria Amalia connection or provenance.

B. Stockigt, 'Musica Senza Nome dell'Autore: Anonymous Works Listed in the Music Catalogue of the Dresden Hofkirche, 1765', *Studi vivaldiani* 7 (2007), pp. 3–51. Stockigt suggested that by '2. Catalogis' two different catalogues were meant, with the second being the 1765 *Cursus annuus* personal inventory of Schürer's own works (D-B, Mus.ms.theor. Kat. 785), but she was unaware of the 1764 decree ensuring that two copies of the court's music catalogues were always kept in separate locations: a bitter lesson learned from the destruction of the musical archive in 1760.

136 The only existing copy of the *Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa composta Da diversi Autori secondo l'Alfabetto* is held in D-B, Mus.ms.theor. Kat. 186.

137 Olim D-DI, Mus. 2973-E-21 *Celsa platanus*; olim Mus. 2973-E-22 *Cor imbelle*; olim Mus. 2973-E-25 *Gentes barbaro*; olim Mus. 2973-E-28 *Lingue rupes*; olim Mus. 2973-E-35 *Turbo, procella*. 16 Galuppi motets with shelf-marks running from Mus. 2973-E-21 to E-36 are missing.

138 In 2018 the Russian State Library and the SLUB entered into a historic agreement allowing Dresden music materials held in Moscow to be digitised and made accessible through RISM and the websites of the two libraries. These include missing parts from Galuppi's duet 'Ne' giorni tuoi felici', once part of Maria Antonia's collection (olim D-DI, Mus. 1-F-14,2).

139 Inventory F 96.

140 It is not clear which Mass this is. Perhaps it is the score for the today missing 17 parts of a 'Messe solenne | a 4. con Strom. | D-dur', olim D-DI, Mus. 2953-D-II. The score was not catalogued in 1765, but the parts were listed under 'Schranck I; Fach 16; Lage 4'.

141 Olim D-DI, Mus. 2953-D-8. The 33 parts that once accompanied this score are missing.

At the end of the eighteenth-century the Galuppiana of the Dresden electoral library constituted over 230 items, an astonishing quantity that included:

- 23 operas,
- over 120 opera arias, duets and terzets,¹⁴²
- 14 keyboard sonatas and one concerto,
- 73 liturgical works from Baldan's *copisteria*, plus several copies of sections of the Mass prepared by Johann Gottlieb Naumann.

THE 'ENDIMIONE' SERENADA: FROM GALUPPI TO HASSE, AND BACK

Most of Galuppi's secular works appear in three separate catalogues assembled in one session in 1786 by the court organist Peter August, listing the private collections of elector Friedrich August III¹⁴³ and his late mother Maria Antonia.¹⁴⁴ (The catalogue for August III prepared by Peter August at the same time does not contain any work by the composer). The third catalogue lists manuscripts that passed into the royal collection from Koenig around 1782.¹⁴⁵ It is important to note that these were not scores and parts *owned* by Koenig, but copies of music that he had taken into his custody after the return from Warsaw in 1763 and subsequently. This catalogue lists works by Hasse and Galuppi that were either performed or received in the Polish capital during the Seven Years' War, including Galuppi's *Sesostri*, *Atalo*, *Adriano in Siria*, *Demofonte* and the *Serenada*; see Fig. 1. Some time before handing over the 'Endimione' serenata, Koenig had placed the unmarked set of parts in a leather-bound case labelled 'Serenade', which was then deposited in a newly built music cupboard in the elector's chambers.¹⁴⁶ But when Koenig passed

¹⁴² With only a couple of exceptions, this impressive selection is still preserved in the SLUB. Some arias are in duplicate, in cases where a Dresden score has been made from an Italian copy. It seems clear that a large portion of the arias once formed part of Brühl's private collection, and some items are indeed marked 'B' in pencil. Today the RISM entries for all of these arias assign them indiscriminately to the collection of Maria Antonia. Six arias from Galuppi's *Alessandro nelle Indie*, all from the Baldan *copisteria* and in small format (D-DI, Mus. 2973-F-6,1-4, 6; Mus. 2973-F-31,6), may have been included in the consignments to Warsaw. They are all marked in pencil 'K', a possible reference to Koenig. 37 Galuppi arias in 'piccolo' format in the hands of copyists from Rome, Naples and Venice form part of the collection in the SLUB. The provenance of the rest of the collection is rich and diverse; it includes arias that Maria Antonia brought with her from Munich in 1747.

¹⁴³ D-DI, Bibl.Arch.III.Hb,Vol.787.g,1 *CATALOGO della MUSICA di S.A.S. FEDERICO AUGUSTO Elettore di Sassonia*. After Peter August's death, in February 1787, the catalogue was continued by others scribes until c.1820.

¹⁴⁴ D-DI, Bibl.Arch.III.Hb,Vol.787.g,3 *CATALOGO della MUSICA, e de' Libretti di S.A.R. MARIA ANTONIA*.

¹⁴⁵ D-DI, Bibl.Arch.III.Hb,Vol.787.g,4 *CATALOGO della MUSICA, e de' Libretti consegnate da Mr. de Koenig*.

¹⁴⁶ 'Schränk 5 | Fach 1'; loc. cit., p. 147. According to this catalogue, the four operas were inserted into Maria Antonia's Galuppiana collection at 'S[chränk] 3 | F[ach] 4.'. An account sheet prepared by Koenig on 8 April 1782, listing the previous six months' expenses relating to the electoral orchestra, records a payment of 21

away, in 1792, knowledge about the author of the serenata and its provenance faded into oblivion.

5.	1.	Serenada			Galuppi
3.	4.	Sesostri	Drama. 1738.	3 Lib. X	"
3.	4.	Attalo		pag. 126.	"
3.	4.	Adriano in Siria		pag. 126.	"
3.	4.	Demofonte		pag. 126	"

Fig. 1. *CATALOGO della MUSICA, e de' Libretti consegnate da Mr. de Koenig* (detail), D-DI, Bibl.Arch.III.Hb, Vol.787.g.4; <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id425396673/1> (Public Domain Mark 1.0), p. 145 (new pagination)

Later, when all these collections had merged into the music library of the former elector, now king, of Saxony, Friedrich August I, the serenata could no longer be found under Galuppi's name in the catalogue prepared in 1810 or perhaps later.¹⁴⁷ But if we look more closely, we find the case listed as 'Serenada', where it is bracketed together with parts pertaining to the Warsaw works by Hasse.¹⁴⁸ Many years later, Anton Bernhard Fürstenau, custodian of the royal music library in the 1840s, prepared a new label on the spine of the case, which reads: 'Orchesterstimmen | Hasse Serenata'.

In 1906 Carl Mennicke published his great study of Hasse and the Graun brothers. It is somewhat ironic that the incipit he presented for 'Endimione'¹⁴⁹ came, in fact, from Galuppi's sinfonia to *Attalo*, as we now know to be the case. Later, when the holdings of the Dresden State Library were catalogued before World War II, 'Endimione' was given a shelf-mark identifying it as a work by Hasse. In his biography of the composer (2004), Raffaele Mellace provided an analysis of the music without questioning the serenata's authorship.¹⁵⁰ But cracks began to appear in the

thalers and 16 groschen to 'Tischlermeister, Müller, vor einen, zu denen *Musicalien*, in Ihre Churfürstl[ichen]: Durchl[eu]chtigster: zimmer, gefertigten großen Schranck, laut zeddel'. Also paid were the costs of moving the music collection of the late Maria Antonia into the chambers of the elector: '7. [thaler] | 6. [groschen] | an *Zimmermann*, vor *Transportirung* derer von Ihre Höchstseel[igen] Frau Churfürstin König[lichen] Hoheit hinterlassenen, und aus dem *Palais* in Ihre Churfürstl[ichen]: Durchl[eu]chtigster: zimmer gebrachte *Musicalien*, laut zeddel'; D-DIa, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 910/01, cit., fol. 135b.

147 D-DI, Bibl.Arch.III.Hb, Vol.787.i *CATALOGO della Musica, e de' Libretti di S. M. Augusto III. la quale si trova nella Biblioteca Musicale*.

148 'Schrank 7 | Fach 6 | Opera Seria | Opera Arminia | Ciro | Semiramide | Asteria | Artaserse | Il Re Pastore | Alcide al Bivio | Il Trionfo Clelia | Nitetti | Zenobia | Serenada } sammtliche Stimmen in Capseln | Hasse'; loc. cit., p. 34. The copy of Hasse's *Il sogno di Scipione* must be the one listed under 'Schrank 6 | Fach 5 | No. 43. Serenada', p. 30.

149 Carl Mennicke, *Hasse und die Brüder Graun als Symphoniker*, Leipzig 1906, p. 517.

150 Raffaele Mellace, *Johann Adolf Hasse*, Palermo 2004, pp. 295–296. In the updated German translation, the author added information about the two identified pieces by Galuppi in the serenata; see: Raffaele Mellace, *Johann Adolf Hasse*, Beeskow 2016, p. 253 n. 344.

attribution to Hasse during the cataloguing for RISM of the music collection of the University in Leipzig, where it was revealed that the *sinfonia* and the aria 'Lungi da te, ben mio' from Galuppi's *Attalo* matched the incipits to the same pieces in 'Endimione'. As a result, the work was reclassified by RISM as a *pasticcio*.

The *Attalo* revelations were quickly followed by Alina Żórawska-Witkowska's in-depth study on 'Endimione' and the possible circumstances surrounding the commission, composition and performance of the *serenata*, which, she argued, should be attributed solely to Hasse, since the two Galuppi inserts were only a minor modification.¹⁵¹

Żórawska-Witkowska's conclusions were based on her assessment of the archive sources available at the time, but from the outset there is a fundamental flaw in the principal argument for the attribution of 'Endimione' to Hasse. It is inconceivable that the Ober-Kapellmeister of the king of Poland and elector of Saxony would compose a work for, or in honour of, Brühl, since this would constitute a complete breach of protocol. During his thirty-year-long tenure as the 'primo maestro di cappella' of August III, Hasse composed works exclusively for members of the electoral and royal family: for their birthdays and name-days, marriages and other special occasions. Whenever his services were not required in Dresden – for example, when the court resided in Warsaw – his employment contract allowed him to take up assignments in the Italian opera houses, and during his sojourn in Vienna at the time of the Seven Years' War he composed both sacred and secular works for the imperial family. But he never wrote any compositions for other members or servants of the Dresden court or the Polish nobility.

Further evidence showing that the work could not have been composed for the occasion of the wedding announcement in April 1759 is displayed by the parts themselves, which exhibit an earlier form of Uhle's hand than that seen in his copy of the score of *Il sogno di Scipione* dating from October 1758. Indeed, it has been perceptively noted in the RISM entry that the 'Endimione' parts constitute an early example of his hand.

In May 2018 I presented the outline of my research to Michael Talbot and asked him to examine the music of 'Endimione', in light of my nagging suspicion that the attribution to Hasse was incorrect. Talbot's thoughtful and revealing reply strengthens the case for the music being composed by Galuppi:

I find the musical style consistent (I see no evidence that more than one composer was involved). The style is a little more advanced than I would expect for Hasse and conforms to what I would expect from Galuppi in the 1750s. It is 'early Classical' rather than *galant*. I therefore disagree with the opinion in the 'Bermerkungen' for the entry for Mus. 2477-L-5 in RISM that the music 'passt zu Hasses stilistischem Entwicklungsstand derselben Zeit'. There was frequently interchange of music, and even text, between *serenatas* and operas,

151 A. Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Endimione', pp. 25–32.

so the borrowings from Galuppi's *Attalo* do not surprise me, assuming that he was the composer. He, too, had already set *Alessandro nelle Indie* and therefore knew its text (although he did not borrow his existing music for the aria).¹⁵²

GALUPPI VISITS DRESDEN, 10 AUGUST 1765

On 9 June 1765, exactly three months after Schürer put his signature to the music catalogue of the Catholic court church, the Venetian Senate granted Galuppi leave to take up the position of Maestro di cappella at the court of Catherine the Great.¹⁵³ It can now be revealed that on his way to St Petersburg the composer visited Dresden,¹⁵⁴ the city where his music was so cherished and admired, to meet, finally, the members of the court he had hoped once to serve following the offer that never materialised in 1756. When, exactly, Galuppi arrived is not known, but Koenig, as Directeur des plaisirs, would have welcomed the composer in the same fashion that he received Mozart 24 years later. On 10 August 1765 Galuppi travelled to the Pillnitz palace just outside of Dresden, where the electoral family was in residence for the summer. News had reached Maria Antonia that the composer was expected, and on 8 August she had her personal harpsichord delivered by ship to Pillnitz in preparation for his arrival.¹⁵⁵ Two separate court diary entries document Galuppi's visit, each giving a short but wonderful insight into the extraordinary moment when the keyboard virtuoso performed for the 15-year-old Friedrich August, his mother Maria Antonia, Prince Xavier and other members of the court, first during lunch and later in an extended recital lasting a full three and a half hours:

den 10. Aug[ust]: war die Tafel 26. *Couverts*. Über der Tafel wartete der Rußi[sche]: Capellmeister *Baltasaro Galuppi Buranelli* der Hohen Herrschaft auf.
Nach der Tafel war in der Waßer *Palais* Saal *Concert*, so von halb 5. bis 8. Uhr dauerte, wobey der *Buranelli* sich auf den *Clavecin* hören ließ.¹⁵⁶

The Saxon 'Kitchen' diary added a fascinating little detail to this entry: namely, that Galuppi had lunch closeted with his compatriot Pietro Mira:

152 An email to the author, 6 May 2018. In the 1755 Parma production of Galuppi's *Alessandro nelle Indie*, the aria 'Vedrai con tuo periglio' was sung by the soprano castrato Giovanni Manzuoli, whom Brühl tried to employ for Warsaw in 1758 and 1759, with the assistance of Faustina; D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 2814/07, cit., letters of Minelli to Brühl, Venice, 11 October 1758; 23 December 1758; 27 January 1759, unfoliated.

153 Domenico Carboni, 'Alla corte Imperiale di Pietroburgo: fortuna delle opere di Baldassarre Galuppi in Russia', in: *Galuppiana 1985*, eds. M.T. Muraro and F. Rossi, p. 120.

154 On his way to Russia, Galuppi met with Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in Berlin, as is well documented.

155 'Ein *Clavier* vor Ihro Königl[iche]: Hoh[eit] die verwittibte Churfürstin'; D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, O, 5, Nr. 002 *In Pillnitz geführte Hofstagebücher, 1765*, fol. 344a.

156 Loc. cit., fol. 24a–b.

den 10. Aug[ust] Blieben die Herrschafften Mittags allhier, und war eine Tafel von 26. *Couvert*s. Nachmittags war beythro Königl[iche]: Hoheit der Churfürstin *Concert* worbey der in Rußischen diensten stehende *Capell*-Meister *Galuppi* !: welcher Mittags alhier mit *Pedrillo* in einem Zimmer alleine gespeiset :/ sich auf dem *Clavessin* hören ließen.¹⁵⁷

The future elector must have observed Galuppi's playing with great interest. Already by then he was an accomplished keyboard player, having been taught from an early age by Peter August, who at some point prepared copies of Galuppi sonatas and a concerto for his pupil.¹⁵⁸ Friedrich August also collected copies of the composer's operas, which were regularly produced in Dresden by the impresario Giuseppe Bustelli and his company. In April 1776 *Il nemico delle donne* (*L'inimico delle donne*, Venice, 1771) was the last Galuppi opera to be performed in Dresden during the eighteenth century. One of the carnival operas that year was his *L'amante di tutte* (Venice, 1760), which had been produced earlier in 1766, 1770 and 1775 in the Saxon capital. In 1761 Minelli sent Maria Antonia a complimentary score of this opera via Wackerbarth, and it is fitting that the Venetian, who had played such a vital role in the transmission of the Galuppi–Baldan manuscripts to Warsaw, gets the last word in this story:

Supplicandola di mettermi a piedi delle L.L.A.A.R.R.:^{li} [Loro Altezze Reali]; e per dare un poco di tratenimento piacevole a S[ua] A[ltezza] R[ea]:^{lc} la Nostra Incomparabile Clem[entissi]:^{ma} Reale Principessa hò fatto preparare la Musica di un'Opera buffa, e seria di questo Sig[no]:^{re} Maestro Buranello intitolata L'Amante di tutte, la quale hà incontrato a meraviglia, e sono sicuro, che sarà gradita dall'Altezza Sua Reale, ed Ellettorale, e vorrei col proprio sangue rimostarle la mia proffondissima venerazione, ed obbligo distinto, che gli professo per la Sua incomparabile Clemenza.¹⁵⁹

157 D-Dla, 10006 OHMA, T, 6, Nr. 007 *Traktamente und Landreisen*, 1765, unfoliated. The violinist, singer and jester Pietro Mira, 'Pedrillo' or 'Petrillo', was a popular figure in Dresden and Warsaw; see Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Foreign Musicians at the Polish Court in the Eighteenth Century: The Case of Pietro Mira', in *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe. Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, eds. Gesa zur Nieden and Berthold Over, Bielefeld 2016, pp. 151–169. During his midday lunch with Galuppi, Mira could have informed the composer about the intrigues of the Russian court, having served there in the 1730s.

158 D-Dl, Mus. 2973-T-1; Mus. 1-T-22. The *Concerto per il Cembalo con Viol. e Basso* in F-dur is held as D-Dl, Mus. 2973-O-1.

159 D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., loc. 2814/07, cit., Minelli to Wackerbarth, Venice, 24 April 1761, unfoliated.

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‘IL GROSSO PACCO DELLA MUSICA’: WYSYŁKI GALUPPIANÓW DLA AUGUSTA III
I HRABIEGO HEINRICHA VON BRÜHLA W WARSZAWIE, 1757–1761

Drezdeńska Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) przechowuje jedną z największych na świecie kolekcji twórczości religijnej i świeckiej włoskiego kompozytora Baldassara Galupiego, zwanego „il Buranello”. Jego muzyka operowa cieszyła się wielką popularnością w połowie lat pięćdziesiątych XVIII w. u króla polskiego i elektora saskiego Augusta III oraz innych członków jego dworu. Imponująca kolekcja Galupianów zawiera liczne kopie utworów liturgicznych pochodzących z pracowni weneckiego księdza i notorycznego fałszerza Iseppa (Giuseppe) Baldana. Niedawno kilka kompozycji błędnie przypisanych Galupiemu przez Baldana okazało się dziełami Antonia Vivaldiego, do których zalicza się mistrzowskie opracowanie *Dixit Dominus* (RV 807).

W artykule wykazano, że rękopisy Galupiego–Baldana zostały wysłane w kilku partiach z Wenecji do Warszawy (a nie – jak dotąd myślano – do Drezna) w czasie wojny siedmioletniej (1756–63), kiedy August III rezydował w polskiej stolicy. Pierwszy saski minister hrabia Heinrich von Brühl i jego uzdolniona muzycznie córka Maria Amalia również przebywali w tym czasie w Warszawie, podobnie jak sekretarz Brühla i dyrektor muzyczny Friedrich August von Koenig, który zorganizował dostawy od Galupiego i Baldana. Fakt wysyłania podczas wojny również z Rzymu oper do Warszawy pokazuje, że w polskiej stolicy arystokracja była na bieżąco z najnowszą twórczością włoską. Relacje z warszawskich wykonań muzyki Galupiego pojawiają się w oficjalnych dokumentach i listach Friedricha Augusta de Rossi, sekretarza do spraw włoskich na dworze polsko-saskim. Zawierają one opis serenaty wykonanej na 57. urodziny Brühla w sierpniu 1757 r.; w artykule omówiono dowody, które wyraźnie sugerują, że serenata ta, zwana *Endimione*, została specjalnie skomponowana przez Galupiego na tę okazję. Przedstawiono też szczegóły dotyczące rękopisów muzycznych wysłanych z Warszawy do Drezna w 1763 r., katalog kolekcji, a także opis nieznannej wcześniej wizyty Galupiego w stolicy Saksonii w 1765 roku.

Przekład Paweł Gancarczyk

Keywords / słowa kluczowe: Warsaw / Warszawa, Dresden / Drezno, Baldassarre Galuppi, Iseppo Baldan, August III, Heinrich von Brühl, Friedrich August von Koenig, Antonio Vivaldi

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